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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Anne Snellen entitled "Remember the Ordinary, If You Can': Metaphor, Memory and Meaning of 9/11 in the Leading Articles of *The Times of London*." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in English.

Mary Jo Reiff, Howard R. Pollio, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Ilona Leki, Janet Atwill

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

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Major Professor

Howard R. Pollio
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We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Ilona Leki

Janet Atwill

Accepted for the Council:

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Vice Chancellor and Dean of
Graduate Studies

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

“Remember the Ordinary, If You Can”:
Metaphor, Memory and Meaning of 9/11 in the Leading Articles of
The Times of London

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Anne Snellen

August 2006

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Acknowledgments

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Abstract

This study is developed in conjunction with the Center for Applied Phenomenological Research at the University of Tennessee and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, to examine how the editorial pages of *The Times of London* sought to provide a collective understanding of the events of 9/11 during the first year after the attacks. Leaning on the methods of historiography, phenomenology, and rhetorical analysis, this study offers an interdisciplinary approach to discovering meaning translated through the interrelated processes of conjuring historical memory, inventing novel, figurative terminology, and building narrative structures to frame our understanding of events. This study considers how cultural memories of traumatic, public events are created, arguing that the shaping of collective memory and the development of historical narrative are tightly interconnected through the language we share and create with others. Results indicate that these editorialists cultivated an awareness of time that was steeped in culturally-salient narrative traditions, staging an historical drama in *The Times*, and were therefore always highly conscious of the interaction between the editorials as story and readers as audience.

Preface

This dissertation is part of a larger study undertaken between the Center for Applied Phenomenological Research at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia on the editorial response in American and European newspapers to 9/11 during the first year after the attacks. As an international project, the newspapers studied represented a large swatch of the Western response to the event, coming from North America and Western and Eastern Europe. In North America, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* were selected, representing the cities most immediately affected by the attacks. In Western Europe, *The Times of London* and *El Mundo* were chosen, both because the governments of the United Kingdom and Spain were close NATO allies of the United States, and also because both countries had long histories of dealing with terror, from the IRA in the United Kingdom and ETA in Spain. In Eastern Europe, Russia's *Izvestia* was selected for several reasons, ranging from Russia's long-standing rivalry with the West to its own battles with terrorism in Chechnya, to its long war in Afghanistan, and to its burgeoning, post-Cold War friendship with the United States. Finally, from Bulgaria, home to part of the study and a transitioning former-Eastern bloc state itself, the newspaper, *Sega*, was selected as a voice new to Western affairs, but with NATO and EU membership in sight and a border with Muslim Turkey, a voice intimately concerned with the welfare of the West. This core of newspapers, it was

contended, should provide a solid understanding of how the West (Eastern Europe included) coped with 9/11 and its aftermath.

To that end, this project on *The Times of London* will be interwoven with certain results of that larger study. In particular, early results coming from *The Times* bore an intriguing resemblance to stylistic results that emerged from a study of *The New York Times*, namely, a significant, rhetorical framing of each paper's response to the attacks. Noted in the most reflective editorials from *The New York Times* (Pollio, et al., In Press, and Lule, 2002) was their epic structure, a retelling of an ages-old conflict of heroes fighting invaders from the outside attacking a great city and center of civilisation. In New York, though never referenced directly, this structure took on an Iliadic tone, in which a surprise attack from a kind of Trojan horse struck a critical blow against the city in a long war between rival civilisations that had festered for many years. In the UK, meanwhile, results suggested that *The Times* saw 9/11 as a Shakespearean historical drama, a retelling of the themes in *Henry IV* and *Henry V*. With that in mind, this project began to take a specific shape.

As is the case in each of the studies in the ongoing project, this study of *The Times* includes a close, phenomenologically and historically-based reading of editorials, or leading articles, dealing with 9/11 and the subsequent War on Terror. In this reading, the study considered the implications of the content of the editorials, the historical references *The Times* included, the novel figures of speech that were rated as salient, and the themes that built upon the concerns of content, historical referencing, and salient figures, and that took into account

their impact on the reading audience. In addition to close reading, however, this study also takes into consideration the rhetorical situation of *The Times* to account for its literary forebears. Since the literary structure in *The Times* appeared to be dramatic in nature, and since the rhetorical situation in *The Times* was at the heart of this study, it was an easy next step to take a Burkeian approach to the rhetorical analysis.

To that end, this dissertation begins with an overview in Chapter 1 that includes a discussion of relevant psychological, linguistic, historical, rhetorical theory and a framing for the focus of the project. Methods are then developed in Chapter 2, including an explanation for the ways in which this study departs from previous studies in the overall project. Next, Chapter 3 presents results for the study of *The Times of London* for content, historical references, salient figures, and themes, as well as early rhetorical characteristics. In Chapter 4, a discussion of the results then begins that contemplates the impact that British historical and literary awareness has on the coverage of 9/11 and its aftermath in *The Times*. This discussion focuses mainly on the legacy of three central figures—Clausewitz, Churchill, and Shakespeare—who appear to provide *The Times* with an underlying frame for the ways in which writers understand events. Finally, in Chapter 5, conclusions, suggestions for further research, and limitations of the study are proposed.

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*Words and Images Scorched onto the Collective Consciousness, Replayed in
Flashback*

Chapter 1: Introduction

Overview

Ask nearly any citizen of a Western nation about September 11, 2001 and the answer provided will likely include a description of that day as a history-shaking event, one that altered what the early part of the 21st century would be like. Indeed, many of us now describe the political culture in which we live as pre- or post-9/11, in just the same way time was demarcated in the 20th century as pre- or post-World War II. Part of this thinking comes from our construction of the event as it parallels others in our collective memory. In other words, the historical references we choose to give the figure of 9/11 a grounding allow us to begin to comprehend and make sense of it. Perhaps nowhere does this happen with the speed of the newspaper editorial, a medium in which the news of the day gets a running commentary, and where, from these first metaphors we use to describe an event, editorial writers develop larger thematic narratives that help order the disorder of a changing world.

Examining how the editorial staff at *The Times of London* developed textual, historical, and metaphorical themes in leading articles about terrorism in the first year after 9/11 becomes an exercise in understanding how a collective conscious can be framed and formed. Since the paper enjoys a high level of prestige, it is therefore a paper likely to be at the center of an emerging debate,

politically, rhetorically, and linguistically-charged. The political, public policy debate itself centers on a seemingly obvious question—how should the West develop its response to the post-9/11 world? However, the more subtle rhetorical and linguistic debates are more hazardous. In those first days, when everyone—government officials, the media, and ordinary people on the street—knew very little, and often seemed paralyzed by the impact of the collapse of the Twin Towers, the public discussion had yet to coalesce, a fact that is paradoxically both part symptom and part cause of that paralysis. But once the West began to recover its bearings, the debate started to take shape. *The New York Times*, for example, which on September 12th referred to New York City as a kind of modern-day Pompeii, a city that is only remembered for having been completely inundated by volcanic ash, abandoned that historical metaphor in favor of a far more hopeful one: the struggle of New York City was the newest version of the timeless clash between epic heroes and villains (Lule, 2002; Pollio, et al., In Press). *The Times of London*, meanwhile, picked up Prime Minister Tony Blair's assurance that the United Kingdom stood "shoulder to shoulder" with the people of the United States, invoking similar imagery drawn a half-century before in the language of Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Franklin Roosevelt. By invoking historical metaphors, the paper gave shape to its readers' understanding of events, gently reminding them of other great struggles, trying to instill them with a will to endure.

In this sense, the papers demonstrate that memory, language, and history share a classic connection which is extremely useful when attempting to explain

complex, present events. We understand our histories (individual and collective) through our memories, which are shaped by our experience—our phenomenological being-in-the-world—and our connections with others through conversation and dialogue. When we contemplate that connection with others, the relationship between memory and history becomes more complex, shaped by the culture and language shared between participants. In effect, memory and history in the presence of language—our means of connecting with others—becomes memory and history in the presence of metaphor, rhetoric, and narrative. And if those symbols and stories are particularly evocative, they become translated further, ultimately shaping our collective memories and community identities, our historical traditions and social rituals. The result of that process allows us to recognize who we are now by reminding us where we came from, and through that past and present, what projections our futures might hold. Therefore, the large research questions I hope to consider are (1) *How does language act as both symbolic action and collective therapy in these leading articles, and how are those two functions interrelated?* and (2) *How do metaphor, memory, and narrative intersect to create meaning?*

Narrative Reality in Time

Key to this arrangement is the connection between the narrator, the narrative in question, and the intended audience receiving that narrative. Both psychologically and rhetorically, that connection marks an ever-important link

between how various sources frame events unfolding around us, and how we come to understand them. Ricoeur (1984a) argues that this is especially true since narrative is the primary means we have of making sense of time and its events. He even goes so far as to note that “time becomes human to the extent that it is articulated through a narrative mode,” as though the very basis for what humanizes experience is a narrative that reorganizes, reassesses, and retells experiences (p. 52). Narrative lends time a manageable structure, a sense of before, now, and to come, that allows us to understand time by understanding our place *in* time. Once we locate ourselves in time, we can begin to piece our narratives together. Baydala (2003) explains this further by noting that a narrative provides both a meaning and a means of referencing human action, as though when we provide a narrative for our experiences, we order our connections of time, place, and specific event. In the case of 9/11, that locating process is not only a function of understanding, but a much more practical process as well, one that helps to identify critical sequences of events, motivations for various actions, and perhaps to an even more important extent, the greater causes of terror.

By locating our place in time through narrative, it helps to have linguistic markers that help us to make sense of events themselves, even before setting them in time. For instance, before we came to know the events of 9/11 as “9/11,” editorial pages needed ways to mark the day as different—history-shifting. As a result, *The New York Times* asked us to “remember the ordinary” (“The War Against America,” 2001), or the life we lived before that September

morning. The *Times of London*, meanwhile, invoked the memory of “that shattering day” (“Another Front,” 2001) or the day our lives and our understanding of the world, its actors, and its events—in other words, the era in which we live—were shattered before our eyes. These metaphorical descriptions that begin the process of marking 9/11 are key to our understanding of it as a crucial shift in our lives. But even more than that, they are key to marking a crucial shift in our sense of time—our pre- or post-9/11 understanding of the world—as they become an axis around which other events in time revolve. We mark our history with metaphorical language that helps to explain not only what happened, but just why what happened was so significant to our historical era. Coupled with time-marked narrative, historical and metaphorical language help provide a meaning for 9/11.

When metaphor, memory, language, and history intersect, meaning is created, through the connection between narrator and audience. This allows us to experience the world through the very natural human connection of dialogue through language, a being-in-the-world through being-with-others via the symbols we share and the stories we tell. At the outset, the connection between metaphor and memory provides the first step in contemplating how human beings understand the world. Pollio (1974) notes that our thinking often works in a pattern of associations—comparisons between what we know and what we have encountered and do not yet know. These associations happen through figurative thought that connects present experience to the past. Pre-existing knowledge provides the foundation for memory by selectively ordering past and

present experience, supplying a basis for relating newly-encountered ideas to other ideas and for modeling what might work in the future when situations appear to be similar. At the same time, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) describe the process through which they believe this association occurs, noting that a substitution takes place in which we begin to substitute one idea for another over time as novel figurative terms are introduced into our language as various events occur. As these new figurative terms begin to freeze as the experiential circumstances in which they were first framed fade, the once novel terms become terms that we accept without thinking about them. From this starting point, Pollio takes his notion of symbolic association further, arguing for the real power metaphorical language such as this has. This 9/11 language, and particularly the metaphorical and historical connections it makes, are not simply associative markers, but a means of thickening language, jumping out of the discourse, by slowing down the way we process the language in order to make connections between the tenor and vehicle of the metaphor. They force us to consider them, to pay closer attention, to figure out their etymological, historical, or cultural foundations to understand completely the assertion they make now, in the present, and at the same time, though more subtly, their influence on future action and thought.

When terms like "Ground Zero" or "War on Terror" become the norms through which we name parts of post-9/11 life, our experience is shaped not only by images of the Twin Towers reduced to rubble, the on-going war in Afghanistan, the subsequent war in Iraq, and the myriad changes in the freedom

of movement throughout the West. Our experience is also partly shaped by the memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—the original, atomic Ground Zeroes—and by the more complicated notion that we are waging a war not against a traditionally identifiable nation-state or group as Clausewitz (1976) would define war (a concept we do historically understand), but against an emotion, in this case, “terror.” Through the metaphor, “Ground Zero,” we understand the events of 9/11 to be catastrophic, relatable to the kind of destruction a great war exhibits, most particularly to the kind of destruction an atomic bomb exacts. And through the metaphor, “War on Terror,” we begin to understand the dangers of the war we are waging in the post-9/11 world; terror, as an emotion, as well as a tactic, will likely always be with us. Therefore, the danger is that as it will have no clear boundaries or objectives in the Clausewitzian sense, this particular war may never end. More importantly, since both of these metaphors become easy exchanges for various events in our post-9/11 life, they have become interlinked and part of our larger social consciousness. Because we had a “Ground Zero,” we now have a “War on Terror.” Through those metaphors, we begin to shape our responses to those historical acts and their agents. We are at war. We are under attack. We live under the threat of total destruction. But more than that, we shape all future understanding based on this premise in the sense that these metaphors help construct the reality in which we live. All terrorism in the Western psyche will relate back somehow to this base, historical metaphor of “Ground Zero,” shaped on the foundational, historical

metaphors that come from World War II, a war in which there was so much at stake that there was no option to lose.

At this point, it becomes a little clearer that one of the ways in which the language of 9/11 works is to establish a new concept of reality over time. Berger and Luckmann (1967) argue that reality is socially constructed, framed by institutions with particular world-views that negotiate events through their own perspectives, built historically through time and place. Using the Whorf hypothesis, we only need to take a short step from Berger and Luckmann to say that just as reality is constructed by historical and sociological factors, so too is it shaped by language, since the way language is used can in part determine how we think—about ourselves, others, time, and place.

In the case of newspapers, Fairclough (1995) notes that when creating new metaphors, the media seeks to work in the context of its audience, using metaphors to help a public understand an event and to shape its understanding. Therefore, the figurative language the media develops draws upon evocative themes in popular memory and claims to share that memory and culture. At the same time, since the media often develops that language over a long period of time, it ultimately becomes embedded in the standard features of discourse. In this way, the media embeds prior knowledge into current process, creating layers of constructed knowledge which become particularly important considering the choice of style and the nature of the intertextual linking and renegotiation required for successful embedding. The media, therefore, not only provides a new way to understand an issue, but also

to push an ideology, which then directly relates to a social and linguistic construction of reality.

Building up standard features of discourse over time reflects the ideas of Kenneth Burke, who notes in *Attitudes Toward History* (1984a) that the very act of applying names to motives shapes our understanding, orienting us for or against people or activities; the names themselves also suggest *how* we are for or against them. Some of these orientations take place at the level of metaphor which may ultimately become the key terms of what Burke, in *Language As Symbolic Action* (1966), calls "terministic screens" that structure our thinking through language, becoming the symbols by which we understand the world and our experience in it. The language of terministic screens reflects reality certainly, but it also selects and deflects reality, therefore guiding, stimulating, and narrating further action. This "language as symbolic action" that Burke first identifies in *Counter-Statement* (1953) works so that individual metaphors get taken up in metaphorical themes operating as terministic screens and become a particular rhetoric, providing a terminology of thoughts, actions, attitudes, and emotions that codifies experience.

In *Permanence and Change* (1984b), Burke observes that language of this kind is never neutral, but loaded with judgments that take shape because it is used by people acting together, as though the language is an adjunct of that action, developing a continuing narrative that links action with time and motive in an historical sensibility. Once narrative is built up, it expands, and becomes the way through which we select our memory-as-history and the metaphors that

come out of it, reflecting the parts of our experience we want to emphasize and at the same time deflecting those we would choose to ignore. In other words, out of this process of narrating our experience, having carefully cultivated the language we choose to describe it, emerge the figures in Ricoeur's historical ground that take precedence in our era and which obscure those figures that recede into history. Burke further describes this process in *Attitudes Toward History* (1984a), noting that since we search for and create forms of consciousness, those forms become our foundation, our means of negotiating linguistically (and intellectually) our experiential frame. Prompted by a yearning to comprehend what has happened, we promote mechanisms of acceptance which judge our historical situation and adopt our role in relation to it.

Historical Memory and Historical Narrative

In a related context, Hans-Georg Gadamer (1976) would argue that terministic screens constitute that person's "historical prejudice," and simply frame reality by reflecting the history and experience of any one person and the institutions that surround him or her in a given time. Such a recognition of personal historicity, Gadamer insists, forces us to realize that anything we understand, we understand through and because of context—both the context of the situation and of our context as people who experience life socially, economically, historically, and institutionally. This historical prejudice insists that we understand our world as people of historical reality—of people *in* time and

place. History, then, immediately influences whatever decisions we make—even dictating whatever decisions we *can* make. What is available to us, both practically and creatively, provide the only tools with which we can build. Ultimately, our historical prejudice is the means through which we infuse our historical reality with life, since our historical prejudice will largely determine how we perceive and understand that experience.

The “prejudices” that we bring to new experience determine how we understand that experience since everything we do has a context, and it is impossible to separate context from understanding. That hermeneutic framing takes place in the realm of language, since it is through language that we can communicate perception, understanding, and ultimately, meaning. Hermeneutic framing through language, coupled with Burke’s notion of terministic screens, allows us to translate the importance of “being there” (Heidegger’s *Dasein*)—experience within a specific time and place—through the dialogue of “being with” (Heidegger’s *Mitsein*)—or negotiating our experience, and the meaning of that experience, with others. Basing our understanding of the world on the time and place in which we live, the language, culture, and tradition that influence our lives and our ways of thinking and doing become critical foundations for any new constructs we attempt to build.

This understanding we develop of present history-in-the-shaping, therefore, is molded by our memory of history-already-shaped. It is not surprising, for example, that one of the first historical metaphors for 9/11 which *The Times* contemplated was the legacy of Pearl Harbor—of a surprise attack from the air,

driven by kamikaze pilots intending to die and inflict as much damage as possible in the process. Even though that particular metaphor only lasted for a reasonably short period of time in the discussion of 9/11, the larger metaphor of World War II that the mention of it conjured has lasted much longer. Part of the reason for this conjuring of memory to help explain the present is, according to Frederic Bartlett (1954), that “in remembering, the subject uses the setting, or scheme, or pattern, and builds up its characteristics afresh to aid whatever response the needs of the moment may demand” (p. 196). In the sense that this could be a specific remembering of an important historical event, Bartlett’s analysis provides a way into the workings of historical memory and how it can begin to develop on a wider, social level. Repeatedly stressing the importance of psychological orientation always occurring within a specific setting, Bartlett believes that remembering is an act of placing one set of conditions beside another, so that the memory becomes part of a broader ground of memory contexts.

Given Bartlett’s take on how we form memories, and, more importantly, how we go about remembering them, the organization of historical memory becomes a comparable process. Historian David Thelen (1989) argues that historical memory is always collective and historicized, influenced by and influencing culture, negotiating meaning as the historical event remembered reflects the concerns of the people of the era doing the remembering. According to historian Pierre Nora in *Lieux de Mémoire* (1996a), historical memories are likely to be culturally powerful and pervasive, thriving “because of

their capacity for change, their ability to resurrect old meanings, and generate new ones along with new and unforeseeable connections" (p. 15). From this perspective, Nora invokes the connection between historical memory and historical narrative, the latter existing with the very intention of being retold to new audiences in new eras and settings, with potentially far different cultural conditions, expectations, and needs in place. The most powerful of these collective memory narratives, Nora believes, mark "a turning point in which a sense of rupture with the past is inextricably bound up with a sense that a rift has occurred in memory" (p. 1). Considering that one of the most insistent themes editorials in *The Times of London* adopt is a sense of irrevocable change, for all intents and purposes a rift in time, Nora's conjecture that a rupture with the past actually focuses the collective memory more pointedly puts into perspective the drive to connect the past directly to 9/11 and why it was a continuing struggle for *The Times*. In terms of historical memory, 9/11 signified an event dramatically unlike the events of our recent, collective past.

At the same time, Thelen (1989) reminds us that the way in which collective, historical memory develops points toward how people have always "selected and interpreted identifying memories to serve changing needs," searching together and negotiating meaning, and ultimately preserving and absorbing that meaning into the present and continuing concerns of the community (p. 1123). In this particular case, those changing needs and concerns represent an overwhelming desire to capture the meaning of 9/11, what place it occupies in our history, and perhaps more importantly, in terms of

our response, what place it will occupy in the historical narratives we tell about that day and its aftermath. Because 9/11 characterizes a terrific rupture in our history, our need to reach back, to connect ourselves to challenges of history during which we were successful to the great challenge suddenly thrust before us is almost overwhelming. From our fear, anger, humiliation, and despair must come our great triumph, just as the horrors of the Battle of Britain and Pearl Harbor spurred the generations before us to victories over Berlin and Tokyo. Once we capture and refit a resonant-enough collective historical memory to our current circumstances, we lend ourselves a sense of the directions in which we must travel to overcome present obstacles. We merge our historical horizon with our historical past, and subsequently, our historical prejudice shifts to incorporate old lessons—lessons we have supposedly learned—into our objective of the present. Essentially, we negotiate the paths we choose after we have renegotiated the meaning of our past.¹

Since this negotiation happens as part of a collective historical conversation, it becomes an aspect of public discourse. Theodore Sarbin (1993) insists that our concept of history naturally demands storytellers who cannot exist as “tellers of history” without narratives designed specifically for their audiences. Any time a discourse develops between parties, some kind of dialogue is taking place between narrators and audiences. In this sense, one individual's experience in that negotiation and that historical era—his or her being-in-the-world—cannot be entirely complete on its own, nor does it explain how that

¹ Stephen Bungay, preeminent historian of the Battle of Britain, invokes some of this argument in his Autumn, 2001 article on the war speeches of Churchill.

individual comes to understand that experience. Narratives, according to Sarbin, offer a psychological framing for making sense of events by creating contexts ripe for encounters with the narratives and responses of other people. Instead of acting as isolated stimulus-response exercises, the sharing of narratives with actively negotiating audiences operates as the tellings and re-tellings of organized stories. If some kind of dialogue develops (which it inevitably does), if a person is the product of the heteroglossia of historical prejudice and the negotiation of collective memory, then being-in-the-world implies being-with-others. In short, understanding cannot happen, until being-in-the-world becomes being-with-others.

Thelen agrees, noting that the construction of historical collective memory is never isolated, but made in conversations with others “that occur in the contexts of community, broader politics, and social dynamics” (1989, p. 1119). Ultimately, with great events that act as foundations (or shake foundations to the core), the narrative-building conversations grow larger and larger, including more and more parties and their various concerns. If the narrative becomes substantial enough, richly steeped in collective memory, the cultural impulse to commemorate it formally becomes that much more urgent.

Through this impulse, Nora and Nico Frijda (1997) link the urge to commemorate to events that signify a rupture with the past. Describing a *lieu de mémoire* as a kind of artificially-embodied memory, that by definition marks our “intent to remember,” Nora argues that observing commemoration is not just symbolic, but an act that “disrupts time, thus consecrating memory” (1996a, p.

14). By marking that event, we separate that moment in time from all the other moments of all the other days in our lives that do not stand out, effectively indicating how special that moment is in our personal or collective history. It becomes extraordinary—an event to be remembered—and for the most moving and life-changing events, a moment of special consideration, or consecration, as if by consecrating, we still struggle with the unanswerable questions of the event (Frijda, 1997). In the act of consecration, the embodied memory becomes a substitution for a simple, shared memory, becoming instead an historical artifact, and stops time through its very existence. The commemorative exercise of stopping time marks the event as special, separate, and something we choose to remember beyond the simplest acts of remembering.

Events like 9/11, which almost immediately become commemorated events, with 24-hour news coverage, temporary cancellation of all kinds of day-to-day activities, flags at half-staff, moments of silence, and days of mourning, Nora claims, “are immediately invested with symbolic significance and treated, even as they are unfolding, as if they were being commemorated in advance” (1996a, p. 18). Such events, driven by a socially-constructed meaning that strives for a society-wide understanding and acceptance of the events in question, despite whatever myriad small events which may comprise them, lose their banal, everyday referents and become wholly symbolic. As opposed to the way an individual’s memory of a given event may exist, with its focus on the details of circumstance and happenstance in which the individual hears of, sees, or comes to terms with the event, the socio-historical commemoration focuses on

the larger "circle within which everything counts, everything is symbolic, everything is significant" (1996a, p. 20). The event, in becoming historicized memory, and especially in the age of mass media, evolves into an iconic figure arrested in the long ground of time.²

In the leading articles of *The Times of London*, the 9/11 language is not just the language of an "editorializing" discourse, one that aims solely to explain and comment on a given political, economic, social, or community issue. Instead, this particular editorial discourse appears to aim far beyond simple explanation and commentary and into the realm of symbolic, historical action. The most reflective of the editorials are obviously commemorative in their content, focusing on 9/11 as a defining moment of our times, the moment after which nothing will ever be the same. Life after 9/11 quite suddenly becomes life in uncharted territory, life that begs for a new understanding and application of history. In resisting "rapid, alien and imposed change," according to Thelen (1989, p. 1125), people respond by holding on to what they can, leading to the instant commemoration Nora describes. Only when "the historical framework of the nation has been shattered," can national, historical memory "come into being" (Nora, 1996b, p. 636). Only when the overwhelming need for one exists can an icon emerge to help fix the collective vision of the nation. The icon, separating an event from the general flow of history, makes figural not just the event itself, but the historical past which preceded it, as a time in which life was

² "Historicized memory" and "embodied memory" are the same, though "embodied memory" specifically deals with something that literally becomes "embodied," as in a place or an object that is commemorated. Nora is sometimes talking specifically about physical places—*lieux*—but *lieux* really imply "realms" more than "places."

normal. To commemorate an event like 9/11 is to invoke “memories of a past that was unchanging, incorruptible and harmonious,” that people “mobilize . . . to resist change” (Thelen, 1989, p. 1125), calling upon a past that makes sense in the wake of an era of grave danger. Commemoration of 9/11, therefore, marks “the abandonment of the traditional channels and modes of transmission” of historical events (Nora, 1996b, p. 636) by marking 9/11 as an event that transcends history.

The Iconic Image

Davis (2003) continues this theme from a psychological perspective, arguing that to understand 9/11, we will ultimately have to understand its symbolic images if we are to understand our historical era and what actions we are taking in it. By “arrest[ing] images that flare up at a moment of crisis and attempt[ing] to internalize and articulate their significance before they disappear” (p. 128), Davis insists that we take Walter Benjamin's³ approach to historical consciousness and capture these images while they are still relatively novel and their ultimate meanings are still being negotiated, before they “disappear, perhaps irretrievably, in the predictable rush toward ideological reaffirmations—and national healing” (p. 128). Though the process of commemorating 9/11 and establishing images that become socially and historically mandated icons of it may sound like one sinister forces could easily

³ “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” by Walter Benjamin, 1940, *Illuminations*, 1978, ed. and trans. Hannah Arendt, New York: Basic.

manipulate, in the case of 9/11, the earliest editorials, particularly from New York, embody both Davis' and Benjamin's takes, as well as Lakoff's (2001) description of how the iconic images of 9/11 dramatically changed the way we would encounter the world. Noting that any building can be symbolic of a person, with the various features of a human body, especially the human face, existing as figures within the larger architectural ground, Lakoff argues that "the image of the plane going into South Tower was . . . an image of a bullet going through someone's head, the flame pouring from the other side blood spurting out. It was an assassination. The tower falling was a body falling" (¶ 5). So when the editorials describe New York as a body in need of healing (Pollio, et al., In Press), they follow along with the logical next step of Lakoff's description.

In both cases, the language used to represent bodies in pain derives directly from the imaginable experience of the writers. Lakoff remembers, "The bodies falling were me, relatives, friends. Strangers who had smiled as they had passed me on the street screamed as they fell past me" (¶ 5). *The New York Times*, meanwhile, talks about the need for the "city's revival" ("Mayor of the Moment," 2001), that after absorbing what amounted to "a supreme national horror" ("Heroes Amid the Horror," 2001), New York would "breathe for a bit" ("The Necessary Courage," 2001), but "would never bow" ("Mayor of the Moment," 2001), and instead begin the "world of consoling to be done" ("The War Against America: An Unfathomable Attack," 2001). Without question, the iconic image of 9/11 is those towers collapsing, two wounded sentinels that for 30 years had characterized New York City as the center of the Western world. If

Lakoff describes the shock and pain of 9/11, of those towers tumbling to the ground, *The New York Times*, almost immediately, begins to focus on the healing that would need to take place in a city victimized by a terrifying, unexpected attack. Finally, Lakoff reminds us that “All those symbols were connected to more of [our] identity than [we] could have realized. To make sense of [9/11, our] very brain[s] had to change” (¶ 6). Buildings were no longer buildings and cities were no longer cities; they became victims—and survivors. And even though the most palpable effects 9/11 had on our international community resulted in the violent deaths of thousands at the hands of the terrorists and the launching of a worldwide war (not exactly easily dismissible effects), the more chilling success of the attacks over time manifested itself as the more invasive and insidious “reach[ing] in and chang[ing of] the brains of people all over” (¶ 7). That iconic figure of the towers collapsing, and the consequences of that symbolic death, was “replayed in flashback to a newly insomniac world,” as *The Times of London* put it, until it became “scorched into the collective consciousness,” and thrust us into our “desire to restore life to New York City,” but also left us “caught in obscene free-fall” (“Dig Deep,” 2001).

The Times has it right. Since “image is the native language of anxiety, the language psyche uses in an effort to mediate the emotional and psychological impact of events” (Davis, 2003, p. 127-128), especially for an event with the emotional and psychological impact of 9/11, is the language of iconic figures that breaches time and forces an historical moment to stand alone as though “scorched” into our collective memory. Because of the natural connection

between image and metaphorical language, deciphering the language we use to talk about terror becomes a useful tool for understanding just what terror means and what it accomplishes, and therefore, how it affects us and our daily lives, as well as the larger sweep of history, as evidenced by Lakoff, *The New York Times*, and *The Times of London*. Essentially, if we can understand the images, we can begin to understand the relevant being-in-the-world. In this sense, the “ideological reaffirmations” Benjamin talks about that we make through language undoubtedly drive the historical policy implications of the “War on Terror,” while the notion of “national healing” forces us to deal with the collective psychological and historical implications of life after “Ground Zero.”

Part of what is happening in *The New York Times*, is that the language—through historical and metaphorical themes—is providing a level of collective therapy for a general public suffering from a collective sense that something terrible has happened. Rather pointedly, the paper recognizes immediately that something has changed irrevocably, and that every part of our lives can explode in a fury of jet fuel, like a modern-day Pompeii in which the most mundane aspects of life—people getting up, going to work, walking down the street on a crisp and perfectly clear Manhattan morning—become trapped and suffocated in a super-heated strata of dust.

While aware that New Yorkers are reminded every moment that the city has “suffered an urban avalanche” (“Terror for All,” 2001), across the ocean, *The Times of London* busily identifies just what effects that avalanche will have. Noting that the world has been “tempered by fire and changed” (“Terror for All,”

2001), *The Times* quickly understands that “old rivalries [have been] buried” (“Still the Enemy,” 2001), and that world leaders are “actor[s] in a drama whose first act is unfolding” (“With One Voice,” 2001). Arguing that “the world divides after this tremendous event into two camps” with “no middle way” (“With One Voice,” 2001), *The Times* warns that “it would be foolish, it would be immoral, to shirk this slow, deliberate test of strength” (“Replies of Steel,” 2001). For the UK and the rest of the world, only by “standing shoulder to shoulder” will Prime Minister Tony Blair and others be “best placed to whisper words in the right ears” (“The Old War,” 2001).

While editorialists in New York compassionately concern themselves with rescue, recovery, and restoring New York and New Yorkers to health, London, understanding that 9/11 “bring[s] to a head the struggle shadowing the West,” focuses sharply on setting the stage for the world drama that will unfold now that there is “no going back to life before” (“This Is a World War,” 2001). For *The Times*, 9/11 is but the first scene in a drama of Shakespearean importance, with nothing less than the survival of civilization at stake. Conjuring the language and sentiment of Shakespeare’s *Henry IV* and *Henry V*, *The Times* recasts the roles of Henry and Exeter in the drama of St. Crispin and Agincourt—the great literary metaphor for the history of Great Britain—once again, just as Prime Minister Winston Churchill had during the Second World War.⁴ In one swift stroke, *The Times* manages to invoke the story “the good man” shall “teach his son” of Britain’s “finest hour.”

⁴ Churchill commissioned Sir Laurence Olivier to produce a film version of *Henry V* in 1944 to raise the morale of the British people.

Given the importance of an iconic image of 9/11 and the narrative elements evoked by it for *The Times*, both Brown and Kulick's flashbulb memory hypothesis (1977) and Neisser's narrative hypothesis (1996) offer a psychological foundation for how 9/11 managed to "reach in" and "change our brains." The basic mechanism for a flashbulb memory, as Brown and Kulick originally described it, asserts that an event marked by high levels of emotion, surprise, and consequentiality compels us to talk about the event in detail repeatedly, yielding a coherent narrative framing the event, and therefore a high level of memory recall. More importantly, Brown and Kulick surmise that certain "canonical categories" (p. 23) of the descriptive memories are basic features of any of these so-called flashbulb memories, and they remarkably mirror the basic theory of rhetorical narrative. Brown and Kulick's sense of "place" and "ongoing activity" reflect narrative setting and time, as well as narrative acts, while their concern with "informant," a person's own "affect" and any other particular "affects" echo a narrative concern with character, agency, and purpose. Finally, Brown and Kulick's focus on the "aftermath" of the event rather plainly emulates the narrative interest in concluding action and denouement.

What Neisser (1996; as well as Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997) concludes is that though Brown and Kulick's "flashbulb" metaphor supposes that the rich, descriptive memory people have of an event forms almost on impact, that metaphor does not take into account what more likely happens in the forming of these memories long after the time of the event itself. Instead, Neisser believes that these "flashbulb" memories take shape only once we understand the

significance of the event in question, once a narrative truly has a chance to develop. For Neisser, narrative structure explains Brown and Kulick's canonical forms, and is what allows the flashbulb to recall "an occasion when two narratives that we ordinarily keep separate—the course of history and the course of our own life—were momentarily put into alignment" (p. 47). The flashbulb memories reflect not specifically the events themselves, but how they are socially-constructed by media, historians, politicians and other public institutions, and how ordinary people have come to think about their own experiences. We talk with others about the event, how we first heard about it, and how, in the case of an ongoing story like 9/11, it develops. Those conversations include a terrific amount of rehearsal of the details as we think and re-think our way through the events, and result in a concentrated search for the meaning and significance of those events.

Language As Symbolic Action

Given Neisser's narrative approach and the epic and dramatic narrative themes that appear in *The New York Times* (Lule, 2002; Pollio, et al., In Press) and *The Times of London*, Burke's Pentad and his notion of language as symbolic action provide a calculus for examining these editorials and the narrative structures they present to their audiences in developing the story of 9/11. In *A Grammar of Motives* (1969), Burke introduces act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose as a means of calculating the dramatic ratios of the ways in which we

perceive events. These five foundational elements provide a base for understanding and evaluating any kind of narrative, as a means of defining an act, the scene in which it takes place, the actor (agent) who carries out the act and the means (agency) they use to do so, and also for what purpose they undertake the act in the first place. For Burke, all action is dramatic, filled and played out with the motives and causal relationships determined by the interplay of elements among the pentadic ratios of the players. Taken in conjunction Ricoeur's (1984a) view that all human understanding is narrative at base, Burke's assertion that all human understanding is dramaturgical reinforces the idea that what we know we come to know through story.

To comprehend how this understanding develops, taking a small step back and reconsidering the ever-important psychological connection between narrator and audience is necessary. Ricoeur insists that human thinking and experience exist as narrative. The way we communicate with each other is through narrative. And since our being-in-the-world and being-with-others are steeped in narrative, the way we understand them cannot happen in any way other than narrative. Sarbin (1993) develops this further, offering that since we are surrounded by narrative, all human behavior is essentially dramaturgical. We think of ourselves and those around us not just as people, but also as characters who fit the historical events (plots) that unfold around us. Our actions cause the plots to unfold, the times and places in which we live set the scene, and our positions in the plots give our actions agency and purpose. Our events are not

just events, but links between acts and agents, anchored by base, historical metaphors, producing narratives that develop for others to understand.

Understanding human behavior as a kind of drama assumes an audience; drama, more perhaps than any other art form, assumes an audience, whether in terms of others actors in the drama or an audience outside the drama.

Constructed as a series of dialogues, language in drama personifies what Bakhtin (1986) describes as a series of utterances, like links, "in the chain of speech communication," unable to be separated from any "preceding links" and any "subsequent links" (p. 94). A dramatic utterance, in effect, is one very consciously constructed, one that carefully considers possible responses, and indeed expects responses, anticipating potential dialogues that might result.

When that happens, when the dialogue develops, speakers and listeners switch roles as listeners become active in the conversation. At the same time, as Bitzer claims (1992), a speaker's audience also assumes that the speaker must address some rhetorical exigence, something which is left unanswered or unfinished to which the speaker addresses him or herself that organizes speech, providing the motivating principle behind the utterance.

In our meaning-creating nexus of intersecting factors, the role of rhetoric begins to become clear. Burke's Pentad essentially follows up rhetorically where Sarbin ends his psychological discussion: act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose form a vehicle for creating order and meaning out of events, rhetorical, psychological, and historical. For Burke, the rhetorical Pentad becomes the means through which we interpret narrative, the way symbols can, through

language and rhetoric, create cooperation between individuals isolated by their own being-in-the-world and allow those narratives to have their audience, so in that way behavior and history can have meaning for someone else.

For Burke, like Sarbin, base symbols, or historical metaphors, offer the primary means through which we understand the world and our experience in it, building up into narratives. Once built, they then expand (Pearl Harbor becomes 9/11) and become the ways in which we select our memory-as-history and the metaphors that come out of it. Those metaphors, in turn, become ways of reflecting those things about our experience we want to emphasize and of deflecting those things we would rather like to ignore. In other words, those metaphors constitute which figures in Ricoeur's historical ground take precedence, and which are obscured. Once symbols expand into narratives, particularly into Burkeian dramas of symbolic action, the language they take up begins to represent "modes of action" in a "matter of motives" (1969, p. xxii). Since Burke focuses directly on the Pentad's ability to illuminate "the strategic spots at which ambiguities necessarily arise" (p. xviii), the motives that the Pentad describes can become increasingly complex as the acts and actors they motivate become more byzantine. Because Burke chooses descriptors that highlight ambiguity, the chances for overlap are great; act and scene can merge, becoming a scene-act ratio, and transform, becoming not just either element alone, but both together.

The act of the terrorists on 9/11—of flying planes into buildings—becomes the scene of 9/11—and the most powerful set of images we remember. Likewise,

when we editorialize the event and that editorializing language becomes symbolic action in itself, we create rhetorically a drama on our own terms, transforming the event into a common ground of understanding, defining the act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose that drive the collective meaning we achieve. The end result of Burke's rhetoric then, is that symbol plus rhetoric, in the presence of experience, yields understanding of an event via the pentadic calculus. The language of the historical and metaphorical themes in these editorials does more than act as a mechanism for ordering and framing complex events and issues, or as collective therapy. It also provides a measure of symbolic action, involving the audience in the unfolding narrative, offering the readership a way into the developments on the ground and in the decision-making processes that will affect the future of what is now known as the War on Terror.

The More the Evidence Is Sifted, the Clearer the Terrible Truth Becomes

Chapter 2: Method

Overview

This study is part of a larger research effort developed in conjunction with the Center for Applied Phenomenological Research at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville and the Institute of Psychology at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences examining the responses of the editorial boards of a number of newspapers across the Western world to the events of 9/11 during the first year following the attacks. Specifically, the larger research team is analyzing these editorials in terms of the frequency with which editorials concerning the events of 9/11 appeared, the trends that frequency manifested, the style of editorials, the historical references conjured, the topics of content they covered, the salient figures of speech they coined, and the overall themes they constructed. As part of the group, I began looking at editorials in four papers before finally heading the project for *The Times*, using basically the same, integrative research method as the group did with the other papers, but with a design to branch off later into a separate, rhetorical analysis.

At first, the project focused mainly on the response of *The New York Times*, given its status as the most important and influential paper in New York City, the unfortunate, primary victim of the 9/11 attacks. Since the early results from that study proved eye-opening to the members of the group, and as the research

group grew to include international researchers as well as Americans, the study began to expand so as to consider comparing how results from *The New York Times* either stood out from or blended in with responses from around the world. The next American paper considered hailed from the second city targeted, *The Washington Post*. But as a group with a strong, international focus—comprised of members from the United States and Eastern Europe—a variety of papers was ultimately chosen for the study from beyond the United States, including dailies from the United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Russia, and Spain.

Those particular countries were represented in part because of the nature of dealing with second languages—we needed to have people who could adequately read the languages—but also because of these countries' relationships with the United States after 9/11. As NATO members and Western European countries with governments immediately sympathetic to the Americans and also having suffered a history of terrorism from the IRA and ETA, respectively, both Great Britain and Spain became obvious choices. (Also not lost on the group was Great Britain's imperial history in Afghanistan.) Bulgaria, both because it was home to a number of members of the research team, and also because it was an emerging East European nation, developing ties to the United States and NATO, was situated as a solid choice. Finally, as a long-time adversary, yet potential new ally, and also with a history of terrorism and a long, difficult history with Afghanistan, Russia struck members of the team as a particularly interesting choice for study. With those countries in mind and given that broad focus, newspapers were chosen on the basis of their national and

international prestige, the size of their readership, their relationships to the areas of attack, and the rapport the paper's governing country had with the United States. Finally, some consideration was given to the quality of writing as exhibited within the paper. Ultimately, Great Britain's *The Times*, Spain's *El Mundo*, Bulgaria's *Sega*, and Russia's *Izvestia* were chosen for the European study, usually with an eye toward the paper's independence, influence, reputation, and attitude towards the United States.

This particular study of *The Times of London* is the third of the papers to be examined in this way, and therefore owes a great deal methodologically to procedures developed in the previous studies. As in the Pollio, et al. study (In Press) of *The New York Times* and in the Stoitsova, et al. (In Press) study of *Sega*, this investigation included a look at editorials written during the entire first year after the 9/11 attacks in order to gather a broad sample of reactions. It was also designed to gauge what long-standing rhetorical, historical, and metaphorical themes would emerge from a body of work written over a fairly long period of time. Focusing on an entire year's leaders¹ allows time for a paper to react immediately to events, and also to reflect on them, describe them and their aftermath sufficiently, and prescribe specific courses of action based on the events in question and their consequences.

As a long-standing and influential paper in the United Kingdom, *The Times* was chosen largely on the basis of its status. Though other papers—*The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* immediately come to mind—also enjoy a

¹ A leader, or leading article, is simply the British term for an editorial.

high level of prestige and a broad readership among the British people and indeed worldwide, neither enjoys the historical position of *The Times* as a paper operating since 1785. At the same time, since the era of Churchill and Roosevelt, the “special relationship” enjoyed between the people and governments of the United Kingdom and the United States underlined a need for a British paper to be included in the overall project. A British viewpoint was likely to be both highly supportive of the American position, yet also, a distinctively independent voice; after all, the British have long relished their position of being not quite continental European in their way of looking at the world and yet not just an echo of the Americans across the Atlantic. Finally, *The Times* is an extraordinarily well-written paper by any standards, a factor that cannot be understated when exploring rhetorical themes.

When gathering data from *The Times of London*, originally, the intention was to search the LexisNexis database for any leaders relating to the broad notion of “terror” during the first year after 9/11, in order to find any leading article that dealt with terrorism in a broad sense, so that the corpus of data would include any article that had a direct relationship with the events of 9/11. This was the technique originally used for searching editorials from *The New York Times*. It proved in that case to be highly successful, once the search criteria “terror*” was used to encompass “terror” and all its permutations (e.g. “terror,” “terrorist,” “terrorism”), which was broader than “9/11” or “September 11,” or other search terms that were attempted, and ultimately abandoned because of their narrowness. When it was searched for this project, however, the LexisNexis

database did not adequately separate out leaders from other articles appearing in *The Times of London*, it was necessary to search quite broadly. *The Times of London* returns could not be accurately narrowed since returns included pieces broadly referred to by LexisNexis as "Features." At that point, a long list of returns was tagged to capture those that were called "Features," as long as they also showed evidence of relating to "terror." Unfortunately, this process also included pieces that were not leaders, but columns, guest columns, letters to the editor, and a few other specials. Thus, with the long list of qualifying pieces in the "Features" at large category, microfilm of *The Times of London* was searched issue-by-issue to pare down which of these "Features" were actually leading articles. This way, pieces on the tagged list could be conclusively identified as leaders published between 9/12/01 and 9/11/02, and therefore were subjects for this study.

Narrowing the results from that first exhaustive search, 251 editorials comprised the body of material that included the word, "terror," as a full word or root term. As in the previous studies however, this original group of editorials required further narrowing. Though searching for "terror*" did offer the broadest spectrum of results, which was necessary in order to include anything related to 9/11, even during the first days, before "9/11" had even been coined, "terror*" also sometimes included leaders not at all related. In many cases, the "terror*" referred to was terror in Chechnya, Israel/Palestine, Kashmir, the history of IRA terrorism, or other incidents that were not obviously related to the events of 9/11. Reducing this body of material further required five independent raters, four with

backgrounds in descriptive psychology and one with a background in language and rhetoric and all of whom were trained in psycholinguistics as members of the larger research team. Team members read each leader and scored it on a (0-3) scale, with 0 defined as “not related to 9/11,” 1 defined as “little related to 9/11,” 2 defined as “somewhat related to 9/11,” and 3 defined as “most related to 9/11.” Raters' scores of each of the leaders were then averaged to determine an overall value between 0 and 3. Cutting off leaders with values lower than 1.75 to include both those articles that were “most related” and also those that the raters believed were situated somewhere between “most related” and “somewhat related,” 45 editorials, or 17.9% of the 251, were selected as directly related to the events of 9/11. Of these articles, 36 (80.0%) had a value greater than 2.0. Average length of each was 779.7 words per article, but the group included a broad range, from 359 words to 1853 words. At this point, the output of these articles over time was charted, to gauge how the focus of the paper on 9/11 varied throughout the course of the year, and whether or not there were connections between the times of the year that interest spiked and when it declined (e.g. major holidays, 9/11 anniversary, start of the war in Afghanistan, etc.).

Reflective, Prescriptive, Descriptive

Three of the original four independent raters (two of the psychology raters and the language rater—the other had dropped out of the research group for

The Times of London) were then given the complete set of 45 leaders and asked to determine their placement into the reflective, prescriptive, and descriptive categories described by Pollio, et al. (In Press) for *The New York Times* and Stoitsova, et al. (In Press) for *Sega*, based on the definitions developed by the American and Bulgarian research teams. Two of these categories—reflective and prescriptive—first arose during the study on *The New York Times*. It became clear during the process that different editorials were serving different functions for the editorialists—either to reflect on the meaning of 9/11 or to prescribe a course of action the country ought to or ought not to undertake because of 9/11, hence the terms “reflective” and “prescriptive.” But over time, it also became clear that these categories broadly defined how the editorial pages focused on various elements of 9/11 and its aftermath over the course of the year. At that point, the characteristics of reflective and prescriptive articles were identified and defined, and articles were placed in one category or the other.

Reflective editorials tended to have a past-orientation and typically concerned possible ways of thinking about the present event in terms of significant personal and national values. The analysis offered in these editorials frequently provided a particular understanding of 9/11 in terms of its emotional, historical, and social meanings. Reflective editorials were defined as being philosophical, observer-oriented, and story-like in nature. A following excerpt is an example of reflective writing in *The Times*:

Six months ago on Monday, the world caught its breath in shock, disgust and fear, transfixed by the attacks on America. Nothing was known of

the enemy beyond the appallingly, graphically obvious: that these were well-organised terrorists who were ruthlessly contemptuous of life, their own along with that of the civilians trapped with them in the hijacked aircraft and their victims on the ground. They had inflicted unimaginable carnage, deliberately indiscriminate. The attacks revealed, as they were intended to do, the vulnerability not only of the world's greatest power but of every society in which fanatics were at liberty to circulate. It was an attack on freedom itself. ("A World Transformed," 2001)²

By contrast, prescriptive editorials forwarded particular arguments concerning what should, or should not, be done in response to 9/11. Usually, the editorial commented on public figures and governmental activities, or presented alternatives for action concerning the rebuilding of New York, future military actions, and domestic and international public policy. These editorials were defined as being action and participant focused and tended to have a future orientation. The following is an example of prescriptive writing:

Both in and between countries, Mr. Bush's effort to "rally the world" has created unexpected alliances. None is more dramatic, or more significant, than Vladimir Putin's decision that Russia and the US must make common cause, and that "the complete political and ideological isolation" of Islamist terrorists is so vital to its national interests that Moscow must, for now, set to one side Russia's deeply rooted historical suspicions of any external influences penetrating its Central Asian "near abroad." So

² The examples I offer for reflective, prescriptive, and descriptive styles all come from the same leading article, for reasons I will explain below.

far, the relationship has been deftly handled by both parties; Mr. Bush should take exceptional care to ensure that this continues to be so. (“A World Transformed,” 2001)

Finally, the definition of descriptive editorials was developed because of a need that only emerged when *Sega*'s relevant articles were coded. A group of *Sega*'s editorials simply did not fit the parameters of either the reflective or prescriptive categories. What raters repeatedly discussed was that these editorials seemed to be reporting events as much as commenting on them in a reflective or prescriptive way. Since the reporting constituted a description of events, the term “descriptive” was chosen to represent these editorials. Usually, these editorials report a story connected with significant events that happened as a result of measures undertaken by the United States, the United Kingdom or other governments after 9/11. Many of these editorials relate to international reactions of protest or support for the American understanding of the War on Terror. Descriptive editorials are largely informational and provide readers with an opportunity to draw their own conclusions. Descriptive editorializing resembles this:

This military engagement is only one facet of a campaign on many fronts, civil as well as military, to starve international terrorist cells of space, organization and support. But its “demonstration effect” has not been confined to its military dimensions. President Bush, a politician who, like Tony Blair but more unexpectedly, has proved well able to raise his game in response to emergency, has substantiated not only his assertion that

there can be no neutral ground in this fight. He has shown how all governments, including those in the Islamic world, stand to gain by aligning themselves with America to defend civil order against enemies within the gates that many of them had hesitated, out of fear or ideological ambivalence, to confront. ("A World Transformed," 2001)

Unlike results deriving from for *The New York Times* and *Sega*, however, *The Times of London's* leaders proved difficult to categorize into reflective, prescriptive, or descriptive categories. SPSS³ coding was used to evaluate the reflective, prescriptive, and descriptive ratings of these raters. Then the language terms "reflective," "prescriptive," and "descriptive" were translated into numbers (P=1, R=2, D=3) that could be quantified statistically, and then recoded into numerical variables. In terms of a reliability analysis, ideally, Spearman-Brown alpha reliability ratings should be above 0.80, with an acceptable rating over 0.70, noting a high level of reliability across various raters. Both *The New York Times* and *Sega* reached this standard, with *The New York Times* enjoying an interrater reliability rating for reflective, prescriptive, and descriptive leaders of 0.73 and *Sega*, of a very high 0.92. However, the interrater reliability of separating leaders from *The Times of London* into these categories fell far below that ideal with a score of 0.50.

Since the raters in question had previously worked on rating other papers as part of the team (*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *El Mundo*), none of which presented similar problems, a discussion concerning the

³ SPSS, a statistical program, allows researchers to analyze large amounts of numerical data in a variety of ways.

underlying cause for this low level of reliability ensued. The conclusion the group reached was that there was a clear, rhetorical reason why reliability ratings proved too low to maintain these reflective, prescriptive and descriptive definitional categories broadly for *The Times*. As a whole, and as evidenced by “A World Transformed” (2001) excerpted above, leaders from *The Times* are written in a vastly complex style, and what one reader rated as *mostly* reflective, others rated as *mostly* prescriptive or descriptive. In other words, unlike editorials from *The New York Times* or *Sega*, which clearly fell into one of these categories, leaders from *The Times of London* often seemed to fall into *more than one* or *all* of these categories at once, as though the purpose of the leader was to reflect, prescribe, and describe all at once the events at hand, especially as the year progressed. In the case of “A World Transformed,” this was exactly the case: one rater believed the leader was reflective, another felt it was prescriptive, and yet another thought it was descriptive. The fact that it very clearly contains exemplary elements of each category makes it perfectly understandable why readers would categorize it differently. Even in the significant number of cases in which at least 2 of 3 raters ultimately agreed on a category, there was no question that other categories were represented in the article—often strikingly so—especially early in the year, when a great deal of reflection, description, and prescription was happening at once. As a result, separating leaders by definitional category was abandoned in favor of observing that *The Times* published leaders that often represented more than one category (which actually provides a rich environment for rhetorical analysis of themes), and

therefore that gave an acceptable explanation for the low interrater reliability in this area. Given this observation, any subsequent analysis of leaders through these definitional categories would be handled in a more holistic way that allowed each leader to be examined as potentially having multiple purposes, and therefore, not codified simply into one form or another.

Historical References

The next step involved examining the role an understanding of history played in the construction of the leading articles and in the development of an overall meaning for 9/11. The group believed that finding all the historical references in the editorials would provide a substantial grounding for the ways in which the editorialists were thinking about 9/11 as an historical event, one grounded in the long, cultural and historical narrative of the United States specifically, but also of the Western world. If we could track historical precedents the editorials leaned on to develop an understanding of 9/11, we could take a large step toward developing the overall meaning of 9/11 the papers hoped to convey. Historical references would begin to clarify political, social, diplomatic, and military patterns against which to judge the West's behavior in the post-9/11 world. At the same time, historical references could very likely illuminate what historical inspirations the papers wanted their audiences to cling to in times of trouble.

At this point, using the overall coding system developed by the larger research team, all historical references made in the leaders (e.g. Pearl Harbor, Margaret Thatcher, the USS Cole bombing, etc.) were noted by *The Times of London* team leader and one other member of the team. These 156 references included overt references that specifically named historical events or individuals, but also included more subtle references, such as Churchill's noting of the "special relationship" between the United Kingdom and the United States, references to literary figures and quotations from their works, such as Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, or mythological terms, such as the Hydra. After this, references were broken down by whether they appeared during the first six months of the year or the final six months, and also how many appeared in each article over the course of the year, to gauge whether or not there was a difference in the appearance of historical terms over time. Finally, articles having or not having historical references were noted, to help describe *The Times of London's* focus on the importance of history in its attempt to reflect on, describe, or prescribe answers to, 9/11.

These historical references were then grouped into several major categories, if possible (e.g. the Gulf War, the Cold War, World War II, etc.), in consultation with the leader of the overall project. Any reference that had a clear connection to World War II, like "Nazi," for instance, even though the reference itself might not specifically name World War II, was included in the World War II category. By grouping references when possible, finding the historical pattern the editorialists were using became much easier, since sheer

mass implied a level of clear importance. The fact, for instance, that *The Times of London* had so many references in the first place, but also that over a third of those references grouped together quite quickly under seven major categories, implied that *The Times* connected 9/11 very strongly to other historical events. References which could not clearly be coded were kept separate, under the assumption that they might also function as figural terms which would turn up in coding later (which many did), or key parts of thematic structures that might emerge later in the project (which some did), whether or not they were part of clear, historical groups.

Content Categories

With historical references in place, the next step was to track the content of these leaders. Content categories were determined by the team leader in conjunction with the team leader of *The New York Times* study, and also in consultation with the team leader of the *Sega* study, by breaking down each article into its primary, textual features, focusing on the main components of information the articles attempted to relay to their audience. These features represented the topic the leader in question discussed and what evidence or arguments it provided while stating its case. For instance, if the article primarily talked about the UK's response to 9/11, that was its primary textual feature which earmarked it for a specific content category. The leader might also note the role Prime Minister Blair was playing in Western diplomacy or the response of

British Muslims to the attacks. Either of these would constitute a main component of information that the leader was communicating.

Once a first list of textual features was composed, the similarities the leaders exhibited were tracked, and the various leaders themselves separated into groups of articles containing the same, general textual concerns that arose from the leaders. The six groups which emerged were named through terms that appeared in the articles: (1) The Day That Changed the Modern World, (2) With One Voice: We Are All Americans, (3) This Is a Long World War Without Borders: Miles to Go Before They Sleep, (4) Osama bin Laden's Spectre, (5) Intelligent Intelligence, and (6) Standing Shoulder to Shoulder: Implications for the UK. One article from each group was chosen as an exemplar to provide the best example of the textual features of that particular category. Each group was also tracked to chart the output of articles in each category to determine if the concerns developed in each content category remained steady, rose, or fell over the course of the year. By doing this, we hoped to track how the important features of 9/11 changed (if they did) over time. Finally, the distribution and average of historical references was charted by content category to determine which categories provide the richest sources for historical analogies, and which textual themes most lent themselves to historical comparisons.

Salient Figures

Three independent raters were asked to select salient figures of speech (e.g. metaphors, similes, hyperbole, etc.) in each leader to discover what terminology was being coined to describe the events of 9/11 and the post-9/11 world. By finding salient figures, we also were quite likely to find novel figures of speech, or figures that arose directly to depict 9/11 and were entirely new to the language. We believed that through doing this we might be able to find patterns of meaning that were being reflected at the basic word level of written language. All raters had been previously trained to recognize figures for the sister project focusing on *The New York Times*, designed by Pollio, et al. (In Press), using the definitions developed by Pollio, Barlow, Fine and Pollio (1977) to teach raters a broad variety of figurative usage. Once framed, raters independently identified all figures of speech in the 45 leaders from *The Times*; each rater also selected 15 figures from each leader he or she considered to be the most noteworthy, and, therefore, most salient. From these groups of 15 figures chosen from each leader, only those selected by 2 of 3 or 3 of 3 raters were considered for further scrutiny. Trends were identified among the figures of speech that appeared in the leaders by the team leader in consultation with other members of the team (and sometimes others outside the team with previous experience in recognizing and coding figural terms). Certain figures of speech, for instance, clearly were comparing 9/11, and/or its after-effects, to games such as “however fluid the chessboard now,” or scientific reactions such as “unleashing

a corrosive cycle," or even to dramatic motifs such as "centre stage." As groups began to appear, figures of speech were then separated into the 14 categories that emerged from the body of research, establishing the broad figural domains that helped to establish the ways in which figures of speech were being utilized by editorialists to convey specific messages concerning the events of 9/11. The 14 categories were named (1) Civilised World, (2) Language, Literature, and Drama, (3) Characters, (4) Change and Time, (5) Medicine, (6) Games, (7) Science and Engineering, (8) Vision and Shadow, (9) Body, (10) Nautical, (11) Rooting Out and Closing In, (12) Terrain, (13) Responding to Danger, and (14) Natural Disasters.

A final step involved calculating the mean and standard deviation of the number of salient figures per article and then correlating these numbers with the number of words per article to yield a rate of measure. Ideally, this correlation would demonstrate whether or not there was a clear connection to the number of salient figures we gathered from each leader to the number of words in that leader. Through this figure, the team hoped to learn if the impact of salient figures was affected by the length of the text.

Themes

Lastly, a thematic analysis attempting to synthesize the body of information already developed was performed across the 45 leaders. With historical, textual, and figurative categories already in place, each article was

reconsidered in terms of the overall thematic interpretations emerging from previous coding of historical, textual, and figural effects, as well as from a re-reading of the leaders. For instance, since there were historical references to the Cold War, a number of textual discussions reminding readers of successful and disastrous Cold War approaches to problems similar to 9/11, and, finally, a number of metaphors emerging from Cold War events, individuals, or ideology, could we say that there was an overall theme running throughout the leaders that surfaced at least in part from our understanding of the Cold War?

Adapting integrative techniques described by Pollio, Henley and Thompson (1997), thematic analysis focused on discovering patterns of meaning emerging from the description of human experience that appeared in the leaders.

Realizing that as individuals who experienced some part of 9/11 it would only be too easy to impose what we knew to the text, it was necessary to develop a system for evaluating data that helped us to recognize whatever preconceived notions we had about the event, and suspend them from the evaluating process whenever possible. By focusing on the descriptive language of the leaders through a bracketing procedure, it was possible to focus on the descriptions in the leaders themselves instead of imposed theoretical frameworks raters brought to their reading. We could, in that sense, develop our understanding of what was happening in the leading articles of *The Times* by looking at what appeared in *The Times*. The group felt able to approach the meaning that developed from the text because we looked at what was coming out of its content, historical

references, and salient figures, and how they were directing an audience's response.

To be able to do that appropriately, while avoiding imposing meanings onto the text, the team leader for *The Times of London* discussed themes that emerged from the data with the team leader *The New York Times*, along with others, including the team leader for *Sega*, taking a close look at the texts with an eye toward always backing up suppositions with evidence arising directly from the texts. This small, hermeneutic circle of researchers (most of whom were members of the larger research group) seemed to provide an independent, external auditing voice for the process. The result was that I was allowed to present tentative interpretations of the data with which the group could interact, evaluating whether my interpretations were supported by the relevant texts. In the leaders from *The Times* (as well as the other papers in the group), these thematic interpretations were examined not simply to determine the frequency with which certain themes were mentioned, but rather recurring patterns of meaning and how those patterns focused the readers' understanding of the meaning of 9/11 as put forth by the paper, in tandem with the prior examinations of historical, textual, and figural categories.

Each editorial was reexamined after the coding of content, historical references, and salient figures to determine remaining elements in play. First, the content, historical references, and salient figures for each article were reconsidered to discover what elements, if any, appeared throughout these three areas. If a particular element appeared throughout, then it was noted as

a potential theme. If that element lent an additional level of understanding for the entire article by clarifying, enriching, or synthesizing the textual, historical, or figural concerns of the editorial, then it was tagged as a theme. In most instances, this was the case, and themes were derived from the common concerns shared by content, historical references, and salient figures. At the same time, particular attention was paid to elements that appeared in multiple editorials, but that seemed to be speaking specifically to *The Times'* audience. These elements, often visual, theatrical, or pedagogical in nature, appeared to be almost moral-like, or aphoristic, as though this was the nugget of meaning *The Times* hoped the readership would take and consider independently.

Because the team was looking not only at individual texts but also across the body of texts and across the body of data already gleaned, the themes elucidated could adequately describe experiential patterns by linking together separate areas of the texts which exhibited experiential relationships with one another. This part-to-whole approach, including the historical, textual, and figurative data into this process of determining thematic interpretations, led to a highly integrated thematic structure which described experiential patterns and interrelationships among the themes emerging from the leaders.

In the case of the Cold War question noted earlier, for example, the question was not *could* there be a theme, but what was the *meaning* of a Cold War-related theme? For example, a theme did surface that allowed *The Times* both to reference the Cold War as a guide, but also to focus more directly on how this new notion of war after 9/11, waged by entirely new enemies with a

previously unimaginable design of war, was extraordinarily different from the Cold War and all other wars preceding it. Probing the language of the leaders, the group finally decided to use a play on a phrase first used by Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and picked up by *The Times*. The response to 9/11 represented “a new battlefield” and “a different kind of conflict” (“This Is a World War,” 2001), with new enemies and tactics, and even a new concept of the theatre of war. The group decided to call this particular thematic category, that reappeared throughout the leaders, “New War/New Kind of Enemy,” after a term *The Times* coined to describe the difficulties of anticipating the varieties of complications this new approach to waging war would present (“It Won’t Be Quick,” 2001).

Once themes were set, the group felt the need to quantify just how the various parts of the overall thematic structure existed concurrently, so the connections between themes were charted, noting co-occurrences shared by the various themes. Since any one leader could show evidence of more than one theme, each leader's thematic elements were noted. Each time a particular thematic combination occurred (whether individually, or in various groupings), it was listed. At the end of listing all of the themes that appeared in each leader, it was possible to see the thematic combinations which had the strongest links, and which appeared most frequently across the body of leaders. By doing this, it was possible to understand how these themes really worked together to form a coherent, developing whole that provided an overall structure for the leading articles.

At that point, five individual thematic domains—(1) New War/New Kind of Enemy, (2) Duty/Appeasement, (3) Civilised/Uncivilised, (4) Before/After, and (5) Vision/Shadow—were developed into an overall model structure for the leaders, based on the strength of their common links. Themes that often appeared concurrently were grouped near each other in the model, so that a strong connection between those particular themes was visually evident. Since each of the individual themes appeared concurrently with the theme of Civilised/Uncivilised, that theme was given prominence in the model, marking its position as a thematic anchor.

Taken collectively, these interlinked, themes required a ground to complete the frame. The ground of the overall structure was determined by examining how each of the themes was discussed by themselves and in conjunction with others. In this case, the themes gave focus to the ways in which *The Times* seemed to hope its audience would view two specific elements that characterized the experience and meaning of 9/11. First, a concern with *Time* developed as a contextualizing ground given the extraordinary spotlight *The Times* gives to viewing any individual event in its proper temporal context. Indeed, *The Times* takes careful note of the connection it draws between “The Times” (the present), and “Times Past” and “Future.” Time was very much an experiential ground, one that focused on how individuals were living through the events of 9/11 and their aftermath. Secondly, *History* developed as a second ground, one obviously connected to *Time*. With *History*, *The Times* aimed to give individual lived experience a more formalized structure, and *History* became the

means of describing 9/11 as an event happening collectively, one generally acknowledged by civilised institutions. History, therefore, was symbolic of an individual memory of 9/11 being transformed by collective memory that large numbers of people acknowledge, thereby lending that memory a shared meaning across Western culture.

Rhetorical Analysis

Where this particular study takes a step away from the larger group's research on the post-9/11 editorials is in its rhetorical focus on narrative style. Because the core of both the American and Bulgarian research groups is psychological in nature, they chose not to develop the rhetorical implications of their data. My background, however, as a person coming from rhetoric, linguistics, and history, led me to consider more deeply the rhetorical implications the data might support. When the research group for *The New York Times* concurred with Lule's (2002) assertion that the structure of these editorials (specifically reflective editorials) held the form of an epic narrative, we began to look for similar patterns in other sets of editorials. Until we examined *The Times of London*, however, *The New York Times* appeared to be unique in terms of employing a narrative structure. Once *The Times of London* began to show evidence of resembling a drama in much the same way that *The New York Times* resembled an epic, I decided it would be highly instructive to conduct a rhetorical analysis of *The Times of London*.

In addition to the hermeneutic steps outlined previously that follow along the original, psychological framing for the overall project, this study also included a rhetorical analysis of the leaders from *The Times of London*. The analysis focused specifically on the narrative framework, using Burke's Pentad (1969), discussed earlier. The Pentad provides a guide to order the rhetorical setup of the editorials in the paper, demonstrating how the leaders were framed in a dramatic or narrative way, breaking down elements of the paper into the Burkeian categories act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose. These categories help to frame the readers' understanding of events, and therefore provide a story or performance-like narrative for the audience.

Since one research question—*How does language act as both symbolic action and collective therapy in these editorials and how are those two functions interrelated?*—focuses on language as symbolic action and the other—*How do metaphor, memory, and narrative intersect to create meaning?*—focuses on a method of developing meaning through narrative, Burke's ideas seemed an effective way to round out the earlier research that is more psychological in nature. Once the data analysis for *The Times* was finished, I took a closer look at both papers to see whether they matched up with the act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose ratios of the Pentad. With figural and thematic elements already in play, this turned out to be a question of matching figural and thematic elements to various Pentadic ratios. Both papers figurally personified cities, countries, and organizations into agents, as though they were individuals instead of more nebulous groups of people. Both also spent a great deal of time

developing the scene of attack or the scene of battle. Without question, both papers spent a great deal of time describing the acts involved in the attacks and their consequences, even at times going so far as to make them figural actors, as well as defining the purpose of such action and its justifications. Perhaps most interesting, however, was the way in which the papers described agency. In a narrative sense, both papers made figural the many modes of agency at work in the post-9/11 world, for instance, from healing a body to playing a game to picking up President George W. Bush's sense that searching for al-Qaeda was like going on a hunt.

Once various parts of Pentadic elements were identified, the rhetorical analysis basically consisted of simply putting such component parts together as a kind of script with its various motifs and sub-themes, a process that entailed drawing from the historical, textual, figural, and thematic elements that were already part of the research. Characters emerged from discussions of individual agents or of things personified, while plots developed from discussions of acts and the agency through which they were being undertaken, particularly by the West, and the purpose for which they were embarked upon. Finally, scene emerged from visual descriptions appearing in the texts, usually (but not exclusively) associated with acts.

The Elusive Identikit of Terror Is Filling Out

Chapter 3: Results

Overview

Since this project is part of a larger study, progress on the data for *The Times of London* was regularly compared to data previously gathered in other parts of the study. This resulted in a data set that benefited from what the earliest studies in the project gathered. Nevertheless, to a great extent, what each study sought to find was the same, and the search developed in largely the same way.

Completing the project using earlier studies as models provided one very central benefit: the framework of these earlier studies provided the key concepts on which this analysis focused by cross-referencing several varieties of data. Historical references tracked the way *The Times* used history to bolster a point. Content categories traced the reporting of the news *The Times* highlighted in its leaders over the course of a year. Novel figures of speech underscored the way *The Times* chose to characterize 9/11 at a very basic discourse level. And themes allowed for the possibility of synthesizing textual, historical, and figural data into coherent interpretations of how to understand the events of the period. These four parts of the study illuminated the view that *The Times* took when underlining the meaning of 9/11. Each area yielded strong data with a variety of topics for study on its own. Taken together, this data yielded

something a bit more intriguing—strings of data that appeared to be traveling through multiple sets.

For instance, after September 11, the notions that we had been tempered by fire and changed, or that 9/11 was a turning point in history, representing a change in our sense of time, emerged not only in figures of speech. They also emerged in direct comparisons to historical references, such as Pearl Harbor or the adoption of the Truman Doctrine in response to the spread of Soviet communism.¹ At the same time, however, this change in our sense of history also made a clear impression in the textual concerns of *The Times*. Several articles argued that 9/11 was “the day that changed the modern world” to the extent that 9/11 marked a change in all manner of daily life, politics, economics, and culture. Finally, this change in our sense of time emerged as a way for *The Times* to frame our point of view of events as those happening before or those that could only happen after 9/11, or even more precisely, the way we understand that certain events *must* happen after 9/11.

As more and more results came in, it became apparent that the more a feature turned up in the various data, the more certain it was that *The Times* was using that feature as a critical means for understanding 9/11 and its aftermath. These cross-referencing features acted as the bedrock for anchoring each of the

¹ Pearl Harbor is more specifically linked to the notion of our being “tempered by fire and changed” through 9/11, in the sense that the attack on Pearl Harbor involved a bombing, but also that it marked the entry of the United States into World War II, just as 9/11 marked an aerial attack and an entry into the War on Terror. The sense of the events of 9/11 as a “turning point in history,” meanwhile, linked up with the notion of the Truman Doctrine as an endeavor by the West to fight, in part, the spread of an ideology, just as the 9/11 and the subsequent War on Terror spurred an effort to fight, in part, the spread of Islamic fundamentalism.

data sets, providing critical links between categories, and therefore, the critical links *The Times* chose to draw between 9/11 and its place in the larger sweep of historical time and in the cultural milieu of the West. Subsequently, in many cases, these features became key figures in a rhetorical analysis, providing crucial connections between present data and Burke's Pentad.

The earliest step involved distinguishing a body of articles most related to 9/11 from the larger group of 251 articles immediately identified as having something to do with the broad notion of terror. The group of 45 leaders that ended up comprising the main body of data surprised us in a number of ways. First of all, simply because given the size of the original sample, we expected a larger number of 9/11-specific leaders. Upon reexamination, the most common trait of these leading articles began to emerge: *The Times of London* produces leaders that are complex, laden with historical and metaphorical figures that ask the audience to connect whatever the subject of that particular leader is to other subjects, both historical and current. So quite often, "terror" was a secondary concern of a leader that was more concerned, for example, with Chechnya or the Middle East, without necessarily being directly related to 9/11, even though the constructed spectre of 9/11 was evident. Once these leading articles were charted across time, the shape of the curve revealed that the frequency of output of these 45 leading articles (see Figure 1) over the course of the year was highly front-loaded, with the vast majority (36 of 45) of these leaders appearing in the first two months after 9/11.

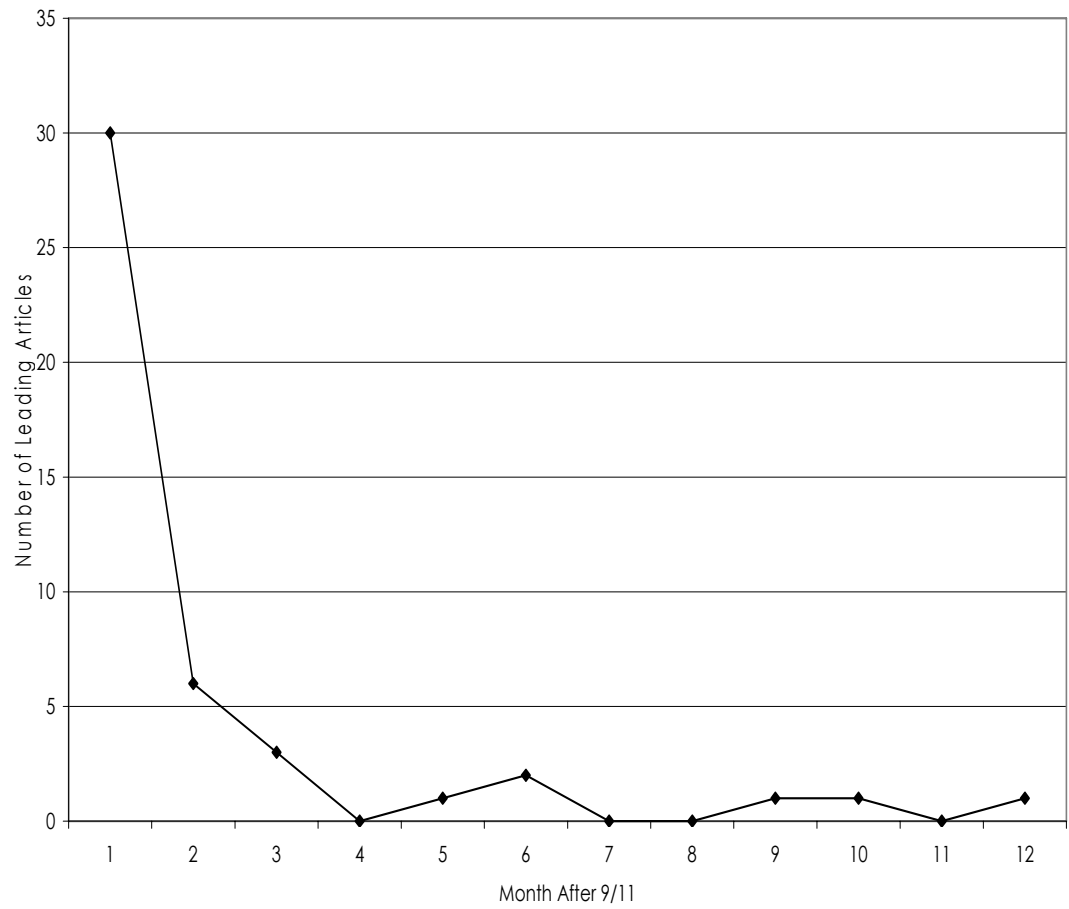


Figure 1. Frequency of Output of Leading Articles for *The Times of London*

During this two-month span, the 9/11 attacks themselves are discussed, and also the first major phase of the conflict in Afghanistan takes place. The remainder of the leaders generally revolve around three main themes: (1) an on-going need to develop an effective intelligence and security apparatus to protect citizens and interests throughout the world (Leaders 37, 43 and 44); (2) a reflective instinct that asks the audience to reassess the meaning of 9/11 given what we know at a given point in time (Leaders 38, 41 and 45); and (3) concerns regarding the end of the conflict in Afghanistan as well as a combination of elements from the other two groups (Leaders 39 and 42). The remaining leader (40) concerns problems arising in developing a memorial to firemen in New York City.

Reflective, Prescriptive, Descriptive

Once it was clear that the alpha value assessing the interrater reliability of the reflective (story-like reflections on the meaning of 9/11), prescriptive (policy-oriented prescriptions for what ought to be done in response to 9/11), or descriptive (describing or summarizing events surrounding 9/11 in terms of "what we know so far") character of the leaders was very low, at 0.50, a concern arose over whether or not to develop that part of the analysis further. The first step in making that decision involved determining what data we had. In terms of numbers, as Table 1 demonstrates, the reflective, prescriptive, or descriptive characterizations of 30 articles was agreed on by all three readers, with another

Table 1. Rates of Editorial Appearances by Reflective, Prescriptive, or Descriptive Type

	Reflective	Prescriptive	Descriptive	Uncategorizable
3/3 Readers	5	26	0	N/A
2/3 Readers	1 (d) 1 (p)	7 (d)	3 (p)	N/A
Totals	7	33	3	2
Percentages	15.6%	73.3%	6.7%	4.4%

10 agreed on by 2 of 3 readers, leaving only 5% of articles uncategorizable. However, the numbers fail to present a clear picture of these ratings. On discussion, each rater expressed the difficulty with which he or she chose a category—a problem far less prevalent during comparable ratings for *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, or *El Mundo*. For many leaders, in fact, raters were willing to change their original rating to match up with other raters. But despite the convenience of having the alpha value rise, ultimately, it was decided that sacrificing a higher alpha value for a broader discussion of the rhetorical qualities of the leaders that led to the difficulties in making the reflective, prescriptive, and descriptive distinctions was a preferable option.

Content of Leading Articles

After delineating how leading articles fell into the reflective, prescriptive, and descriptive categories, a next step toward understanding how *The Times of London* became aware of the meaning of 9/11 rests in a description of the content the paper's editorial writers decided to cover. Overall, each of the 45 leading articles fell into 1 of 6 categories. Figure 2 provides a clear accounting of the textual interests of each of these categories. Each leader is listed by category in terms of its position in the set of 45, and then is followed by a brief description. Exemplary articles that provide the best examples of textual frames and constituent features for each category are in bold.

These categories represent the major subjects *The Times* developed over the course of the year, and the titles of these categories emerge from the language of *The Times*. More importantly, these six categories represent a first glance at what topics *The Times* felt were important enough to cover in extended depth. The first two categories, *The Day That Changed the Modern World* (Category A) and *With One Voice: We Are All Americans* (Category B), both discuss 9/11, its overall meaning in the sweep of history, and the powerful possibilities it has given the world (especially the West) for banding together in a post-Cold War era. The real difference between the two categories lies in their framing focus: Category A observes that 9/11 symbolizes an irrevocable change, a rift in time, while Category B notes that 9/11 represents a unique

Category A: The Day That Changed the Modern World

1) 9/11 is the day that changed the modern world

25) Universal gaze has turned towards New York—Statesmen today are blinded by the explosions in America—Life will not return to normal until their vision is restored

41) World is transformed—Decisions yet to come will be immeasurably harder

45) Hands on clock have barely moved since 9/11—Legacy of 9/11 rests in three theatres (America's relationship with the rest of the world; Islam's attitude toward the remainder of humanity; and the central structure of the international system itself)—Innocence and indulgence ended on 9/11

Category B: With One Voice: We Are All Americans

2) We are all Americans—9/11 assaults are an attack upon all—Tragedy for America could be a turning point for the world—Instinctive global coming together in solidarity with the dead—America can build on and sustain that sympathy

3) The world must reject terror with one voice—9/11 was never an American catastrophe but the world's—There is no middle way between the terrorism of 9/11 and the free world

12) Never before has the world felt itself to be such a global village—Terrorism is a leveler—World waits for dust to settle

33) Send a message understood by millions—Voicing America's and world's contempt for the terrorists—New York rally is a massive and modern defiance

Category C: This is a Long World War Without Borders: Miles to Go Before We Sleep

4) History demands we not shirk this slow, deliberate test of strength—Make the price of terrorism unbearable

5) This is a world war—Americans must temper use of force with shrewdness—We must refuse to let 9/11 push country into recession—War is a new battlefield and a different kind of conflict

6) Mount the leadership campaign against invisible enemy without borders

7) Pakistan is in grim political position—Sheltering terrorism means facing penalties—continued sheltering of terrorism will hasten the isolation and disintegration of Pakistan

8) We must act with speed not haste—America's reach needs to be equally long as the terrorists'—West must outmatch the terrorists in having the will to prevail

9) Businesses are economic victims of terrorism—Governments must move to limit the damage triggered by 9/11 on markets—Economic cavalry needed from US and Europe

14) Financial crisis means snatching defeat from the jaws of any military victory—Collapse of World Trade Center should not mean collapse of world trade

15) This is a long war with decade as timeframe—US and allies must convince everyone that the world is utterly changed—This war is an ambitious campaign waged the world over—Mobilisation is gathering pace

18) It won't be quick—This war defies traditional response to attack—Now is a time for steady nerves and precise actions

19) Place layer upon layer of global support on NATO core and the other close allies

20) Pragmatic layering of decisions needed to cooperate flexibly—War script must constantly be rewritten

28) Nerve needed to break cycle of Middle East from feeding on fear

30) There can be no backing away—Afghanistan is one corner of a worldwide canvas

Figure 2. Leading Articles from *The Times of London* Categorized by Content

- 31) Need to keep resolve to win battle for public opinion, not just military battle—We must ignore defeatist chorus at home
- 38) This does not feel like war—This struggle is frustrating for civilians because there cannot be a clearcut military victory, and because it is so much less clear what individuals can do—September 11 has put Americans back in touch with that “date which will live in infamy”
- 39) We must win the peace—There can be no premature embrace of an illusory peace—The military has miles to go before they are spared to carry blankets
- 40) al-Qaeda may base its specious philosophies on racial lines but Americans should be colour-blind—Injustice being done to this uniquely courageous urban army becomes clearer if one tries to reverse the ethnic model
- 42) US must not feel constrained to act by the concerns of others but would still work best in concert with a coalition—Thwarting threats of “mass terror” has become the absolute essence of American foreign policy

Category D: Intelligent Intelligence

- 10) Air safety is an immediate concern
- 22) Intelligence is badly needed and the most deadly new weapon the West can have
- 32) Airport insecurity is still the norm
- 37) Crash in suburban New York will reinforce sense of vulnerability—We must look again at airline and airport security—This crash will challenge America’s leadership—We are only now returning to normal life
- 43) Intelligent intelligence is badly needed**—We need to rethink our means of gathering intelligence if it is to be effective
- 44) Security means expect the unexpected, maintain vigilance

Category E: Osama bin Laden’s Spectre

- 16) bin Laden is Taleban’s official guest—Taleban is playing out deadly farce—Their behavior underscores the utter necessity of this unwelcome war
- 21) Tourniquet is tightening on bin Laden/Taleban
- 26) bin Laden/Taleban are Afghanistan’s bane
- 29) Not a war in which you can negotiate—Osama bin Laden is an Ian Fleming-like villain**
- 35) bin Laden’s spectre of nuclear terrorism hanging over world

Category F: Standing Shoulder to Shoulder: Implications for the UK

- 11) Terror is growing in the West—We need Patriot Act-type measures in the UK—Terrorism should have no hiding place
- 13) Britain should not extinguish all signs of normal political life
- 17) Britain girds against present danger—We must find the proper balance between standing shoulder to shoulder abroad and thwarting sleeper cells at home in the UK**
- 23) Find balance between determined deployments against terrorists abroad versus desperate confusion at home—London is the terrorist haven of Western world

Figure 2, Continued.

- 24) How do we defend the UK?— We should take every reasonable precaution and some that would be considered unreasonable in normal times
- 27) Fatwa on terror is needed from British Muslims to stand up and say that terror is not the way of Islam and make their revulsion explicit —West has no quarrel with Islam
- 34) Battle does not have a finite point—Blair fully committed to phase one, but future phases must be preceded by process of deliberation and consultation
- 36) Blair's shuttle diplomacy designed to forge new community of nations

Figure 2. Continued.

chance for the civilised world to show solidarity and transform America's "tragedy" into a turning point for the world.

The third, and largest, category, *This Is a Long World War Without Borders: Miles to Go Before We Sleep* (Category C), focuses on the War on Terror, how it is being waged, as well as how it should be waged. With special focus on the broad, hard-to-define nature of the conflict, these leading articles pay particular attention to the War's effect on financial sectors and specific nations, the importance of international public opinion towards it, and the duty the Americans and NATO allies have to wage it. At the same time, this category, perhaps more than any other, epitomized the struggle raters had in judging the difference between reflective, prescriptive, and descriptive categories. Though the content of these leaders was often very prescriptive, the tone often tended toward the reflective or emotional, particularly when the paper reminded readers of the West's duty to fight this war.

The fourth category, *Intelligent Intelligence* (Category D), deals exclusively with the premium placed on intelligence in this new war by reacting to the fact that the West was caught brutally unprepared on 9/11. Highly prescriptive and

demanding that the West must be savvy about how it gathers intelligence, not depending too much on any one source or method, Category D's last appearance concentrates on the importance of maintaining vigilance despite reaching the end of the war in Afghanistan.

The fifth category, *Osama bin Laden's Spectre* (Category E), begins to profile bin Laden and his sympathizers in the Taleban regime and elsewhere, developing his seemingly larger-than-life qualities, identifying him as the kind of villain Ian Fleming might have created as a foil for super agent James Bond. Category E, however, also calls into question the nature of the Taleban regime, labeling its behavior in the period between 9/11 and the beginning of the war as farcical as well as menacing.

The sixth, and final, category, *Standing Shoulder to Shoulder: Implications for the UK* (Category F), asks the same question all Western democracies did after 9/11—what does 9/11 mean for us? In the case of the UK, of course, the Prime Minister's promise to "stand shoulder to shoulder" with the United States throughout the War on Terror lent that question special importance in *The Times*. As a result, Category F took pains to describe what was needed from the British government and its citizens to fulfill duties at home and abroad while carefully balancing the tensions between freedom and privacy on the one hand and secrecy and security on the other.

Table 2 presents a tracking of the appearance of each of the content categories throughout the entire corpus, with groups I-IV representing the first 11 leaders (I), second 11 (II), next 11 (III), and the final 12 (IV). The purpose of this

Table 2. Frequency of Content Categories Across Time

	I 1-11 9/12/01- 9/19/01	II 12-22 9/19/01- 9/28/01	III 23-33 9/29/01- 10/22/01	IV 34-45 10/25/01- 9/11/02	Totals
Category A: The Day That Changed the Modern World	1	0	1	2	4
Category B: With One Voice	2	1	1	0	4
Category C: This Is a Long World War	6	5	3	4	18
Category D: Intelligent Intelligence	1	1	1	3	6
Category E: Osama bin Laden's Spectre	0	2	2	1	5
Category F: Standing Shoulder to Shoulder	1	2	3	2	7

analysis was to see whether or not there were clear trends in the concerns of the editorialists at given times throughout the year, and to see whether those trends (if indeed they existed) were consistent with the political and social decisions being made at the time. *The Day That Changed the Modern World* and *With One Voice*, although low in absolute number, seemed to appear more or less evenly throughout the year, particularly when taken in tandem. Feelings of international camaraderie (*With One Voice*) were slightly more important immediately after 9/11, and the feeling of a rift or stoppage in time appeared nearer to the end of the year, when the impetus to move forward, away from the events of 9/11 themselves, had slightly greater value.

As the largest category of articles, *This Is a Long World War* tracks right through the entire course of the year, without many significant gaps in the corpus, though once the war in Afghanistan ends, the focus clearly shifts away from thoughts of war. At the same time, *bin Laden's Spectre*, concentrating solely on bin Laden and his Taleban allies, reveals a surge during the middle of the corpus, particularly as the war in Afghanistan ends and the hunt for bin Laden and other al-Qaeda leaders picks up.

Intelligent Intelligence and *Standing Shoulder to Shoulder*, which focus most of all on long-term policy concerns, emerge most strongly when the need for changes or redefinitions in policy becomes more imperative. Looking at the intelligence apparatus, *Intelligent Intelligence* turns up briefly at the beginning of the year, when 9/11 first happens with no warning. Not unsurprisingly, *Intelligent Intelligence* emerges in full force only after the initial shock of the day died down and voices throughout the West began to ask the question, How could 9/11 happen? Similarly, as the shock and sympathy of the British people and government began to shift towards a policy of close and continuing work with the United States and others during the war in Afghanistan and the subsequent hunt for bin Laden, *Standing Shoulder to Shoulder* emerges. It remains a concern of the editorialists through the end of the year, after the war in Afghanistan had for the most part ended, and the truly long-term national and foreign policy concerns began to take shape.

Historical References

The first point at which the leading articles in *The Times of London* make a truly radical departure from their counterparts in the reflective articles from *The New York Times* comes with the enormous attention the writers in London pay to historical precedent. As shown in Figure 3, *The Times of London* included 160 historical references in the 45 leading articles, including 35 articles with references and 10 without references. Also of note are the large spikes in the number of references in articles 1, 5, 29, 31, and 38. Though the first four articles are rather long—over 1,000 words in each—article 38 is below mean length, with only 519 words. Article 1 deals directly with the 9/11 attacks, and with 15 historical references, makes a strong attempt to connect these attacks with some previous experience in whatever ways are possible, even if these connections, by admission, come up short. Article 5 builds the case for war in Afghanistan, paying close attention to the history of war in the region as well as to the laws of warfare, to define the right to go to war and to describe potential strategy. Article 29 develops an understanding of Osama bin Laden and the American and British attempt to capture him, while also taking a closer look at how the “special relationship” between the US and UK since the days of Roosevelt and Churchill is playing out in this new conflict. Article 31 presents the case for continued vigilance and war-time footing, despite the fact that the ground war in Afghanistan is ending. Article 38, falling on December 7, is a direct comparison between the effects the attacks on Pearl Harbor on December 7,

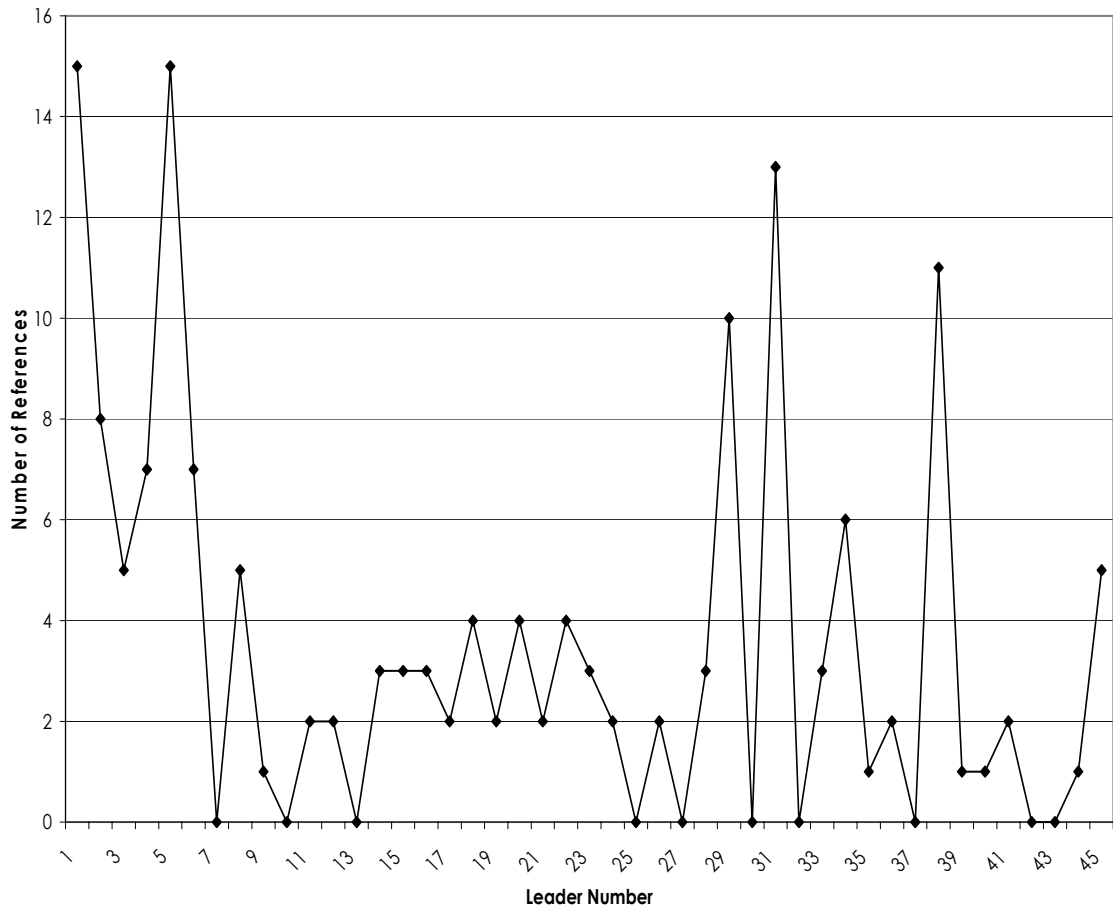


Figure 3. Historical References in *The Times of London*

1941 and on New York City, Washington, D.C., and rural Pennsylvania on September 11, 2001 had on the American consciousness.

No historical references occur in articles 7, 10, 13, 25, 27, 30, 32, 37, 42 and 43. In each of these cases, the articles are rather short, but the overriding factor appears to be contextual rather than simple length. These articles fall into one of three categories: how modern Islam and Islamic nations must respond now (7, 27); how the West must respond now (13, 25, 30, 42); and how we must secure our future now (10, 32, 37, 43). In each case, the focus lies in a decision that must be made or in a policy that must be changed immediately in which the correct mode of action is so obvious to the editorialists that there is no need to dwell in the past to understand the choice. The leading articles of this group are usually short and clear and discuss post-9/11 concerns such as air safety or intelligence, usually noting on a basic level that we need tighter air safety or better intelligence. The articles with more historical references usually discuss issues that are more complicated, or at least that are presented in a far more complicated and extensive manner, in which the paper feels a clear need to justify the position that it takes.

More important than individual numbers, however, is the simple fact that *The Times of London* presents a strongly historicized account of 9/11 and its aftermath. In this sense, there is a contrast to its counterparts in other parts of the world. The Bulgarian daily, *Sega*, which published 43 editorials, for instance, only made 29 historical references (Stoitsova, et al., In Press). *The New York Times*, publishing 20 reflective articles and 79 prescriptive articles, produced 94 total

references, with another 6 references noted, but debatable (Pollio, et al., In Press). To be sure, since a decision was made during the gathering of references to collect any possible historical reference, the total number might ultimately be somewhat inflated. Nevertheless, *The Times of London's* 160 historical references, by the calculus of simply comparing the three papers to each other, is quite different. While the New York writers of the 20 reflective editorials with which this current study is most linked are largely focused on the current moment, concerned as they are with healing their city and citizens, and using only 4 historical references, the writers in London place greater importance in connecting 9/11 to the past, as well as in considering its importance for present and future decision-making.

Considering the number of historical references in *The Times of London*, examining the eras and topics they repeatedly referred to is pivotal to understand how history was being used. Pointedly, as shown in Table 3, *The Times* relied on the history of the modern period, primarily drawing on the examples from the post-World War II era. Though the Ancient and Pre-World War II eras² received attention, *The Times* clearly did not use them as frequently as references to the post-9/11 era. Only references to the ancient, mythical Hydra stand out as significant in addition to these two time periods. While the number of entries for the World War II era (24) seems low compared to the number of references used from later in the 20th century, these references take on a slightly

² References from the Ancient period included examples such as Psalms, Jeremiah, ancient Rome, or Greek mythology; while references from the Pre-World War II period included examples such as the Enlightenment, the Thirty Years' War, the Barbary States, or Shakespeare.

Table 3. Historical Eras Represented

Historical Era	Appearances	Percent
Ancient to Middle Ages	8	5%
Pre-World War II	21	13%
World War II	24	15%
Post-World War II to 9/11	107	67%

different meaning when one considers that *The Times* places so great an emphasis on the 12-year period comprising the World War II era, compared to the decades and centuries comprising each of the other three periods.

At this point, it was necessary to determine which specific historical events *The Times* chose to relate to 9/11 and its aftermath. When viewed by group in Table 4, the World War II era references (with the sub-group, Pearl Harbor, which notably shows up 11 times on its own, the most of any single event that fell into a larger category) becomes a far stronger source of history for *The Times*, providing the largest number of references if taken by group. At the same time, the collection of the First Gulf War, the Cold War, previous terrorist attacks for which the al-Qaeda organization was culpable, and the very recent, European, and NATO-led Kosovo campaign demonstrates the importance of the post-World War II era in *The Times'* understanding of how the West should deal with al-Qaeda after 9/11.

Table 4. Specific Historical References by Group = ≥ 3

Historical Reference	Appearances
World War II	24
Pearl Harbor	10
Gulf War/Kuwait	16
Cold War	10
JFK/Cuban Missile Crisis	3
Kenya/Tanzania Bombings	6
USS Cole Bombings	3
Kosovo	3
Hydra	3

Table 5, meanwhile, provides a broader understanding for the kinds of events *The Times* dealt with to provide an historical framework for understanding the 9/11 age. Largely pointed towards World War II through contemporary times, only three references to the Hydra and two references to the Thirty Years' War stand out in the historical timeline *The Times* develops. The remaining examples for the most part fall under the categories outlined in Table 4, with World War II, the Gulf War, the Cold War, Kosovo, and previous al-Qaeda events represents again in large numbers.

Table 5. Historical References by Category = ≥2

Historical Reference	Appearances
Gulf War/Kuwait	16
Pearl Harbor	10
Kenya/Tanzania Bombings	6
Cold War	4
World War II	3
JFK/Cuban Missile Crisis	3
USS Cole Bombing	3
Kosovo	3
Hydra	3
Franklin D. Roosevelt	2
Bill Clinton's decision not to take Osama bin Laden (1998)	2
Margaret Thatcher (Relationship with Ronald Reagan during the bombing of Libya in response to 1986 Berlin bombing and Gulf War alliance with George Bush)	2
Ronald Reagan (1986 bombing of Libya)	2
Vietnam Conflict	2
George H. W. Bush (41)	2
Chechnya	2
Masood Assassination	2
Israeli/Palestinian Conflict	2
Slobodan Milosevic	2
Nazis	2
Thirty Years' War	2

In Figure 4, the number of historical references is tracked across the various content categories, in order to help describe the kinds of content most related to the use of historical citation. In *The Day That Changed the Modern World*, *With One Voice*, and *This Is a Long World War*, historical references appear quite often, and at relatively the same frequency. *Intelligent Intelligence* also shows a fairly high frequency of historical references. But in *Standing Shoulder to Shoulder*, there is a clear drop, and with bin Laden's *Spectre*, the appearance of historical references is less than 1 per article.

What Figure 4 reinforces is the strength of the links between historical references and content categories. In the report on content categories, it was noted that *The Day That Changed the Modern World* proposes that 9/11 represents a rift in history. At the same time, *With One Voice* encourages a post-9/11 solidarity in the historically-allied West. In both cases, *The Times* clearly orients commentary historically, drawing on common threads of Western socio-cultural, political, and religious history to answer why this time and this war are truly different and why the nations of the West must join together to survive. *This Is a Long World War* and *Intelligent Intelligence*, meanwhile, lay the groundwork for a War on Terror—a war on a tactic and an emotion, as opposed to a war on a country or group of countries. This treatment demands some historical precedent to make that case effectively, and demonstrate how the traditional rules of engagement have been adapted in similar cases. But, even bin Laden's *Spectre*, drawing a profile of bin Laden and the Taliban, and *Standing Shoulder to Shoulder*, reporting the questions the British have about their lives in the post-

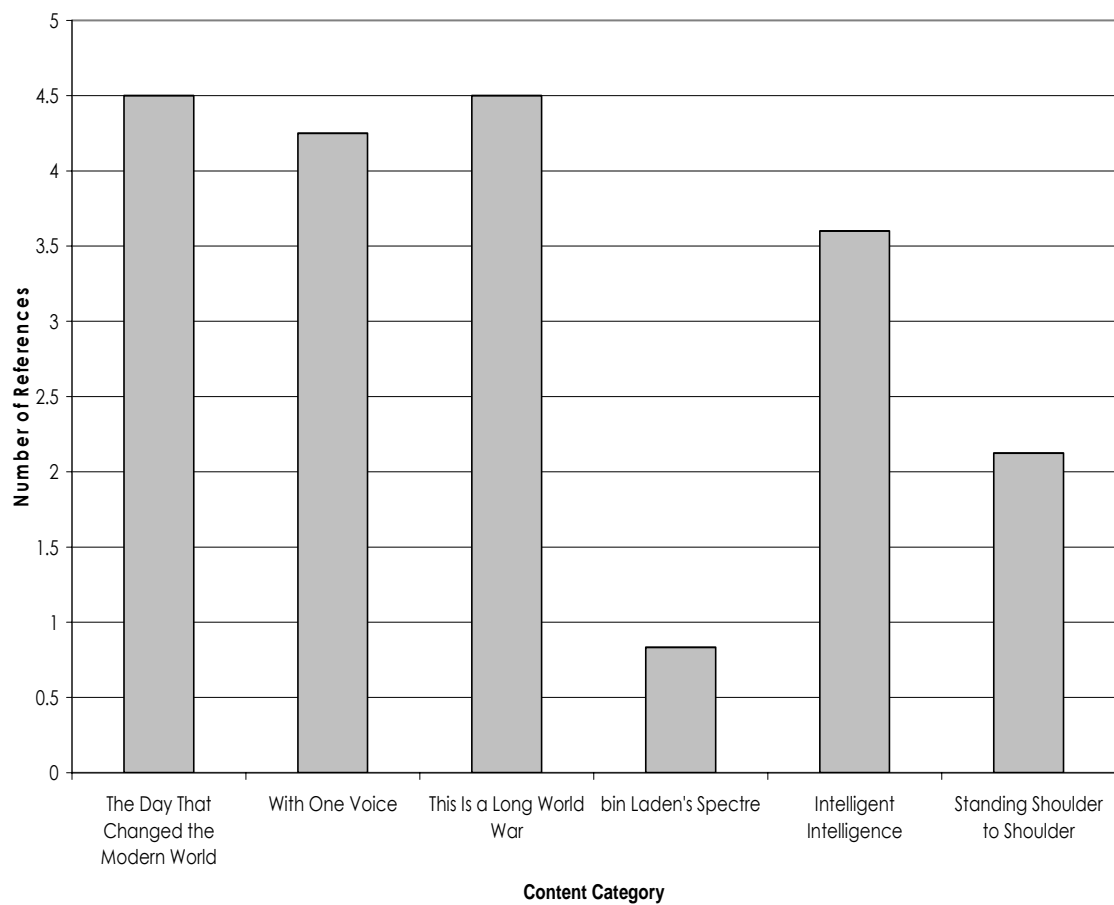


Figure 4. Average Historical References per Article by Content Category

9/11 world, have to rely on history to make the profile complete and the reporting accurate, largely because decisions concerning present policy issues must be made within the context of the actions and orientation of the past.

Salient Figures

Once raters selected the figures of speech, those that were chosen by 2 of 3 raters as most salient for each of the leading articles were then compiled into a single list. Overall, 543 figures were identified as salient, with a mean value of 12.06 salient figures (SD=1.97) per editorial. Because editorials were of unequal length, ranging from a high of 1853 words for Leader 45 to a low of 359 for Leader 12, with a mean length of 779.71 words (SD=388.17) per article, the relationship between the number of salient figures chosen by raters and the number of words per leading article was correlated. The value for this correlation was $r(43)=-0.59$; ($p<0.1$), suggesting that as the length of the article increased, the likelihood of finding salient figures decreased. This is possibly the result of cutting off the number of figures the raters chose at 15, favoring the shorter article, instead of raising the limit, which might have favored longer articles.

The more important results, however, are related to the figurative domains that emerged out of the leading articles and how they organize themselves into distinct categories. Overall, there were 14 figural categories, several of which

were interrelated. Table 6 lists the 14 categories of salient figures that emerged from the data along with their total number of appearances in the body of articles. All of the 543 salient figures that emerged from the data were able to be coded into one of these 14 categories. Note that these totals sometimes include the same figure twice. For example, "tempered by fire and changed" is counted both in Category 4 and 7 because it is both a metaphor representing change and also the reactive properties of heat.

Category 1, Civilised World, was defined by making distinctions of modern/primitive, West/East, democratic/theocratic, and good/evil, as well as having an underlying purpose of calling the modern, democratic West (and countries elsewhere choosing to identify with it) to its honorable duty to defend itself from a primitive, theocratic evil coming from the East. Arguing that the 9/11 terrorists envisioned a world "ruled by theocratic thuggery," the post-9/11 "conflict without front lines" was being waged to "restore moral authority" in the world, by confronting the "core of tensions between civilizations" of "fanaticism versus freedom" and "tak[ing] up the cudgels against fear." While the Islamist "enemy was shorn of scruples" and "sworn to shred the fabric of freedom," America was "freedom's home," and justice was "civilisation's most potent weapon" in this "stand against [the] terrorist menace" in which the "world divides into two camps."

Table 6. Categories of Salient Figures by Total Number of Appearances

#	Figural Categories	Total Appearances
1	Civilised World	96
2	Language, Literature, Drama	79
3	Characters	74
4	Change and Time	55
5	Medicine	48
6	Games	44
7	Science and Engineering	43
8	Vision and Shadow	43
9	Body	33
10	Nautical	21
11	Rooting Out and Closing In	18
12	Terrain	18
13	Responding to Danger	17
14	Natural Disaster	10

In Category 2, Language, Literature, and Drama, the focus of the figures is not quite so clearly intended to rouse the public as are the metaphorical terms in Category 1. The implied directives of the category, however, replicate many of the foundations of western literary, rhetorical, and dramatic thinking. From the ancient rhetorical stance that a statesman who could use language well was also a good model for citizens, the leaders take note that before 9/11 the “President use[d] words like pieces of wood,” but became a more effective and attractive leader once he “found his voice and hit his stride.” At the same time, the articles underscore the importance of narrative frameworks in our ability to understand the world around us, noting that world leaders are actors “in a drama whose first act is unfolding,” even as the “Taleban is playing out a deadly farce.” Meanwhile, language plays a central role in how the War on Terror must be fought, since “careless language costs lives” and the West must work hard to “dispel absurd conspiracy theories circulating” and “hone the rhetoric of readiness.” Finally, this category allows *The Times* to allude to literary figures themselves, providing ever-important links from what we already understand to what we are desperately trying to learn. *The Times* asks that we shake the Shakespearean impulse to “call spirits from the dusty deep” in an effort against a villain “straight out of an Ian Fleming story,” in order not to be “overcome by the same jaundice as Jeremiah” as the “bells tolled” for the victims of the attack from the “enemy within the gates.”

In much the same way, the main thrust of Category 3, Characters, reflects the literary and rhetorical complexity *The Times* brings to these articles. Given the

extensive number of figures used to conjure a dramatic sensibility in Category 2, Category 3 develops a highly personified notion of the various world leaders (and bodies) in the forefront of the post-9/11 world, picking up on the notion that world leaders are actors in a “drama.” To a great extent, the Prime Minister starts this figuring process, assuring Americans early on that the British are “standing shoulder to shoulder” with their American allies. In that sense, “Britain has shown a deft hand and a resolute eye” as the “West plans retaliation,” and “America is crouched,” while the “Taleban hurls defiance.” As the al-Qaeda “terrorist Hydra” survives in some form after the initial attack on Afghanistan, *The Times* becomes more concerned about a shift in the “American national mood” and “America’s will.” Still, it is quite proud of “Britain’s solidarity” with the States even though “Britain is as alone as after the fall of France,” while “Europe’s solidarity with the United States melts into nothing.”

Taking a turn less involved with the narrative elements of the 9/11 story, Category 4, Change and Time, deals exclusively with 9/11 as a rift in history, a point at which the world is “tempered by fire and changed” and there is “no going back to life before.” All our assumptions “turn upside down,” as our “old habits” and “laxity of the past” become “glorious mundanity” in the “abomination’s wake.” In this way, “September 11 shattered [our] innocence.” The “world caught its breath in shock” in the “transformative moment” of this “new kind of war” against a “new kind of enemy” that ushered in an era of “permanent vigilance” which “swept every issue from the agenda” other than the War on Terror.

At first glance Category 5, Medicine, should resemble some of the most important work *The New York Times* is doing with its metaphors of healing. Here, the British do deal with the healing necessary in New York and America, and indeed across the collective, Western psyche, noting that the “desire to restore life to the city” was key to helping “economic victims of terrorism” and “halt the collapse of the world economy.” At the same time, the “tragic side effect of the attack on America” was strong enough that it is necessary to “lift the malaise hanging over Western cities” and “restore the lifeblood of democracy,” while “reviving something of New York’s bruised zest and gusto.” The British take is also partly a commentary on the features of a successful prosecuting of the War on Terror. In a war without obvious enemies, there is “pressure to alleviate the root causes of terrorism” while at the same time avoiding “political headaches” that are part of the cause of the “psychological blow struck by the terrorists.” The answer lies in “surgical strikes” against terrorist “cells” that are “spawning” in the “festering troubles of the Middle East” in order to “eradicat[e] the menace” of terrorist regimes.

In a related sense, Games, Category 6, speaks to the skills necessary for winning a war. First comes the warning that the West “must not shirk this slow, deliberate test of strength” despite the fact that the enemy does not “play by the book,” and instead must deliver a “riposte to the carnage visited on America.” This war is a “marathon effort to rid the world of terrorist cells,” and “however fluid the chessboard now,” the “diplomatic footwork” the West displays will be vital when the world is “speculating on the war against terrorism.”

Addressing the power sources of the conflict, the ferocity of the anticipated conflagration, and the crucial speed in building an effective anti-terror response is Category 7, Science and Engineering. The events of 9/11 were “scorched into the collective consciousness” by a “true bolt from the blue” that brought about a “wave of emergency legislation.” As a result, the “deadly force of the express train bearing down” on the terrorists was a measure of the “diplomatic momentum.” Nevertheless, it would be prudent not to pour “fuel on flames of Islamic fundamentalism,” but instead to “galvanise public opinion” in the Middle East and elsewhere, “build[ing] a military coalition” that allows a “pragmatic layering of decisions” to “dismantle” the “apparatus of terror.”

Category 8, Vision and Shadow, takes a different tack, aiming to describe al-Qaeda and its many lairs as well as reflecting on the scene of greatest shock in New York. So as the “flush of horrified sympathy fades” it becomes clear that “terrorism should have no hiding place” and no “muddied” or “fuzzy policies” should allow the terrorists to “melt [sic] into the shadows.” *The Times* compliments the Blair government in the days after the attacks, noting that as the “elusive identikit of terror is filling out,” Britain has shown a “clear-sighted resolve.” But, that to “uncover the network that made London the terrorist haven of the Western world” the government must take a critical next step and avoid any “tendency toward tunnel vision” while the “universal gaze is turned toward New York.” “Shadowy al-Qaeda” still lurks, with a “spectre of nuclear terrorism,” and, therefore, any so-called peace before that spectre is lifted is “illusory.”

Category 9, *Body*, meanwhile, returns *The Times* to a personifying motif in which various players (individuals or not) in the post-9/11 world are actually bodies operating with the day-to-day habits of human beings. The “evil we saw strike at the heart of the United States” was “at the heart of the conspiracy” to level a “terrible blow” against Western economic well-being. As such, “immediate steps” need to be taken to insure that industry can “recover some of its position” of the pre-9/11 landscape. In the meantime, finding those who “slipped between aliases,” requires a “level-headed response” and an answer from Muslims in kind when Christians “speak of extending the hand of tolerance.”

For an island nation, of course, Nautical metaphors permeate the language, as reflected in Category 10. Terror undoubtedly poses a threat to the ship of state, since “terror rots the timbers on which civilisation rests.” To “stiffen response” for the “long haul,” the West has been “called to the colours,” because the United States “will not fire more than a warning shot or two.” To the Prime Minister’s credit, meanwhile, he “saw his duty” and “his course was fixed,” as he helped to put the “bin Laden network in a state of disrepair.”

Category 11, *Rooting Out/Closing In*, aims to describe the “hunt” for al-Qaeda and the environments in which it takes place. It is important, therefore, “to cut off any room for manoeuvre” as the “murderous networks are hunted down.” Not only does the West need to “build a diplomatic fence around Afghanistan,” it also needs to “root out the terrorists in our midst” so that it is possible to “close the gaps in this unconventional, common front” and set about “tackling the root causes of extremism.”

Directly related to the “rooting out” in Category 11, is the importance of Terrain, the subject for Category 12. In the “treacherous political terrain” of the post-9/11 world, countries supporting terrorist groups find themselves in a “grim political position,” while the countries surrounding Afghanistan represent a “perilously unstable launching pad” for the allied thrust into the region, even though the “world stands edgily at the brink” of war. Managing the “treacherous Afghan wastes” of a “countryside alive with al-Qaeda fighters” will take time, so that in the hunt for al-Qaeda, “as networks regroup, the trail may go cold”.

The picture of the West Responding to Danger, Category 13, presents a dire scenario, in which the West desperately needs to awaken to the dangers of the 9/11 age. In order to “mount the leadership campaign,” the West needs to demonstrate it has the “character to rise to the challenge” after so many “met terrible deaths” on 9/11. In the aftermath, there are “bargains to be struck” and the “enemy of my enemy should be courted” if we are to avoid the “horrors of a full-scale nuclear attack.”

Finally, Category 14, Natural Disaster, describes the overwhelming scene in New York on 9/11 and the continuing threat. On 9/11, New York “suffered an urban avalanche.” In “sifting the rubble mountain,” rescue workers and investigators worked in a “noxious covering of dust and ashes.” Now the “world waits for the dust to settle” after the “spate of attacks.”

Within each of these categories, the importance of civilisation and the civilised world is emphasized. Very often, the salient figures are used either to

draw a contrast between the civilised and uncivilised world, to cultivate the importance of a civilised concept of duty, to propose methods for a civilised response to 9/11-style terror, or to describe how extreme, uncivilised behavior alters our notions of time itself.

Taken as a whole, figural categories represent elements of Burke's dramatisic Pentad, in various ratios. To a great extent, the figurative results were the first that pointed towards the possibility of an overarching dramatic structure in the leading articles because of the significant concentration of literary, dramatic, and personifying, character-driven figures. These figures appeared to lay down a basic set of characters, in the Characters and Body categories, and a scripted plotline, mostly developed in the Language, Literature, and Drama category, in which various acts and agencies arose to drive the plot forward in a carefully described set of scenes with specific purpose.

The most pervasive Burkeian ratio representing a merging of dramatic elements is the act/agency ratio, which appears in Categories 5 (Medicine), 6 (Games), 7 (Science and Engineering), and 11 (Rooting Out and Closing In), defining the action and how it was taking place. Three other ratios make three appearances. Purpose characterizes Categories 1 (Civilised World) and 4 (Change and Time), which outline the reason to fight al-Qaeda. Act/agent surface in Categories 2 (Language, Literature, and Drama) and 9 (Body), developing the interaction between characters and plot. Finally, scene emerges in Categories 12 (Terrain) and 14 (Natural Disaster), setting the scene of the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent battle sites. Four other categories

meanwhile show evidence of distinct ratios that appear only once. Agent in Category 3 (Character) identifies the actors. Drawing the scene's relationship to plot action Scene/act is Category 8 (Vision and Shadow). Purpose/act/agent in Category 10 (Nautical) delineates the connection between plot action, the means of carrying out the plot, and duty the characters have to follow through. Lastly, the very unique act/attitude in Category 13 (Responding to Danger) explains how the West has reacted to the challenges of September 11.

An ability of language to lend order to events that occur outside our traditional scope reinforces the dramatic rendering these figurative categories represent. But at the same time, figures of speech would also appear to possess their own dramatic component, and function in ways that are similar to the narrative properties usually associated with prose. That being said, if in comparing figurative results to thematic results several of the same dramatic properties appeared, the dramatic nature of *The Times'* response would strengthen this preliminary evaluation, and bolster the case that *The Times* makes an argument in its response to the events of 9/11 that is indeed dramatic in nature.

Thematic Results

A total of five themes were identified from the data: (1) Civilised/Uncivilised, (2) Before/After, (3) Duty/Appeasement, (4) New War/New Kind of Enemy, and (5) Visible/Shadowy. Together, these themes represent the underlying currents driving the perspective through which *The Times* would like readers to understand 9/11, including the policy decisions politicians make, the value system that is the foundation of the West and its institutions, the way the West sees (and must see) the world after September 11, and, finally, our concept of historical time.

In effect, tracking themes allowed me to look across and through all of the data for patterns of meaning that permeated the group of texts. At the same time, underscoring themes is a deep sense of what *The Times* would like the audience to take away from the texts in developing a meaning for 9/11. As patterns began to emerge from the data, the understanding *The Times* was working out started to take shape, and notions about how the world organized itself in terms of time and space, Orient and Occident, were set to change.

To illustrate the theme of civilised and uncivilised worlds, Table 7 provides a selection of excerpts from leaders tabbed in whole or part as connected to this theme; it also presents a breakdown of notable thematic features demarcated in each excerpt. As might be expected given the importance of civilisation in the figural results, a major thematic meaning emerging from the data concerned a clash between the civilized, democratic West and the

Table 7. The Civilised/Uncivilised Theme

Theme	Excerpt	Thematic Features
<i>Civilised/ Uncivilised</i>	This attack was, as Tony Blair says, not against America alone but part of a battle between terrorism and the entire free world which can be met only by standing shoulder to shoulder. Mikhail Gorbachev famously said that in ending the Cold War he was doing something terrible to the West, depriving it of its enemy. The enemy today is Moscow's, Western Europe's, America's and the law-loving world's. Against this monstrosity, the grandest of coalitions must be forged if evil is not to prevail ("Terror for All," 2001).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Terrorism vs. the entire free world ❖ The enemy vs. Moscow, Western Europe, America, and the law-loving world ❖ Monstrosity/evil vs. the grandest of coalitions
	Washington and the West must establish beyond doubt that the civilised world is able and determined to defeat religious extremists and aggressive dictators anywhere that they arise, particularly in the Muslim world, where bigotry, fanaticism and religious hatreds against the West sit too easily alongside the gentler arts of reason ("Still the Enemy," 2001).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Civilised world vs. religious extremists and aggressive dictators ❖ Bigotry, fanaticism, and religious hatreds vs. the gentler arts of reason
	This was never an American catastrophe but always the world's. It is the world's literally as well as metaphorically. The silent dead of many lands will speak to that truth; their countrymen must hear them. We are all counter-terrorists now. That cannot be repeated too often by the politicians we trust to defend our freedoms. And they will need to muster all their eloquence because this will be a war of attrition, costly, long and full of risk, against fanatics within the gates ("With One Voice," 2001).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ The world vs. fanatics within the gates

Table 7, Continued.

Theme	Excerpt	Thematic Features
<i>Civilised/ Uncivilised</i>	The Prime Minister. . . has been helped in his role by a powerful personal conviction that truth must grapple with falsehood to prevail and that civilised values, when delivered with his own brand of charm, have the best possible chance of prevailing. . . . September's tragedy. . . has made possible the forging of a new "community of nations" able to defend the institutions of freedom. . . There are values of civilised society; it is not an arrogance to assert them, but a necessity. ("The Blair Shuttle," 2001).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Truth vs. falsehood ❖ Authors of September's tragedy vs. new community of nations
	The size of the contingent within either the community of Islamic scholars or on the streets who have felt able to ask themselves whether Islam would be well served by a revolution in thinking - similar to that experienced by the Christian Church through the Reformation or for the Jewish faith courtesy of an Enlightenment - is tiny. It is this unfortunate state of affairs, not globalisation or any other trend that may be connected with America, that is at the core of the tension between civilisations ("One Year On," 2002).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Islam with no Reformation and Enlightenment vs. Christianity and Judaism after having the Reformation and Enlightenment

uncivilized, theocratic terrorist havens. At the same time, the content categories, With One Voice and Standing Shoulder to Shoulder, were re-emphasized here, as the question of who was represented in the civilised world and what that representation implied was answered. This structure also gave ample opportunity for the development of historical references that re-drew alliances and reinforced alliances already struck, while playing out the ages-old understandings of "us vs. them" and "East vs. West." In some form, this theme anchored all the others, and certainly was the overarching theme appearing in

The Times. Though the theme represented slightly different meanings in different contexts throughout the course of the year, it underlay almost all of what *The Times* published and framed what was written.

A second major theme in much of *The Times*' treatment of 9/11 and its aftermath concerns 9/11 as a rift in time, or as *The Times* puts it in the first article's very first line, 9/11 is "The Day That Changed the Modern World." Such a day, quite obviously, is very rare; when it occurs, the consequences are epic, for good or bad, and a thorough change in our perception of history results in a before-and-after dichotomy. On a day like 9/11, all experience is described as being part of a world before the event occurred or after, noting the change in time. Reflective of the figural category, Change and Time, as well as historical referencing of other events that marked dramatic changes in our perception of when historical eras begin and end (for instance, the American entry into World War II after Pearl Harbor), the thematic structure Before/After focused on how time itself seemed to change after that September morning, and how the West's self-narrative had to shift. Table 8 breaks down this Before/After theme in some detail.

Another significant theme, particularly given the paper's focus on Civilisation, is that the civilised West has a clear duty to answer uncivilised terrorists forcefully. Any other behavior smacks of appeasement, of the former Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, as he signed away parts of Czechoslovakia in order to ensure "peace in our time." Figurally, Nautical and Games

Table 8. The Before/After Theme

Theme	Excerpt	Thematic Features
<i>Before/After</i>	<p>[The United States] will fight as a nation grimly conscious that it has been tempered by fire and changed, perhaps for ever, by the ordeal. The psychological impact will be greater than that of Japan's destruction of the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor and will reach far beyond America's borders. By comparison with yesterday's smashing of hijacked American aircraft into American targets, Pearl Harbor was easy to understand; it was for most Americans at the edge of their world. Yesterday there came a true bolt from the blue, aimed to humble the heart of the nation ("Terror for All," 2001).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ The US was tempered by fire and changed by the ordeal ❖ Yesterday there came a true bolt from the blue; by comparison, the destruction of Pearl Harbor was easy to understand
	<p>"Human kind / Cannot bear very much reality", wrote T.S. Eliot, a poet whose most celebrated work closes with the spectacle of the towers of the civilised world plummeting to the earth. There was much that was unbearable in the reality of the last week. Words and images are scorched onto the collective consciousness, replayed in flashback to a newly insomniac world. We still see the bodies pressed against skyscraper windows or caught in obscene free-fall; we still imagine the airline passengers learning that their slaughter would itself be used as a weapon. The poignant simplicity of so many valedictions. Never before has the world felt itself to be such a global village - a village on the southwestern tip of Manhattan, a few blocks northwest of Wall Street ("Dig Deep," 2001).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Much was unbearable in the reality of the last week ❖ Words and images are scorched onto the collective consciousness, replayed in flashback to a newly insomniac world ❖ Never before has the world felt itself to be such a global village

Table 8, Continued.

Theme	Excerpt	Thematic Features
<i>Before/After</i>	<p>Six months ago on Monday, the world caught its breath in shock, disgust and fear, transfixed by the attacks on America. Nothing was known of the enemy beyond the appallingly, graphically obvious: that these were well-organised terrorists who were ruthlessly contemptuous of life, their own along with that of the civilians trapped with them in the hijacked aircraft and their victims on the ground. They had inflicted unimaginable carnage, deliberately indiscriminate. The attacks revealed, as they were intended to do, the vulnerability not only of the world's greatest power but of every society in which fanatics were at liberty to circulate. It was an attack on freedom itself ("A World Transformed," 2002).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Six months ago, the world caught its breath in shock ❖ The attacks revealed the vulnerability of every society
	<p>This then is the paradoxical conclusion on September 11. In a vast number of ways that contribute much to the conduct of life, it has altered very little. In a small number of extraordinarily important spheres, it may change everything. We are only at the beginning of the attempt to understand what this will demand of capitalist democracies such as the United States and the United Kingdom. In that sense, while it is September 11, 2002 today, the hands on the clock have barely moved since September 11, 2001 ("One Year On," 2002).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ September 11 may change everything in extraordinarily important spheres ❖ We are only beginning to understand what [9/11] will demand of capitalist democracies ❖ The hands on the clock have barely moved since September 11, 2001

metaphors appeared, as well as figures of Civilised and Uncivilised worlds. This theme was also rich in historical references, as it forcefully struck the same notes

Prime Minister Churchill did after the fall of France in 1940, when he called upon the British people to brace themselves to their duties and stand up to an enemy that aimed to break the foundations of civilised society, thrusting it into a new age of darkness. This Duty/Appeasement theme, developed in Table 9, surfaces throughout the year, particularly in the lead-up to the war in Afghanistan, but also later, once the fiercest fighting had slowed and the world began to work its way back to normal again.

The fourth theme emerging from the data, and presented in Table 10, rose from the War on Terror itself, or as *The Times* described it, “a new kind of war against a new kind of enemy.” This theme paid attention exclusively to the war and its many, often non-traditional, fronts, concentrating not just on military efforts, but also on the importance of waging a multi-dimensional conflict. Since al-Qaeda aims to disrupt the world economy and institute an Islamist theocracy throughout the historical realms of the Islamic world, *The Times* widened the scope of the battle for the West beyond the need for sheer military might. New War/New Kind of Enemy picked up a variety of figural categories, with metaphors of Science and Engineering, Medicine, Games, Rooting Out and Closing In, and Responding to Danger having particular importance, while historical references were quite broad, drawing especially on the history of World War II and the Cold War to provide contrasts. Finally, like the content category, This Is a Long World War Without Borders, the topics of this theme recognize that

Table 9. The Duty/Appeasement Theme

Theme	Excerpt	Thematic Features
<i>Duty/Appeasement</i>	<p>This is a tense time for the world and a time for steady nerves and precise actions. It is right that the United States should punish the Taleban for refusing to hand over Bin Laden and that it should go into Afghanistan to seek him out. It is right that the training camps and terrorist infrastructure should be destroyed. . . . This is a war without end and a war that we can never be certain we have won. Even after cells have been smashed and there has been peace for many years, nobody can be sure that another terror movement will not emerge. That, however, should not deter the West from the long, hard struggle ahead because the alternative is too awful to contemplate (“It Won’t Be Quick,” 2001).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ This is a time for steady nerves and precise actions ❖ It is right that the US should punish the Taleban, that training camps and terrorist infrastructure should be destroyed ❖ The threat of terror should not deter the West from the long, hard struggle ahead because the alternative is too awful
	<p>America bears the greatest burden of leadership, but Britain's interests are just as fully and directly engaged in this struggle. Many Britons were killed in New York; this was the deadliest ever terrorist attack on British citizens. But Mr. Blair is right that this would be Britain's fight even if not one British person had died. The national interests of this country are directly engaged, because at stake are the lives and livelihoods of all. There is no backing away—and no scope for failure (“Another Front,” 2001).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ The national interests, lives, and livelihoods of all are at stake ❖ There is no backing away—and no scope for failure

Table 9, Continued.

Theme	Excerpt	Thematic Features
<i>Duty/ Appeasement</i>	Liberals should be cheering that America has irrevocably accepted its obligations as the world's only superpower. They should welcome an allied strategy whose aim is to inflict minimum civilian casualties and give Afghans a new start to free them from perpetual civil war and a regime that subjugates women, denies human rights and rules by theocratic thuggery. Those who doubt the outcome are the real isolationists. This war is winnable and the West has the resolve, whatever the domestic panics to come, to achieve it ("The Defeatist Chorus," 2001).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ America has irrevocably accepted its obligations ❖ Allies aim to give Afghans new start to free them from perpetual civil war and a regime that subjugates women, denies human rights and rules by theocratic thuggery ❖ The West has the resolve
	When the flames came from the World Trade Centre, it is said to have taken Tony Blair no more than minutes to see his duty. It was clear to him that he should give the United States Britain's full support in what would surely be a wearying war against the common terrorist enemy. Even had so many British citizens not been among the dead, his course was fixed ("A Man Alone," 2001).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Blair took no more than minutes to see his duty ❖ Blair knew he should give full support in a wearying war against a common enemy ❖ Blair's course was fixed

Table 10. The New War/New Kind of Enemy Theme

Theme	Excerpt	Thematic Features
<i>New War/New Kind of Enemy</i>	<p>As political leaders work to overcome the obstacles to military and diplomatic success in the war against terrorism, it is vital that the avoidance of a serious economic slump is never far from their minds. A financial crisis bringing economic ruin to millions would be a terrible blow to the global capitalist system and a triumph for those out to destroy it in any way they can. It would snatch defeat from the jaws of any military victory the free world won. . . . The collapse of world trade would bring almost as much satisfaction to the terrorists as the collapse of the World Trade Centre. It must not be allowed to happen ("It's the Economy, Still," 2001).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Economic slump/financial crisis would snatch defeat from the jaws of any military victory ❖ The collapse of the World Trade Centre must not bring about the collapse of world trade
	<p>But whatever action America and its allies take against bin Laden's Afghan lairs, that will be a foretaste only of a vastly more ambitious campaign, waged the world over. The US is preparing, and mustering allies in every quarter it finds them, even in Sudan and Cuba, for a new kind of total war, one that takes into account all forms of human organisation from banking to intelligence, from weapons proliferation and organised crime to poverty and its relief. In this campaign classic war fighting may have an occasional role only; terrorism's underground forces will be fought where they operate and with methods that are anything but conventional. And it will be a long war ("Long War," 2001).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Action taken against bin Laden's Afghan lairs will be a foretaste only of a vastly more ambitious campaign ❖ US is mustering allies in every quarter, even in Sudan and Cuba, for a new kind of total war ❖ In this campaign, classic war fighting may have an occasional role ❖ Terrorism will be fought with methods that are anything but conventional

Table 10, Continued.

Theme	Excerpt	Thematic Features
<p><i>New War/ New Kind of Enemy</i></p>	<p>This is not to imply that all and any "enemy of my enemy" should be courted, let alone trusted; the mistakes the West made in the 1980s in arming Afghans against the Soviet Union, and Iraq against Iran, must not be repeated. But it does point to a pragmatic layering of decisions to co-operate flexibly on the basis of common aims that may shift in the course of the long campaign ahead. What will be required is not a coalition but a palimpsest, a political, military and intelligence-sharing script that is constantly rewritten ("Palimpsest," 2001).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ This war requires a pragmatic layering of decisions on the basis of common aims that may shift in the course of the long campaign ❖ A political, military and intelligence-sharing script that is constantly rewritten is required
	<p>No intelligence-gathering operation will ever be comprehensive, just as no building can be wholly secure. The essence of security, however, is permanent vigilance and re-examination of old assumptions. No senior intelligence officer should be relying on tried and tested methods. The confusion in America is a warning to all Western intelligence services; they should pay critical and concentrated attention to an unclear and present danger ("Intelligent Intelligence," 2001).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ The essence of security is permanent vigilance and re-examination of old assumptions ❖ No senior intelligence officers should be relying on tried and tested methods ❖ The West should pay critical and concentrated attention to an unclear and present danger

this War on Terror is going to end neither quickly nor easily, but will morph from one military, economic, and cultural front to another.

The final theme, Visible/Shadowy, is the one least interlinked with any of the others, and the one that appears most infrequently, though it appeared often enough and with sufficient clarity to present a striking theme. Presenting an embodied means to make sense of 9/11 and the subsequent War on Terror, Visible/Shadowy is very closely linked to its figurative counterpart category, Vision and Shadow (see Table 6, p. 78). While textually linking up with Osama bin Ladin's Spectre and The Day That Changed the Modern World, this theme is geared very much in the present and future, and therefore, its historical referencing is weaker than other themes. This theme focuses on the pivotal place of intelligence in this war, what we can and cannot see, what is democratic and open versus what is criminal and shadowy, and most importantly, what we are prepared for and what we cannot yet imagine. Table 11 presents this thematic category.

These five themes do not occur one by one. Quite the contrary, they often overlap and co-occur, and create layered patterns of meaning that stretch through the leading articles. By tracking their co-occurrence, one finds clues toward each theme's larger contextual framework. Linking them together, especially with the figural, historical, and textual elements that provide thematic building blocks, helps to shape *The Times'* understanding of 9/11. Moreover, considering that two of the most important figural categories—Language, Literature, and Drama and Characters—appear across all these themes, and are

Table 11. The Visible/Shadowy Theme

Theme	Excerpt	Thematic Features
<i>Visible/ Shadowy</i>	[T]here is no single stroke that will slay these invisible enemies, no one riposte that will “take out” this threat. Effective mastery of this terrorist network—and the one certainty is that many people are involved—will require a changed attitude of mind to every aspect of civil as well as military security (“Terror for All,” 2001).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ No single stroke will slay these invisible enemies
	The elusive identikit of terror is filling out. American negotiators came away yesterday from talks in Pakistan with agreement to co-operate in tracking down bin Laden and a mass of valuable data on Taleban garrisons and equipment, weapons dumps and the airstrips where it keeps its small airforce. . . . The moment intelligence coalesces there will be a swift spring. America is crouched (“Crouch, Spring, Crouch,” 2001).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ The elusive identikit of terror is filling out ❖ The moment intelligence coalesces there will be a swift spring
	Not only have the freedoms of Western societies been used to mask a terrible conspiracy of destruction, but those employed to guard these freedoms have signally failed to do their job. The worst lapses have been in intelligence and counter-intelligence. . . . Hindsight underlines blame but clarifies the need for action. . . . And Parliament must look hard at what legislation, now hampering investigations, may need to be suspended or repealed. A new war demands new weapons. Intelligence is by far the most deadly (“Intelligence Needed,” 2001).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Freedoms of the West have been used to mask a terrible conspiracy of destruction ❖ Hindsight underlines blame but clarifies the need for action ❖ Parliament must look hard at legislation

Table 11, Continued.

Theme	Excerpt	Thematic Features
<p><i>Visible/ Shadowy</i></p>	<p>Like the rest of the population, politicians have responded with a tendency towards tunnel vision, despite the best efforts of the media to continue to draw their eyes to the rest of the world. Even where journalists have been able to keep attention focused, action in these countries has itself diminished, as the universal gaze has turned towards New York. . . . For President Mugabe, the atrocities in New York have been convenient. Not only have they eclipsed reports of continuing violence against white farmers and his determination to ignore the undertakings given by his negotiators in Nigeria; they have also led to the cancellation of next week's Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Brisbane. . . . [S]tatesmen today are blinded to other issues by the explosions in America. Life will not return to normal until their vision is restored ("Tunnel Vision," 2001).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="1161 262 1437 588">❖ Population and politicians have responded [to 9/11] with tunnel vision, despite the best efforts of the media to draw their eyes to the rest of the world <li data-bbox="1161 619 1437 882">❖ Even where temporarily able to keep attention focused, the universal gaze has turned towards New York <li data-bbox="1161 913 1437 1039">❖ Statesmen today are blinded by the explosions in America <li data-bbox="1161 1071 1437 1197">❖ Life will not return to normal until their vision is restored

not intricately interwoven with any one of them, this points again towards a dramatic sensibility translated across the themes, as though the whole body of text can be taken as a kind of script with its own meta-theatrical elements.

Table 12 charts the co-occurrence of themes, and presents the total number of appearances each theme makes. The two most frequent themes are New War/New Kind of Enemy and Civilised/Uncivilised. The next two themes in line, Duty/Appeasement and Before/After, also represent themes that *The Times* took very seriously. The difference between these two separate groupings results from the number of times that each of these four themes appeared in conjunction with other major themes. New War/New Kind of Enemy showed evidence of overlapping with each of the other themes, though Civilised/Uncivilised and Duty/Appeasement were natural thematic counterparts, since both of those latter themes flowed directly into the aims and impetus for waging the war.

Civilised/Uncivilised and Before/After both occur with three other themes, and particularly with each other, appearing nine times in conjunction, the most frequent of any co-occurring theme pairs. This common co-occurrence suggests that our understanding of what civilised and uncivilised signify was considerably challenged by the events of 9/11, and that in its wake, we could define ourselves or others with those terms in quite the same way. At the same time, Civilised/Uncivilised and Before/After also appear evenly with other themes, corresponding to the large number of salient figures that appear in the Civilised World and Change and Time figurative categories (see Table 6, p. 78).

Table 12. Co-Occurrence of the Five Major Themes

Theme	Before/ After	Duty/ Appeasement	Civilised/ Uncivilised	Visible/ Shadowy	New War/ New Kind of Enemy	Total
Before/ After (13)	2	0	9	2	3	16
Duty/ Appeasement (14)	x	4	6	0	6	16
Civilised/ Uncivilised (19)	x	x	3	0	6	24
Visible/ Shadowy (6)	x	x	x	1	3	6
New War/ New Kind of Enemy (22)	x	x	x	x	8	26

Duty/Appeasement only occurred with two other themes, representing a case in which a theme's overall track is highly concentrated in a few areas. In each case, those links were significant, since in each group its appearances occurred almost equally. It also defines the role *The Times* expects the British notion of duty to play in this conflict. Knowing one's duty is critical in wartime in the face of the intense pressure to perform at critical moments, and in this so-called new kind of war, one without traditional rules or boundaries, duty can still be a constant. At the same time, the British notion of duty is intricately interwoven with the British notion of what constitutes civilised society; to be civilised is to do one's duty.

Finally, the theme of Visible/Shadowy occurred six times, primarily in co-occurrence with Before/After or New War/New Kind of Enemy. Given these numbers, thought was given to calling Visible/Shadowy a sub-theme. Instead, the appearances of Visible/Shadowy were deemed so striking as to require a separate thematic category, despite its relatively small frequency of appearances.

Taken together, the interconnection between themes can be characterized by a gestalt relationship, visualized as a geometric figure grounded by an awareness of time and history. Representing the five themes in this way emphasizes not only the importance and clear identity of each theme, but also the interrelated nature of the common themes and their overall concern with temporal and historical contexts. This complete pattern, therefore, describes an inclusive picture of the thematic understanding of 9/11 and its aftermath that *The Times of London* developed in the course of 45 editorials appearing in the year-long period following the attacks of September 11, 2001.

Figure 5 presents this understanding in the form of a geometric figure, a pyramid, in which the center is defined by Civilised/Uncivilised, the theme most central for understanding *The Times of London's* overall thematic structure. At the same time, the four corners at the base of the pyramid are defined by each of the remaining four themes. Appearing against the combined background of Time and History, all five themes are grounded temporally and culturally, by the historical experiences of the British people.

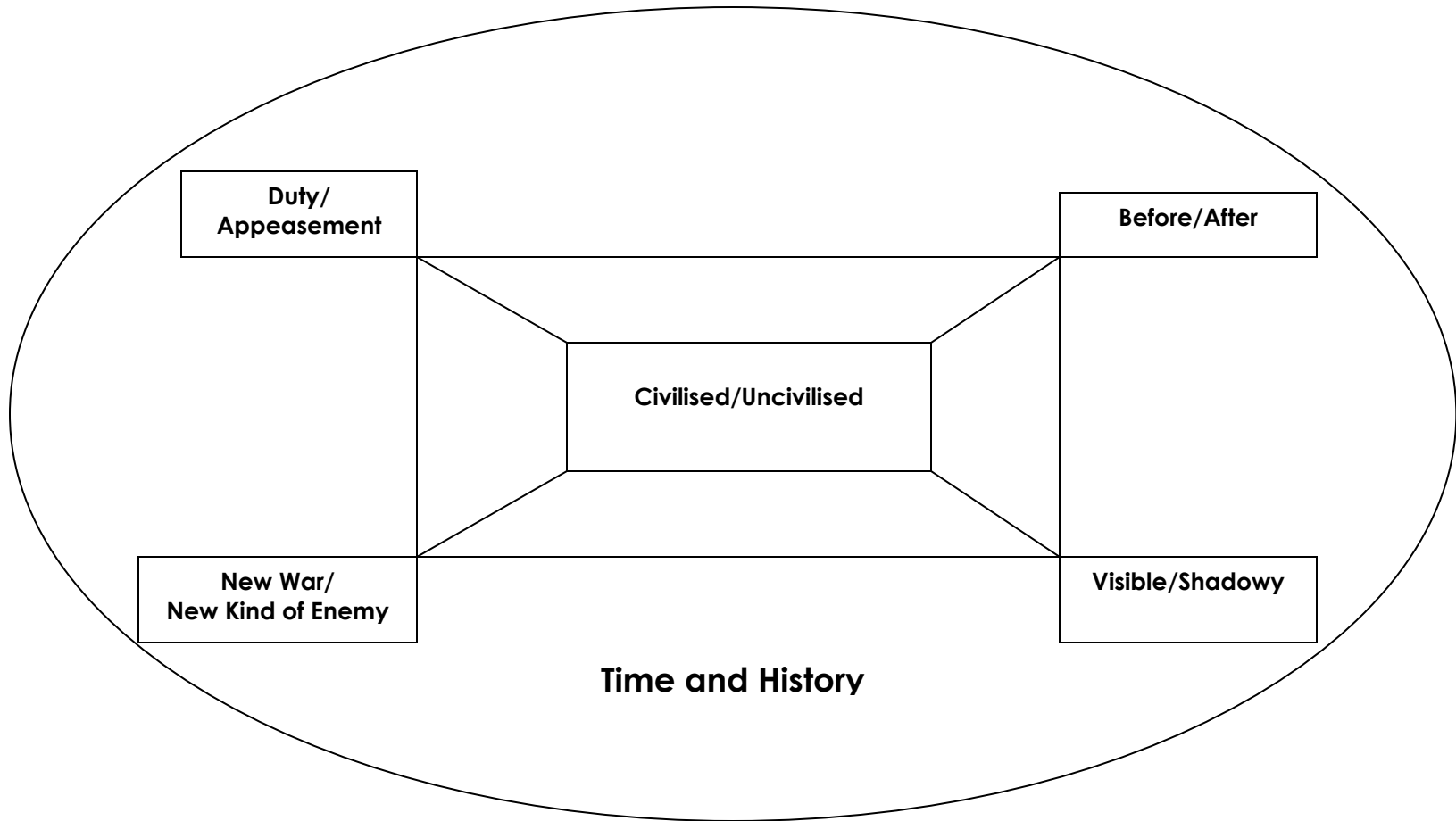


Figure 5. Thematic Structure for *The Times of London*

To put this understanding in clearer perspective, when *The Times* writes about civilised and uncivilised worlds, it describes the civilised world as having undergone a Reformation and Enlightenment that forever separated the institutions of Church and State, implying that a civilised society requires such separation. By contrast, in the dichotomy *The Times* develops, the terror-driven uncivilised world still exists in the dark ages of history, unenlightened, unreformed, and unrepentant for the strict religious fervour that drives its understanding of the world. At the same time, *Civilised/Uncivilised* readily compares today's enemy to the enemies of the Cold War, which offer an historical context for this struggle. The Cold War in many ways becomes the dominant metaphor to represent a war of ideologies that the West fully understood. Unlike the enemies in the War on Terror, the Soviet enemy wanted ultimately to survive; that war was about expanding circles of power, not the seemingly indefatigable heart of jihad.

In the theme of Before/After, the historical contrast presented is Pearl Harbor, and 9/11 is described as something having happened "never before." To that end, the overwhelming shock of 9/11, through its sheer power, forces us to gaze over and over at the kamikaze airliners screaming into the Trade Center Towers, almost as though if the day is "replayed in flashback," we will ultimately accept it as having been real. In this sense, time itself is demarcated by 9/11, by "the reality of last week" so that something as simple as the thought of "last week" becomes figural. Even a year later, "the hands on the clock have barely moved since September 11," as though time became frozen by that moment, and has yet to fly again.

When speaking of the contrast defining the theme of Duty/Appeasement, more temporal emphasis is placed on the future, in the “long, hard struggle ahead,” a “war without end.” Immediately recognizing the War on Terror as something radically different than the West has experienced, *The Times* nevertheless instantly understands that this war will not be quick. It will instead require steady nerves and a fixed course, a clear resolve to see it through to its bitter end. But time past is still evident, since it is our duty to “free [the Afghans] from perpetual civil war.” In that sense, this war can become our instrument to correct some of our more tragic mistakes.

The theme of New War/New Kind of Enemy develops in much the same way as Duty/Appeasement, with a temporal emphasis on the future in which “it will be a long war” and the “essence of security. . . is permanent vigilance.” Time becomes a feature of this new war, as though the fight will in part be against time, against growing distracted or weary as the permanence of war bears its weight. The historical emphasis, meanwhile, rests on not repeating past mistakes, as in arming the Afghan *mujahadeen* against the Soviets or Saddam Hussein’s Iraq against Iran during the 1980s. Part of being vigilant, in the view of *The Times*, is thinking long-term, of identifying far more frightening long-term enemies from the ranks of myriad short-term allies.

Finally, the focus in Visible/Shadowy rests in our ability to look, in terms of “hindsight,” for those to blame for the failures of 9/11. It becomes crucial not to ignore our mistakes; it steers part of our duty to the dead and our continuing struggle. But danger lies in our tendency to get stuck in that day, since “life will

not return to normal until vision is restored." Unless we can see what is coming in the fog of this long war, we will suffer in its wake.

In terms of the overall rhetorical structure, the interconnections that develop between the themes highlight Burkeian notions of ambiguity by emphasizing the points at which themes, what Burke might call motives, intersect. The trend, for example, of Civilised/Uncivilised and Before/After working in tandem so often suggests that the underlying motives framing those themes are merging, and in that way, transforming what either means on its own. In the merging of themes, *The Times* seems to be creating specific frames for understanding the various actors, actions, and motives behind the conflict.

As an illustration, the theme of Visible/Shadowy is not just an obvious commentary on scene, but also on implied commentary of the agents, acts, and their agencies involved—some are blind, some are hiding. The underlying definition of duty in the theme of Duty/Appeasement, in its connection to the New War/New Kind of Enemy theme, remains in line with our traditional, military notions of doing one's duty, and with an agent and his agency. But when placed alongside the theme of Civilised/Uncivilised, that military definition merges with a deeper sense of duty to one's society, one that is more interwoven with the larger, moral concerns of preserving the tenets of civilised society, avowing an underlying purpose for the struggle. At the same time, the interconnections between the theme of New War/New Kind of Enemy and each of the other themes suggest that this war lurks at the fringes of many of the critical ways we characterize ourselves. It will challenge our notions of

civilisation, duty, and history accordingly, shaping our acts, our understanding of the agents involved, the extreme agency they may sometimes choose, and ultimately, their underlying purpose.

For *The Times*, references to time and history seem to represent a means to locate 9/11 in the great sweep of Western civilization. Just as World War II did, 9/11 created a temporal rift in which every subsequent event will be marked as happening before or after. In the same way, 9/11 represents an historical shift in the way we think. Just as the Cold War changed the way we think about war or the Reformation and Enlightenment altered our perception of religion and the Church, 9/11 will change our conceptions even more, asking us to realign how we respond to the pressing needs of military readiness, economic well-being, diplomatic and cultural engagement, and religious conviction. In any event, all of these concerns invite us to place the figure of 9/11 and its various thematic meanings against the ground of time and history to enable us to make sense of the event and its consequences.

To that end, the exceedingly strong link between Civilised/Uncivilised and Before/After reinforces how critical our understanding of history is to our sense of narrative reality whenever we find ourselves face-to face with a history-shaking shift. On 9/11, all our pre-9/11 notions of civilisation came crashing down with the Twin Towers; after that, not only was everything immediately different; it *had* to be different. This thematic link suggests that the way *The Times* accounts for that shift is in the symbolic linking of the terrorist attacks of September 11th to an assault upon all of Western civilisation and its history through the rhetorical,

thematic structuring it uses to symbolize the event. For the editorial writers of *The Times*, the scene/act of the Towers falling, the agents who wrought their destruction with such seemingly unpredictable agency, and the very purpose of the attack merge so ferociously that their editorial pages must draw the attention of their readers to that point. It marks a decisive shift in the West's awareness of its own historical civilisation.

Taken together, the themes and rhetorical stances developing in *The Times of London* display a profound sense that the events of 9/11 represent a significant alteration in the course of Western civilization, a fundamental change in the way we understand historical patterns, and, finally, a paradigm shift in how to interpret what we see happening in the so-called uncivilised world. At the same time, *The Times* does not hesitate when calling on the West to fight the most dangerous elements of the shift, noting that it is our duty to defend our culture, heritage, and history, and also to redefine carefully and thoughtfully the legacy we wish to leave after this long, world war. Ultimately, in their focus on our temporal conceptions of reality, the themes of *The Times* reflect our sense of history as narrative, as a collective set of stories told and re-told over the course of time, begging us to learn from them. In this sense, 9/11 becomes a dramatic turning point in our historical narrative.

The Hands on the Clock Have Barely Moved

Chapter 4: Discussion

Overview

In the days immediately after 9/11, as the Western world reeled in shock and terror, it quickly became aware that the symbol of the Twin Towers crumbling signaled a profound change in the world order. The search for understanding, for a way to make sense of what had happened and what it ultimately meant, was just beginning. What was certain was that the West could no longer look out at the Middle East as a troubled, distant place; the West had to look in, because the trouble had come to it, broadcast live around the globe. By September 12th, everyone knew the terrorists had ensured that the world was now irrevocably different.

The editorial board for *The Times* captured this sentiment immediately; 9/11 was “the day that changed the modern world.” Unlike New York, London was not a new-age Pompeii, buried beneath an “urban avalanche.” The Londoners writing *The Times* enjoyed some distance. And with that distance, *The Times* went to work. Acknowledging that New York and New Yorkers needed to heal, having nearly suffocated in the rubble mountain, London could rally the troops, define the long mission ahead, and prepare the West for its inevitable riposte. As the United States' longtime ally, the United Kingdom stood in a position to share both the American grief (the second greatest number of

casualties at the World Trade Center were UK citizens) and the battle it would fight. At the same time, the UK was also the closest American ally, the nation “best placed to whisper words in the right ears” (“The Old War,” 2001).

Across the Atlantic, *The New York Times* focused on the hole tearing through the heart of the city and the growing vulnerability building up around it. For the writers in New York, there would be no quick understanding of this kind of attack; this was an attack on the collective, New York soul. The suffocating smoke and ashes gave way to the million-ton pile in Lower Manhattan, a continuously burning mountain of debris fueled by what remained of the World Trade Center, and the victims who had been trapped inside. The memory of person after person, plummeting from the top floors of the towers, lingered on, and with each new disclosure of information about that day, their ghosts reappeared. Victims’ postal codes were transformed into a kind of map of the fallen, with the disturbing realization that most of the dead hailed from just a few neighborhoods. The parts of the towers that were not reduced to rubble were cared for as though they were fallen heroes, the assassinated sentries that had manned the gates of Manhattan. Each grizzly corpse, or part of a corpse, was treated to solemn funeral rites as it was carefully removed from the pile that came to be known all too quickly as Ground Zero. Every holiday became a reason to pause, to reflect on how strange this one felt compared to just a year before, when the city was still bustling, blissfully unaware what fate held in store on a crisp, September morning.

New York also needed something to cling to, something to give shape to the struggle ahead. Outside of the events of Pearl Harbor sixty years before, no attack inside the mainland in American history provided even the remotest parallel. New York—and the rest of America—searched for a frame of reference to make sense of events and to define a common goal. What emerged in the reflective articles of *The New York Times*, as a result, was an epic structure, replete with a solid, archetypal foundation for traditional, epic storytelling (Lule, 2002; Pollio, et al., In Press). Lule noted four main themes in *The New York Times*—(1) The End of Innocence (Everything Has Changed); (2) The Victims (We Might Have Been); (3) The Heroes (amid the Horror); and (4) The Foreboding Future (as Horrible as It Is to Imagine) (2002, p. 280). Similarly, Pollio, et al., mentioned four related, reflective themes of their own—(1) Fracture and Division; (2) Death and Destruction; (3) Consolation and Commemoration, and (4) America's Strength (In Press). Despite differences between the last figures in both groups, one that Pollio explains by noting the difference in the temporal framework of the two studies, what was amazing about these structures was that both notably lack a theme for the villain. *The New York Times* instead rarely mentioned the villains or a quest for vengeance, but instead “focused inward” on healing, emphasizing “the sacrifice and suffering that had been and would be endured by the American people” (Lule, 2002, p. 286). New York was simply not quite ready to consider the bellicose vision of what would come next.

As *The New York Times* set about the process of healing the city, *The Times of London* began to build the West's argument for a massive counter-assault,

one that took into consideration the variety of threats the terrorists posed and the variety of vulnerabilities the West suffered. *The Times* struck upon the need to “call spirits from the dusty deep,” but not to run headlong on “a fool’s errand,” echoing the advice Shakespeare had offered almost 400 years before (“Replies of Steel,” 2001). But this was no fool’s errand, at least where the hunt for Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan was concerned. The fool’s errand to be avoided was at home, where, in the hearts of the great democracies of the West, debates would rage on, questioning for what price would this war be fought. *The Times* remained convinced that democracy was something worth salvaging, that its great, inherent debates must continue, but that it must not make shackles for itself, hijacked from action by endless, indecisive debate. It was the West’s duty to defend democracy, certainly. But it was also the West’s duty to rescue its civilisation from the clutches of fanatics who acted most easily when the mechanisms of democracy were mired in inactivity.

Specifically, *The Times* focuses on three key areas: (1) constructing an historical case for war, with an eye to the theory of war developed by Clausewitz, in which historical references provide the basis for the theme, New War/New Kind of Enemy; (2) drawing a thematic parallel between the battles the West, particularly the UK, was readying itself to fight in 2001 and 1940 through the wartime speeches of Winston Churchill, in which there is a convergence of historical references with the themes, Duty/Appeasement and Civilised/Uncivilised; and (3) narrating a thematic and figural literary framing of the events of 9/11 into a Shakespearan-style drama, taking a cue from *Henry IV*

and *Henry V*. In this last section, the focus points of content categories provide various exigencies for building the drama. In Burkeian terms, the purpose for which the war is being fought develops from the five themes and the figural categories, Civilised World and Change and Time. The figural categories, Vision and Shadow, Terrain, and Natural Disaster, along with the Visible/Shadowy theme, set the various scenes of the war. The way that *The Times* personifies agents driving the drama appears in the figural category, Characters. Finally, the war responses to 9/11, and the means of carrying those responses out, combine as act-agency ratios in the figural categories, Nautical, Medicine, Science and Engineering, Rooting Out and Closing In, and Games.

Combining these three elements—the historical basis for the War on Terror, the themes that define what *The Times* believes is at stake, and the narrative framing of events through an historical, dramatic structure that underscores the rhetorical discourse—allows *The Times* to develop a clear picture of the impact of 9/11, what the War on Terror is about, how the West can best carry itself in battle, and perhaps most importantly, how to win the day. Contrasted with what was happening in New York, London steps into the debate ready to help its ally emerge from the dust hanging over Manhattan and stand shoulder to shoulder in a battle that *The Times* believes threatens the very foundations of Western civilisation. As a result, *The Times* casts 9/11 and its aftermath as watershed events, specific in their own time and circumstances, but ultimately, a conflict undeniably linked to moments in history that, in threatening its survival, shaped the Anglo-American world.

The Reality of the Historical Past

Working with this awareness, *The Times* focuses its editorial approach on laying out an argument for a firm, unyielding Western response to the attacks of September 11. Understanding that this conflict would likely stretch the traditional Western concept of war, *The Times* undertakes an historical explanation for the reasons why the War on Terror is justified. The sheer number of historical references *The Times* utilized reflects this aim, but more importantly, the kinds of references they choose to highlight underscore the conclusions they draw.

For example, unlike the history of European warfare culminating in the First World War, *The Times* concludes that the War on Terror would not be a war fought because of territory, kingly power, or age-old alliances. As a result, *The Times* never lingers for long in discussions of pre-20th-century Western history, with only 29 of 160 total references coming from before World War II (see Table 3, p. 71), since that history does not accurately reflect the end goals of the War on Terror. At the same time, despite al-Qaeda's claim that it hopes to reestablish the Islamic caliphate that ruled much of the world in the Middle Ages, *The Times* views their ultimate aims quite differently, since the editorial pages do not mention this period. For *The Times*, the phenomenon of al-Qaeda terrorism is a modern one, much more wrapped up in the concerns of the last 100 years of Middle Eastern history than the last 1000.

More surprisingly, given the 24 historical references raised (see Table 3, p. 71), from *The Times'* point-of-view, the ultimate war aims of War on Terror also do

not share a true counterpart in the history of the Second World War. Although Adolf Hitler was a megalomaniac who hungered for German racial purity and fed on the German people through his cult-like manipulation of the Third Reich¹⁰, he was still the elected leader of Germany, a clearly identifiable nation-state. The Nazi terror was a state-mandated terror, not the terror of an independent, underground organization. Since Hitler, as the German leader, launched conventional war throughout Europe, successfully employing a military *blitzkrieg* against nearly every Allied combatant, Great Britain's fight against the German *Blitz*, no matter how terrifying for the people of London, was therefore an exercise in surviving a conventional conflict, no matter how unconventional its means. Similarly, although Pearl Harbor was a sneak attack executed by suicidal, kamikaze pilots, they attacked a traditional, military target, the American Pacific Fleet. For Americans in 1941, the target of counter-attack was clear—Tokyo. After Lend-Lease and the Atlantic Charter, as well as after numerous appeals from Prime Minister Churchill for an American entry into the war, it was only a matter of time until the Americans declared; the Japanese simply provided the impetus the American government needed to convince the American people that this war was necessary.

When World War II is referenced, *The Times* is careful to highlight why this conflict will be different, and particularly, why the attacks of 9/11 are not merely a repetition of the attack on Pearl Harbor, which it references directly 10 times

¹⁰ *The Times* does draw links to the behavior of bin Laden and the Nazis, particularly with regard to bin Laden's ability to inspire cult-like fanaticism through a "specious" religious philosophy based on "racial lines" ("Long War," 2001; "Not Correct," 2002; "One Year On," 2002).

(see Table 4, p. 72 and Table 5, p. 74). Winfield, Friedman, and Trisnadi (2002) concur, noting that "*The Times* alleged that the analogy to Pearl Harbor was a historical fallacy" since Japan was "a recognizable enemy [that] had different goals." While 9/11 "had more numbing complexities, the challenges were larger, and the psychological damage would also be greater" (p. 297). In that sense, the easiest historical comparison the Americans could make was an inappropriate one. That easy comparison fails to take into account the conditions of this new kind of war, something *The Times* notes right away, on the 12th of September:

The psychological impact will be greater than that of Japan's destruction of the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor and will reach far beyond America's borders. By comparison with yesterday's smashing of hijacked American aircraft into American targets, Pearl Harbor was easy to understand; it was for most Americans at the edge of their world. Yesterday there came a true bolt from the blue, aimed to humble the heart of the nation. ("Terror for All," 2001)

Later during the year, after the Afghanistan phase of the War on Terror winds down, *The Times* comes to the same conclusion. On December 7, 2001, writing directly to compare the condition of the contemporary world to what the world was like generations before, *The Times* argues that "these two devastating attacks, 60 years apart, are not comparable." While the attack on Pearl Harbor "was an act of aggression against a military target. . . by a country which had already invaded China and which, the United States was reluctantly concluding,

it would have eventually to confront," by contrast, "September's slaughter of civilians had no basis in strategic calculation" ("One Sunday in 1941," 2001).

The real similarities between 9/11 and its aftermath and the Second World War are the effects both had on the United States and its relationship to the world, particularly to its closest ally, the United Kingdom. "September's tragedy," *The Times* observes, citing Henry Kissinger, "united [America] even more strongly than did Pearl Harbor and made possible, provided that the campaign against terrorism is pursued with exemplary vigour, the forging of a new 'community of nations' able to defend the institutions of freedom" ("The Blair Shuttle," 2001). While the uniting of America is the one significant link the two dates of infamy share, the most meaningful connection between the Second World War and the War on Terror is that they both "aligned the rest of the world" ("One Sunday in 1941," 2001), helping to form a "new community of nations." Specifically, the community of nations begins with the Anglo-American alliance, forged by Churchill and Roosevelt in the darkest days of World War II. That "special relationship" proves itself again in the days after 9/11, with Tony Blair acting as an unofficial liaison between the United States and the other allies ("Just the Beginning," 2001). In the immediate wake of 9/11, *The Times* notes, "old rivalries have been buried, resentments of the sole superpower set aside and snide commentary abandoned," replaced by a solidarity in the West such that "every Western leader has pronounced the appalling assaults on Washington and New York to be an attack upon all" ("Still the Enemy," 2001).

In yet another historical contrast, *The Times* addresses the Cold War with some depth, referencing it 10 times (see Table 4, p. 72). Though perhaps not as evocative of struggle and suffering to a Briton as the Second World War, the Cold War nevertheless lasted decades, flared in a variety of contexts, and was waged in multiple forms across much of the world. Although the Cold War was largely a war of competing ideologies, much like the War on Terror would be, it was also a conflict of clear dividing lines and specific flash points, an icy detente rather than an all-out world conflict. Even the Cuban Missile Crisis provided a difficult analogy at best, since diplomacy offered the best means to redevelop the balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union. Triggering a global-thermo-nuclear war was not in either nation's, or either system's, best interest, and since the Cold War was largely a conflict of competing interests rather than a fight to the death, the hottest of flash points was carefully averted.

The Times takes note of these differences, first remarking that making a direct comparison with the events of 1962 underestimates the challenges of a post-9/11 president:

[George W. Bush] has fewer obvious courses of action open to him than did that other young and still untried President [John F. Kennedy] in 1962, when he was confronted by the Cuban Missile Crisis. Again, as with Pearl Harbor, Kennedy had a known adversary to deal with. ("Terror for All," 2001)

The focus *The Times* places on the known enemies of the Cold War is an issue the paper develops throughout the leading articles. For *The Times*, the terror of the unknown is truly more terrifying than the known. John Kennedy could ultimately initiate a diplomatic discourse with Nikita Khrushchev and work through American-Soviet grievances. Communication between the West and Osama bin Laden, on the other hand, happens exclusively through the press; in bin Laden's case, after 9/11, that communication only happens through video or a written declaration, while he makes it perfectly clear in his repeated threats that he does not desire formal diplomatic channels.

At the same time, bin Laden and many of his al-Qaeda followers are Cold War creations, men trained by the West during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, a fact not lost on *The Times*. In the War on Terror, not "all and any 'enemy of my enemy' should be courted, let alone trusted," as was standard practice in building spheres-of-influence during the Cold War. "The mistakes the West made in the 1980s in arming Afghans against the Soviet Union," have to be avoided in this war, and the pragmatic decisions of alliance-building must be carefully measured against the long-term war aims ("Palimpsest," 2001). In this sense, the great number of Cold War references *The Times* provides operate not so much as a comparative, but as a warning not to conduct the War on Terror the same way.

As an historical analogy to the War on Terror, even the first Gulf War, appearing 16 times (see Table 4, p. 72 and Table 5, p. 74), waged by many of the same players in nearly the same part of the world, does not quite measure

up. In contrast to the post-9/11 endeavor, that conflict seemed as though it had been fought during another, much more remote, time, when wars were still fought solely for territory and natural resources. Iraq invaded Kuwait to blackmail the rest of the Arabian Peninsula to change the world's petroleum values so that Iraq could more easily pay off its enormous war debt to the Persian Gulf states leftover from the Iran-Iraq War of the 1980s. In part, then, the conflict was fought to stabilize the international petroleum market, hardly something evocative of the War on Terror. On the other hand, the war was also fought to drive Saddam Hussein's army from Kuwait and reestablish Kuwait's lawful government, something that did (remotely, at least) resemble the post-9/11 design to drive bin Laden and al-Qaeda from Afghanistan and replace the Taleban with a governmental structure less obviously hostile to the rest of the world.

The most obvious similarity between the so-called Hundred Day War and the possibly endless War on Terror, according to the comment pages of *The Times*, is the Western-spearheaded coalition that came together to force Iraqi troops out of Kuwait. *The Times* assumes that the West will rally to a certain degree behind NATO's Article 5, but garnering the support of a broader, and preferably Muslim, coalition is just as important as it was during the Gulf War. Despite the fact that "[m]ost of the Muslim world still recoils instinctively from any attack on a fellow Islamic nation," the unprecedented threat from bin Laden in Afghanistan can sway reluctant Muslim states to back the Western coalition, at least behind the scenes, since, "as in the Gulf War, common fears make common cause" ("Layer Upon Layer," 2001). Critical in this effort would be

convincing potential, Muslim allies that the West is serious about punishing bin Laden for the 9/11 attacks, and is willing to take military action against his Afghan hosts to find him, if necessary. *The Times* notes “[t]hat was true in the Gulf War; and the lesson then, which should be remembered now, is that the best defence is attack. So long as the Western allies were understood to be absolutely determined to deal with Saddam Hussein, they had Arab support. When they wavered, so did Iraq's neighbours” (“With One Voice,” 2001). Looking back toward the Gulf War for perspective, the advice *The Times* offers for the new war is clear: shore up the coalition with a show of strength and determined resolve, because that is what the Middle East values.

For *The Times*, therefore, history provides the guidelines against which the War on Terror ought to be planned, and to a great extent, understood. In its comparison of the post-9/11 mode of war against the examples of war still most accessible in collective Western memory, *The Times* takes great care to demonstrate that the War on Terror represents a conflict far different than anything the West has encountered. That assessment aligns *The Times* with Carl von Clausewitz, a figure *The Times* bears in mind as early as September 15th (“Replies of Steel,” 2001). Historically speaking, whereas Clausewitz had noted that “every age had its own kind of war, its own limiting condition, and its own peculiar preconceptions” (1976, p. 593), *The Times*, calling upon the spirit of Clausewitz, realized that the War on Terror represented a new kind of war with a new kind of enemy. Arguing for a counter-attack framed by historical context became a paramount concern for *The Times* on its editorial page. At first, the

question was what kind of war would the West fight? Knowing that the West had long responded to terrorism, even al-Qaeda terrorism, as a kind of “limited war,” responding to each new terrorist attack as though it were an individual event to be answered individually in a long-running tit-for-tat, *The Times* recognized that through the attacks of 9/11, al-Qaeda had effectively crossed the Rubicon.

In the past, the bombing of an airplane, a nightclub, or even an embassy was countered with either a legal investigation and judicial trial or a quick, one-time, military strike. But no longer would this be a war in which each act of terror was individual. Instead of a handful or even hundreds of deaths, the 9/11 attacks were certain to have murdered thousands in the air and on the ground. New York City and Washington were not like Lockerbie, Berlin, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. This was not a relatively limited attack on an American warship stationed in the Persian Gulf. This attack was nothing like the 1993 World Trade Center bombings except that one of the targets had been the same.¹¹ Collectively, the latest targets represented the military, political, and economic nerve center of the most powerful nation in the world, and the targets had been carefully chosen, studied, and exploited. The casualties were almost completely civilian, and the World Trade Center had lived up to its name; citizens of 115 countries perished, mostly when the towers collapsed. “This,” *The Times* concluded, “was never an American catastrophe but always the world’s,” and

¹¹ Though *The Times* gives a good bit of attention to both the 1998 Embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, referencing them 6 times, and the attack on the USS Cole in 2000, referencing it 3 times, the attention given to the explosion of Pan Am flight 103 in Lockerbie Scotland in 1988, the Berlin nightclub bombings of 1986, and the first World Trade Center bombing all receive minimal coverage, with only 1 reference given to each (see Table 4, p. 72).

the necessary reply no doubt had to “be a war of attrition, costly, long and full of risk, against fanatics within the gates” (“With One Voice,” 2001).

Although “the new truths of a changed world [had] yet to be seen,” *The Times* was certain that this attack would “change the political landscape,” and that there was “no single stroke that [would] slay these invisible enemies, no one riposte that [would] ‘take out’ this threat” (“Terror for All,” 2001). The nature of this attack demanded a full, war footing; “The aim,” *The Times* argued, “must not merely be to punish but to extinguish the threat” (“Terror for All,” 2001). After all, Osama bin Laden had declared war on the West in 1996, calling on the pan-Islamic *ummah* to fight against what he called the Zionist-Crusader alliance. Policy, Clausewitz’s definition for the interests of the community, had just become more “ambitious and vigorous,” thrusting this conflict towards an “absolute war” (1976, p. 606).

Since building momentum toward a war without end could be particularly dangerous, *The Times* has set out to guide the West to “trace each action to an adequate, compelling cause” (Clausewitz, 1976, p. 578), knowing that not to consider carefully and thoroughly its war grievances, the West would surely court disaster. *The Times*, noting the difficulty of declaring war when there was no state against which to declare it, understands the difficulties of declaring war on an international organization as opposed to a nation-state. This is precisely why *The Times* goes to the lengths it does to retrace al-Qaeda attacks on US Embassies, US warships, and even on the US mainland, as well as linking the attacks of 9/11 to the broader threat of terror rising from the Middle East against

the West its cultural values. Even so, taking into account the anti-war response that “the right course . . . is unrelenting pursuit of the guilty through the courts, but through the courts only” (“Replies of Steel,” 2001), the issue here, *The Times* argues, is not just a matter of the international law that has guided the Western concept of war since the end of the Thirty Years’ War in 1648 (“The Old War,” 2001), even though international, Islamic-based terrorism has been a world-wide concern since the 1972 Munich Olympics.

Instead, the issue is at heart an historical one, insofar as the precedents for a war like this one do exist in the scope of Western historical civilisation. “In the longer sweep of history,” *The Times* argues, “war has taken multiple forms in a bewildering range of circumstance,” often being “waged against people and causes, not jurisdictions of geography” (“The Old War,” 2001). Citing the Roman response to the myriad raiders who troubled their shores, the ultimatums issued by various Mediterranean principalities against Islamic pirates in the medieval period, and even the response of American President Thomas Jefferson to the extortion and banditry of Barbary city-states of North Africa during the first decade of the 19th century, *The Times* believes that “war is thus neither an inaccurate term nor a word without meaning in this hour” (“The Old War,” 2001). At the same time, to limit the scope of the West’s response to 9/11 solely by what the letter of international law specifically allows ignores the history of terrorists who continue to raise the ante until a reply is made in kind:

Terror thrives on such ingenuous moralising. History teaches the opposite lesson. Precisely because terrorists crave publicity, unless they are

relentlessly pursued and disabled they will pile atrocity on atrocity until, unchecked, terror rots the timbers on which civilised coexistence rests. Failure to strike will be trumpeted as proof of impotence, or of fear, with the same effect. ("Replies of Steel," 2001)

For *The Times*, the historical precedent trumps the legal one, especially given the difficult concerns and absolute quality of the War on Terror, when a Clausewitzian planning of the "character and scope" of a war at its outset demands a formulation of tactics "on the basis of political probabilities" (1976, p. 584). As a war like this one begins to take shape, "the clearer appear the connections between its separate actions, and the more imperative the need not to take the first step without considering the last" when taking into consideration the course of action that is most likely to yield a favorable outcome (1976, p. 584).

The main caveats *The Times* foresees concern the visceral response to 9/11 and the impulses that arise from it. Ultimately, past choices cannot completely govern future action, though they can inform and help frame what goals we construct from the circumstances that we encounter now. Understanding that, *The Times* takes these historical precedents as resources; however, knowing how different the War on Terror will likely be from any other from the past, *The Times* also anticipates the need to consider those goals and the means by which the West can achieve them very carefully. When Clausewitz (1976) warns that "the aim a belligerent adopts, and the resources he employs, must be governed by particular characteristics of his own position," *The*

Times agrees, arguing that since the West is strong, the War on Terror must be fought by demonstrating its strength. At the same time, *The Times* finds just as much wisdom in Clausewitz's concerns that the belligerent and its resources must "also conform to the spirit of the age and to its general character," when it warns that care must be taken in planning how to approach the Muslim world when conducting that fight. Finally, as it describes the many fronts on which the War on Terror will be waged, *The Times* recalls the Clausewitzian advice that the agents of war and their places and styles of fighting "must always be governed by the general conclusions to be drawn from the nature of war itself" (p. 594).

The danger, in this case, arises because the War on Terror is neither war against a single entity, nor even a single war. *The Times* reminds its readers that "[h]owever deadly the enemy, its legions are invisible. No one is sure what states are behind them or how many heads the Hydra truly has. There is no prospect of decisive set-piece battles." As a result, "[a]gainst enemies that operate across borders and melt into the shadows of anarchic or outlaw lands, coalitions are hard to mobilise and harder to sustain" ("Speed Not Haste," 2001). Given this, defining the war, for the allies and for *The Times*, is difficult, but absolutely necessary. Having already set the historical framework for the war, in developing the definition for the War on Terror, *The Times* considers four central questions: (1) How quickly should the West respond? (2) What fronts should the West target? (3) What roles do which allies have? (4) What are the goals of each phase of the war?

In terms of speed, *The Times* concludes that the counterattack must be

swift, but still deliberate, a lightning war of sorts waged with 21st-century weaponry, including a much-proved intelligence apparatus, which the paper admits is easy to say but harder to do. "Intelligence. . . has a limited shelf life," and "speed is important," but at the same time, "precision matters too," and "America would look weaker, not stronger, if it were to rush ahead with an ill-aimed or ineffective counter-strike prompted mainly by the need to be seen to act" ("Speed not haste," 2001). *The Times* applauds George W. Bush for not rushing immediately into war without carefully considering his targets, but also concludes that waiting too long invites "the temptation to treat this monstrosity as a 'one-off'" and other enemies, such as Iraq, can "seize the moment" ("Speed not haste," 2001). *The Times* concludes that the Western response must come sooner rather than later, but only after the proper targets are identified.

Identifying those targets is the next step *The Times* advises. While "[t]he West could find itself simultaneously engaged in conventional and guerrilla wars," particularly against the Taleban and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, "[s]pecial forces operations that track down and kill individual terrorists will be more effective than hundreds of missile attacks" ("Speed not haste," 2001). Similarly, since the targets of this war are also economic, careful action must be taken in that front also, and "a form of economic cavalry" requires a "sustained, international intervention" including tax cuts to increase private spending, governmental support for the industries placed in jeopardy by the attacks, reconstruction money for lower Manhattan, and a concerted effort by the international banking and energy supply worlds "to take whatever measures are

necessary" to ensure that "the collapse of the World Trade Centre" does not bring about "the collapse of world trade" ("Back in Business," 2001; "It's the Economy, Still," 2001).

More disturbingly, many of the individual terrorists are already embedded in Western societies. "In Hamburg, Paris and London, in Florida and Boston," *The Times* notes, "plotters of mass murder were able to exploit the frameworks of freedom against freedom," so there is "little gain in hunting down terrorists thousands of miles away if they are not relentlessly pursued at home, too" ("Terrorism at Home," 2001). All through the West, security needs strengthening, from shoring up airport security, tightening domestic laws to prevent terrorists from so easily planning their attacks inside the soft, legal underbelly of their victims, placing the extradition of terror suspects on "fast-track," and even, perhaps, to adopting national identity cards. But democracy must flourish if the West is to have something to fight for, and "[t]o extinguish all signs of normal political life would, at a time like this, be wrong." Nevertheless, internal squabbles must be limited, and "it would be foolish to criticise any party which chose to minimise potential conflict on the domestic front" ("United Home Front," 2001).

Bolstering such a wide variety of globalized fronts requires allied help in a variety of contexts, and "[t]he US must decide early what help it needs, from whom, and for what purposes" ("Speed Not Haste," 2001). Even though war plans are not finalized, *The Times* insists that "[t]he US is preparing, and mustering allies in every quarter it finds them, even in Sudan and Cuba, for a new kind of

total war, one that takes into account all forms of human organisation from banking to intelligence, from weapons proliferation and organised crime to poverty and its relief" ("Long War," 2001). China and Russia must at least acquiesce to allied plans. Some central Asian states, like Uzbekistan, can provide bases of operation, while others, like Pakistan, can provide military support simply by reinforcing security along their borders. NATO and other Western allies that supply training, logistical support, and fly-over rights, can be just as valuable as allies like the UK, which will supply troop units on the ground. Finally, as Tony Blair reminded the United Nations in 1998, every terrorist attack "is a reminder that terrorism should have no hiding place, no opportunity to raise funds, no let-up in our determination to bring its perpetrators to justice" ("Terrorism at Home," 2001). Therefore, any nation that refuses to provide safe haven to terror groups, freezes terrorist funds, or identifies and captures the terrorists is an ally in this fight.

Given the multiple conditions of diplomacy, battle fronts, and planning that the War on Terror requires, the most difficult areas for *The Times* to define, predictably, are the overall goals of each conflict falling under the terms of the war. In the first year after 9/11, toppling the Taleban in Afghanistan and capturing members of al-Qaeda are the most obvious military goals. In looking back to adversaries who have had long histories of supporting terrorist organizations, however, the potential long-term goals of removing Saddam Hussein in Iraq or finding ways to deal effectively with theocratic government in Iran are also parts of planning for the war that *The Times* recognizes. While "[a]

decade is the timeframe Washington is working to," the first goal, *The Times* argues, must be for the West to demonstrate a "determination to destroy the al-Qaeda 'academies of death' and private army which bin Laden has built up in Afghanistan" ("Long War," 2001). That goal is complicated by the Taleban, whose "apparent inability to comprehend the enormity of the outrage that has been committed, or the deadly force of the express train that is in consequence bearing down upon their land," reinforces "the intellectual and moral isolation of this cruel and obscurantist regime" ("Prime Suspect," 2001). Even though the West mainly wants Osama bin Laden and his associates in al-Qaeda, they are nevertheless harbored by the Afghan Islamist government. If the West truly wants to "strike at the center of gravity of the entire conflict," then it must strike both al-Qaeda and Taleban targets, making the Afghan conflict, in that way, what Clausewitz would call a "single war" (1976, p. 596-597).

Moving outwards from that center axis, however, is much more complicated because the war becomes not just a single "center of gravity," but "multiple centers," something that Clausewitz warns happens only very infrequently. "[T]errorist cells that are believed to exist in 60 countries" will require a "marathon effort" to eradicate, particularly if those countries are not willing to inoculate the cells on their own. These war aims become even more difficult to measure when one considers that "[t]his is a war without end and a war that we can never be certain we have won" ("It Won't Be Quick," 2001). By the time that the heaviest fighting in Afghanistan—"Phase One"—is over and "Phase Two" is initiated, the conflict is headed toward Iraq, where the aims are not as

clear, except for a design to stop its financial support of terrorist organizations in the Middle East and to rid Iraq of its so-called weapons of mass destruction once and for all, two goals leftover from the first war in the Gulf. Of course, defining and accomplishing that goal remains a murky endeavor well after March of 2002, when *The Times* cites Vice-President Dick Cheney, who asserts that “[t]he notion of a plan for multiple pre-emptive missile strikes was. . . ‘a bit over the top’” (“Coalition Politics,” 2002). By September, military intervention seems inevitable, but exactly how events would unfold is far from certain.

By defining the parameters of the War on Terror, *The Times* is able to follow through on its description of the historical scene of the war and the purposes for which it ought to be fought. In effect, it relies on the history of other battles to delineate what the War on Terror will not be, and, also, what tactics to avoid. When introducing the key players, their goals, and the methods they will use to achieve them, *The Times* uses Clausewitz's historical theory of war to set a plot for waging the war. This allows *The Times* to focus more clearly on what the war will become, who will participate and what means they will use, and what its ultimate goals will be. At this point, the audience has enough background information to understand the drama as it unfolds, and, leaning on the collective historical memory of the British people, *The Times* can begin to construct the dramatic stage that sets to action the main figures and themes of the War on Terror.

Historical Narrative and Iconic Memory

At the end of the first year, *The Times* senses that the world has changed dramatically as a result of the attacks of 9/11, but that the full extent of the changes are still in their infancy. The concern that *The Times* issued on September 12, 2001 still resonates one year on: "The new truths of a changed world have yet to be seen" ("Terror for All," 2001). The one certainty, given the sometimes tumultuous first year, is that the "new truths" will have far-reaching effects that radically shift the way the West views its historical moment. The sense of delayed impact, given the magnitude of the likely change, does not alter *The Times'* outlook, but simply reemphasizes the extraordinary rift 9/11 is likely to create:

Much of what we have come to appreciate as the most powerful moments in history did not lead to the whole pattern of human activity being overturned overnight. The impact in this case, as in so many others, is on a scale beyond conventional comprehension. It will endure, in all probability, for many decades to come ("One Year On," 2002).

The post-9/11 historical narrative, in effect, is still very much in the process of being written, although *The Times* is certain it will emerge as a powerful, pivotal figure in the ground of Western historical memory. Nevertheless, a profound change in the way that the West views itself and its relationship to the rest of the world develops throughout the year. The challenge becomes can the West continue the struggle and disregard the impulse to move on, fighting the

sense of inertia that comes to characterize the War on Terror after the major conflict in Afghanistan ends. *The Times* deeply believes that Afghanistan is but the first phase of a new war that is ultimately a battle for the survival of Western civilisation against an uncivilized horde of fanatics wishing to engulf the world in a dark age of fear.

In that sense, *The Times* fully expects the terror *blitz* to continue, and that this war will be as vital a struggle as the British people have seen since the Second World War. Over and over again through the course of the year, the themes emerging in its commentary echo the exhortations delivered by Churchill in 1940 after the fall of France, when the United Kingdom was the only nation standing between Hitler and European domination.

In content, figures, and themes, *The Times* echoes the program Churchill develops in his speech to Parliament on 18th of June. Bungay (2001, ¶ 8) identifies five “propositions” driving that speech:

- (1) We face a monstrous evil which is a threat to the whole world.
- (2) If we can stand up to it, we will save not only ourselves, but the whole of mankind.
- (3) Our ultimate goal must be victory, for this is an evil so virulent that it must be utterly extinguished.
- (4) The road to victory will be long and hard, and involve much pain and sorrow . . .
- (5) . . . but if we support each other and stick together, we can do it.

The Times picks up these propositions and translates them for the post-9/11 world, in a case of Thelen's (1989) and Nora's (1996a; 1996b) description of reframing history to fit current circumstances. Item (1), with its focus on a monstrous evil that threatens the world, anticipates the figural and thematic portrayal of the War on Terror as a fight between the civilized and uncivilized worlds, one respectful of justice, freedom, and human life, and the other caught in the "growing grip of Islamic extremism" with "conspirators" who commit "monstrous acts" ("Pakistan's Choice," 2001; "With One Voice," 2001). Item (2) introduces the theme of the West's duty to engage fiercely and directly with the terrorists instead of attempting to appease them, "because at stake are the lives and livelihoods of all" ("Another Front," 2001). The notion of "an evil so virulent" in item (3) reflects the tenor of casting the War on Terror as a new kind of war against a new kind of enemy, since the terrorists are little more than "fanatics preaching hate," who use mass murder as a weapon to "rip apart the fabric of civilised society" and "target . . . the future of everyman" ("First Things First," 2001). New War/New Kind of Enemy, along with the content category, This Is a Long World War Without Borders, also emerge as an echo of Churchill's proposition (4), envisioning a "vastly. . . ambitious campaign, waged the world over" in a "new kind of total war" ("Long War," 2001). Finally, item (5) with its exhortation to "stick together" invokes the sentiment of the content category, With One Voice, that *Le Monde* first published and *The Times* echoed: "We are all Americans"—all of the "old rivalries have been buried" ("Still the Enemy," 2001).

In much the same way, Churchill's final refrain could just as easily be spoken to a new generation across the West, something, again, picked up by *The Times*, particularly in its construction of major themes:

What General Weygand called the Battle of France is over. I expect that the battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilisation. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, "This was their finest hour" (1940, ¶ 21).

Here it is possible to see all five of *The Times'* themes for 9/11 working in concert with themes from times past. Civilised/Uncivilised emerges beginning with "Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization." Visible/Shadowy recalls the contrast between "broad, sunlit uplands" and a "sinister Dark Age," lit by "perverted science." Before/After is marked by Churchill's staging of the "battle of Britain," on which everything will depend. New War/New Kind of Enemy

appears as “the whole fury and might of the enemy” that threatens not just the British Empire, but British life and institutions, as well. Finally, Duty/Appeasement becomes the coda, as Churchill urges his nation to “brace ourselves to our duties,” and “bear ourselves” in this, the moment forever that will be known as “their finest hour.”

In this organization of themes, *The Times* links the British present indelibly with its past, in what Nora (1996b) might call “the solidarity of memory with the present” (p. 634). By doing so, *The Times* highlights the remarkable changes 9/11 has wrought, since “the more deeply the sense of history permeates society, the more widespread the perception of change, the more uncertain we have become of the future and of the means of predicting its general timeline” (p. 634). Precisely because the West is so shaken after 9/11, it reaches into the past to establish some sense of certainty in the present.

But the object of the *The Times*’ reach is important. Reaching for Churchill’s speech of the 18th of June, 1940 is not exactly to reach for a moment of calm or surety. At that moment in time, “the battle of Britain is about to begin,” a battle that surely would have crushed a nation less resolved to endure anything to survive. The United States is a year and a half away from entering the War, the Soviets are still allied with the Nazis, help seems to come from few quarters, and time is fleeting. In that moment, the British “brace” is one of a nation that is in the midst of becoming sure-footed. The Prime Minister, in his address, rallies his people and instills them with the sense that they can survive this, that they “can stand up” to the fight, and “the life of the world may move

forward into broad, sunlit uplands.” By choosing this moment, *The Times* clearly understands its power in the British cultural consciousness—1940 represents the nation in its darkest, but finest, hour.

Across the Atlantic in New York, the same story seems to be unfolding. Even while “[w]e still see the bodies pressed against skyscraper windows or caught in obscene free-fall,” we encounter “humanitarianism at its most epic and fundamental” (“Dig Deep,” 2001). *The Times*, looking on from a distance, finds the drama unfolding particularly evocative. Believing that “US will fight back in defence of [its] dream” (“Terror for All,” 2001), *The Times* is certain that New York’s self-described “moment of supreme national horror” (“Heroes Amid the Horror,” 2001), will only spur the US to respond decisively, rather than to retreat. Once Mayor Rudolph Giuliani emerges as a Churchillian figure, especially in the view of *The New York Times*, declaring that New York and the rest of America “would emerge better and stronger” and “would never bow to mere terrorism” (“Mayor of the Moment,” 2001), the picture London develops taps into a view of the past broadly understood and recognized, and therefore carries particular salience.

In the most obvious sense, an historical analogy like this one appeals to the audience of readers because Churchill’s speech defines “what it has meant to be British for the two generations after the one which [first] heard it. . . and perhaps, now, to a new generation facing another mortal foe” (Bungay, 2001, ¶ 9). By introducing this historical metaphor in its thematic elements, *The Times* appeals to a culturally-recognized social construction of history—this is how the

British are supposed to behave when their very survival is threatened. Positing a discussion of *Blitz*-era Britain outlines the British role in the new war by appropriating an historical drama readers clearly understand with a problem far less ordered. Relying on the historical metaphor of the *Blitz* provides an instant means for British readers to understand what is at stake, what dialogue they ought to be having with the Americans and the rest of the world, and why they should behave this way.

At the same time, by choosing this tack, *The Times* accepts and rejects other metaphors that can easily be applied to the current situation. By asserting that this conflict is Churchillian, *The Times* invokes the special relationship; just as the Americans came to the aid of the British during the Second World War, the British must stand shoulder to shoulder with the Americans in this war. By declaring that it is part of the British duty to rebuff these modern-day terrorists, *The Times* rebuffs the great sin of Neville Chamberlain's 1938 deal with the Nazis, the "peace in our time" rhetoric, that now pleads for a negotiated settlement with bin Laden, potentially sacrificing whole nations on the altar of pan-Islamism. Invoking "their finest hour," *The Times* tells the British people that a similar kind of war has just begun, one in which there will be many casualties, often civilian, and one in which there can be no serious negotiation with opposing parties until absolute victory is won.

The close relationship that *The Times* develops between 1940 and 2001 links the most commemorative aspects of British (and Western) behavior during the Second World War to what it expects will come to identify Western behavior

after 9/11. By tapping into a collective memory, important aspects of that memory are likely to be reshaped again. It is as though *The Times* injects the memory back upon us, so that we are part of the experience of both 9/11 and the *Blitz*. We are in both places at once, so to speak, since the memory of “being there” in 1940 merges with the experience of “being there” in 2001. The conversation *The Times* starts with the past by reintroducing the nightmare of the Battle of Britain transforms what kind of conversation about 9/11 we can have. Our historical prejudice limits the dialogue by framing our understanding of events so that the conversation, the “being with others,” is most inclusive of those who share the same collective memory, and in this case, the same fears and drives. World War II significantly reshaped the West’s culture and beliefs, and by incorporating the memory of it into the contemporary discussion of 9/11, its history continues to shape culture and beliefs.¹²

The thematic structure that *The Times* develops over the course of the year, then, is one devoted to organizing 9/11 and its aftermath into a frame that the public can relate to and readily understand. *The Times* cites Eliot's *Wasteland* when describing the Western reaction to what it sees unfolding: “Human kind / Cannot bear very much reality.” The magnitude of the event itself encourages disbelief in the West; things like this just do not happen in a city like New York. Before the West can confront the challenges of 9/11, it first has to overcome the shock of seeing New York explode in flames. For this reason, it

¹² Pennebaker and Banasik (1997) make this argument, noting that we most remember events that change how we live, which is why we remember World War II more than the Korean Conflict or Vietnam more than the first Gulf War.

becomes extremely important to absorb “the spectacle of the towers of the civilised world plummeting to the earth” (“Dig Deep,” 2001). It has to work out, if *The Times* is correct, a response that is intrinsically “human.” We have to find a way to work the event into our narratives of time and history, of making it fit with the language we possess for framing an experience whose cost seems so great. Finding an analogy that is readily translatable is paramount to shaping a reasonable response. When *The Times* reaches for the analogy of the Battle of Britain, it is an easy story to translate because it is already a story the British know intimately.

Within the overall structure, each individual theme develops with a counterpart, historical analogy that the audience recognizes, and allows it entry into the meaning-making conversation about 9/11. Civilised/Uncivilised and Duty/Appeasement, in particular, make sense because they resonate most clearly with their analogical counterparts from the Second World War. These two themes anchor the other three, because in Before/After, New War/New Kind of Enemy, and Visible/Shadowy, part of what the West has to understand is something that is not obvious—either something new or something hard to see. Before/After takes on extra meaning because after 9/11 the Uncivilised is commonplace. New War/New Kind of Enemy stands out when placed against an Uncivilised enemy with whom Appeasement is unacceptable. Visible/Shadowy becomes clearer once the West's Duty to defend democratic, Civilised society from those who cast a spectre over the West crystallizes.

The Times appropriates the past in what Frijda (1997) would call an attempt to define the West's new historical position so that current activities are given meaning. Giving orientation to a present event in this way also begins to construct an event's narrative space, as though offering up a kind of ground against which to build the figures of a story. The language of the narrative transforms into symbolic action echoing a plot's development, an historical model against which to hold ourselves.

In its appropriation of such a culturally-salient historical past, *The Times* revives the acts of that past's special drama. Sarbin (1993) suggests that we dramatize new action insofar as behavior can then be thought of as acting out specific roles in a dramatic construction infused with historical predecessors through analogy. Once the analogy is made, the preferred response, in this case, to crisis, is implicit. Because the symbolic action preferred is so widely admired, not just in the UK, but throughout the West, the symbol opens the action to include the participation of the audience in its development.

Bungay (2001) notes that the end of Churchill's 1940 speech is an "inverted epitaphios" in the sense that Churchill anticipates the future commemoration of the battle of Britain. What *The Times* does after 9/11 is much the same. Just as Churchill, in his commission of Olivier, lionizes "we happy few," suggesting that by standing firm against the Nazis the British people will be worthy of their ancestry to "Harry the King, Bedford and Exeter," *The Times*, in commemorating the honor of a generation twice removed from our own, asserts

that the historical present is irrefutably linked to the lonely days of 1940, and by association, those of 1415.

Language As Symbolic Action

On September 12th, *The Times* reminds its readers that “[v]ery few events, however dramatic, change the political landscape. This will” (“Terror for All,” 2001). The morning of September 11th is already an iconic moment in *The Times*’ view, aligned with nation-changing events of the past. Across the Atlantic, *The New York Times* declares that the day was “one of those moments in which history splits, and we define the world as ‘before’ and ‘after,’” and that now, in this new world, we live on “other side of history’s rift” (“The War in America,” 2001). The effect is dramatic, and the changes 9/11 drives in the social and political landscapes of the West resonate with the force of an urban earthquake.

To make sense of the event, both papers begin a memory-shaping conversation that invests the audience in the dramatic staging of 9/11. If one takes into consideration the pentadic elements Burke (1969) describes as necessary to create a dramatic rendering of any event in language—scene, act, agent, agency, and purpose—one finds that both papers strive to shape the events into a configuration the audience can readily understand, a structured narrative of time. In New York, the conversation takes the shape of myth (Lule, 2002; Pollio, et al., In Press), specifically a tragic epic. In London, however, the conversation which emerges is a political and historical drama. In

both cases, the discussion assumes a narrative bent, giving to 9/11 the rhetorical frame of a story still in the process of unfolding.

Bitzer (1992) notes that "rhetoric is a mode of altering reality . . . by the creation of discourse which changes reality through the mediation of thought and action . . . [so] that the audience, in thought and action, is so engaged that it becomes mediator of change" (p. 4). Ricoeur (1984) and Neisser (1996) also argue that writers of highly skilled language, such as what appears on an editorial page, have a basic knowledge of narrative conventions, or what knowledge an audience requires to enter into the public dialogue concerning an event. Added to this is Bakhtin's (1986) assurance that "genres of complex cultural communication" are drafted with the "actively responsive understanding with delayed action" of an audience (p. 69). Combined, a basic knowledge of narrative conventions added to an event's exigence and an audience willing to participate create an ideal atmosphere in which to construct a landscape for argument, a mode in which shared language is oriented toward a specific purpose.

In the case of 9/11, the audience is certainly actively responsive, since people throughout the West are suddenly forced into vigilance against the unknown after that New York morning. In the same way, the exigence of the situation is obvious. How the West should respond to the terrorist attacks becomes a focal point around which much of Western political conversation revolves for the following year after the attacks. To a great extent, the content categories (see Figure 2, p. 60) of this project describe how *The Times*

approached that central concern, showing the pattern of exigencies that concerned the people and government of the United Kingdom after September 11th (and to a great extent, the kinds of exigencies which concerned their fellow Westerners, wherever they live). September 11th is The Day That Changed the Modern World. It is that moment at which the West stood as one and said, With One Voice: We Are All Americans. In the days immediately following, once the smoke, dust, and debris begin to clear and the West gains a sense of who is responsible for the attacks, it appears that whatever the answer, This Is a Long World War Without Borders, fought against Osama bin Laden's Spectre, using Intelligent Intelligence as the preferred weapon of choice. Finally, as the year rolls on, the question of what role each nation has comes into play—for *The Times*, what Standing Shoulder to Shoulder with the US really means, and what are the Implications for the UK.

Finally, these patterns of exigencies provide the sparks for a narrative conversation that brings the audience to the rhetorical theatre of the editorial page. In setting the stage, *The Times* must put in order the dramatic elements necessary to draw up a proper staging. To a great extent, the pentadic purpose is captured by the historical referencing and the themes that orient and justify the case for war. The purpose emerges also in the figural elements, particularly in the figural categories Civilised World, with 96 total figures, and Change and Time, with 55 (see Table 6, p. 78), which address concerns similar to the themes of Civilised/Uncivilised and Before/After. *The Times* describes the great change 9/11 has wrought when it declares, "The world divides after this tremendous

event into two camps, with no possibility of neutrality, no middle way, between them" ("With One Voice," 2001). In this line, *The Times* links its notion of what constitutes "civilised" to a companion notion of "time," as though 9/11 symbolizes a stark demarcation point. To be on the side of the terrorists after 9/11 is to be part of the "uncivilised camp." Terrorism is no longer a method about which the West can justify its "neutrality" and "no middle way" can be forged "where bigotry, fanaticism and religious hatreds. . . sit too easily alongside the gentler arts of reason," deep in the heart of the Islamist world ("Still the Enemy," 2001). *The Times* describes the stakes and dangers most clearly when it warns,

[b]ut the reality is that America is at war, and the enemy has to be killed or be captured. Host states have to be forced to end support for terrorism. Appeasement will only bring more death. With a few voices already being raised in Britain against America, the West must remain united. A war will inevitably provoke retaliation, maybe from suicide bombers attacking Britain. We must all fear their search for weapons of mass destruction.

("This Is a World War," 2001)

The dangers, it is clear, are all around, but the purpose of the War on Terror is unambiguous: "the enemy has to be killed or be captured" in "the abomination's wake" ("Dig Deep," 2001).

The Times draws the contrast even more starkly as it discusses the purpose for the war in terms of its great irony. In Taleban-run Afghanistan, "[a]t the chaotic heart of a primitive, terror-ridden, travesty of a state, bin Laden runs a

small but well-oiled armed machine" ("Against Evil," 2001). As a result, the Taliban is willing to "protect bin Laden . . . not only because he is their banker, but because they share his enmity" to the civilised world. Because the Taliban and bin Laden would rather let innocent Muslims, especially Afghans, die needlessly, "[t]heir stance demonstrates the utter necessity of this unwelcome war" ("Prime Suspect," 2001). In a case like this, the most absurd irony becomes shockingly suitable: "there is one truism when faced by such an enemy: the hawks are the true peacemakers" ("This Is a World War," 2001). One only needs to recall what New Yorkers experienced, when so many fire-shrouded victims plunged to their deaths that New York schoolchildren exclaimed to their teachers, "the birds are on fire" ("The Birds Are on Fire," 2001), to understand that 9/11 has upended "the glorious mundanity" ("Dig Deep," 2001) of a life that we understood, "turn[ing] it upside down," ("Terrorism at Home," 2001).

Furthermore, the terrorists have usurped what the West holds most precious. *The Times* announces that "[i]n Hamburg, Paris and London, in Florida and Boston, plotters of mass murder were able to exploit the frameworks of freedom against freedom," so that in the wake of 9/11, it is clear that "the West's most cherished values and legal traditions gave evil abundant opportunity" ("Terrorism at Home," 2001). These "mega-terrorists" ("It Won't Be Quick," 2001) represent "an enemy shorn of scruples," who are "sworn to shred the fabric of freedom, to render civilised existence impossible" ("Back on the Ground," 2001).

This more figural argument, coupled with the thematic structure, underpins the purpose of *The Times'* drama. The War on Terror is a war of

“[f]anaticism versus freedom” (“Who Defends Britain?,” 2001), in which freedom will “[take] up cudgels against fear” (“Prime Suspect,” 2001). Those severe contrasts, which resemble only too frighteningly the stark realities of the Second World War, supply This Long World War Without Borders with a noble purpose, one worth fighting for now just as much, if not more, as it was 60 years before.

If the West needed more incentive to begin the struggle, *The Times* needs only to remind it of the scene of the first attack in this new kind of war. In this Burkeian element, the figural categories of Terrain, Natural Disaster, and Vision and Shadow (the latter of which also sets up the scene-act ratio), with 18, 10, and 43 figures, respectively, best describe the setting of the various theatres of the War on Terror. For the opening act, the attacks of 9/11 themselves provide the startling images necessary to provide the descriptive backdrops. *The New York Times* mournfully remarks that by mid-morning on September 11th, “Lower Manhattan had become an ashen shell of itself, all but a Pompeii under the impact” (“The War Against America,” 2001). *The Times of London*, meanwhile, takes a similar view of the scene, describing New Yorkers as having “suffered an urban avalanche” (“Terror for All,” 2001). Just hours after the towers collapsed, “on the still unstable streets of Lower Manhattan,” New York City workers, “the masked and dust-caked, bone tired, devoted crews,” were already busy “sifting the rubble mountain,” quickly coming to the realization while working at the enormous pile that “each survivor is a reminder of how very many have been crushed or burnt to death” (“With One Voice,” 2001). The world economy is

reeling, with governments hastily working to “cushion” their financial systems from “the aftershocks” of the man-made rumble on 9/11 (“Back in Business,” 2001).

After the initial attacks and into the second and third acts marking the beginning and ending of the war in Afghanistan, still, “[m]uch of everyday human activity has ground to a halt, obscured by a noxious covering of dust and ashes” (“Tunnel Vision,” 2001). By November, the earthquake at Ground Zero is replaced with another scene of potential natural disaster in the making, as the world wonders if “the spokes of the American umbrella are strong enough to withstand the storm” (“The Blair Shuttle,” 2001).

During these crucial second and third acts, the “political terrain” of the War on Terror is “treacherous” (“Terror for All,” 2001), with nations such as Pakistan standing in a “grim political position,” (“Pakistan’s Choice,” 2001), like “perilously unstable launching pad[s]” (“Long War,” 2001). “Pockets” of “Pashtun heartlands” scatter throughout “the treacherous Afghan wastes” (“Back on the Ground,” 2001), so that the “countryside is alive with Afghan fighters” (“First Things First,” 2001). As if these conditions did not make the fighting difficult enough, bin Laden’s “legions are invisible,” and “melt into the shadows of anarchic or outlaw lands” (“Speed Not Haste,” 2001). Back home, a “malaise” is “hanging over Western societies,” which hover under the “spectre of nuclear terrorism” (“Nuclear Network,” 2001). By the end of the year, the world landscape is in much the same place. New acts have yet to open, and throughout the world, the scene is much the same.

Since the purpose of the drama is largely developed in the themes, content categories and historical references that *The Times* develops, the figural domains may not seem particularly extraordinary. The scenes that *The Times* sets, correspondingly, are so visually metaphorical that the density in which they emerge in figural categories is hardly surprising. With the purpose and scene set, however, the dramatic rendering that *The Times* undertakes becomes a bit trickier to isolate. In developing a cast of characters, *The Times* relies on the real agents of action. But beyond the predictable political and religious leaders on either side of the fighting, countries, cities, buildings, and even specific industries become personified in their own right and become their own character studies. At the same time, these “characters” that emerge, noted in the 74 figures that appear in the eponomously named figural category, are intricately interwoven with plot elements of act and agency, providing a narrative core for the rising action.

Baydala (2003) argues that in the weaving together of self-referencing “discursive fragments” like these, a story emerges coherent and whole. *The Times*, then, in connecting the various parts of its commentary, along with scripting elements that point towards their narrative being a dramatic one, is crafting the events of 9/11 into a functional story, and not just a simple recording of events. The key, however, lies in the drafting of characters, the descriptions of the actions they take, and agencies they adopt to undertake those actions.

The Times crafts its characters by focusing on their immediate responses, and the possibilities for action developing in these responses to 9/11. After 9/11,

the “flexing” of America’s vast “muscle” begins (“Replies of Steel,” 2001) and “the West plans its retaliation” (“United Home Front,” 2001). If “the Kremlin’s suspicions of NATO designs” can be surmounted (“Speed Not Haste,” 2001) and “Pakistan’s indulgence of the Taleban” ends (“Pakistan’s Choice,” 2001), “America’s diplomatic footwork” (“Layer Upon Layer,” 2001) will be rewarded, as will Great Britain’s, since it is firmly “standing shoulder to shoulder” with the Americans (“Terror for All,” 2001). Washington is “gleaning intelligence” (“Prime Suspect,” 2001) while “Britain girds against the present danger” (“Back on the Ground,” 2001) and “Western governments appreciate the dangers they face” (“It’s the Economy, Still,” 2001).

These immediate responses shift once the thrust towards war begins to take shape. While the initial responses describe a broad range of characters in play, after the shift, the descriptions turn to demonstrate which of these characters are most ready to act. In a great sense, these figures are inward-looking, as though questioning the will of the main players to act, and which ones are readying themselves. When it becomes clear that France has yet “to fall into line” as the likely “third musketeer,” Britain finds itself “standing in a line of only two abreast” (“Back on the Ground,” 2001), but nevertheless shows a “deft hand and a resolute eye” (“It Won’t Be Quick,” 2001), even though it is “a country alive with troubled and legitimate questions” (“Back on the Ground,” 2001). As the eve of war arrives, the “world [is] standing edgily on the brink” (“It Won’t Be Quick,” 2001), “America is crouched,” (“Crouch, Spring, Crouch,” 2001), and “Britain must rise to the challenge” (“Tough on Camera,” 2001).

Finally, the view shifts from the West to its (Burkeian) counter-agents in the Muslim world. Rather importantly, an interesting collection of terministic screens develops in this set of description insofar as *The Times* clearly sees the Taleban, in particular, as a kind of extended farcical joke, since none of its reactions to the demands of the West seem to have any basis whatsoever in reality. As the Muslim world “recoils instinctively” from an attack on a “fellow” (“Layer Upon Layer,” 2001), the “Taleban hurl defiance one day” and “plead ignorance of Osama bin Laden's whereabouts the next” (“Crouch, Spring, Crouch,” 2001), only finally to “publicly [slam] the door” on the West, who now must work to “prise it open again” (“Against Evil,” 2001). Finally, the Islamist enemy becomes something not quite human, a chimera of sorts. *The Times'* observation leads it to believe that al-Qaeda is a monster that cannot be truly defeated until all of its myriad incarnations are defeated. Behind this screen, al-Qaeda morphs into a “terrorist Hydra” (“Long War,” 2001) of “Jackal cunning” (“Intelligent Intelligence,” 2001), with “tentacles everywhere,” although the West does not yet know “how many heads the Hydra truly has” (“Speed Not Haste,” 2001).

As *The Times* describes its characters, it continues to develop the terministic screens through which it understands the War on Terror to be a conflict of Civilised and Uncivilised. A civilised democracy responds to an attack like 9/11 with a kind of righteous might (as in the description of the United States) and with a legitimate questioning of what the war's aims ought to be and how best to achieve them (as in the description of the United Kingdom). But the converse, as seen in the descriptions of the Taleban and al-Qaeda, portray an

illegitimate, farcical response to a truly monstrous act. Given this picture, the contrast between the civilised West and the uncivilised terrorists could not be clearer.

With the characters dramatized, plot action is put into form. In terms of the pentadic elements of act and agency, *The Times* deals with its largest numbers of figural forms, with five categories—Nautical, Medicine, Games, Rooting Out and Closing In, and Science and Engineering—combining as both act and agency. As a result of some of these connections, act and agency are also perhaps the most difficult to set apart cleanly. Perhaps the best way to note the difference is that when *The Times* is describing an act, the action implied is clear; when it mentions agency, *The Times* describes the means or nature of the action.

For perhaps the most illustrative example of the way act and agency combine, the Nautical figural category, with 21 figures, clearly demonstrates both, as well as linking up with the purpose-laden theme, Duty/Appeasement. To a certain extent, act and agency combine so easily in this category because the theme of Duty/Appeasement that *The Times* develops comes through quite forcefully. As might be expected for an island nation that has for so long looked to its Royal Navy for the protection and expansion of its interests, duty, as a figural as well as a thematic notion, is both something to be done (as in “doing one’s duty”), but also is an ideal to guide action (as in “abiding by one’s duty”).

After the “turbulence” of the 9/11 attacks (“Terror for All,” 2001), reservists are “called to the colours” (“Replies of Steel,” 2001), while “[a]nger and anguish

are more likely to mount than subside" ("With One Voice," 2001). Because "terror rots the timbers on which civilised coexistence rests" ("Replies of Steel," 2001), when responding to the attacks, it is "a time for steady nerves and precise actions" ("It Won't Be Quick," 2001). As the momentum for the war in Afghanistan builds, the "US will not fire more than a warning shot or two" ("Crouch, Spring, Crouch," 2001), something diplomats must make clear while "shoring up the American-led alliance" ("Just the Beginning," 2001) to "stiffen the response" of allies ("Tough on Camera," 2001) as they prepare for "the long haul" ("Against Evil," 2001; "The Defeatist Chorus," 2001). Recognizing that "security breaches threaten every citizen's safety," a "wave of emergency legislation" ("Airport Insecurity," 2001) is passed, while at the same time America's and the West's "attempt to weather" the ongoing danger is put into doubt ("From New York Skies," 2001). Praise is given to Tony Blair, who takes "no more than minutes to see his duty" and proves early on that "his course was fixed" ("A Man Alone," 2001). At the end of the year, the 9/11 event still certainly could "carry clout," but al-Qaeda is likely "in a state of disrepair" ("Security Matters," 2002).

Also combining act and agency, though for slightly different reasons, is Science and Engineering, with 43 figures, which links the acts of channeling momentum or energy and building or tearing down structures with the effects those acts have. If the Nautical category helps to define the screens through which to add more layers of understanding to the Duty/Appeasement theme, Science and Engineering points toward the myriad means by which the West

needs to fight a New War against a New Kind of Enemy that in few ways operates by the traditional rules of warfare. By attacking in the way it did on 9/11, for example, al-Qaeda, who “engineered an act of mass murder” (“First Things First,” 2001), struck like a “true bolt from the blue, aimed to humble the heart of the nation” (“Terror for All,” 2001). The attacks are so remarkable that in “the scale of the confusion” (“Intelligent Intelligence,” 2002) words and images are “scorched onto the collective consciousness” (“Dig Deep,” 2001). Because of the “gravity of the situation” (“The Old War,” 2001), the West must “galvanise public opinion” (“Tough on Camera,” 2001) and begin to neutralize the “corrosive political corruption” of Middle Eastern regimes (“With One Voice,” 2001), while not “pouring fuel on the flames of Islamic fundamentalism” (“It Won't Be Quick,” 2001). As the West builds “diplomatic momentum,” Tony Blair, in particular, has value as a “conduit,” even as a “lightning conductor” (“The Blair Shuttle,” 2001), while the West's “coalition-building” drive (“The Defeatist Chorus,” 2001) erects multiple “layers of global support,” like bricks, “layer upon layer” (“Layer Upon Layer,” 2001). Once the war in Afghanistan begins, troops and intelligence services must begin “dismantling” (“Crouch, Spring, Crouch,” 2001) bin Laden's “apparatus of terror” (“Intelligence Needed,” 2001).

Like Science and Engineering, 48 Medicine figures continue to define the terms of New War/New Kind of Enemy, appearing as surgical means for the West to conduct its activities. At the same time, figures of Medicine appear as the side-effects the 9/11 attacks have brought upon the West, and therefore further describe how a Civilised society must react to an Uncivilised terror. For example,

as part of the War on Terror, the West needs to approach the long struggle ahead with a surgeon's eye, and apply "constant pressure to alleviate the root causes of terrorism" ("This Is a World War," 2001), while avoiding "self-inflicted mistakes" ("Back in Business," 2001) and "political headaches" ("United Home Front," 2001). In the "desire to restore life" ("Dig Deep," 2001) to a "stricken" New York and "revive" some of its "bruised zest and gusto" ("Rock Solidarity," 2001), America must also take care of the "economic victims of terrorism" ("Back in Business," 2001) and not ignore the "psychological blow struck by the terrorists" ("It's the Economy, Still," 2001). Finally, in the heat of the battle to "eliminate the scourge of terrorism", the US and its allies must conduct "surgical strikes" ("Long War," 2001), and mind "the festering troubles of the Middle East" ("Layer Upon Layer," 2001). But the allies, knowing that "as the tourniquet tightens it begins to pinch," must be willing to "fray more nerves" ("Crouch, Spring, Crouch," 2001) and "starve transnational networks of power" ("A Man Alone," 2001). Only by taking initiative can the West "penetrate Islamic cells" ("Intelligent Intelligence," 2001) and "eradicat[e] the menace" of suspect regimes, even in Iraq ("A Man Alone," 2001).

Rooting Out and Closing In, meanwhile, with 18 figures, focuses on the notion of tracking down and surrounding al-Qaeda, particularly in Afghanistan. These figures particularly fit into the New War/New Kind of Enemy theme, especially in light of the view Bush takes, promising to "smoke out" the terrorists. In the rush to "cut off any room for manoeuvre" that terrorists have ("Pakistan's Choice," 2001), the allies will "hunt" them and "track down" any accomplices

("Speed Not Haste," 2001), while building a "diplomatic fence around Afghanistan" ("Layer Upon Layer," 2001). As the UK "join[s] the hunt" ("Who Defends Britain?," 2001), the "encirclement of Afghanistan" is about to begin ("War of Nerves," 2001), while bin Laden "hole[s] up" in his "hideout" ("Just the Beginning," 2001). After the conflict ends, the ultimate dual missions of "root[ing] out the terrorists in our midst" ("Tough on Camera," 2001) and "root[ing] out regimes" that support terror continue ("A World Transformed," 2002). As terministic screens, this category in a sense continues to describe the enemy as something not quite civilised, or even human, since it lives underground and becomes the object of a hunt. At the same time, the screens that develop the notion of "fencing in" or "encircling" mark the enemy as something that must be caged for there to be any chance to tame it.

Finally, in the 44-figure Games category, *The Times* plays upon the metaphor of British sport, particularly gambling metaphors of card playing and horse racing, though other metaphorical terms also appear. To a great extent, the games brought into play to create this category's screens are legendary gambler's sport, reinforcing the sense that many of the decisions made by commanding officers when fighting an enemy like al-Qaeda will be hard gambles. Other metaphors developed here are games that require complex strategy and long periods of time. Given these guidelines, *The Times* notes that "[h]owever fluid the chessboard now" ("Palimpsest," 2001), it will take a "marathon effort" ("It Won't Be Quick," 2001) to win the war. Tony Blair has shown a sound ability to "raise his game" in a crisis ("With One Voice," 2001),

while leaders of other, long-suspect regimes are busy “speculating” on the outcome of the war (“Tunnel Vision,” 2001). Even though the West must “play by the book” and respect civil liberties at home (“Terrorism at Home,” 2001), there is “no neutral ground” in this fight (“A World Transformed,” 2002), so the West must “not shirk this slow, deliberate test of strength” (“Replies of Steel,” 2001). Very little will “stay America’s hand” (“Prime Suspect,” 2001), though some allies show a “reluctance to stake everything” on the war’s outcome, sensing that the course will be “frustratingly hard to call” (“The Defeatist Chorus,” 2001). Even though “overseas tip-offs” are invaluable (“Intelligence Needed,” 2001), ignoring problems at home while obsessively following the trails of foreign intelligence will no doubt snatch “defeat from the jaws of any military victory the free world won” (“It’s the Economy, Still,” 2001).

What these figurative acts and agencies do is describe the broad array of tactics and aptitudes fighting the War on Terror requires. The ideal footsoldiers must possess the dexterity and ability to develop and execute strategy of the best athlete coupled with the skill of a surgeon and the understanding of human behavior that a psychologist practices. They must be able to hunt the enemy down and build structures to hold the enemy once caught, and still be able to help rebuild and bolster the security apparatus of the West. At the same time, these ideal soldiers must maintain a deep, abiding sense of duty, not unlike a naval officer, and possess a singular capacity to fulfill it.

In this way, the figuring of act and agency also sets into motion the driving elements in the drama. The War on Terror is a risky gamble, in which chance will

play a tremendous part in the successes and failures of the Allies. It is also a conflict that demands high levels of skill and surgical precision, particularly in military engagements that unfortunately occur in highly-populated areas. The war will place a great burden on the need for speed and quick, but calculated, reactions, combined with a clear understanding of how coalitions are put together as well as how they are broken. In the search for bin Laden and al-Qaeda, the West can only be successful if it ruthlessly hunts the terrorists, rooting them out wherever they hide.

At its core, this conflict is a competition of psychological warfare. In one sense, the war is a matter of duty—the duty the West has to the rest of the world, to its own institutions, and to its vision of the future. But even if its intentions are completely honorable, the great struggle of the War on Terror will be the West's ability to translate its own sense of duty for the rest of the world, and particularly the people of the Middle East. Just as Lakoff describes the events of 9/11 reaching in and changing the brains of westerners, *The Times* believes that the West, as part of its post-9/11 aim, must approach the rest of the world in much the same way.

On the one-year anniversary, *The Times* takes note that the "serious legacy of September 11 rests instead in three theatres. These are America's relationship with the rest of the world; Islam's attitude towards the remainder of humanity; and the central structure of the international system itself" "(One Year On," 2002). As *The Times* carefully analyzes the changes already evident in these three "theatres," the conclusions it comes to demonstrate its belief that the

traditional ways in which people think about the world have to change. In the first place, Americans must realize that it is their “country’s destiny ‘not to have an ideology but to be one,’” and that they must be willing to lead the world even in times of relative peace and prosperity as opposed to shrinking behind a curtain of isolationism.¹³ As for Islam’s attitude, *The Times* concludes that “Islam would be well served by a revolution in thinking,” citing the West’s Renaissance and Enlightenment as models for how such a revolution should evolve. In other words, Islam must be willing to meet the West on equal terms, particularly in terms of the dangers of mixing radical religion with repressive politics. Finally, and perhaps most threateningly, *The Times* reckons that though 9/11 has not particularly changed our understanding of a nation-state, “the character of what is a threat to the nation-state has undeniably evolved.” In that sense, the age of terror requires a greater level of international cooperation than ever before if nation-states are to feel truly safe again.

Of course, *The Times* does not choose the metaphor of three “theatres” carelessly. All throughout the year, *The Times* carefully includes figures of Literature, Language, and Drama, taking one step beyond the Burkeian notions of dramatizing language and often figuring the acts and actors of these three theatres in striking ways. *The Times* no doubt first sees George W. Bush as a kind of Prince Hal, the son of a former President with a history of carousing and being not particularly interested in the work of domestic or foreign policy. In “this world-spanning task of persuasion,” Bush appears to require the sound support of

¹³ *The Times* cites the American historian, Richard Hofstadter, for this observation.

his own Exeters, advisors more qualified than he to guide his country at such a difficult hour, who can be found among his cabinet and foreign leaders like the Prime Minister, many of whom had served their governments in other difficult moments. At the same time, “the President uses words like pieces of wood. Time and again he has striven to match the occasion, to comfort, inspire, to intimidate” and has “fallen flat.” As a result, “his language poses a genuine problem of leadership” (“With One Voice,” 2001).

George W. Bush’s strength in language to this point has largely been in the speech of the commoner. He speaks the language, in a sense, of baseball and the Wild West, and to a great extent, is more likely to trade in Falstaff’s brand of “quips” and “quiddities” (1957a, 1.2.45) and Texas tall tales than in the stuff of sweeping, political rhetoric. He appears to lack “Hobbes’s ‘common power to keep men in awe’,” and in that sense may very well be unable to bear “the burden of being the leader of the free world.” Nevertheless, he is likely to be the leading “actor in the drama whose first act is unfolding” (“With One Voice,” 2001).

By the end of the first week, however, *The Times* has notably changed its assessment. The already highly-effective metaphor of the Hydra comes to carry a second layer of meaning when one recalls that Shakespeare’s Archbishop of Canterbury says early in the first act of his new King, “never Hydra-headed willfulness/ So soon did lose his seat, and all at once,/ As in this king” (1957b, 1.1.35-37). Almost overnight, *The Times* gains a new-found confidence in the untested President after watching him muster brilliant moments at the National

Cathedral, Ground Zero in New York, and later at Camp David. The now-transformed Bush “has found his voice and hit his stride” (“The Old War,” 2001), the way Prince Hal at his father’s deathbed, and in battle against Hotspur, makes the leap to becoming Henry the King.

Offering his own “Non Nobis” and “Te Deum” in respect for “all holy rites” (1957b, 4.8.117-118), the coda of Bush’s remarks at the National Cathedral, reminiscent of Romans 8:38-39— “[a]s we have been assured, neither death nor life, nor angels nor principalities nor powers, nor things present nor things to come, nor height nor depth, can separate us from God’s love” (2001, ¶ 20)— echoes Shakespeare’s careful situating of King Henry as a sure, but humble, Christian king. As Americans come to know the names of those who died trying to save the lives of others in the air or on the ground, Bush assures the country, “[w]e will read all these names. We will linger over them, and learn their stories, and many Americans will weep” (¶ 5). Bush no doubt catches *The Times*’ attention in part because he sounds so much like King Henry, as he assures his men, “Then shall our names,/ familiar in his mouth as household words/ . . . Be in their flowing cups freshly rememb’red” (1957b, 4.3.51-55), especially when juxtaposed with the image of the President standing on the ruins of the World Trade Centre, rallying the country, promising that the slaughter of innocents will be avenged. And as Bush speaks of the importance of unity, honor, a “responsibility to history . . . to rid the world of evil” (¶ 7), and that “the commitment of our fathers is now the calling of our time” (¶ 18), his words ring nearly the same notes that Churchill had in 1940. By the following Monday

morning, at the beginning of the second week of the post-9/11 era, *The Times* is convinced Bush has shown that “he has the character to rise to the challenge of now serving as a war leader” (“The Old War,” 2001).

Figurally speaking, *The Times*' dramatic awareness continues even after the basic dramaturgy of world leaders is set. A steep drop in stock prices “upstage[s]” the reopening of the New York Stock Exchange (“Back in Business,” 2001), while memories of that Tuesday morning are continually “replayed in flashback” (“Dig Deep,” 2001). Pakistan is “uncomfortably in the frame” (“Long War,” 2001) as the Taliban is “playing out a deadly farce” (“Prime Suspect,” 2001). The focus on the importance of what lines are spoken on stage continues since in the Middle East “careless language costs lives.” What the West really needs is “a palimpsest, a political, military and intelligence-sharing script that is constantly rewritten” (“Palimpsest,” 2001). Crucial operations happen “off-screen” as the West begins to “hone the rhetoric of readiness” (“Another Front,” 2001). Once Afghanistan is under control, the British forces, better prepared to be peacekeepers than the Americans, “have a new role to play” (“The Defeatist Chorus,” 2001) and take “centre stage” (“First Things First,” 2001), while Tony Blair finds himself in the position of Bedford or Gloucester, “best placed to whisper words in the right ears” (“The Old War,” 2001).

Shakespeare's Henry declares himself “no tyrant, but a Christian king” (1957b, 1.2.241), and once an English right to war is settled, soon “all the youth of England are on fire/. . . Now thrive the armorers, and honor's thought/ Reigns solely in the breast of every man/ . . . Following the mirror of all Christian kings”

(1957b, 2.1.1-6). The same sentiment rings true in 2001, particularly after the weekend *The Times* believes marks Bush as a man capable of leading the world through a troubled time. From that point forward, *The Times* pens its international drama as the story of a civilised, Christian West against an enemy “ruthlessly contemptuous of life” (“A World Transformed,” 2001). By choosing literary and historical allusions that resonate deeply within British culture, *The Times* aligns the actions of the post-9/11 world with remembrances of war, framing the audience’s understanding of events by tapping into its collective memory. By connecting 9/11 to the *Blitz* and its aftermath to Shakespeare’s rendering of the Battle of Agincourt, *The Times* weaves the three events and their leaders together, scripting a way for the British people to understand what this new tragedy means as well as how important it will be in shaping the future of their civilisation and institutions and their “special relationship” with the people of the United States. “In its anguish,” a “hobbled” America which “seemed to stand so very nearly alone,” will find in its best and closest ally “respect, honour and offers of help,” an “instinctive. . . coming together in solidarity with the dead” (“Still the Enemy,” 2001). Having found itself nearly alone in the dark days of the past, *The Times* reminds its readers that only by standing shoulder to shoulder will the British and Americans be able to “defend civil order against enemies within the gates” (“A World Transformed,” 2002).

Never Before Has the World Felt Itself to Be Such a Global Village

Chapter 5: Conclusions

General Conclusions

Perhaps the most instructive way to begin a discussion about the general conclusions I draw from this project is to take a step back to my research questions and reconsider them in light of the results derived. The first question—(1) *How does language act as both symbolic action and collective therapy in these leading articles and how are those two functions interrelated?*—seems to require a slight reframing in light of results. When I first considered this question, I already had many of the results from *The New York Times* project to consider. The 20 reflective editorials from *The New York Times* are undoubtedly concerned with helping the city to heal after the horrors of the 9/11 attacks. With their focus on anniversaries, holidays, and moments of symbolic, funeral ritual, the reflective editorials sought to provide frames of meaning for the collective grief and trauma of the people of New York.

My initial expectation for *The Times of London*, therefore, was that the paper would try to do some of the same things. To an extent, *The Times* does just that, in the sense that some anniversaries and holidays are covered, and the British people, who themselves were mourning the deaths of many of their countrymen at the World Trade Centre, suffered their own grief. But, the primary grief for Londoners, I would argue, was that watching 9/11 unfold across the

Atlantic in a city that in many ways is London's partner and sister, reminded them only too sharply of catastrophic events of London's relatively recent past, particularly the terror of the *Blitz*. In that sense, using its leading articles as a realm for collective therapy was not really the aim of *The Times*.

Using language as symbolic action, however, was quite clearly an aim. The language of *The Times*, in a great sense, came to frame the narrative means for understanding the events of 9/11 and its aftermath. In leading articles *The Times* produced in the year following 9/11, action-made-symbolic provided a dramatic foundation for explaining the various roles of the main actors and acts of 9/11. If by "collective therapy" one assumes a way to help a group of people come to make sense of a traumatic event, then certainly, language as symbolic action, it would seem, provides a means for *The Times* to accomplish just that. If, however, "collective therapy" takes on a more traditionally psychological connotation, as it does in *The New York Times*, then what the leading articles of *The Times of London* do is not really collective therapy, and *The Times* does not particularly make the connection that *The New York Times* does so well.

This conclusion, nevertheless, leads directly to the second research question: (2) *How do metaphor, memory, and narrative intersect to create meaning?* Taking the dramatic form that develops through language as symbolic action that *The Times* brings into play as a starting point, at least one of the ways in which figural terms, historical memory, and dramatic, narrative structure intersect is by providing frames of meaning for understanding traumatic events that translate easily into British culture. For instance, the sparkling points at

which civilisation emerges as a thematic anchor, a metaphorical term, and an historical analogy give the ground of time and history perspective by providing a profound figure that stands out to an audience struggling to understand the events of 9/11. It calls upon, for example, the collective memory of the *Blitz*, the iconic Churchill and Henry V, the figural understanding of what constitutes civilised versus uncivilised society, and finally, the Shakespearean portrayal of the greatest moments in the coming of age of a great king to structure the post-9/11 world in a way that the United Kingdom can easily interpret. In these intersections, *The Times* typifies the ways in which historical, rhetorical, and psychological themes converge when the need to build frames of meaning from tragic events demand it.

Limitations

In a study that generates as much data as this one, one of the limitations will always be the choices made in order to make the data manageable. In the first place, whittling down 45 leading articles from 251 possible leaders that were earmarked to rate for relevance was an exercise in discovering what different kinds of readers see. In those early ratings, five readers determined which articles were relevant, and among those five readers, two factions emerged. Two clearly read articles concerning 9/11 and the resulting war in a relatively narrow way. By that, either an article was obviously and clearly related to 9/11 and the war in Afghanistan, or it was something else entirely. During the second

half of the year, therefore, when the war in Afghanistan effectively ends, the number of relevant articles drops dramatically. Two others, meanwhile, conceptualized 9/11 and the resulting War on Terror as a far broader endeavor, and viewed relevant articles quite differently.

For instance, a leader from 27 December, 2001, "The Mosque As Beacon," deals with more understated questions of the cultural and psychological aspects of the role of the mosque in the West as a potential bridge to peace or as a potential breeding ground for home-grown terrorists. The two readers who read more broadly rated this leading article quite highly, while the two who viewed the issues of 9/11 more narrowly found it to be largely irrelevant. The last reader, who was generally the wild-card in the rating process, agreed with the latter group, and therefore this particular article fell beneath the threshold for selecting relevant articles. In light of the London bombings of the 7th of July, 2005, however, a leader like this one clearly takes on a different level of importance. In any event, I believe that rating articles as relevant with a broader eye towards what constituted a relevant article would have resulted in a steadier rate of overall output of articles, a rate that would have more closely resembled the data coming from *The New York Times*, which this study views, more than any other papers involved in the study, as containing the most similar stylistic and thematic links to *The Times of London*.

At the same time, the terror of the 7/7 bombings suggested an interesting counterpoint to the original set of articles. The temptation was to add the first few weeks of leaders that appeared after 7/7 to this study, to gauge how the

views from London have really changed since September, 2001. In part, this possibility was influenced by the data we saw coming from *El Mundo* after the 11-M attacks of 2004 in Madrid in which the initial response was remarkably similar to the response in New York. In our early looks at *The Times* after the attacks of 7/7, this trend seemed to hold true—7/7 became Britain's 9/11. As such, being able to track that data would have likely proved extremely interesting as to how Western attitudes have held in the years and struggles since 9/11.

Finally, in ordering agreement of salient figures, the data suggested that as the size of a leading article increased, the likelihood of finding salient figures decreased. Many of those longer articles, however, are ripe with brilliant figural language. The hypothesis, therefore, is that a longer article simply offered more possibilities of salient figures. More possibilities, then, yielded a lower level of figures on which raters agreed, simply because there were so many options from which to choose. As suggested in explaining this data in Chapter 3, the rate of output for salient figures would likely have remained steadier had we raised the number figures that raters could select as salient. At the same time, my hypothesis is that the total body of salient figures likely would have included more data describing the tests of fighting the psychologically and culturally-challenging War on Terror, the part of the War that, most likely, we will fight for the longest time.

Suggestions for Future Research

The most obvious places to begin research rest in the cross-cultural nature of the larger project. Comparative studies detailing the contrasts of *The Times* with other papers in the project would be highly informative, particularly with regard to the deeply-embedded literary and historical metaphors that appear to drive British culture. Do other papers demonstrate this kind of model, and if so, what do their models look like? As I have worked through *The Times*, I have constantly compared it, with our American team leader, Howard Pollio, to *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *El Mundo*, all of which I helped to rate, and also, in conversation with our Bulgarian partner, Tolya Stoitsova, with what she has learned from *Sega* and *Izvestia*. So far, we have run into very specific kinds of styles for each paper though some of these styles intersect, specifically, a highly literary style shared by *The New York Times* and *The Times of London*, and across Europe, some similarities in terms of how history is treated.

As a group, all of the European papers appear to place a far greater emphasis than the American papers do on 9/11's place in the larger historical ground of Western civilisation. How that history develops varies quite a bit from culture to culture, but particularly between continental Europe, which depends greatly on history from before the Second World War to frame 9/11, and the United Kingdom, which obviously places a great deal of emphasis on World War II and the post-war world. The relationship between *The New York Times* and *The Times of London*, however, is most striking because of each paper's

dependence on complex rhetorical styles through which to present its views, as well as the similarity of themes and content which develop therein. Originally, this project was to include that comparison, but it simply became too unwieldy to cover adequately.

Finally, it would be very interesting, I believe, to develop the stark contrast that exists between the data from *The Times* and *The Washington Post*, which, oddly, might be the least rhetorical and least historical of any of the other papers. Given the “special relationship,” that contrast seems extraordinary, as though one capital views 9/11 solely as a matter of contemporary politics, while the other sees it as a figure in the long ground of history. That striking difference begs the question how much weight does being the cultural capital of a country, as well as its political capital, place on a paper’s outlook on the world? At least in the case of 9/11, it would appear that whatever city is the cultural capital of a country—London in the UK, New York City in the States—is likely to develop the more resonant rhetorical themes. That notion, given the ongoing War on Terror which seems to become ever more complex, is a fascinating one to explore. To that end, the better question might be what defines and drives a nation, its politics or its cultural history? The answer to that question has implications across the political, social, and cultural spectrum, across the world, and therefore, in it, we would likely find our best means of understanding each other, and of living together not in war, but in peace.

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Appendices

The Times' 15 Rated Figures by Rater

Anne

Terror for all

9/12/2001

P

recover identity as young nation
 standing shoulder to shoulder
 a nation tempered by fire
 these Manhattan murderers = heroes
 suffered an urban avalanche
 civilised world grieves with them
 reminders of this dreadful day for years
 new truths of a changed world
 fight back in defense of (American) dream
 true bolt from blue aimed to humble heart of
 nation
 trying out JFK's shoes
 assault on freedom demands devastating
 response
 reflecting regime's delight
 no single stroke will slay invisible enemies
 treacherous political terrain

Still the Enemy

9/13/2001

Terror for all

P

halt normal business
 urban avalanche
 turbulence
 price of vigilance
 constant reminders
 incalculable impact
 new truths of changed world
 treacherous political terrain
 potent symbols
 grimly conscious
 tempered
 true bolt from the blue
 a footing with Tel Aviv
 extinguish the threat
 trying Kennedy's shoes

Still the enemy

Lance 1

12-Sep-01

2

13-Sep-01

Terror for all

P

urban avalanche
 turbulence to world markets
 impact on the American mind
 new truths to be seen
 change the political landscapes
 a nation tempered by fire
 bolt from the blue
 country's huge security apparatus
 an abstract peril
 country's sense of itself
 US to recover its identity
 heart of American power
 trying out JFK's shoes
 brought to justice
 treacherous political terrain

Still the enemy

Daniel 1

12-Sep-01

2

13-Sep-01

P

pavement carpeted with flowers
 hatreds sit alongside/gentler arts
 rivalries buried/Parisian sniping banished
 appalling assaults attack upon all
 no melting into shadows/shroud preparations
 Schadenfreude
 terrorism could hobble American power
 demand Kabul yield up bin Laden, dead or alive
 Taleban break-out
 instinctive global solidarity with dead
 nurture the sympathy
 Tuesday's outrage
 popular revulsion asset of incalculable
 importance
 we are all Americans
 disavowed terrorist has no hiding place

With one voice

9/14/2001

P

sifting the rubble mountain
 masked, dust-caked, bone tired, devoted crews
 anger/anguish more likely to mount than subside

P

stirred/hobble American power
 recall, shuddering
 "We are all Americans"
 vigilantly contain spreading terror
 melting into the shadows/shroud
 driven to stone age
 muddied/fuzzy policies
 miscalculation
 jockeying
 popular Schadenfreude
 stamp out
 Washington isolationism
 looking other way
 hatreds sit alongside gentler arts of reason
 Sloppy intelligence

With one voice

3
 14-Sep-01

P

dust-caked
 sifting rubble mountain
 clean houses of terrorist taint/purge terror

P

pavement carpeted with flowers
 old rivalries have been buried
 no melting into the shadows
 fuzzy western policies
 American failure of understanding
 his existence proclaims
 jockeying for influence
 muddied the Palestinian waters
 idea has grown
 hobble American power
 sit too easily among gentler arts of reason
 sloppy intelligence
 giant that seeks to go about business
 popular Schadenfreude
 exemplary riposte

With one voice

3
 14-Sep-01

P

rubble mountain
 each survivor is a reminder
 anger and anguish like to mount

towers the very opposite of Babel
 never American catastrophe but the world's
 silent dead of many lands speak to that truth
 war of attrition against fanatics within gates
 president uses words like pieces of wood
 actor in drama whose first act is unfolding
 language poses genuine problem of leadership
 Pakistan progressively Talebanised

clean their own houses of terrorist taint
 Pakistan's corrosive political corruption
 world divides into two camps/no middle way
 Pak's intelligence hand in mailed fist with Taleban

Replies of steel: Answers to inevitable criticisms of
 an
 inevitable response

9/15/2001

P

flexing of America's vast muscle
 bells tolled yesterday
 shelter fanatics poised to strike
 called to the colours
 betraying democracy's values
 call spirits from dusty deep

Hegel's spirit spar with Machiavelli's, Clausewitz's
 unleashing corrosive cycle of violence
 justice is civilisation's most potent weapon

roll
 silent dead speak truth
 cherished liberties
 words like wood/fallen flat
 raise his game
 no middle way
 blank cheque
 reining Washington

actor in unfolding drama
 solid motives
 corrosive political corruption
 shed image

Replies of steel

15-Sep-01

P

flexing
 bells tolled
 called to the colours
 betraying democracy's values
 moving silence
 call spirits
 democracy noisy sceptical affair/fool's
 errand
 breed "martyrs"
 unleashing

towers that were the opposite of Babel
 support can leech rapidly away from wars
 world-spanning task of persuasion
 words like pieces of wood
 he has fallen flat
 stand-four square
 world divides into two camps
 safe house is a safe house
 cheerleaders and fundraisers for bin
 Laden
 actor in drama whose first act is unfolding
 hotbeds of militancy
 clean their own houses of terrorist taint

Replies of steel

15-Sep-01

P

flexing of America's vast... muscle
 called to the colours for land
 roots of terrorism
 moving silence
 spirits from the dusty deep
 retaliation would hand them victory

unleashing corrosive cycles of violence
 justice is civilisation's most potent weapon
 terror rots timbers which coexistence rests

terror rots timbers on civilised coexistence rests
failure to strike trumpeted as proof of impotence
shackles
freedom's home
make price of terrorism unbearable
shirk this slow deliberate test of strength

terror rots timbers
crushed
shackles
unbearable price
test of strength
America "freedom's home"

democracies made shackles for themselves
"freedom's home"
betraying democracy's values
test of strength
history teaches the opposite lesson
democracy is a noisy, sceptical affair

This is a world war

This is a world war

5

5

16-Sep-01

16-Sep-01

9/16/2001

P

P

P

descent into prolonged barbarity
no going back to life before
bring to head struggle shadowing West
ruling clique in Afghanistan
deploring fate of Manhattan's twin towers
Muslim "wild west"
pressure to alleviate root causes of terrorism
fortress America was already moribund
shattered for ever last Tuesday
fuel flame of terror
whipping the terrorists
hawks are true peacemakers
weapons of mass destruction
Great Satan
pursuit of common menace

strike heart
no going back
hawks are true peacemakers
shadowed West
hidden supporters
spread terror
turning point in history (like Truman Doc)
heavy loss
distilled
global cop
keeps head down(re:Reagan & Gadaffi)
alleviate root causes
fuel terror's flame
temper force
hostile lands

heart of the US
struggle that has shadowed the west
however it rears its ugly head
turning point in history
height of its powers
offer of cooperation is opaque
Muslim "wild west"
US to become global cop
Fortress America
fuel the flame of terror
the "Great Satan"
economic muscle
hawks are the true peacemakers
[Gadaffi] keeps his head down
root causes of terrorism

The old war

The old war

6

The old war

6

17-Sep-01

9/17/2001

P

P

P

invisible enemy without borders
 bewildering range of circumstance
 jurisdictions of geography
 react to piracy
 undeclared war against bandits
 elaborate protection racket
 standing shoulder to shoulder
 best placed to whisper words in the right ears
 extravagant plan of aggression
 found his voice and hit his stride
 stance on the rubble in NYC
 mobilised American people
 character to rise to challenge
 mount leadership campaign
 notion of war/law rests on structure

stark unavoidable facts
 firm/measured manner
 invisible enemy
 rests on structure/idea
 bewildering range
 gravity of situation
 whisper words in right ears
 found voice/hit stride
 rise to challenge
 unparalleled collective experience
 patient & patriotic
 mount
 surreal
 parallel to our present times
 restrain

an invisible enemy
 notion of war has rested on the idea
 law rests on this structure
 sweep of history
 fledgling republic
 gravity of the situation
 standing "shoulder to shoulder" with US
 G. W. Bush has found his voice
 hit his stride
 moving words
 mount the leadership campaign
 parallel to present time
 gravity of the situation
 whisper words in right ears
 assemble the evidence

Pakistan's choice

Pakistan's choice

7

Pakistan's choice

7

17-Sep-01

9/17/2001

P

P

P

grim political position
growing Talebanisation of Pakistan
inspired by zealotry of clerics holding sway
run campaign of terror
live with anarchy across border
preaching message of hate

growing grip of Islamic extremism
cut off any room for manoeuvre
run into wall of obscurantist militancy
Pakistan's indulgence of Taleban
rein in fanatics
hand over bin Laden to escape retaliation
hasten isolation/disintegration of Pakistan
tilt world opinion decisively toward India
realpolitik

Speed not haste

9/18/2001

P

America's reach needs to be equally long
legions are invisible
how many heads the Hydra has
decisive set-piece battles

grim position
blunt demands
face
international cover
revealed
growing/nurtured Talebanisation

holding sway
preaching message of hate
growing grip of Islamic extremism
cut room for manoeuvre
run into wall
indulgence
tilt world opinion
route
reform disfunctional society

Speed not haste

P

invisible legions
Hydra heads
melt into shadows
hunted down

face the penalties
faces bloodshed
Taleban was nurtured
growing Talebanisation
preaching a message of hate
growing grip of Islamic extremism
cut off room for manoeuvre in
negotiations
run into a wall of obscurantist militancy
hand over bin Laden
tilt world opinion
grim position
blunt demands
revealed the hypocrisy
international cover
Pakistan's indulgence of the Taleban

Speed not haste

P

legions are invisible
how many heads the Hydra has
melt into the shadow
networks are to be hunted down

8

18-Sep-01

8

18-Sep-01

melt into shadows of anarchic or outlaw lands
murderous networks hunted down
flush of horrified sympathy

treat this monstrosity as a one-off
as networks regroup trail may go cold
little real appetite for war
conflict fought with all weapons, blackmail

stateless terror
Kremlin suspicions of Nato designs
West should deal direct with Russia's neighbours
Islamist assailants have tentacles everywhere

Back in business

9/18/2001

P

back in business
expected collapse
fade away into outright recession
prolonged slump
big boost
free market principles being placed to one side
deliberate assault on symbol of nation
self-inflicted mistakes
form of economic cavalry
cushioned from aftershocks

first flush fades
temptation
patient intelligence

muttering will grow louder
produce uproar/splits
appetite for war
concentrated targets

track down
tentacles everywhere
scourge
outmatch

Back in business

P

upstaged
triggered
robust efforts
testing
fade
slump
plainly determined
big boost
formula
inspire recovery

Pentagon readies its plans
intelligence has a limited shelf life
terrorist networks regroup trail goes cold
members have little real appetite for a war

Iraq could seize the moment
Kremlin suspicions
assailants have tentacles everywhere
lay solid diplomatic and military foundations
terror has no hiding place
first flush fades
track down

Back in business

18-Sep-01

P

ceremony was promptly upstaged
cut interest rates
growth could fade into outright recession
deliberate assault on a symbol of nation
economic victims of terrorism
economic cavalry
British economy cushioned by aftershocks
make or break sentiment in the markets
damaged triggered
robust efforts of Fed. Reserve Board

take time off from pursuing personality cult
make or break sentiment in markets
limit damage triggered by last week's atrocities

decent taste than hard economics
upstaged

In the air

9/18/2001

P

the nation's life
fell sharply in value
stepped up their own vigilance
laxity of the past
old habits
stopping kamikaze terrorists
plane as bomb
chemical sniffer to detect explosives
check in a bomb
trust in baggage reconciliation
false assumption
complying with hijackers' demands
suicide terrorists
recovering some of its position
immediate steps

deliberate assault on a symbol
irrational
economic victims of terrorism

economic cavalry
cushioned from aftershocks

In the air

P

recovering
nation's life
desperate to reassure
stepped up vigilance
lax procedures
become used to
global agreement
using plane as bomb
amid confusion
fell sharply
old habits hard to change
higher standards
El Al set example
look beyond immediate steps
kamikaze terrorists

next few months will be testing
formula required to inspire recovery
strong case for conventional ... principles
save S&L industry from self-inflicted
mistakes

In the air

18-Sep-01

P

air traffic recovering some of its position
in the nation's life
stepped up their own vigilance
El Al has long set the example
beyond immediate steps toward changes
kamikaze terrorists
using a plane as a bomb
chemical "sniffer"
fell sharply
old habits are hard to change
airlines will object
lax procedures
safety enforced by global agreement
pilots may need to be armed
higher standards

Terrorism at home

Terrorism at home

Terrorism at home

19-Sep-01

19-Sep-01

9/19/2001

P

P

P

triumphalist bile fills airwaves
 evidence is sifted
 clearer the terrible truth becomes
 plotters of mass murder
 exploit frameworks of freedom against freedom
 nature of clandestine networks
 puzzle not pieced together
 tumble with bombed towers
 sleepers ready to strike
 enemy within gate
 little gain in hunting down terrorists
 their ilk
 alert to menace
 no scruples about using law against law
 terrorism should have no hiding place

sifted
 terrible truth
 clearer
 exploit frameworks of freedom
 gave evil abundant opportunity
 puzzle
 deadly inside knowledge
 turn upside down
 circulate
 "sleepers"
 enemy within gate
 play by the book
 triumphalist bile
 nation's distaste
 resorting

evidence is sifted
 clearer the terrible truth becomes
 exploit frameworks of freedom
 values and traditions gave evil opportunity
 strong grounds to suspect
 puzzle was not pieced together
 financial markets turn upside down
 courtesy of civil liberties
 enemy within the gate
 authorities must play by the book
 British book has long needed rewriting
 terrorism should have no hiding place
 police fight shy of arresting people
 triumphalistic bile fills the airwaves
 fast-track extradition procedures

Dig Deep

Dig deep

Dig deep

12

12

19-Sep-01

19-Sep-01

9/19/2001

R

R

R

human kind cannot bear very much reality
spectacle of towers of civilised world plummeting
unbearable in the reality of last week
scorched into collective consciousness

replayed in flashback to newly insomniac world
bodies pressed against skyscraper windows
caught in obscene free-fall/world waits for dust
settling

world felt itself to be global village/terror is leveller
poignant simplicity of so many valedictions
abomination's wake
gave up lives scaling fatal monoliths
humanitarianism at its most epic
desire to restore life to city
glorious mundanity
Americans continue to dig through rubble

United home front

9/20/2001

P

democracy's best retaliation against terror to
thrive
Stars and Stripes on the wrecked side of Pentagon
democracy itself under attack

glorious mundanity of life
towers of civilised world
plummeting
dig deep into pockets
scorched onto consciousness/replayed
flashback
abomination's wake

newly insomniac world/unbearable
caught in free-fall/world waits for dust to
settle
learning
slaughter used as weapon
poignant simplicity
terrorism is a leveller/global village
scaling fatal monoliths/rubble
epic/fundamental
restore life to city/assuage feelings

United home front

13
20-Sep-01

P

suspend domestic politics
dug from dust
extinguish signs

towers of the civilised
images scorched onto consciousness
newly insomniac world
their slaughter itself used as a weapon

global village
scaling those fatal monoliths

desire to restore life to their city

friends can dig deep into their pockets
abomination's wake
terrorism is a leveller
glorious mundanity of life New Yorkers lost
worlds waits for dust to settle
bear this sort of reality
spirit reflected all over New York
assuage [world's] feeling of grief

United home front

13
20-Sep-01

P

democracy's retaliation is to thrive
democracy itself is under attack
West plans its retaliation

dug from dust
West plans retaliation
extinguish all signs of normal political life
slip into rebellion from one wing
crude anti-gov't tactics from the other
labour left threatening rebellion
temporarily lost stomach for fight
opportunity for dissent
hearts of public and politician
political jousting
lose little sleep
appear statesmanlike

measure of restraint
best part of week
political headaches
slip into rebellion
crude anti-Government tactics
break guarantee of support
appear statesmanlike
lost the stomach for the fight
lose little sleep
hearts of public/politician
political jousting
normal political life

extinguish all signs of normal political life
circumstances demand
political headaches
conference is an important platform
from one wing of the party
lost the stomach for the fight
political jousting
conflict on the domestic front
conference is likely to slip into rebellion
hearts of public and politician
normal political life
New Yorkers dug from the dust

It's the economy, still

It's the economy, still

It's the economy, still

14

14

20-Sep-01

20-Sep-01

9/20/2001

P

P

P

avoidance of serious economic slump
crisis bringing economic ruin to millions
snatched defeat from jaws of any military victory
triumph for those out to destroy
economic slowdown not confined to US

psychological blow struck by terrorists
gov'ts appreciate danger they face

initial hesitancy of European Central Bank
Stability Pact not allowed to become sterility pact

emblazoned words
a real war
vital
slump
terrible blow

jaws of military victory
dramatic fall

psychological blow struck by terrorists
appreciate danger they face

economic ruin
real war rooms
terrible blow to the global capitalist system
snatched defeat from jaws of military
psychological blow struck by the terrorists
governments appreciate dangers they face
vital that stability pact not sterility pact
join the international drive to avert a slump
economic slump

join int'l drive to avert slump
collapse of world trade would bring satisfaction
so-called war room/real war
free world won
terrible blow
helped economy to recover

extraordinary measures
early moves
sensible response to serious events
build military coalition
international drive
collapse

far from their minds
set against the pessimistic news
overcome by political pressure
effect felt on the east coast
build a military coalition
collapse of world trade

Long war

Long war

Long war

15
20-Sep-01

15
20-Sep-01

9/20/2001

P

P

P

mobilisation gathering pace
White House's brusque insistence
bin Laden's Afghan lairs
mustering allies in every quarter
foretaste only of vastly more ambitious campaign
waged world over
shed some post-Vietnam habits of thought
willingness to stay same long course
siding with civilised world lesser risk
deter American in determination to destroy
al-Qaeda academies of death
alien power within fractured, factious state
caught by Achilles' heel
guile and gold as much as with force
test of strength against terrorist Hydra

gathering pace
White House's brusque insistence
terrorist Hydra
necessary intelligence
bin Laden's Afghan lairs
mission impossible
Achilles' heel
world is utterly changed
shed post-Vietnam habits of thought
surgical strikes
electronic battlefield
in the frame
stark necessity
rightly calculates
perilously unstable launching pad

time is fast running out for the Taleban
White House's brusque insistence
bin Laden's Afghan lairs
classic war fighting play occasional role
terrorism's underground forces
shed some post-Vietnam habits of thought
surgical strikes
electronic battlefield
uncomfortably in the frame of Pakistan
Pakistan is launching pad for operations
al-Qaeda "academies of death"
mission impossible terrain and history imply
caught by his Achilles' hill
terrorist Hydra
gathering pace

16

16

Prime suspect: The Taleban are playing out a deadly farce

Prime suspect.

21-Sep-01

Prime suspect.

21-Sep-01

9/21/2001

R

P

D

first step down very long road
utter necessity of this unwelcome war
Taleban playing out deadly farce
freedom takes up cudgels against fear
marathon ahead
silence surrounds all military detail
riposte to carnage visited on America
no diplomatic or covert avenue being neglected

speed far outstrips allied response to Iraq
first step down very long road
deadly force of express train bearing down
takes no measure of this momentum
under cover of grand Shura of clerics
time in hand/bargains to be struck
comprehend enormity of outrage

marathon ahead
freedom takes up cudgels against fear
words set against backdrop
imminent military riposte
carnage visited on America
utter necessity of unwelcome war
a settled decision/made plain
gleaning intelligence

never until now
multi-faceted
first step down long road
playing out a farce
intellectual/moral isolation
express train bearing down upon
stay America's hand

marathon ahead
freedom takes up cudgels against fear
silence surrounds
words set against the backdrop
speed far outstrips allied response
first step down a very long road
Taleban are playing out a farce
time in hand and bargains to be struck
deadly force of express train bearing down
stay America's hand
Taleban would buy time
because he is their banker
military riposte
Washington is gleaning intelligence
no diplomatic or cover avenue is neglected

Back on the ground

Back on the ground

17

Back on the ground

17

22-Sep-01

22-Sep-01

9/22/2001

P

Britain girds against present danger
 sworn to shred fabric of freedom
 enemy shorn of scruples
 country alive with troubled and legitimate questions
 treacherous Afghan wastes on far side of world
 shadowy al-Qaeda
 lifted Blair's fatigue
 not marching but tumbling into front line of war
 standing shoulder to shoulder
 Britain standing in line of only two abreast
 Nato's all for one and one for all pledge
 most likely third musketeer/France not in line
 rhetoric rallying world against common enemy
 take high ground abroad/low road at home
 no shadow of doubt

It won't be quick

9/24/2001

P

pouring fuel on flames of Islamic fundamentalism
 world standing edgily at brink of war

P

lifted fatigue
 voiced no shadow of doubt
 enemy shorn of scruples
 shred fabric of freedom
 "sleepers" in bin Laden's shadowy al-Qaeda
 Britain girds against danger
 nation understandably nervous
 tumbling into front line
 airwaves filled since 9/11
 grand emergency
 brace against grave menace
 fall into line
 what happened to rhetoric - rallying world
 high ground abroad/low road tread at home
 treacherous Afghan wastes on far side of world

It won't be quick

18
 23-Sep-01

P

calibrating / measured response
 world standing edgily on brink of war

P

enemy shorn of scruples
 voiced no shadow of doubt
 shred the fabric of freedom
 country alive with questions
 tumbling into the front line of a war
 standing "shoulder to shoulder" with US
 Britain standing in line of only two abreast
 France most likely third musketeer
 take the high ground abroad
 low road Government continues to tread
 Britain girds against the present danger
 lifted Blair's fatigue
 commit British arms
 France has yet to fall into line
 "sleepers" in bin Laden's shadowy al-Qaeda

It won't be quick

18
 23-Sep-01

P

world standing on the brink of war
 struck at the heart of America

choosing war-hardened veterans
US mission=our moment
struck heart
alliances suffer stresses/strains in heat of battle
find excuses otherwise occupied when bullets fly
Britain has shown deft hand/resolute eye
time for steady nerves/precise action
marathon effort to rid world of terrorist cells
pale compared to these mega-terrorists
fighting new kind of war/new kind of enemy
provoking backlash in rest of Islamic world
Pakistan survive unscathed the defeat on
doorstep
battle for world opinion

Layer upon layer

9/24/2001

D

place layers of global support on Nato core
states not normally even on speaking terms
elimination of scourge of terrorism
heterodox coalition
channel of communication too long clogged
this outer layer
tackling root cause of extremism
include all who volunteer for American terms

bolstered by speed/scale
pouring fuel on flames of fundamentalism
signaled new era
struck heart of America
mission
when bullets start to fly
deft hand & resolute eye
unprecedented scale
unsettled markets
terrorist infrastructure
ethnically linked fundamentalism
battle for world opinion
mega-terrorists

Layer upon layer

19
24-Sep-01

P

diplomatic fence
diplomatic footwork
heterodox coalition
scourge of terrorism
whip up opposition
layers of global support
"shoulder-to-shoulder" backing
opens up clogged channel of
communication

in the heat of battle
Germany not involved in "adventures"
defeat on its doorstep
Hussein keep his head down
Palestine's hotheads
battle for world opinion
new kind of war
new kind of enemy
marathon effort
time for steady nerves
pouring fuel on flames of fundamentalism
Iran's overtures to the west
warning voices already being sounded

Layer upon layer

19
24-Sep-01

D

diplomatic fence
diplomatic footwork
Gulf states promised to "stand by" US
place layers of global support on Nato
core
whip up opposition
won "shoulder-to-shoulder" backing
channel of communication clogged
endorsement from this outer layer

festering troubles of Middle East
common fears make common cause
Muslim recoils instinctively from attack on fellow
won shoulder to shoulder backing
diplomatic fence around Afghanistan
layer upon layer

America's diplomatic footwork

outer layer
recoils instinctively
common fears make common cause
tackling
root cause
festering troubles

grand coalition against terrorism

root cause of extremism
recoils instinctively
festering troubles
tackling
lifting of sanctions
assemble a heterodox coalition
allow governments to voice anything but
caution

Palimpsest

Palimpsest

Palimpsest

20

20

26-Sep-01

26-Sep-01

9/26/2001

P

P

D

disgusted retreat from medieval theocracy

however fluid the chessboard now
careless language costs lives

set to side Russia's anxieties about US penetration
shared outrage
Putin kept Washington waiting
ask countries to stand against terrorist menace
balance that US and UK must strike
close gaps in this unconventional common front
enemy of my enemy should be courted
pragmatic layering of decisions co-operate
flexibly
shift in the course of long campaign ahead
palimpsest

contribution

balance
close gaps in unconventional common front

courted
pragmatic layering
palimpsest
script
starved of funds
careless language
set aside anxieties

American penetration
deftly handled
medieval theocracy

countries to stand against menace
close gaps in unconventional common
front
"enemy of my enemy" should be courted
common aims shift in long campaign
ahead
script that is constantly rewritten
palimpsest
starved of funds
Iran is also a shelter
Iran is a bankroller
Iran, bracketing it with Britain

"breed terrorism"
political spectrum
however fluid the chessboard

intelligence-sharing script constantly rewritten
some Western quarters

shared outrage across political spectrum
fluid chessboard

careless language
deftly handled on both sides

Crouch, spring, crouch

Crouch, spring, crouch

Crouch, spring, crouch

21

21

28-Sep-01

9/28/2001

D

D

P

elusive identikit of terror filling out
as tourniquet tightens it begins to pinch
Taleban hurl defiance one day
pockets of its Pashtun heartlands
Pentagon expects time to fray more nerves
giving Taleban chance to recant
selecting targets by committee
close down terrorist cells/loopholes
US will not fire more than warning shot or two
Washington's thinking anything but conventional

Taleban's time for reflection may be brief
strike designed to concentrate minds
moment intelligence coalesces will be swift spring
America is crouched
waiting game like no other

tourniquet tightens/begins to pinch
hurl defiance
pockets of Pashtun heartlands
fray nerves
rugged weapons
sharp memories
close cells & loopholes
warning shot
elusive identikit of terror
filling out

deliver up
dismantling
crouched
waiting game
intelligence coalesces

pockets of its heartlands in the south
time to fray more nerves
will not change to fit coalitions
financial loopholes
not fire more than warning shot or two
sharp memories
identikit of terror
military plane
America is crouched
waiting game like no other
as the tourniquet tightens it begins to
pinch
rugged soviet-era weapons
coalition-building
deliver up bin Laden
dismantling al-Qaeda operation

Intelligence needed

Intelligence needed

Intelligence needed

22

22

28-Sep-01

9/28/2001

P

evidence emerging of cells and agents, sleepers
funding Jackal cunning/slipped between aliases
mask terrible conspiracy of destruction
new war demands new weapons
intelligence by far most deadly
vital pooling of information
hindsight underlines blame
too blithe an assurance
sheltered in London
myriad scraps of info
scale of terrorists' ambitions
Islamist terrorist networks more entrenched
crack down on organized crime
overseas tip-offs
closing G8 airspace/ringing venue

Tough on Camera

P

entrenched
emerging evidence
apparatus of terror
becoming clear
slipped between
growing aghast
mask
suspicious patterns
overlapping
sheltered
scraps of information
scale of ambitions
ringing the venue
swifter and tighter coordination
intelligence is deadly new weapon

Tough on Camera

P

evidence is emerging
apparatus of terror
Jackal cunning
slipped between aliases, etc.
scraps of information
overseas tip-offs
political pressure
crack down on money laundering
hindsight underlines blame
pressure must now tilt
vital pooling of information
intelligence most deadly (new weapon)
in the face of repeated warnings
publics growing aghast
freedoms used to mask conspiracy

Tough on Camera

23

23

29-Sep-01

9/29/2001

P

Britain must rise to challenge

P

glaring contrast

P

galvanise public opinion

crack down on those preaching extremist hatred
uncover network that made London terrorist haven
root out terrorists in our midst
heart of conspiracy
end cynical exploitation of right of repeated appeal
promised fast-track expedition
American fury at Dickensian pace
spin their cases out at least as long as Pinochet
confident of confounding swift deportation
silencing those who incite boys from Birmingham
Europe's solidarity with US melts into nothing
pussyfooting of prosecutors
terrorism thrives on propaganda
blacken the name of all Islam

Who defends Britain?

9/30/2001

P

tragic side effect of assault on America
frontline target for retaliation
fanaticism vs. freedom uneven at best of times
exploit every loophole in statute book
vague talk
slow business in courts
habit of muddling through

galvanise public opinion
stiffen response
preaching extremist hatred
crack down
uncover network
London as terrorist haven of West
root out
cynical exploitation
Dickensian pace of British justice
hostile climate
spin cases
solidarity melts
pussyfooting
blacken Islam

Who defends Britain?

30-Sep-01

P

joined the hunt
fanaticism versus freedom
uneven contest
need for vigilance
vague talk
turf warfare
muddling

Britain must rise to the challenge
using the law to crack down
preaching extremist hatred
London terrorist haven of Western world
root out the terrorists
at the heart of the conspiracy
Dickensian pace of British justice
believed to head bin Laden's organisation
can spin their cases
Europe's solidarity with US melts
reluctant to stir resentment
blacken the name of Islam
Terrorism thrives on propaganda
stiffen response

Who defends Britain?

30-Sep-01

P

side effect of the assault on America
joined hunt for bin Laden
fight alongside the US
turf warfare between the security services
slow business in the courts
exploit every loophole in the statute book
Whitehall's wobbles

Whitehall's wobbles
nervousness of British airlines
latest Whitehall wheeze
smacks of bureaucratic fudge
cash-rich henchmen
happily exploit that openness
remove recklessly underpinning plays into hands
today's menace from terrorists

matched
wobbles
daydreaming
happily exploit openness
plays into their hands
wheeze
smacks of bureaucratic fudge
balanced against impairing freedoms

smacks of bureaucratic fudge
remove recklessly such underpinning
frontline target
death row
vague talk
ministers are daydreaming
muddling through
playing into their hands

Tunnel vision

Tunnel vision

Tunnel vision

25

25

1-Oct-01

1-Oct-01

10/1/2001

P

P

D

tendency toward tunnel vision
statesmen today are blinded
life will not return to normal until vision is restored
speculating on war against terrorism
swept every issue from agenda
halt collapse of world economy
everyday human activity ground to halt
obscured by noxious covering of dust and ashes
draw eyes to rest of world
universal gaze turned to NYC
eclipsed reports
calling for business as usual
the explosions in America
campaign against terrorism
times of loss or wretchedness

wretchedness
difficult to draw comfort
noxious covering of dust/ashes
tunnel vision
universal gaze turned towards NY
state of distraction
eclipsed
speculating
underlined
swept issue from agenda
halt collapse
restore moral authority
blinded by explosions in America
return to normal
business as usual

draw comfort
everyday human activity ground to halt
tendency toward tunnel vision
universal gaze turned toward New York
have eclipsed reports
what Commonwealth should stand for
business as usual
swept every issue from their agenda
statesmen blinded to other issues
obscured by a noxious covering of dust
draw their eyes to the rest of the world
Mugabe faced a strong push by Britain
flouting the Harare principles
return to normal
restores something of its moral authority

Against evil	Against evil	26	Against evil	26
		2-Oct-01		2-Oct-01
	10/2/2001			
P	P		P	
flung Bush's ultimatum back in his face	flung back in face		flung ultimatum back in face	
boot is on other foot	boot is on other foot		chaotic heart of terror-ridden, travesty state	
chaotic heart of primitive, terror-ridden, travesty	chaotic heart of terror-ridden state		well-oiled armed machine	
Taleban publicly slammed the door	hosts		calling shots Taleban fires	
only force will prise it open	publicly slammed door		Taleban have publicly slammed the door	
tear at roots of terrorism	vital impact		the long haul	
taunt from Taleban to come and get your man	long haul		roots of terrorism	
dangers of inaction now outweigh risks	tear at roots of terrorism		partners in guilt	
given heart to Taleban's internal opponents	partners in guilt		Washington reticent to declare hand	
medieval horrors/Khan's horde cruelty surpassed	declaring its hand		storm given heart to Taleban's opponents	
bribed way to power	a taunt		military muscle	
ruled more by terror than sword	medieval horrors		ruled more by terror than by the sword	
compact reduces risk of post-Taleban vacuum	strike power		post-Taleban vacuum	
forged from hope of help	post-Taleban vacuum		Afghanistan's bane	
Afghanistan's bane	Afghanistan's bane		taunt	
		27		27
A Fatwa on Terror	A Fatwa on Terror	4-Oct-01	A Fatwa on Terror	4-Oct-01
	10/4/2001			

P

seen spate of attacks
West has no quarrel with Islam
Islamophobia
opinion-makers
less vocal on essential first step
brought down those towers
besmirch all fellow believers
counter claims of fanatics
win argument against hatred
stop recruitment of boys from Birmingham
speak of extending hand of tolerance
hear similar reciprocal language
confessional solidarity
enemies of understanding Christianity/Islam
make revulsion explicit

War of nerves

10/5/2001

D

dispel absurd conspiracy theories circulating
stiffen determination of most coalition leaders
widespread panic spread across America

P

spate of attacks
set upon
determined assaults
Islamophobia
essential first step
counter the claims
extending hand of tolerance
reciprocal language
Muted condemnation
confessional solidarity
enemies of understanding
make revulsion explicit
Muslims in their midst
forcefully condemned
opinion-makers

War of nerves

28

5-Oct-01

P

lift malaise
faces
intelligence assembled

P

the Establishment
extending the hand of tolerance to Islam
West has seen a spate of attacks
those with no connection set upon
assaults on prejudice
conference denounced
argument of hatred preached
the enemies of understanding
Muted condemnation
Muslims in their midst
Islam as a tolerant religion
in the name of Islam
opinion-makers
it was less vocal
moderates are to win the argument

War of nerves

28

5-Oct-01

D

court of public opinion
heart of the Muslim world
evidence hard on heels of Blair's warning

signal normal life will not be disrupted
lift malaise now hanging over Western societies
mass of compelling circumstantial evidence

pattern of meticulous long-term planning
terrorists as bacteria
turn on his country's protégés
instill same public commitment in House of Saud
caught between interests on one hand
public opinion menacingly hostile to US presence
lay out US needs in courteous plain language
encirclement of Afghanistan being interlocked
fear feeds on fear

Just the beginning

10/7/2001

P

Sundance to our Butch Cassidy
straight out of Ian Fleming story
twisted millionaire mastermind holed up in hideout
not a war in which you can negotiate
shoring up American-led alliance
came to sticky end
West has not lashed out
marked return to normal
ring closing around Bin Laden
Afghanistan's cruel winter

first stage of presenting information
hard on the heels
terrible hours

appalling probability
caught
lay out America's needs
courteous but plain language
encirclement interlocked
move diplomacy forward
fear feeds on fear
dispel circulating theories
widespread panic spread

Just the beginning

P

glowing tributes
a mythical figure
straight out of Ian Fleming story
twisted millionaire mastermind
cells of fanatical followers
fresh attacks
chilling
breaks up
hailed
shoring up

room for negotiation
describing terrorists as bacteria
interests on one hand
elements in encirclement being
interlocked
ceasefire has broken down
fear feeds fear
lift the malaise now hanging
under the pressure of its hardliners
panic that spread
move diplomacy forward
sufficient grounds for indictment
culpable carelessness began to emerge

Just the beginning

P

all the hallmarks of this work
straight out of Ian Fleming story
no country is beyond his reach
"Sundance to our Butch Cassidy"
they came to a sticky end
jumping-off point
Israel refuses to lie low
America courts other Arab leaders
Mr. Bush has risen to the challenge
New anti-terrorist measures on cards

29

7-Oct-01

29

7-Oct-01

humiliated as Nazi war criminals at Nuremberg
mistake we made in Gulf War
just reprisals about to start
urge White House to repulse Saddam
winning campaign

fragile situation
ring is closing
choose martyr's fate
spawning
press ahead

ring is closing around bin Laden
spawning of a new generation of followers
Taliban leaders showed their guile
twisted millionaire mastermind
purify the Islamic world

Another Front

Another front

30

30

8-Oct-01

8-Oct-01

10/8/2001

R

R

D

at stake are lives and livelihoods of all
megalomaniac quasi-fascist
share fanatical bigotry or murderous intentions
global domination by neo-caliphate of extremists
malign perversion of Islam ruling by fear
America bears greatest burden of leadership
lightning strikes before thunder gives out report

necessity of speedy response
that shattering day
met terrible deaths
an unlooked-for eloquence
over tense weeks
veering
running out of time

surprise like lightning--a necessity of war
that shattering day
met their terrible deaths
information, the lifeblood of democracy
putting whole of society in "brace position"
most crucial operations likely off-screen
progress will be hard to chart
Afghanistan one corner of worldwide
canvas

that shattering day
veering yesterday between defiance and
blackmail
lifeblood of democracy
putting whole society in brace position
hone rhetoric of readiness
one corner of worldwide canvas
when freedom defeats fear
shattered West's peace but not will

lifeblood
sparse information
hone rhetoric of readiness
balancing act
off-screen
worldwide canvas
crumble
unimaginable only a month ago

shattered the West's peace
diplomatic ground that has to be covered
balancing act
all arms of public life
no backing away
freedom defeats fear
burden of leadership

The defeatist chorus

The defeatist chorus

31

31

14-Oct-01

14-Oct-01

10/8/2001

P

P

P

doom-mongers are out and about
 overcome by same jaundice as Jeremiah
 new role to play
 mass photo-calls and anti-western grumbling
 flag-burning and jihad-mongering
 rallying Muslim opinion against great Satan
 give Japanese easy ride to Pearl Harbor
 miscalculated like Japanese/US lacked resolve
 plight of people will become more acute
 allies' reluctance to stake everything
 no precipitate rush to widen war against terrorism
 September 11 ended their innocence
 Afghans new start/free from perpetual civil war
 rules by theocratic thuggery
 challenge to him having peaked and faded
 away

course of war hard to call
 hunt down
 fragile alliance
 widen the war
 unconventional conflict
 clear-sighted resolve
 nurturing a wide alliance
 ended their innocence
 theocratic thuggery
 become a forgotten footnote
 long haul
 friendless
 history's losers
 new role to play
 reluctance to stake everything

course of this war
 fundamental weapons=clear-sighted
 resolve
 point to the growing hostility
 promises to deliver "a new corpse"
 school of defeatism
 overcome by same jaundice as Jeremiah
 will become a forgotten footnote
 opens the way to direct American attacks
 the "great Satan"
 a long haul
 give Japanese easy ride to Pearl Harbor
 plight of people more acute
 British will have a new role to play
 battle for public opinion
 nurturing a wide alliance

Airport insecurity

Airport insecurity

32

32

17-Oct-01

17-Oct-01

10/17/2001

P

wave of emergency legislation
 airport insecurity
 take all possible steps to counter terrorism
 responsibility split
 sterile areas
 rules
 breaches threaten every citizen's safety
 aircraft as weapons
 beyond reach
 security tightened
 screening passengers
 makes mockery
 hold baggage
 things beyond gov'ts reach
 highly visible policing

Rock Solidarity

10/22/2001

R

rock solidarity
 touched hearts of NY
 stricken city

P

beyond its reach
 wave of emergency legislation
 tightened
 visible measures
 sensitive positions
 Responsibility is split
 follows rules closely
 lax rules
 sensitive time
 sterile areas
 unvetted workers airside
 a mockery
 highly visible armed guards
 use aircraft as weapons
 security breaches

Rock solidarity

33
 22-Oct-01

R

touched hearts
 stricken city
 raucous, cathartic charity

P

beyond the government's reach
 wave of emergency registration
 possible steps to counter terrorism
 broken the rules
 aircraft as weapons
 sensitive positions in British airports
 sterile areas
 makes mockery of placement of guards
 lax rules
 under supervision
 unvetted workers airside
 security breaches threaten safety
 less visible measures
 responsibility for security is split
 follow the rules closely

Rock solidarity

33
 22-Oct-01

R

messages touched the hearts
 concert was largely the brainchild
 will have moved America

revivalist meeting as political rally
mountains of money/towers of steel/hearts of gold
brainchild
NY's resilience, energy, unity
unabashed patriotism/conviction moved America
terrorist atrocities
brought to US loss UK's emotions (Diana)
sentiment cloyed airwaves/schmaltz dripped
reverence for city's heroes
Britain's solidarity
voicing America's contempt for terrorists
reviving something of NY's bruised zest and gusto

A man alone

10/25/2001

P

Blair saw his duty/course was fixed
support in wearying war against common enemy
eradicating menace of regime
finger pointed in direction of bin Laden
campaign that began on 9/11
hope that road will never turn to Iraq is reckless
logic puts Iraq and West on collision course
keep fingerprints off operations
destroy credibility of no quarrel with Islamic world

brainchild
unabashed patriotism
moved America
flanked
revived
Britain's solidarity
Sentiment cloyed airwaves
schmaltz dripped from stage
city's heroes
revivalist meeting
bruised zest/gusto
massive/modern defiance

A man alone

25-Oct-01

P

see his duty
rumbling debate
course was fixed/collision course
breathed sigh of relief
many fronts
starve networks
fractured country
roused
settle old score

revived his 1977 hit
sentiment cloyed the airwaves
this concert had many motives
voicing America's contempt for terrorists
reviving something of New York's
bruised zest and gusto
mountains of courage
hearts of gold
raucous, cathartic concert
schmaltz dripped from the stage
revivalist meeting
Britain's solidarity

A man alone

25-Oct-01

P

see his duty
his course was fixed
finger pointed in the direction of bin Laden
starve networks of power
"academies of death"
this long haul
coalition will dissolve
the road will never turn to Iraq
Britain could find itself alone

starve transnational terrorist networks of power
destroy academies of death
operating within friendless theocratic tyranny

living memory
Britain as alone as after fall of France
battle doesn't have finite point

living memory
extend spatially
Powerful figures

eradicating the menace
keep fingerprints off operations
united view/balance of argument

fall of France
no proof positive
look under rock as hard as possibly can
Iraq able to keep fingerprints off operations
evidence against Iraq were to emerge
settle an old score in Iraq

Nuclear network

Nuclear network

Nuclear network

35

35

26-Oct-01

26-Oct-01

10/26/2001

D

P

P

leaden shoe waiting to drop
chilling info
terrorise enemies of God
mastermind behind last month's attacks
Chechen gangsters
nuclear switches
bin Laden's source of supply
hunt
start chain reaction
horrors of full-scale nuclear attack
lift spectre of nuclear terrorism
dirty bomb most primitive of nuclear weapons

exposed to radiation poisoning
hard evidence
Downing Street noncommittal

chilling information
leaden shoe waiting to drop
hinted
extravagant claims
agents move freely
hunt
infiltrated
confronted with horrors
lift spectre
primitive weapons
hard evidence
What must be assumed

Speed/surprise essential
Downing Street noncommittal
full-scale

chilling information
leaden shoe waiting to drop
acquisition of weapons as "religious duty"
mastermind behind attacks
the hunt
confronted the horrors
lift the spectre of nuclear terrorism
dirty bomb
hard evidence
struggle must extend spatially
extravagant claims
Downing Street is noncommittal
speed and surprise will be all the more essential
most primitive of weapons
assumes greater urgency

<p>The Blair shuttle</p> <p>11/2/2001</p>	<p>The Blair shuttle</p> <p>2-Nov-01</p>	<p>The Blair shuttle</p> <p>2-Nov-01</p>
<p>D</p> <p>this conflict without front lines terrorist threat not weather of future spokes of umbrella strong to withstand storm orthodoxy against usurping Islam for violent ends value as conduit, lightning conductor truth must grapple with falsehood let events be driven by extremists ended indolent self-satisfaction (Pearl Harbor) berates terrorists trying to hijack our religion derives solely from capacity to destabilise road to safer world curves through northerly arc calculated mixture of discipline and decisiveness nexus of strategic co-ordination broader task of restoring order to world refashioned structures of security</p>	<p>P</p> <p>gloss left to insist conflict without front lines conduit/lightning conductor truth grapple w/ falsehood brand of charm diplomatic momentum secured private assurances taking public drubbing the Middle Eastern equation form an inner ring collective nervous breakdown nervous toleration refashioned spokes of US umbrella withstand storm</p>	<p>P</p> <p>put the best gloss on better to "get your hands dirty" his value to Bush is that of a conduit even of a lightning conductor truth must grapple with falsehood diplomatic momentum sure that he is husbanding his authority collective nervous breakdown "trying to hijack our religion" a more positive gloss mend fences with Italy terrorist threat not weather of future spokes of US umbrella to withstand storm an a la carte coalition nervous toleration</p>
<p>From New York skies</p> <p>11/13/2001</p>	<p>From New York skies</p> <p>13-Nov-01</p>	<p>From New York skies</p> <p>13-Nov-01</p>
<p>P</p>	<p>P</p>	<p>D</p>

only now returning to normal life
reinforce sense of vulnerability/gripped the city
exacerbating bewilderment

let fear push patriotism/courage out of minds
facing random and indefinite terror
mysterious anthrax attacks spread through
America
wiped 200 points off Dow Jones index
not stop life over city coming to immediate halt
outcry over sloppy inspections
challenge America's leadership up to White
House
weather collapse of business confidence
braced for further contraction

infiltrate workforce of baggage handlers
Taleban suffered first serious setback
long-threatened further act of terrorism

38

One Sunday in 1941

7-Dec-01

R

9/11 put Americans back in touch with date of
infamy
This does not feel like war
fear has ranged itself against freedom
September's slaughter of civilians
US never stronger than when it feels vulnerable

aligned the rest of the world on America's side
aim to humiliate Am. Power/destroy confidence
set Islam against West

long-threatened further act
no early indications
no coincidence

all too possible an explanation
returning to normal life

vulnerability gripped city
facing random indefinite terror
further blow
level-headed response

sloppy inspections/lax regulations
Congress stalled move
watertight
let fear push patriotism/courage out of
minds
industry braced
weather collapse

38

One Sunday in 1941

7-Dec-01

Sara

R

fear has ranged itself against freedom
Pearl Harbor tipped scales
reluctant, isolationist US
date which will live in infamy/date of infamy
This does not feel like war

spend for victory, not dig for it
speech will deal
devastating attacks

plane climbed for a take-off
returning to normal life
sense of vulnerability gripped the city
city/country facing random/indefinite
terror
confidence suffered a further blow

wiped 200 points off the Dow Jones
level-headed response of mayor
life over much of city coming to halt
check-in procedures not watertight

let fear push patriotism out of minds
braced for further contraction
small comfort to New Yorkers

sloppy inspections
lax regulations
Congress has stalled the sensible move

38

One Sunday in 1941

7-Dec-01

Stacey

R

slaughter of civilians
fear has ranged itself against freedom
set Islam against the West
humiliate American power
destroy its (America's) confidence
showing world's mightiest power to be
impotent
lethal weapon of willingness to die
Osama Bin Laden did not bargain for

showing world's mightiest power to be impotent
tiny bands of fanatical plotters
barely armed but with lethal weapon of willingness to die
unfamiliar menace
these two devastating attacks
"remember the character of onslaught" valid today
asked to spend for victory, not dig for it

39

First things first

12/11/2001

P

darkness enveloped lower Manhattan
fanatics preaching hate engineered mass murder
rip apart fabric of civilised society
target was future of everyman
rhythm of normality quietly returned
grip of al-Qaeda on cities
no premature embrace of illusory peace
miles to go before sleep/spared to carry blankets
British public would dearly love to declare war over
centre stage
high profile peace role being generated
countryside alive with al-Qaeda fighters
enemies half-defeated take long time to clear out

US reluctantly concluding
September slaughter of civilians
al-Qaeda's aim to humiliate/destroy confidence
showing world's mightiest power to be impotent

tiny bands of fanatical plotters
barely armed with lethal weapon of willingness to die
Am. Paid heavily for failures

39

First things first

11-Dec-01

P

darkness enveloped lower Manhattan
aircraft as missiles
rip apart fabric of civilised society
everyman
rhythm of normality quietly returned
impotence allayed by US pressure
grip
match mood
head force
centre stage
countryside alive
dangerously invidious position
huge scope for local "misunderstandings"

aligned the rest of the world on America's side

paid heavily for failures

tipped the scales

freedom from fear
people asked to spend for victory, not dig for it

on American soil

tiny bands of fanatical plotters

39

First things first

11-Dec-01

P

darkness enveloped lower Manhattan
aircraft as missiles
engineered an act of mass murder
victims in their paths
rip apart the fabric of civilised society
future of everyman
rhythm of normality
grip of al-Qaeda on cities and towns
Britain now moves to centre stage
countryside is alive with al-Qaeda
countryside alive
token international armed presence
premature embrace of illusory peace

leave Kandahar unchallenged dangerously invidious position		no premature embrace miles to go before sleep		miles to go before they sleep pressure being generated	
	40		40		40
Not Correct		Not Correct		Not Correct	
	15-Jan-02		15-Jan-02		15-Jan-02
P		Sara P		Stacey D	
bright side/sign NYC back on path to psychological recovery		Sesame Street has a lot to answer for		look on the bright side back on the path to psychological recovery	
kicking the stuffing out of each other better than a row about political correctness this pugnacious metropolis back on form triumvirate of white troopers multiracial trinity in style of Benetton advertisement		struggle against evil embraced by entire community city that they defended can grant them this NYC back on path		kicking the stuffing out of each other in the style of a Benetton advertisement Sesame Street has a lot to answer for	
Sesame Street has a lot to answer for memorial to horror should reflect struggle against evil		look on the bright side Benetton advertisement glorious legend and inglorious reality of Mafia		a struggle against evil embraced by the entire community	
base specious philosophies on racial lines uniquely courageous urban army glorious legend and inglorious reality of Mafia		Italian community has given Irish provided Murphia		specious philosophies Americans should be colour-blind fall back on fact and statistic accident of the wave of immigration uniquely courageous urban army (firefighters)	
public-spirited Irish provided Murphia		sounds innocent traditions that grew from wave of immigration al-Qaeda may base its specious philosophies		on their own home ground	
recognition of heroism on their own home ground colours they are blind to appear in correct proportions		race was motivating factor		city that they defended (firefighters)	
accident of the wave of immigration		memorial to horror		a Murphia of cops and firefighters	
	41		41		41
A world transformed		A world transformed		A world transformed	
	3/9/2002		9-Mar-02		9-Mar-02

R

world caught breath in shock
ruthlessly contemptuous of life
world transformed
vulnerability of world's greatest power
attack on freedom itself
diminishing of that collective horror
global menace must and can be beaten back
elusive and Hydra-headed opponents
America's will and capacity to root out regimes
turbulent, fractured apology for a state
aligning to defend order against enemies at gate
no neutral ground in fight
transformation in American national mood
duty and inclination met on 9/11
9/11 not receding into past but continuing threat

42

Coalition Politics

3-Mar-02

P

smash terrorists determined to attack liberal dem
values
arrogance born of rapid success
forceful and measure performance
work best in concert with coalition

for blackmail or battle
response to friendly overtures

P

world caught breath in shock
transformation/transfixed by attacks
ruthlessly contemptuous of life
unimaginable carnage
myopically reluctant
attacks revealed
liberty to circulate
collective horror
global menace
elusive, Hydra-headed opponents
root out regimes
turbulent, fractured apology for state
starve cells
raise his game
no neutral ground

42

Coalition Politics

3-Mar-02

Sara
D

act of remembrance for victims of terror
matters will develop
campaign drawn to close
idle talk

mass terror
instruments of death

D

world caught breath in shock
transfixed by the attacks
attack on freedom itself
elusive Hydra-headed opponents
root out regimes that allied with terrorists
turbulent, fractured apology of state
"academies of death"
starve international terrorists cells
raise game in response to emergency
enemies within the gates
deeply rooted historical suspicions
Washington is being high-handed
an event receding into the past
puts Iraq on a collision course with West
myopically reluctant

42

Coalition Politics

3-Mar-02

Stacey
P

victims of terrorism
War on Terror
action against terror
every corner of the planet
leaders to take on terrorist factions within
borders
the hysterical coverage

sentence and sentiment essence of Am. For.
Policy
market for weapons of mass destruction
stance that those outside US should welcome
pushing al-Qaeda deep into mountains
no immunity no neutrality
tackle contention directly
must never control ultimate instruments of death

hysterical coverage
men with no respect for life

43

Intelligent intelligence

6/6/2002

P

confusion in America is a warning
intelligent intelligence
re-examination of old assumptions
gossip picked up at mosque
penetrate Islamic cells
human failing led to the atrocities
scale of confusion
London as communications/financial capital
petty infighting
good intelligence avert devastation of evil men
thwarted by fences and padlocks
burdensome new routines
permanent loss of easy access
clear chain of command

nations smash terrorists determined
nations outside US should welcome
US must not feel constrained
plan a bit over the top
leaked
US had received
enormous emphasis

nations will desist
work best in concert with coalition

43

Intelligent intelligence

6-Jun-02

P

far-fetched
painstaking reassessment
vital installations
leaving nothing to chance
first line of defence
burdensome new routines
evil men
scale of confusion
coming to light
caught unawares
came as shock
overdue
information yielded
penetrate cells

a bit over the top
made it clear
in the market for weapons
absolute essence of foreign policy
to smash terrorists
to attack liberal democratic values
for blackmail or battle
there can be no immunity and no
neutrality
"men with no respect for life [...]"

43

Intelligent intelligence

6-Jun-02

P

unending struggle to improve vigilance
task still has far to go
security in mind
scale of the confusion...coming to light
Britain caught unawares
MI6, the overseas arm
chain of command
intel can avert devastation of evil men
burdensome new routines
first line of defence
determined terrorism
infighting in two intelligence agencies
gossip picked up at the mosque
confusion is warning

unclear and present danger

44

Security matters

7/8/2002

P

terrorism/lightning unlikely strike same twice
take heed of obvious timetable
immediate aftermath of the atrocities
live their lives in fear of terrorism
fear of whipping up panic
weapons of an even more sinister nature
residual memory of 1970s pub bombings
extinguished by engaging in spectacular activity
apparent end to bin Laden's home video efforts
bin Laden network in state of disrepair
passage of time led people to act like 9/10/01
conduct operations against democratic world
ward off potential terrorist assault
we are used to terrorism
exaggerate the chance

45

One year on

9/11/2002

R

permanent vigilance

44

Security matters

8-Jul-02

P

Terrorism, like lightning
matched more quietly
day passed peacefully
obvious timetable
transformed
state of disrepair
event to carry clout
extraordinary precautions
ordinary life
residual memory
weapons of sinister nature
stepped up
whipping up panic
expect unexpected
vigilance

45

One year on

11-Sep-02

R

unclear and present danger

44

Security matters

8-Jul-02

P

Terrorism, like lightning
day passed off peacefully
take heed of the obvious timetable
pass on the slightest concern
bin Laden's home video efforts
demonstrate network not extinguished
event to carry clout
dirty bomb
campaigned aimed at inflicting casualties
residual memory
weapons of sinister nature
Government has stepped up activities
whipping up panic
obvious measures
tenuous information

45

One year on

11-Sep-02

P

hands on clock barely moved since 9/11
affairs core of tension between civilisations
US destiny not to have ideology but to be one
indulgence ended on 9/11 unlikely revisited
dedicated to destruction of advanced world
remembrance doesn't equal failure to forget
transformative moment rarely witnessed
life would never be the same
changed character of ordinary life
US citadel to be destroyed/advertisement for
progress
pattern of human activity overturned overnight
wake of 9/11
Afghanistan not transformed into Sweden
legacy of 9/11 in 3 theatres
closer to cult leader than theological figure

threat undeniably evolved
bitter interpretation battle-how deaths
understood
transformative moment/became painfully
aware
importance rarely witnessed
prophesied
in the wake of September 11
enduring "normalcy"
masked an underlying uncertainty
scale beyond conventional comprehension
deeply troubled nation
still technically hunting
period of innocence and indulgence
many whispers but no hard information
hands on clock barely moved
balance of presumption

battle over interpretation bitter
in many spheres, it could be asserted
airlines did not collapse
wake of Sept. 11
pattern of human activity being
overturned
released from hold of Taleban
core of tension between civilisations
hard information
suffered from an allergy to publicity
balance of presumption
legacy of Sept. 11 rests in three theatres
war to be waged without fingerprints
US was advertisement for human progress
other side of same coin
opportunistic dash to settle old scores

The Times' Salient Figures by Article

3

2

1 Terror for All

tempered by fire and changed
9/12/2001 suffered an urban avalanche
new truths of a changed world
true bolt from blue aimed to humble heart of nation
trying out JFK's shoes
treacherous political terrain

recover identity as young nation
turbulence

2 Still the Enemy

hatreds sit alongside/gentler arts
9/13/2001 no melting into shadows/shroud preparations
terrorism could hobble American power
Schadenfreude

we are all Americans
sloppy intelligence
jockeying
muddied/fuzzy policies
pavement carpeted with flowers
rivalries buried/Parisian sniping banished

3 With one voice

sifting the rubble mountain
9/14/2001 president uses words like pieces of wood
actor in drama whose first act is unfolding
clean their own houses of terrorist taint
world divides into two camps/no middle way

masked, dust-caked, bone tired, devoted
crews
anger/anguish more likely to mount than
subside
towers the very opposite of Babel
silent dead of many lands speak to that truth
Pakistan's corrosive political corruption

**Replies of steel: Answers to
4 inevitable
criticisms of an inevitable
response**

flexing of America's vast muscle
called to the colours
9/15/2001 call spirits from dusty deep
unleashing corrosive cycle of violence
terror rots timbers on which civilised coexistence rests

bells tolled yesterday
moving silence
make price of terrorism unbearable
justice is civilisation's most potent weapon

	shackles America "freedom's home" betraying democracy's values not shirk this slow, deliberate test of strength democracy noisy, sceptical affair/fool's errand/Shakes/Hegel	
5 This is a world war	bring to head struggle shadowing West 9/16/2001 fuel flame of terror hawks are true peacemakers pressure to alleviate root causes of terrorism	no going back to life before Muslim "wild west" keeps head down fortress America was already moribund Great Satan strike heart turning point in history (like Truman Doctrine) global cop
6 The old war	invisible enemy without borders 9/17/2001 found his voice and hit his stride mount leadership campaign notion of war/law rests on structure best placed to whisper words in right ears	bewildering range of circumstance standing shoulder to shoulder gravity of situation character to rise to challenge parallel to our present times
7 Pakistan's choice	growing Talebanisation of Pakistan 9/17/2001 preaching message of hate growing grip of Islamic extremism cut off any room for manoeuvre run into wall of obscurantist militancy fill world opinion decisively toward India grim political position Pakistan's indulgence of Taleban	blunt demands face inspired by zealotry of cleric holding sway revealed the hypocrisy hand over bin Laden to escape retaliation international cover

8 Speed not haste	<p>legions are invisible</p> <p>9/18/2001 how many heads the Hydra has</p> <p>melt into shadows of anarchic or outlaw lands</p> <p>muderous networks hunted down</p> <p>little real appetite for war</p> <p>Islamist assailants have tentacles everywhere</p> <p>flush of horrified sympathy</p>	<p>track down</p> <p>as networks regroup trail may go cold</p> <p>Kremlin suspicions of NATO designs</p>
9 Back in business	<p>fade away into outright recession</p> <p>9/18/2001 deliberate assault on symbol of nation</p> <p>form of economic cavalry</p> <p>cushioned from aftershocks</p> <p>limit damage triggered by last week's atrocities</p> <p>upstaged</p>	<p>prolonged slump</p> <p>self-inflicted mistakes</p> <p>big boost</p> <p>make or break sentiment in markets</p> <p>economic victims of terrorism</p> <p>formula</p> <p>testing</p> <p>robust efforts</p>
10 In the air	<p>the nation's life</p> <p>9/18/2001 stepped up their own vigilance</p> <p>stopping kamikaze terrorists</p> <p>plane as bomb</p> <p>recovering some of its position</p> <p>immediate steps</p> <p>fell sharply in value</p> <p>laxity of the past</p> <p>old habits</p>	<p>global agreement</p> <p>higher standards</p> <p>El Al set example</p> <p>chemical sniffer to detect explosives</p>
11 Terrorism at home	<p>triumphalist bile fills airwaves</p>	<p>sleepers ready to strike</p>

	<p>9/19/2001 evidence is sifted clearer the terrible truth becomes exploit frameworks of freedom against freedom puzzle not pieced together enemy within gate</p>	<p>gave evil abundant opportunity turn upside down play by the book terrorism should have no hiding place</p>
12 Dig deep	<p>spectacle of towers of civilised world plummeting 9/19/2001 scorched into collective consciousness replayed in flashback to newly insomniac world world felt itself to be global village/terrorism is a leveller gave up lives scaling fatal monoliths desire to restore life to city glorious mundanity abomination's wake world waits for dust to settle/caught in obscene free-fall</p>	<p>dig deep into pockets slaughter used as weapon humanitarianism at its most epic humankind cannot bear much reality assuage feelings</p>
13 United home front	<p>extinguish all signs of normal political life 9/20/2001 slip into rebellion from one wing temporarily lost stomach for fight political jousting dug from dust hearts of public and politician</p>	<p>political headaches democracy's best retaliation against terror is to thrive democracy itself under attack normal political life West plans retaliation crude anti-gov't tactics from the other slip into rebellion lose little sleep appear statesmanlike</p>
14 It's the economy, still	<p>avoidance of serious economic slump 9/20/2001 snatched defeat from jaws of any military victory psychological blow struck by terrorists</p>	<p>crisis bringing economic ruin to millions Stability Pact not allowed to become sterility pact build military coalition</p>

gov'ts appreciate danger they face
terrible blow
join int'l drive to avert slump
so-called war room/real war
collapse of WTC not world trade

15 Long war

White House's brusque insistence
9/20/2001 bin Laden's Afghan lairs
shed some post-Vietnam habits of thought
caught by Achilles' heel
test of strength against terrorist Hydra
mobilisation gathering pace

al-Qaeda academies of death
surgical strikes
electronic battlefield
in the frame
perilously unstable launching pad

**Prime suspect: The Taleban are
16 playing
out a deadly farce**

first step
Taleban playing out deadly farce
9/21/2001 freedom takes up cudgels against fear
marathon ahead
deadly force of express train bearing down
riposte to carnage visited on America

staying America's hand
time in hand/bargains to be struck
speed far outstrips allied response to Iraq
no avenue neglected
silence surrounds all military detail
utter necessity of this unwelcome war
Washington is gleaning intelligence

17 Back on the ground

Britain girds against present danger
9/22/2001 sworn to shred fabric of freedom
enemy shorn of scruples
not marching but tumbling into front line of war
speed high ground abroad/low road gov't treads at home
no shadow of doubt
shadowy al-Qaeda
lifted Blair's fatigue

country alive with troubled and legitimate
questions
treacherous Afghan wastes on far side of world
rhetoric rallying world against common enemy
standing shoulder to shoulder
Britain standing in line of only two abreast

	most likely third musketeer/France not fallen in line	
18 It won't be quick	<p>pouring fuel on flames of Islamic fundamentalism</p> <p>9/24/2001 world standing edgily at brink of war</p> <p>struck heart of America</p> <p>battle for world opinion</p>	<p>find excuses otherwise occupied when bullets fly</p> <p>alliances suffer stresses/strains in heat of battle</p> <p>Britain has shown deft hand/resolute eye</p> <p>time for steady nerves/precise action</p> <p>marathon effort to rid world of terrorist cells</p> <p>pale compared to these mega-terrorists</p> <p>fighting new kind of war/new kind of enemy</p>
19 Layer upon layer	<p>layer upon layer/layers of global support on core/this outer layer</p> <p>9/24/2001 channel of communication too long clogged</p> <p>tackling root cause of extremism</p> <p>Muslim world recoils instinctively from attack on fellow</p> <p>diplomatic fence around Afghanistan</p> <p>America's diplomatic footwork</p> <p>won "shoulder to shoulder" backing</p> <p>heterodox coalition</p> <p>festering troubles of Middle East</p>	<p>elimination of scourge of terrorism</p> <p>common fears make common cause</p> <p>tackling</p>
20 Palimpsest	<p>however fluid the chessboard now</p> <p>9/26/2001 careless language costs lives</p> <p>shared outrage</p> <p>close gaps in this unconventional common front</p> <p>enemy of my enemy should be courted</p> <p>palimpsest</p> <p>intelligence-sharing script constantly rewritten</p>	<p>starved of funds</p> <p>disgusted retreat from medieval theocracy</p> <p>set to side Russia's anxieties about US penetration</p> <p>ask countries to stand against terrorist menace</p> <p>balance that US and UK must strike</p> <p>pragmatic layering of decisions co-operate flexibly</p> <p>shift in the course of long campaign ahead</p> <p>deftly handled</p>

21 Crouch, spring, crouch	<p>elusive identikit of terror filling out</p> <p>9/28/2001 pockets of Pashtun heartlands</p> <p>Pentagon expects time to fray more nerves</p> <p>close down terrorist cells/loopholes</p> <p>US will not fire more than warning shot or two</p> <p>America is crouched</p> <p>waiting game like no other</p> <p>as tourniquet tightens it begins to pinch</p>	<p>deliver up</p> <p>Taleban hurl defiance one day</p> <p>sharp memories</p> <p>moment intelligence coalesces will be swift</p> <p>spring</p> <p>dismantling</p>
22 Intelligence needed	<p>evidence emerging of cells and agents/sleepers</p> <p>9/28/2001 funding Jackal cunning/ slipped between aliases</p> <p>intelligence by far most deadly new weapon</p> <p>myriad scraps of info</p> <p>mask terrible conspiracy of destruction</p>	<p>apparatus of terror</p> <p>growing aghast</p> <p>vital pooling of information</p> <p>hindsight underlines blame</p> <p>sheltered in London</p> <p>scale of terrorists' ambitions</p> <p>Islamist terrorist networks more entrenched</p> <p>crack down on organized crime</p> <p>overseas tip-offs</p> <p>closing G8 airspace/ringing venue</p>
23 Tough on camera	<p>crack down on those preaching extremist hatred</p> <p>9/29/2001 uncover network that made London terrorist haven</p> <p>root out terrorists in our midst</p> <p>American fury at Dickensian pace</p> <p>Europe's solidarity with US melts into nothing</p> <p>blacken the name of all Islam</p>	<p>galvanise public opinion</p> <p>Britain must rise to challenge</p> <p>heart of conspiracy</p> <p>end cynical exploitation of right of repeated appeal</p> <p>pussyfooting of prosecutors</p> <p>terrorism thrives on propaganda</p> <p>stiffen response</p>

24 Who defends Britain?	<p>Whitehall's wobbles</p> <p>9/30/2001 smacks of bureaucratic fudge</p> <p>vague talk</p> <p>habit of muddling through</p> <p>remove recklessly such underpinning plays into hands</p>	<p>tragic side effect of assault on America</p> <p>joined the hunt</p> <p>turf warfare</p> <p>fanaticism vs. freedom uneven at best of times</p> <p>exploit every loophole in statute book</p> <p>frontline target</p> <p>slow business in courts</p> <p>daydreaming</p> <p>latest Whitehall wheeze</p> <p>happily exploit that openness</p>
25 Tunnel vision	<p>tendency toward tunnel vision</p> <p>10/1/2001 swept every issue from agenda</p> <p>universal gaze turned toward NYC</p> <p>eclipsed reports</p> <p>calling for business as usual</p> <p>life will not return to normal until vision is restored</p> <p>obscured by noxious covering of dust and ashes</p>	<p>difficult to draw comfort</p> <p>statesmen today are blinded</p> <p>draw eyes to rest of world</p> <p>speculating on war against terrorism</p> <p>halt collapse of world economy</p> <p>everyday human activity ground to halt</p> <p>restore moral authority</p> <p>the explosions in America</p>
26 Against evil	<p>flung Bush's ultimatum back in his face</p> <p>10/2/2001 chaotic heart of primitive, terror-ridden travesty of state</p> <p>Taleban publicly slammed the door</p> <p>tear at roots of terrorism</p> <p>compact reduces risk of post-Taleban vacuum</p> <p>taunt</p> <p>Afghanistan's bane</p>	<p>long haul</p> <p>partners in guilt</p> <p>declaring its hand</p> <p>boot is on other foot</p> <p>given heart to Taleban's internal opponents</p> <p>medieval horrors/Khan's hordes cruelty</p> <p>suppressed</p> <p>ruled more by terror than sword</p>
27 A Fatwa on Terror	<p>seen spate of attacks</p>	<p>muted condemnation</p>

	<p>10/4/2001 enemies of understanding between Christianity/Islam opinion-makers less vocal on essential first step</p>	<p>make revulsion explicit confessional solidarity hear similar reciprocal language speak of extending hand of tolerance counter claims of fanatics Muslims in their midst Islamophobia</p>
28 War of nerves	<p>lift malaise now hanging over Western societies</p> <p>10/5/2001 caught between interests on one hand fear feeds on fear</p> <p>widespread panic spread across America</p>	<p>dispel absurd conspiracy theories circulating hard on heels encirclement of Afghanistan being interlocked lay out US needs in courteous, but plain language move diplomacy forward</p>
29 Just the beginning	<p>straight out of Ian Fleming story</p> <p>10/7/2001 ring closing around Bin Laden twisted millionaire mastermind holed up in hideout</p>	<p>Sundance to our Butch Cassidy spawning shoring up American-led alliance came to sticky end</p>
30 Another front	<p>that shattering day</p> <p>10/8/2001 lifeblood of democracy one corner of worldwide canvas</p>	<p>met terrible deaths balancing act off-screen hone rhetoric of readiness shattered West's peace but not will greatest burden of leadership freedom defeats fear</p>
31 The defeatist chorus	<p>British have new role to play</p> <p>10/8/2001</p>	<p>overcome by same jaundice as Jeremiah give Japanese easy ride to Pearl Harbor</p>

		allies' reluctance to stake everything no precipitate rush to widen war against terrorism September 11 ended their innocence rules by theocratic thuggery course of war hard to call clear-sighted resolve nurturing a wide alliance become a forgotten footnote long haul
32 Airport insecurity	sterile areas 10/17/2001 rules (lax/follows closely) aircraft as weapons beyond reach makes mockery responsibility split visible breaches threaten every citizen's safety	wave of emergency legislation take all possible steps to counter terrorism unvetted workers airside sensitive positions
33 Rock solidarity	brainchild 10/22/2001 unabashed patriotism/conviction moved America sentiment cloyed airwaves/schmaltz dripped reviving something of NY's bruised zest and gusto Britain's solidarity as much revivalist meeting as political rally	touched hearts of NYC voicing America's contempt for terrorists reverence for city's heroes mountains of money/towers of steel/hearts of gold stricken city
34 A man alone	Blair saw his duty/course was fixed 10/25/2001 keep fingerprints off operations starve transnational terrorist networks of power	settle old score Britain as alone as after fall of France living memory

		<p>destroy academies of death hope that road will never turn to Iraq is reckless finger pointed in direction of bin Laden eradicating menace of regime</p>
35 Nuclear network	<p>leaden shoe waiting to drop 10/26/2001 chilling info hunt horrors of full-scale nuclear attack lift spectre of nuclear terrorism dirty bomb most primitive of nuclear weapons hard evidence Downing Street non-committal</p>	<p>mastermind behind last month's attacks extravagant claims speed/surprise essential most primitive of weapons</p>
36 The Blair shuttle	<p>spoke of umbrella strong enough to withstand storm 11/2/2001 value as conduit, lightning conductor truth must grapple with falsehood</p>	<p>this conflict without front lines terrorist threat not weather of future gloss diplomatic momentum berates terrorists trying to hijack out religion refashioned structures of security collective nervous breakdown nervous toleration</p>
37 From New York skies	<p>only now returning to normal life 11/13/2001 reinforce sense of vulnerability that gripped the city facing random indefinite terror outcry over sloppy inspections/lax regulation braced for further contraction let fear push patriotism/courage out of minds</p>	<p>further blow level-headed response long-threatened further act of terrorism weather collapse of business confidence not stop life over city from coming to immediate halt wiped 200 points of DJIA</p>

		Congress stalled move
38 One Sunday in 1941	<p>fear has ranged itself against freedom</p> <p>12/7/2001 September's slaughter of civilians</p> <p>al-Qaeda's aim to humiliate US power/destroy its confidence</p> <p>showing world's mightiest power to be impotent</p> <p>tiny bands of fanatical plotters</p> <p>barely armed but with lethal weapon of willingness to die</p> <p>civilians asked to spend for victory, not dig for it</p>	<p>Pearl Harbor tipped scales</p> <p>US paid heavily for failures</p> <p>set Islam against the West</p> <p>aligned the rest of the world on America's side</p> <p>this does not feel like war</p> <p>9/11 put Americans back in touch with date of infamy</p>
39 First things first	<p>darkness enveloped lower Manhattan</p> <p>12/11/2001 rip apart fabric of civilised society</p> <p>target was future of everyman</p> <p>rhythm of normality quietly returned</p> <p>grip of al-Qaeda on cities</p> <p>no premature embrace of illusory peace</p> <p>miles to go before they sleep/spared to carry blankets</p> <p>countryside alive with al-Qaeda fighters</p> <p>centre stage</p>	<p>aircraft as missiles</p> <p>fanatics preaching hate engineered mass murder</p> <p>dangerously invidious position</p>
40 Not Correct	<p>to look on the bright side/NY back on path to psychological recovery</p> <p>1/15/2002 multiracial trinity in style of Benetton advertisement</p> <p>Sesame Street has a lot to answer for</p> <p>memorial to horror should reflect struggle against evil</p> <p>base specious philosophies on racial lines</p> <p>public-spirited Irish provided Murphia</p> <p>accident of the wave of immigration</p>	<p>embraced by the entire community</p> <p>city that they defended can grant them this</p> <p>kicking the stuffing out of each other</p> <p>uniquely courageous urban army</p> <p>glorious legend and inglorious reality of Mafia</p> <p>recognition of heroism on their own home ground</p> <p>colour-blind/colours blind to appear in correct proportions</p>

41 A World Transformed

world caught breath in shock

3/9/2002 elusive and Hydra-headed opponents

America's will and capacity to root out regimes

turbulent, fractured apology for a state

transformation in American national mood

ruthlessly contemptuous of life

attack on freedom itself

diminishing of that collective horror

global menace must and can be beaten back

starve cells

raise his game

9/11 not receding into past but continuing threat

no neutral ground in fight

aligning to defend order against enemies at gate

myopically reluctant

42 Coalition Politics

men with no respect for life mustn't control instruments of death

3/12/2002 smash terrorists determined to attack liberal democratic values

act of remembrance for victims of terror

plan a bit over the top

hysterical coverage

there can be no immunity and no neutrality

stance those outside US should welcome

in the market for weapons of mass destruction

for blackmail or battle

sentence and sentiment essence of US foreign policy

work best in concert with coalition

43 Intelligent intelligence

scale of confusion

6/6/2002 good intelligence can avert devastation of evil men

burdensome new routines

permanent vigilance

caught unawares

clear chain of command

unclear/present danger

penetrate Islamic cells

infighting

44 Security matters

take heed of obvious timetable

7/8/2002 fear of whipping up panic

weapons of an even more sinister nature

residual memory of 1970s pub bombings

confusion

first line of defence

terrorism/lightning unlikely to strike same place twice

extinguished by engaging in spectacular activity

apparent end to bin Laden's home video efforts

bin Laden network in state of disrepair

day passed peacefully

event to carry clout

stepped up

45 One year on

in the wake of 9/11

9/11/2002 transformative moment/importance rarely witnessed

US a citadel to be destroyed/advertisement for human progress

hands on clock barely moved since 9/11

bitter interpretation, battle how deaths understood

affairs core of tension between civilisations

indulgence ended on 9/11 unlikely revisited

pattern of human activity overturned overnight

many whispers but no hard information

legacy of 9/11 in 3 theatres

The Times of London Figural Categories

purpose

Civilised World

Schadenfreude

hatreds sit alongside gentler arts

world divides into two camps/no middle way

America "freedom's home"

betraying democracy's values

clean own houses of terrorist taint

democracies have made shackles for themselves

justice is civilisation's most potent weapon

terror rots timbers on which civilised coexistence rests

form of economic cavalry

global cop

run into wall of obscurantist militancy

sleepers ready to strike

gave evil abundant opportunity

dig deep into pockets

assauge feelings

gave up lives scaling fatal monoliths

growing grip of Islamic extremism

Muslim "wild west"

ask countries to stand against terrorist menace

Great Satan

notion of war/law rests on structure

international cover

inspired by zealotry of clerics holding sway

melt into shadows of anarchic/outlaw lands

global agreement

higher standards

exploit frameworks of freedom against freedom

slaughter used as weapon

spectacle of towers of civilised world plummeting

crude anti-gov't tactics from the other

democracy's best retaliation against terror is to thrive

democracy itself under attack

freedom takes up cudgels against fear

sworn to shred fabric of freedom

enemy shorn of scruples

treacherous Afghan wastes on the far side of the world

pale compared to these mega-terrorists

common fears make common cause

shared outrage

disgusted retreat from theocracy

balance that US and UK must strike

deliver up

crack down on organized crime

end cynical exploitation of right of repeated appeal

crack down on those preaching extremist hatred

happily exploit that openness

fanaticism vs. freedom uneven at best of times

restore moral authority

chaotic heart of primitive, terror-ridden travesty of state

ruled more by terror than sword

medieval horrors/Khan's hordes cruelty suppressed

enemies of understanding between Christianity/Islam

Islamophobia

Muslims in their midst

freedom defeats fear

aircraft as weapons

dirty bomb most primitive

partners in guilt
Afghanistan's bane
this conflict without front lines
truth must grapple with falsehood
long-threatened further act of terrorism
rules by theocratic thuggery
nurturing wide alliance
let fear push patriotism/courage out of minds
rip apart fabric of civilised society
target was future of everyman
aircraft as missiles
ruthlessly contemptuous of life
attack on freedom itself
global menace must end and can be beaten back
turbulent, fractured apology for a state
aligning to defend order
only good intelligence can avert devastation of evil men
weapons of an even more sinister nature
affairs core of tension between civilisations
US citadel to be destroyed/advertisement for human
progress
men with no respect for life mustn't control instruments of
death
smash terrorists determined to attack liberal democratic
values
work best in concert with coalition
for blackmail or battle
there can be no immunity and no neutrality
memorial to horror should reflect struggle against evil
base specious philosophies on racial lines
recognition of heroism on their own home ground
this does not feel like war
fear has ranged itself against freedom

September's slaughter of civilians
tiny bands of fanatical plotters
barely armed but with lethal weapon of willingness to die
set Islam against the West
aligned the rest of the world on America's side

purpose

Change/Time

recover identity as young nation
tempered by fire and changed
new truths of a changed world
we are all Americans
old rivalries buried/Parisian sniping vanished
hawks are true peacemakers
fortress America moribund/shattered forever last
Tuesday
no going back to life before
turning point in history (Truman Doctrine)
parallel to our present times
limit damage triggered by last week's atrocities
laxity of past
old habits
turn upside down
glorious mundanity
abomination's wake
replayed in flashback to newly insomniac world
world felt itself to be global village/terror is a leveller
extinguish all signs of normal political life
so-called war room/real war
shed some post-Vietnam habits of thought
utter necessity of this unwelcome war
fighting new kind of war/new kind of enemy
heterodox coalition
intelligence by far most deadly new weapon
calling for business as usual
shed habits of thought

life will not return to normal until vision is restored
everyday human activity ground to halt
that shattering day
shattered West's peace but not will
September 11 ended their innocence
last month's attacks
only now returning to normal life
facing random, indefinite terror
not stop life over city from coming to immediate halt
rhythm of normality returned
world caught breath in shock
difficult to draw comfort
swept every issue from agenda
transformation in American national mood
diminishing of that collective horror
9/11 not receding into past but continuing threat
permanent vigilance
caught unawares
in the wake of 9/11
hands on clock barely moved since 9/11
indulgence ended on 9/11 unlikely revisited
pattern of human activity overturned overnight
legacy of 9/11 in 3 theatres
bitter interpretation, battle how deaths understood
transformative moment/importance rarely witnessed
world caught breath
act of remembrance for victims of terror
this does not feel like war
September's slaughter of civilians
9/11 put Americans back in touch with date of infamy

script

Language, Literature, Drama

President uses words like wood
actor in drama whose first act is unfolding
towers the very opposite of Babel
silent dead of many lands speak to that truth
bells tolled yesterday
moving silence
call spirits from the dusty deep
democracy noisy, sceptical affair/fool's
errand/Shakespeare/Hegel
found his voice and hit his stride
best placed to whisper words in right ears
blunt demands
preaching message of hate
tilt world opinion toward India
upstaged
enemy within the gate
triumphalist bile fills airwaves
humanitarianism at its most epic
spectacle of towers plummeting
humankind cannot bear very much reality
replayed in flashback
in the frame
al-Qaeda academies of death
Taleban playing out deadly farce
silence surrounds all military detail
rhetoric rallying world against common enemy
battle for world opinion
channel of communication too long clogged

careless language costs lives
palimpsest
intelligence-sharing script constantly rewritten
Taleban hurl defiance
caught by Achilles' heel
myriad scraps of info
American fury at Dickensian pace
terrorism thrives on propaganda
preaching extremist hatred
smacks of bureaucratic fudge
vague talk
opinion-makers
less vocal on essential first step
muted condemnation
make revulsion explicit
confessional solidarity
hear similar reciprocal language
counter claims of fanatics
ravings of extremists blacken name of all Islam
dispel absurd conspiracy theories circulating
lay out US needs in courteous, but plain language
straight out of Ian Fleming story
Sundance to our Butch Cassidy
twisted millionaire mastermind
came to sticky end
one corner of worldwide canvas
balancing act
off-screen
hone rhetoric of readiness
British have new role to play
overcome by same jaundice as Jeremiah

become a forgotten footnote
makes mockery
as much revivalist meeting as political rally
sentiment cloyed airwaves/schmaltz dripped
destroy academies of death
extravagant claims
berates terrorists trying to hijack our religion
miles to go before they sleep
fanatics preaching hate
centre stage
enemies at the gate
apparent end to bin Laden's home video efforts
legacy of 9/11 in 3 theatres
many whispers but no hard information
advertisement
sentence and sentiment essence of US foreign policy
plan a bit over the top
multiracial trinity in style of Benetton advertisement
Sesame Street has a lot to answer for
public-spirited Irish provided Murphie
glorious legend and inglorious reality of Mafia

agent

Characters

flexing of America's vast muscle
standing shoulder to shoulder
Pakistan's indulgence of Taleban
little real appetite for war
Kremlin suspicions of NATO designs
the nation's life
El Al set example
West plans retaliation
gov'ts appreciate danger they face
hearts of public and politician
White House's brusque insistence
Washington is gleaning intelligence
Britain girds against present danger
France not fallen in line
standing shoulder to shoulder
Britain standing in line of only two abreast
country alive with troubled and legitimate questions
Britain has shown deft hand/resolute eye
struck heart of America
world standing edgily at brink of war
America's diplomatic footwork
Muslim world recoils instinctively from attack on fellow
set to side Russia's anxieties about US penetration
America is crouched
Taleban hurl defiance one day
Europe's solidarity with US melts into nothing
Britain must rise to challenge
Whitehall's wobbles

latest Whitehall wheeze
Taleban flung Bush's ultimatum back in his face
Taleban publicly slammed door
given heart to Taleban's internal opponents
America bears greatest burden of leadership
shattered West's peace but not will
give Japanese easy ride to Pearl Harbor
unabashed patriotism/conviction moved US
touched hearts of NYC
reverence for city's heroes
Britain's solidarity
reviving something of NY's bruised zest and gusto
stricken city
voicing America's contempt for terrorists
US not mountains of money/towers of steel/ but hearts of gold
Britain as alone as after fall of France
America's will
American national mood
mastermind
Downing Street non-committal
spoke of US umbrella
Congress stalled move
grip of al-Qaeda on cities
how many heads Hydra has
Islamist assailants have tentacles everywhere
stopping kamikazi terrorists
terrorist Hydra
bin Laden's Afghan lairs
funding Jackal cunning
elusive and Hydra-headed opponents

stance those outside US should welcome
in the market for weapons of mass destruction
hysterical coverage
city that they defended can grant them this
kicking the stuffing out of each other
uniquely courageous urban army
al-Qaeda's aim to humiliate US power/destroy its
confidence
showing world's mightiest power to be impotent
tiny bands of fanatical plotters
barely armed but with lethal weapon of willingness to die
civilians asked to spend for victory, not dig for it
Pearl Harbor tipped scales
US paid heavily for failures
set Islam against the West
aligned the rest of the world on America's side
9/11 put Americans back in touch with date of infamy

act/agent

Body

trying out JFK's shoes

keeps head down

strike heart

hand over bin Laden to escape retaliation

face

immediate steps

recovering some of its position

stepped up their own vigilance

lose little sleep

terrible blow

time in hand (bargains to be struck)

not marching but tumbling into front line of war

moment intelligence coalesces will be swift spring

sharp memories

slipped between aliases

heart of conspiracy

pussyfooting of prosecutors

daydreaming

boot is on other foot

speak of extending the hand of tolerance

caught between interests on one hand

beyond reach

taken all possible steps to counter terrorism

brainchild

keep fingerprints off operations

finger pointed in direction of bin Laden

living memory

leaden shoe waiting to drop

level-headed response

further blow

(reinforce sense of vulnerability that) gripped the city

no premature embrace

embraced by the entire community

act/agency

Games

jockeying

not shirk this slow, deliberate test of strength

make or break sentiment

prolonged slump

testing

play by the book

puzzle not pieced together

temporarily lost stomach for fight

political jousting

avoidance of serious economic slump

snatched defeat from jaws of military victory

electronic battlefield

test of strength against terrorist Hydra

marathon ahead

staying America's hand

riposte to carnage visited on America

marathon effort to rid world of terrorist cells

America's diplomatic footwork

won "shoulder to shoulder" backing

tackling

however fluid the chessboard now

deftly handled

waiting game like no other

vital pooling of information

overseas tip-offs

plays into hands

exploit every loophole in statute book

joined the hunt

speculating on war against terrorism

declaring its hand

taunt

move diplomacy forward

freedom defeats fear

hard on heels

allies' reluctance to stake everything

course of war hard to call

rules (lax/follows closely)

settle old score

raise his game

no neutral ground in fight

burdensome new routines

first line of defence

stepped up

sloppy intelligence, mistaken targets, missed

aims

scene/act

Vision/Shadow

flush of horrified sympathy fades
muddied/fuzzied policies
no melting into shadows
shrouding preparations
bring to head struggle shadowing West
invisible enemy without borders
revealed the hypocrisy
legions are invisible
melt into shadows
terrorism should have no hiding place
clearer the terrible truth becomes
appear statesmanlike
no shadow of doubt
shadowy al-Qaeda
Britain shown resolute eye
elusive identikit of terror filling out
mask terrible conspiracy of destruction
hindsight underlines blame
blacken name of all Islam
uncover network that made London terrorist haven
tendency toward tunnel vision
universal gaze turned toward NYC
eclipsed reports
life won't return to normal until vision restored
obscured by noxious covering of dust and ashes
statesmen today are blinded by explosions in America
draw eyes to rest of world
lift malaise now hanging over

clear-sighted resolve

visible

hard evidence

lift spectre of nuclear terrorism

gloss

wiped 200 points off DJIA

illusory peace

darkness enveloped lower Manhattan

myopically reluctant

unclear/present danger

clear chain of command

take heed of obvious timetable

petty infighting coming to light

habit of muddling through

colour-blind/colours blind to appear in correct proportions

to look on bright side

scene

Natural Disaster

suffered an urban avalanche

sifting the rubble mountain

masked, dust-caked, bone tired devoted crews

cushioned from aftershocks

evidence is sifted

world waits for dust to settle/caught in obscene free-fall

dug from dust

noxious covering of dust and ashes

spate of attacks

strong enough to withstand storm

terrorist threat not weather of future

act/agency

Science/Engineering

tempered by fire and changed
turbulence
true bolt from blue aimed to humble heart of nation
no melting into shadows
Pakistan's corrosive political corruption
fuel flame of terror
gravity of situation
limit damage triggered
big boost
plane as bomb
chemical sniffer to detect explosives
scorched into collective consciousness
mobilisation gathering pace
deadly force of express train bearing down
speed far outstrips allied response to Iraq
pouring fuel on flames of Islamic fundamentalism
alliances suffer stresses/strains in heat of battle
galvanise public opinion
melts into nothing
slow business in courts
compact reduces risk of post-Taliban vacuum
no precipitate rush to widen war
wave of emergency legislation
responsibility split
speed/surprise essential
value as conduit, lightning conductor
diplomatic momentum

extinguished by engaging in spectacular activity
terrorism/lightning unlikely to strike same place 2x
residual memory
notion of war/law rests on structure
build military coalition
layer upon layer
this outer layer
layers of global support
pragmatic layering of decisions cooperate flexibly
dismantling
apparatus of terror
scale of terrorists' ambitions
remove recklessly such underpinning plays
refashioned structures of security
engineered mass murder
scale of confusion
accident of the wave of immigration

act/agency

Medical

make the price of terrorism unbearable
pressure to alleviate root causes of terrorism
growing Talebanisation of Pakistan
formula
fade away into outright recession
fortress America was already moribund
triumphalist bile
desire to restore life to city
economic victims of terrorism
self-inflicted mistakes
robust efforts
lifted Blair's fatigue
political headaches
psychological blow struck by terrorists
Stability Pact not allowed to become sterility
pact
collapse of WTC not collapse of world trade
join int'l drive to avert slump
surgical strikes
elimination of scourge of terrorism
festering troubles of Middle East
too long clogged
starved of funds
fray more nerves
tourniquet tightens it begins to pinch
evidence emerging of cells
tragic side effect of assault on America
Whitehall wheeze
halt collapse of world economy

widespread panic spread across America
lift malaise now hanging over Western societies
spawning
lifeblood of democracy
sterile areas
sensitive positions
reviving something of NY's bruised zest and
gusto
stricken city
eradicating menace of regime
starve transnational networks of power
nervous toleration
collective nervous breakdown
braced for further contraction
fractured
shock
starve cells
myopically reluctant
penetrate Islamic cells
terrorism could hobble American power
day passed peacefully
NY back on path to psychological recovery

act/agency

Nautical

turbulence
anger/anguish more likely to mount than
subside
terror rots timbers
called to the colours
time for steady nerves/precise action
channel of communication
shift in the course of long campaign ahead
US will not fire more than warning shot or two
Pentagon expects time to fray nerves
long haul
shoring up American-led alliance
stiffen response
long haul
breaches threaten every citizen's safety
unvetted workers airside
wave of emergency legislation
Blair saw his duty/course was fixed
weather collapse of business confidence
turbulent
event to carry clout
timetable
bin Laden network in state of disrepair

act/agency

Rooting out/Closing in

pressure to alleviate root causes of terrorism
cut off any room for manoeuvre
murderous networks hunted down
track down
tackling root cause of extremism
diplomatic fence around Afghanistan
close gaps in this unconventional common front
close down terrorist cells/loopholes
as tourniquet tightens it begins to pinch
Islamist terrorist networks more entrenched
closing G8 airspace/ringing venue
root out terrorists in our midst
joined the hunt
tear at roots of terrorism
encirclement of Afghanistan being interlocked
ring closing around bin Laden
holed up in hideout
hunt
capacity to root out regimes

act/attitude

Responding to danger

mount leadership campaign
character to rise to challenge
deliberate assault on symbol of nation
crisis bringing economic ruin to millions
bargains to be struck
find excuses otherwise occupied when bullets fly
enemy of my enemy should be courted
growing aghast
sheltered in London
frontline target for retaliation
fear feeds on fear
met terrible deaths
horrors of full-scale nuclear attack
chilling info
reinforce sense of vulnerability
outcry over sloppy inspections/lax regulations
spared to carry blankets
fear of whipping up panic

scene

Terrain

treacherous political terrain
pavement carpeted with flowers
bewildering range of circumstance
grim political position
as networks regroup trail may go cold
slip into rebellion from one wing
perilously unstable launching pad
no avenue neglected
treacherous Afghan wastes
world standing edgily at brink
pockets of Pashtun heartlands
turf warfare
hope road never turns to Iraq is reckless
dangerously invidious position
countryside alive with al-Qaeda fighters
first step down long road
speed gov't takes in high ground abroad
low road gov't treads at home
NYC back on path

The Times' Themes by Article

1 **Terror for All**

Before/After--Civilised/Uncivilised---Visible/Shadowy

9/12/2001

New truths of changed world yet to be seen

US tempered by fire and changed by ordeal

No single stroke will slay invisible enemies

Battle between terror and entire free world can only be met by standing shoulder to shoulder

2 **Still the Enemy**

Civilised/Uncivilised---Before/After

9/13/2001

Old rivalries buried; "we are all Americans"

West must establish beyond doubt that civilised world is able and determined to defeat religious extremists and aggressive dictators anywhere they arise

3 **With one voice**

Civilised/Uncivilised---Before/After

9/14/2001

Never an American catastrophe, but the world's

World divides into 2 camps

4 **Replies of steel: Answers to inevitable criticisms of an inevitable response**

9/15/2001

Duty/Appeasement

Failure to strike will be trumpeted as proof of impotence

Foolish, immoral to shirk this slow, deliberate test of strength

5 **This is a world war**

New War/New Kind of Enemy

9/16/2001

9/11 brings to head the struggle that has shadowed the West for decades

New battlefield, different kind of conflict

When faced by such an enemy, hawks are true peacemakers

Constant pressure to alleviate root causes of terror

- 6 The old war**
Visible/Shadowy---New War/New Kind of Enemy
- 9/17/2001**
- War with invisible enemy without borders seems surreal
- 7 Pakistan's choice**
Civilised/Uncivilised
- 9/17/2001**
- Musharraf must choose
 Growing grip of Islamic extremism vs. democratic world
- 8 Speed not haste**
Civilised/Uncivilised---Duty/Appeasement
- 9/18/2001**
- West must at least be equal to terrorists in the will to prevail
 The more concentrated the targets, the better
 Once first flush of horrified sympathy and common fear fades, allies may be tempted to treat this monstrosity as a "one-off"
- 9 Back in business**
New War/New Kind of Enemy
- 9/18/2001**
- Strong case for conventional free market principles being place to one side
 Sustained, international intervention is required to maintain prosperity
- 10 In the air**
New War/New Kind of Enemy
- 9/18/2001**
- Old habits hard to change
 Best air safety enforced only by global agreement
- 11 Terrorism at home**
Civilised/Uncivilised
- 9/19/2001**

West's most cherished values and legal traditions gave evil abundant opportunity
Puzzle not pieced together
Enemies within the gate

12 Dig deep

Before/After---Civilised/Uncivilised

9/19/2001

9/11 = humanitarianism at its most epic
Terrorism is a leveller
Never before has the world felt itself to be such a global village

13 United home front

Before/After--Civilised/Uncivilised

9/20/2001

Democracy's best retaliation against terror is to thrive
Circumstances demand measure of restraint
Hearts of public and politician alike are not in political jousting

14 It's the economy, still

New War/New Kind of Enemy

9/20/2001

Crisis bringing economic ruin to millions would snatch defeat from jaws of any military victory that free world won
Collapse of world trade would bring almost as much satisfaction as collapse of WTC--must not be allowed
Join international drive to avert slump

15 Long war

Duty/Appeasement---New War/New Kind of Enemy

9/20/2001

Afghanistan is a foretaste only of a vastly more ambitious campaign, waged the world over, in new kind of total war
As US engages in struggle, it will require great steadiness
US will judge countries by their willingness to stay the same long course

16 Prime suspect: The Taleban are playing out a deadly farce

Civilised/Uncivilised---New War/New Kind of Enemy

9/21/2001

On every front, through every channel, multi-faceted counter-terrorist alliance coming together
First step down very long road
Taleban playing out a deadly farce, unable to comprehend enormity of outrage
Taleban's stance demonstrates utter necessity of this unwelcome war

17 Back on the ground

9/22/2001

Duty/Appeasement

UK = a country alive with troubled and legitimate questions
UK standing in line of only 2 abreast--US's sole partner
UK girds against present danger

18 It won't be quick

New War/New Kind of Enemy--Duty/Appeasement

9/24/2001

US's measured response reassuring for a world standing edgily on brink of war
Allies have rallied with varying degrees of commitment
Fighting new kind of war against new kind of enemy
Time for steady nerves, precise action
This is a war without end and a war we can never be certain we have won

19 Layer upon layer

New War/New Kind of Enemy

9/24/2001

Place layers of global support on NATO core
Common fears make common cause
Tackling root cause of extremism in festering troubles of Middle East

20 Palimpsest

New War/New Kind of Enemy

9/26/2001

Balance UK/UK must strike = palimpsest, a political, military, and intelligence-sharing script that is constantly rewritten

However fluid the chessboard now, one constant is that in Middle East, careless language costs lives

21 Crouch, spring, crouch

9/28/2001

Visible/Shadowy

Evasive identikit of terror is filling out
Moment intelligence coalesces there will be swift spring--US is crouched--this is a waiting game like no other

22 Intelligence needed

New War/New Kind of Enemy--Visible/Shadowy

9/28/2001

Freedoms of West have been used to mask a terrible conspiracy of destruction
Hindsight underlines blame but clarifies the need for action
New war demands new weapons--intelligence by far most deadly

23 Tough on camera

Visible/Shadowy---New War/New Kind of Enemy

9/29/2001

Uncover network that has made London terrorist haven of Western world
Terror thrives on propaganda and delay--both must end

24 Who defends Britain?

Duty/Appeasement---Civilised/Uncivilised---New War/New Kind of Enemy

9/30/2001

UK joined hunt for OBL so it became frontline target for retaliation
Fanaticism vs. freedom uneven contest
Need for greater security balanced against impairing our freedoms

25 Tunnel vision

Visible/Shadowy---Before/After

10/1/2001

Everyday human activity has ground to a halt
Tendency toward tunnel vision as universal gaze has turned toward NYC
Statesmen today are blinded by explosions in America--life will not return to normal until vision is restored

26 Against evil

Duty/Appeasement

Afghanistan only one battleground in long campaign
Dangers of inaction now outweigh risks

10/2/2001

27 A Fatwa on Terror

Civilised/Uncivilised---Duty/Appeasement

Essential first step from Muslim community = widespread and unambiguous condemnation of terrorists and those who support them
Those complaining of prejudice should not be surprised by false Western assumptions if they do not counter claims of fanatics

10/4/2001

28 War of nerves

Civilised/Uncivilised

Blair: defeat terrorists or be defeated
Fear feeds on fear
Success of Washington's war aims will decide outcome
All elements in encirclement of Afghanistan being interlocked

10/5/2001

29 Just the beginning

Duty/Appeasement---New War/New Kind of Enemy

OBL straight out of Ian Fleming novel
"Special relationship" is proving its worth
Not a war in which you can negotiate
So long as OBL is free, no country is beyond his reach and nobody is safe
Butch and Sundance came to a sticky end--US/UK must not

10/7/2001

30 Another front

New War/New Kind of Enemy---Civilised/Uncivilised---Duty/Appeasement

10/8/2001

Hone rhetoric of readiness without creating unrealistic expectations or putting whole society in "brace position"

Most crucial operations likely off-screen

Afghanistan only one corner of worldwide canvas

Pulverising of WTC shattered West's peace but not will

National interests of UK are directly engaged because at stake are lives and livelihoods of all

31 The defeatist chorus

Duty/Appeasement---Civilised/Uncivilised

10/8/2001

We are in for the long haul

West has resolve to win war

Prolonged campaign makes need to win battle for public opinion more important than ever

32 Airport insecurity

New War/New Kind of Enemy

10/17/2001

Rules are too lax

Breaches threaten everyone's safety

33 Rock solidarity

Before/After

10/22/2001

Send a message understood by millions

Celebrate NYC's resilience, energy, and unity

Massive and modern defiance

34 A man alone

10/25/2001

Duty/Appeasement

Blair saw his duty; his course was fixed

The struggle against global terrorists is "a battle that doesn't have a finite point"

Return to Iraq would divide Blair's party, his country, and his allies abroad

35 Nuclear network

Civilised/Uncivilised---New War/New Kind of Enemy

10/26/2001

OBL--the acquisition of WMD "to terrorise the enemies of God" = "religious duty"

Hunt now assumes still greater urgency than before

Speed and surprise will be all the more essential/ The threat is even greater than was previously known

36 The Blair shuttle

Duty/Appeasement---Civilised/Uncivilised

11/2/2001

Part of Blair's value to Bush = conduit, even of lightning conductor

Needs to be sure he is husbanding his authority--and UK's--for times far harder than these

Not arrogance to assert values of civilised society, but necessity. Their defence requires calculated mixture of discipline and decisiveness,

considered risktaking, and imaginative caution little mastered by post-Cold War leaders

37 From New York skies

Before/After

11/13/2001

New Yorkers believe that their city and country are facing random, indefinite terror

Life over much of city comes to immediate halt (with every scare)

38 One Sunday in 1941

New War/New Kind of Enemy---Civilised/Uncivilised

12/7/2001

September's slaughter of civilians had no basis in strategic calculation

Aim was to humiliate American power, destroy its confidence and set Islam against the West

Show the world's mightiest power to be impotent against tiny bands of fanatical plotters, barely armed other than with the lethal weapon of their readiness to die

Struggle is frustrating for civilians because there cannot be a clearcut military victory and because it is so much less clear what individuals can do

39 First things first

Civilised/Uncivilised---New War/New Kind of Enemy

12/11/2001

Terrorists desire to rip apart the fabric of civilised society. Their target was the future of everyman

"win the peace"

UK, valiant but ancillary in Afghanistan, now moves to centre stage
No premature embrace of illusory peace--miles to go before they sleep

40 Not Correct

Civilised/Uncivilised---Before/After

1/15/2002

New York is back on the path to psychological recovery when its citizens are kicking the stuffing out of each other

Al-Qaeda may base its specious philosophies on racial lines but Americans should be colour-blind
Injustice being done to this uniquely courageous urban army becomes clearer if one reverses the ethnic model

41 A world transformed

Before/After---Civilised/Uncivilised--New War/New Kind of Enemy

3/9/2002

After 9/11, the world caught its breath in shock, disgust, and fear, transfixed by attacks
Attacks revealed vulnerability of world's greatest power and every society in which fanatics were at liberty to circulate--an attack on freedom itself
Diminishing of that collective horror and helplessness due to the steady determination of US to beat back global menace
Early days in global campaign, against elusive, Hydra-headed opponent, "that does not have a finite point"

Blair has raised his game in emergency, asserted there is no neutral ground in fight

Blair's decisions yet to come immeasurably harder

Europe slow to accept 9/11 not as event receding into the past but part of continuing threat, and slower to understand transformation in American national mood

42 Coalition Politics

New War/New Kind of Enemy---Civilised/Uncivilised---Duty/Appeasement

3/12/2002

The US must not feel constrained to act by the concerns of others but would still work best in concert with a coalition

"Men with no respect for life must never be allowed to control the ultimate instruments of death." That sentiment is the absolute essence of American foreign policy

There can be no immunity and no neutrality

43 Intelligent intelligence

New War/New Kind of Enemy

6/6/2002

Security is unending struggle to improve vigilance and update intelligence--reexamination of old assumptions

Only good intelligence can avert the devastation of evil men

44 **Security matters**

New War/New Kind of Enemy---Before/After

7/8/2002

We need to expect the unexpected

Ordinary life not affected since 9/11--simple passage of time led most people in most places to act as they did on 9/10

45 **One year on**

Before/After---Civilised/Uncivilised

9/11/2002

9/11 was transformative moment of importance rarely witnessed--life would never be the same
Legacy of 9/11 in 3 theatres: America's relationship to the world; Islam's attitude toward rest of humanity; central structure of international system

Innocence and indulgence that ended on 9/11 not likely revisited soon

Only at beginning of the attempt to understand what will be demanded of capitalist democracies

Hands on the clock have barely moved since 9/11

<i>The Times' Relevancy Ratings</i>									
Date	M	R	L	D	A	Mean	2	1.75	1.5
12-Sep-01	3	3	3	3	3	3	Y	Y	Y
13-Sep-01	3	2	3	2	3	2.6	Y	Y	Y
14-Sep-01	3	3	3	3	3	3	Y	Y	Y
15-Sep-01	2	0	3	1	1	1.4			
15-Sep-01	3	2	3	2	3	2.6	Y	Y	Y
16-Sep-01	3	3	3	3	3	3	Y	Y	Y
17-Sep-01	3	2	3	2	3	2.6	Y	Y	Y
17-Sep-01	2	1	3	1	2	1.8		Y	Y
18-Sep-01	3	1	3	1	3	2.2	Y	Y	Y
18-Sep-01	3	0	3	1	2	1.8		Y	Y
18-Sep-01	3	1	3	1	2	2	Y	Y	Y
19-Sep-01	3	0	3	1	3	2	Y	Y	Y
19-Sep-01	3	2	3	3	3	2.8	Y	Y	Y
20-Sep-01	3	1	3	2	3	2.4	Y	Y	Y
20-Sep-01	3	2	3	1	2	2.2	Y	Y	Y
20-Sep-01	3	2	3	1	3	2.4	Y	Y	Y
21-Sep-01	3	1	3	2	3	2.4	Y	Y	Y
22-Sep-01	3	1	3	2	3	2.4	Y	Y	Y
23-Sep-01	3	2	3	3	3	2.8	Y	Y	Y
24-Sep-01	2	1	3	0	3	1.8		Y	Y
24-Sep-01	1	0	1	1	0	0.6			
25-Sep-01	1	1	3	0	2	1.4			
25-Sep-01	1	0	1	0	0	0.4			
26-Sep-01	2	2	3	0	2	1.8		Y	Y
26-Sep-01	1	0	1	0	1	0.6			

27-Sep-01	2	1	3	1	3	2	Y		
27-Sep-01	1	1	1	1	2	1.2			
28-Sep-01	2	1	3	0	3	1.8		Y	Y
28-Sep-01	2	0	3	1	3	1.8		Y	Y
29-Sep-01	2	1	3	1	3	2	Y	Y	Y
30-Sep-01	2	2	3	2	3	2.4	Y	Y	Y
1-Oct-01	1	2	3	2	2	2	Y	Y	Y
1-Oct-01	1	1	1	1	1	1			
1-Oct-01	2	1	2	0	3	1.6			Y
2-Oct-01	2	2	3	0	3	2	Y	Y	Y
3-Oct-01	1	1	2	0	2	1.2			
3-Oct-01	1	1	2	0	1	1			
4-Oct-01	0	0	0	0	0	0			
4-Oct-01	0	1	0	0	1	0.4			
4-Oct-01	2	2	3	1	3	2.2	Y	Y	Y
5-Oct-01	2	1	3	2	3	2.2	Y	Y	Y
5-Oct-01	1	0	0	0	0	0.2			
6-Oct-01	1	1	2	1	1	1.2			
6-Oct-01	1	0	1	1	1	0.8			
7-Oct-01	1	3	3	2	3	2.4	Y	Y	Y
8-Oct-01	1	1	3	2	3	2	Y	Y	Y
9-Oct-01	1	1	3	0	3	1.6			Y
10-Oct-01	0	1	2	1	1	1			
11-Oct-01	1	0	3	1	3	1.6			Y
12-Oct-01	1	1	2	1	3	1.6			Y
13-Oct-01	1	2	1	1	2	1.4			
14-Oct-01	1	1	3	1	3	1.8		Y	Y

15-Oct-01	1	0	1	1	0	0.6			
15-Oct-01	2	0	3	1	1	1.4			
16-Oct-01	1	0	2	0	3	1.2			
17-Oct-01	2	1	3	1	2	1.8		Y	Y
17-Oct-01	1	0	2	2	3	1.6			Y
18-Oct-01	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
18-Oct-01	1	0	1	0	0	0.4			
19-Oct-01	1	0	3	0	3	1.4			
19-Oct-01	1	1	1	1	3	1.4			
20-Oct-01	1	0	2	0	1	0.8			
20-Oct-01	1	0	1	0	0	0.4			
21-Oct-01	1	1	2	0	3	1.4			
22-Oct-01	2	2	3	3	3	2.6	Y	Y	Y
22-Oct-01	1	1	1	0	3	1.2			
23-Oct-01	1	1	1	0	3	1.2			
24-Oct-01	0	0	1	0	1	0.4			
25-Oct-01	0	0	0	0	0	0			
25-Oct-01	2	2	3	3	3	2.6	Y	Y	Y
26-Oct-01	1	1	2	2	3	1.8		Y	Y
28-Oct-01	1	0	3	1	3	1.6			Y
29-Oct-01	1	0	2	0	1	0.8			
31-Oct-01	0	0	0	0	2	0.4			
31-Oct-01	0	0	2	1	2	1			
31-Oct-01	2	0	3	1	2	1.6			Y
1-Nov-01	1	0	3	2	1	1.4			
2-Nov-01	1	0	3	2	3	1.8		Y	Y
3-Nov-01	0	0	0	0	0	0			

3-Nov-01	1	0	2	0	3	1.2			
4-Nov-01	0	1	2	0	0	0.6			
5-Nov-01	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
6-Nov-01	1	0	1	1	0	0.6			
6-Nov-01	0	0	2	0	2	0.8			
7-Nov-01	1	0	1	0	2	0.8			
8-Nov-01	1	0	1	2	0	0.8			
11-Nov-01	0	0	2	0	3	1			
13-Nov-01	1	2	2	2	1	1.6			Y
13-Nov-01	2	2	3	3	2	2.4	Y	Y	Y
15-Nov-01	0	0	2	0	3	1			
16-Nov-01	0	0	3	0	3	1.2			
17-Nov-01	1	2	2	0	1	1.2			
17-Nov-01	0	1	2	0	1	0.8			
18-Nov-01	1	0	3	1	3	1.6			Y
18-Nov-01	0	0	2	0	1	0.6			
19-Nov-01	0	0	0	0	0	0			
20-Nov-01	1	1	2	1	2	1.4			
20-Nov-01	1	1	2	1	0	1			
22-Nov-01	1	0	1	0	0	0.4			
24-Nov-01	1	0	1	0	0	0.4			
24-Nov-01	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
24-Nov-01	1	0	2	0	1	0.8			
27-Nov-01	1	0	3	0	1	1			
27-Nov-01	0	0	2	0	0	0.4			
29-Nov-01	0	0	0	0	0	0			
1-Dec-01	0	0	0	0	0	0			

3-Dec-01	1	0	2	1	1	1			
3-Dec-01	0	0	0	0	0	0			
4-Dec-01	1	0	3	1	0	1			
4-Dec-01	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
5-Dec-01	0	0	0	0	0	0			
7-Dec-01	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
7-Dec-01	3	3	3	3	3	3	Y	Y	Y
8-Dec-01	0	0	3	0	3	1.2			
8-Dec-01	0	0	0	0	0	0			
11-Dec-01	2	2	3	2	3	2.4	Y	Y	Y
13-Dec-01	0	0	3	0	3	1.2			
13-Dec-01	0	0	0	0	0	0			
14-Dec-01	0	0	0	1	0	0.2			
14-Dec-01	0	0	3	1	1	1			
17-Dec-01	1	0	2	1	0	0.8			
18-Dec-01	1	0	1	1	1	0.8			
19-Dec-01	0	0	0	0	0	0			
22-Dec-01	0	0	1	0	1	0.4			
26-Dec-01	0	0	2	0	0	0.4			
27-Dec-01	0	0	3	0	2	1			
29-Dec-01	1	1	3	1	2	1.6			Y
30-Dec-01	1	0	1	0	0	0.4			
31-Dec-01	1	0	3	0	2	1.2			
31-Dec-01	0	0	2	0	0	0.4			
2-Jan-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
3-Jan-02	1	0	3	0	3	1.4			
5-Jan-02	1	0	2	2	2	1.4			

6-Jan-02	1	0	0	0	0	0.2			
10-Jan-02	1	0	3	0	3	1.4			
11-Jan-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
12-Jan-02	1	0	1	1	0	0.6			
14-Jan-02	1	0	0	0	0	0.2			
15-Jan-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
15-Jan-02	1	2	3	2	2	2	Y	Y	Y
16-Jan-02	1	0	3	0	1	1			
17-Jan-02	1	0	3	0	3	1.4			
19-Jan-02	0	0	2	0	2	0.8			
22-Jan-02	0	0	3	0	3	1.2			
26-Jan-02	0	0	2	0	2	0.8			
28-Jan-02	1	0	2	0	3	1.2			
29-Jan-02	1	0	3	1	3	1.6			Y
31-Jan-02	1	1	3	0	3	1.6			Y
3-Feb-02	0	0	2	0	1	0.6			
4-Feb-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
5-Feb-02	0	0	2	0	3	1			
8-Feb-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
9-Feb-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
9-Feb-02	0	0	2	0	0	0.4			
14-Feb-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
15-Feb-02	0	1	2	1	0	0.8			
16-Feb-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
18-Feb-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
23-Feb-02	0	0	3	0	0	0.6			
25-Feb-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			

27-Feb-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
2-Mar-02	0	0	3	0	2	1			
4-Mar-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
5-Mar-02	0	0	3	0	3	1.2			
6-Mar-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
7-Mar-02	0	0	2	0	0	0.4			
8-Mar-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
9-Mar-02	3	3	3	3	3	3	Y	Y	Y
10-Mar-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
11-Mar-02	1	0	1	0	1	0.6			
12-Mar-02	2	0	3	2	3	2	Y	Y	Y
13-Mar-02	0	2	1	0	0	0.6			
15-Mar-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
19-Mar-02	0	0	3	0	0	0.6			
21-Mar-02	0	0	2	0	1	0.6			
21-Mar-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
22-Mar-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
23-Mar-02	0	0	3	0	0	0.6			
25-Mar-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
28-Mar-02	1	2	3	0	2	1.6			Y
29-Mar-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
30-Mar-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
31-Mar-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
31-Mar-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
2-Apr-02	0	0	3	0	2	1			
4-Apr-02	0	0	2	0	0	0.4			
5-Apr-02	0	0	2	0	0	0.4			

7-Apr-02	0	0	3	0	0	0.6			
10-Apr-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
11-Apr-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
11-Apr-02	0	0	2	0	0	0.4			
16-Apr-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
17-Apr-02	0	0	3	0	2	1			
24-Apr-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
26-Apr-02	0	1	2	0	1	0.8			
9-May-02	0	0	2	0	1	0.6			
10-May-02	0	0	3	1	2	1.2			
13-May-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
14-May-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
15-May-02	0	0	2	1	1	0.8			
17-May-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
18-May-02	1	0	2	1	1	1			
18-May-02	0	0	2	0	0	0.4			
19-May-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
20-May-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
23-May-02	0	0	2	0	1	0.6			
23-May-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
24-May-02	0	0	2	0	2	0.8			
24-May-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
25-May-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
27-May-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
30-May-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
31-May-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
4-Jun-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			

3-Jun-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
6-Jun-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
6-Jun-02	1	2	3	2	3	2.2	Y	Y	Y
12-Jun-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
19-Jun-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
23-Jun-02	1	0	2	1	3	1.4			
24-Jun-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
25-Jun-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
26-Jun-02	0	0	2	0	0	0.4			
4-Jul-02	0	0	1	0	1	0.4			
6-Jul-02	1	0	2	0	3	1.2			
8-Jul-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
8-Jul-02	2	3	3	3	3	2.8	Y	Y	Y
16-Jul-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
19-Jul-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
25-Jul-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
27-Jul-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
29-Jul-02	1	0	2	1	1	1			
30-Jul-02	0	0	3	0	1	0.8			
31-Jul-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
3-Aug-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
4-Aug-02	0	2	2	1	1	1.2			
7-Aug-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
8-Aug-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
10-Aug-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
15-Aug-02	0	1	2	0	3	1.2			
18-Aug-02	0	0	3	0	0	0.6			

20-Aug-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
23-Aug-02	0	0	1	0	0	0.2			
26-Aug-02	0	0	3	0	0	0.6			
31-Aug-02	0	0	2	0	0	0.4			
1-Sep-02	0	0	2	0	0	0.4			
3-Sep-02	0	0	0	0	0	0			
6-Sep-02	0	1	3	0	1	1			
7-Sep-02	0	0	2	0	0	0.4			
8-Sep-02	0	0	2	0	0	0.4			
11-Sep-02	3	3	3	3	3	3	Y	Y	Y
AVG	0.71	0.4	1.7	0.5	1.2		34	45	

Month			Average		
			2	1.75	1.5
9/12/2001	10/11/2001	1	25	30	33
10/12/2001	11/11/2001	2	2	6	10
11/12/2001	12/11/2001	3	3	3	5
12/12/2001	1/11/2002	4	0	0	2
1/12/2002	2/11/2002	5	1	1	4
2/12/2002	3/11/2002	6	1	1	1
3/12/2002	4/11/2002	7	1	1	3
4/12/2002	5/11/2002	8	0	0	0
5/12/2002	6/11/2002	9	1	1	1
6/12/2002	7/11/2002	10	1	1	1
7/12/2002	8/11/2002	11	0	0	0
8/12/2002	9/11/2002	12	1	1	1

Historical References by Number

5 or more

Pearl Harbor 10
African Embassy bombings 6
Gulf War/Kuwait 16

2 or more

Cold War 4
USS Cole 3
World War II 3
Kosovo 3
Hydra 3
John Kennedy/Cuban Missile Crisis
1962 3
Franklin Roosevelt 2
Bill Clinton/Osama bin Laden 1998 2
Masood assassination 2
Ronald Reagan 2
Margaret Thatcher 2
Nazis 2
Israel/Palestine Conflict 2
Slobodan Milosevic 2
Vietnam 2
George H. W. Bush 41 2
Chechnya 2

1

17th century—30 Years' War
WWII scrap metal collecting
Japanese invasion of China WWII
Dhahran bombing 1996
Northern Ireland conflict
Durban Conference on Racism
Mikhail Gorbachev
Berlin Wall
Ayatollah Khomeini in France 1970's

Somalia 1993
Tower of Babel
"bells tolled"—John Donne
Thomas Hobbes—"common power
to keep men in awe"
Niccolo Machiavelli
William Shakespeare
Bertrand Russell
Carl von Clausewitz
Georg Hegel
1998 bin Laden World Islamic Front
Harry Truman
Truman Doctrine
Libya 1986
Berlin bombing 1986
Moammar Gadaffi supporting
Islamic terror
Lockerbie
Gadaffi arming the IRA
Great Satan
Omaha Beach
Thirty Years' War
1648 Treaty
Rome
Thomas Jefferson
Islamic pirates in Middle Ages
Barbary States
1970's hijackings
James Baker
Savings and Loan Scandal
Tony Blair to UN 1998
T.S. Eliot
Bill Clinton 1992 election
1994 California earthquake
Stability Pact—currency
Osama bin Laden leaves Sudan 1996
Tony Blair's deal with the PIRA
IRA terror
1998 US sanctions on Pakistan
Iran/Iraq war
Soviets in Afghanistan
US State Dept 2000 report on Iran
and terror
Taliban takeover of Afghanistan
US Paris Embassy bombing plot
Genoa G8 summit

British Ambassador in Cairo
 answering charges of UK not
 extraditing terror suspects
Agosto Pinochet
Charles Dickens
Genghis Khan
Afghan King Shah
Ian Fleming
Butch Cassidy/Sundance Kid
Nuremburg Trials
Iwo Jima—famous photograph
Bosnia
Falklands War
Edward Heath—worry over oilfields
 Gulf War
Book of Jeremiah
Lord Healey—opposed to Kosovo
 campaign
General Tojo
Princess Diana
Woodstock
Fall of France 1940
1993 WTC bombings
Iraq boots IAEA/UN 1998
UN Resolutions 686 and 687
David Bowie 1977 "Heroes"
Robert Frost's "miles to go"
1970's IRA pub bombings
1999 deal between Chechens and Osama bin Laden
Enlightenment
Reformation
Clinton Era
Richard Hofstadter
The Wasteland—Eliot
Henry IV—Shakespeare
Winston Churchill's "special relationship"
The Psalms—"enemies in the gates"
FDR's "date which will live in infamy"
FDR's "freedom from fear"

Vita

Anne Snellen received her A.B. from Youngstown State University in 1995 with concentrations in the history of ideas, Middle Eastern history, and religious studies, and her M.A. from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst in 1997 with concentrations in English literature and language and the history of ideas. She will receive her Ph.D. from the University Of Tennessee-Knoxville in 2006, with concentrations in language, rhetoric, and psycholinguistics.