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Analysis of rhetoric and metaphors in President George W. Bush  
speeches after 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2001, and a possible use of  
propaganda



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## Abstract

This paper seeks to analyse rhetorical and metaphorical parts of three George W. Bush speeches, which were held after the attacks on World Trade Center and Pentagon the 11th of September 2001. The aim of the analysis is to understand how the analysed parts influence the persuasiveness of the speeches. The analysis is based on a qualitative approach and is therefore analysing specific parts of the speeches detailed. The specific analysed parts of the speeches are selected based on an identification of general metaphors, conflict metaphors and personifications.

Persuasion creates the ability for generating propaganda, but persuasion is not equal to propaganda. Propaganda is defined as the abuse of the ability to persuade. The parameters that indicate if the use of persuasion is abusive, and therefore propaganda, are specified in the paper. The propaganda chapter in the paper serves as a perspective to the possible use of persuasion in the analysed parts.

Another objective for the paper is to understand the influence the audience has on the ability to generate propaganda and to outline and describe the American audience of the speeches. This understanding of the influence that an audience have on persuasion and the understanding of the American audience will be used in the analysis. This is in order to understand the influence that the American audience of the speeches have on the persuasiveness of the analysed parts of the speeches

## 1. Motivation

The term propaganda has always been associated and connected with war (Taylor, 2003:1). The extent to which propaganda is influencing war is uncertain, though. It has been argued that propaganda is even the cause of war. That it is a devious weapon to seduce the soul and minds of an audience, and even possibly drive them to the battlefield (Taylor, 2003:1). The audience consider the words told in a given speech. This can influence the audience to think differently and also behave differently than the audience might have otherwise (Taylor, 2003:1).

The George W. Bush speeches analysed in this project took place after the attacks on World Trade Center and Pentagon on 11th of September 2001. George W. Bush started to use the term 'The war against terror' just after these attacks (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:9-10). His policy also changed after the attacks and he suddenly pledged America to combat the enemy wherever they were placed in the world. This particular enemy was clearly 'the terrorists' (Lansford et al., 2009:45). It is

described that the eventual decisions to attack Afghanistan in late 2001 and Iraq in 2003 were clearly a facet of 'the war against terror' (Lansford et al.,2009:10-11).

Propaganda includes an abuse of the ability to persuade an audience (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:4). Rhetoric has the ability to persuade an audience (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:4) and persuasion is toothless without metaphors (O'Shaughnessy, 2004:70). Rhetoric and metaphors therefore possesses the ability to generate propaganda. The analysis of rhetoric and metaphors is in this paper to comprehend whether George W. Bush used some rhetoric and metaphors to persuade the audience. It is therefore important to understand rhetoric and metaphors because of its ability to create propaganda, and propaganda can even be estimated to be the cause of war (Taylor, 2003:1).

## 2. Introduction

This paper includes an analysis of rhetorical and metaphorical parts of three speeches from George W. Bush, all of which regard the attacks on 11th of September and what George W. Bush declared as 'The war against terror'. The attack on 11th of September transformed American foreign policy. It transformed the pre-existing foreign policy that George W. Bush had inherited from the Bill Clinton presidency, to a policy focused on 'The war against terror' (Lansford et al., 2009:45-48).

These are the speeches analysed in this paper:

1. ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS. THE OVAL OFFICE WASHINGTON, D.C. SEPTEMBER 11, 2001
2. ADDRESS TO THE JOINT SESSION OF THE 107TH CONGRESS. UNITED STATES CAPITOL. WASHINGTON, D.C. SEPTEMBER 20, 2001
3. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE SERVICE OF REMEMBRANCE AT THE PENTAGON. THE PENTAGON ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA OCTOBER 11, 2001

The first objective for the analysis in the paper is to understand how the analysed rhetorical and metaphorical parts of the speeches influence the persuasiveness of the speeches and therefore the ability to generate propaganda

The second objective is to understand how the American audience is influencing the persuasiveness of the analysed parts of the speeches, and therefore also the ability to generate propaganda.

The first chapter in the paper outlines the situation around the time of the analysed speeches and George W. Bush's policy during his presidency. The next chapter defines the term propaganda. The aim for propaganda is defined as shaping perceptions, manipulating cognitions, and directing behaviour, according to the intent of the propagandist. This is done by using the ability to persuade the audience. It is defined that rhetoric performs a key role in generating propaganda, because of its ability to persuade (O'Shaughnessy, 2004:66). The next chapter outlines and describes the different aspects of rhetoric, which are important to persuasion. It is defined in the paper that metaphors have a great power for rhetoric (O'Shaughnessy, 2004:65) Metaphors are therefore described as being essential to rhetoric, as further explained here: "Great rhetoric is primarily metaphorical" (O'Shaughnessy, 2004:70). So, metaphors and rhetoric are both essential to persuasion, and the analysed parts of speeches are therefore rhetorical and metaphorical. This is done by identifying general metaphors, conflict metaphors and personifications in the speeches. The analysis is therefore providing an answer on whether the analysed parts are influencing the persuasiveness of the speeches, based on the knowledge of rhetoric and metaphors.

Chapter 9 outlines the audience's importance to persuasion and therefore propaganda and chapter 10 defines the American audience. These chapters are the theoretical foundation for understanding how the American audience is influencing the persuasiveness of the analysed parts of the speeches.

### **3. Problem area**

The project will focus on understanding how rhetoric and metaphors as tools can generate propaganda, and whether some parts of the three George W. Bush speeches possesses the possibility to generate propaganda by the use of rhetoric and metaphors.

The first objective is to define propaganda of a historical and current time perspective. So, the main theoretical question regarding propaganda will be: How can propaganda be comprehended? Next objective will be to clarify the connection between propaganda and rhetoric/metaphors. This project will exclusively focus on the rhetorical and metaphorical aspects of language. This will conceivably exclude other aspects which could be influencing propaganda. A central question regarding rhetoric and metaphors is: Do rhetoric and metaphors have the ability to persuade the audience and generate propaganda?

The gained knowledge about the influence that rhetoric and metaphors have on persuasion will enable the possibility to understand rhetorical and metaphorical parts, according to persuasion. The analysis of the speech will therefore be of rhetorical and metaphorical parts, which can be comprehended based on rhetorical and metaphorical knowledge. This is in order to reach the aim of analysing parts of the speeches that are influential to persuasion, and therefore possess the ability to generate propaganda.

The analysis of the speeches will focus on a qualitative approach. This is because the ambition is to understand specific parts of the speeches, rather than understanding some general tendencies of the speeches for which a quantitative approach could be preferable. All the speeches analysed were held by George W. Bush, with a main focus on 'The war on terror' (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:9-10). The speeches took place on 11th of September 2001, 20th of September 2001 and 11th of October 2001.

The audience to the speeches could possibly be influential on the ability to generate propaganda. One of the objectives for the project is therefore to outline the influence that the audience has on the ability to generate propaganda.

**How do rhetorical/metaphorical parts and the audience of the George. W Bush speeches influence the persuasiveness of the speeches and the ability to generate propaganda?**

## 4. Delimitation

### Propaganda

The comprehension of propaganda within this paper points out a wide range of aspects, which are important to understand whether a given use of language can be defined as propaganda. As defined: “*Propaganda is a deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist*” (Weaver et al., 2006:11). The aspects within this definition are considered in the project. The analysis is based on analysing rhetoric and metaphors. The analysed metaphors and rhetoric in the speeches could be persuasive and therefore possess the ability to generate propaganda. So, the comprehension of propaganda serves as a perspective to the possible persuasiveness of the analysed parts and the ability to generate propaganda.

## 5. Situation of the speeches

This chapter outlines the situation surrounding president George W. Bush at the days of the speeches. It also describes George W. Bush’s policy during his presidency. Chapter 5.1 is in the paper to provide an understanding of the events that occurred on 11th of September 2001. This paper aims to provide a perspective to propaganda, based on the analysed parts of the speeches. Propaganda is based on a deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist, as outlined in chapter 6. This chapter is therefore providing an understanding of what the desired intent of George W. Bush could have been. One of the intents could possibly have been to gain support to ‘the war against terror’ and therefore the later decisions to attack Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003.. Chapter 5.3 contains a definition of terror. The understanding of terror, which is provided in this chapter, will serve as a perspective to the analysis. This is since the analysis could include words or phrases that use the word ‘terror’.

### 5.1 11th of September 2001

Four US commercial aircrafts were hijacked and used as weapons against The World Trade Center and Pentagon on 11th of September 2001. The first plane crashed into The North Tower, of the two

World Trade Center towers, at 8.46 a.m. It was done by 19 people, who were described as terrorists by George W. Bush. They were from Al-Qaeda, described as an Islamic terror network by George W. Bush. Two planes crashed into World Trade Center and another plane crashed into Pentagon. People in the fourth plane learned about what happened with the other planes, and they managed to divert their plane from the intended target. The fourth plane crashed on the ground in western Pennsylvania and killed all aboard, but no one besides the people in the flight (Lansford et al.,2009:1). The death total for the attacks was 2977 (CNN, 2013)

## **5.2 George W. Bush's policy after 11th of September**

It is described that the events that occurred on 11th of September affected George W. Bush's foreign policy. George W. Bush began to construct a new foreign policy by setting new commitments for USA's overseas commitments (Lansford et al.,2009:38). George W. Bush had followed the case-by-case foreign policy that he had inherited from the two former presidents, before the events at 9/11. George W. Bush began to change the American foreign policy to a more unilateralist position after 9/11, which can be exemplified in George W. Bush's decision in 2003 to attack Iraq without a United Nations mandate. (Lansford et al.,2009:45). George W. Bush was acting as the head of government at the domestic stage. He had to negotiate with the congress and the other existing domestic political actors. His image and the situation were though different on the international stage where he was representing America and American values to the world. It is here described how George W. Bush did recast himself as the personification of the War against terror: *“George W. Bush drew on the head-of-state role to recast himself as the personification of the War against Terrorism.”* (Lansford et al.,2009:39-40). George W. Bush defined a policy, after 9/11, which were focused on using military force against, what he defined as ‘terrorism’, everywhere it existed. The focus of the military attacks would also be on foreign government that harbour and support what he defined as terrorist. George W. Bush had a considerable support from the American public for his policy following the 9/11 attacks. He also enjoyed a noticeable support in the congress at that period, and the congress moved fast in order to provide George W. Bush support for ‘the war against terror’. (Lansford et al., 2009:10-11). The decision to attack Afghanistan in late 2001 and Iraq in 2003 was an important part of ‘the war against terror’ (Lansford et al.,2009:10-11).

## **5.3 Definition of terror**

The Bush policy during his presidency was highly focused on ‘The war against terror’, as explained before, but what is the definition of terrorism? Many dictionaries offers a general definition of

terrorism and there are also multiple other different definitions of terror and terrorism. The general definition offered by dictionaries is as following: *“The unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence by a person or an organized group against people or property with the intention of intimidating or coercing societies or governments, often for ideological purposes.”* (Lansford et al.,2009:4). This definition outlines that the actions within terrorism should be contradicting to the law. A general key component to any definition of terror is that the people who are being attacked are civilians. So, the term civilians is a key component to the definition of terrorism (Lansford et al.,2009:4).

The attacks on 11th of September took place in America, and the definition ‘The war against terror’ was established by George W. Bush. The American definition of terror is therefore estimated as relevant to this project. The US federal statute has this official definition of terrorism, which could be considered to be an official American definition of terrorism:

*“The term “terrorism” means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience ... and involving citizens or the territory of more than one country.”* (Lansford et al.,2009:4-5).

This definition outlines that the violent action should be done by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, which excludes violent actions from official countries to be terror. This definition is therefore excluding the attacks on Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 from the definition of terrorism.

## 6. Propaganda Theory

### 6.1 Propaganda and history

This chapter will provide a small-scale outlook on the history of propaganda, with a perspective to the current use of propaganda in the political world. This understanding of the current use of propaganda will give an indication on how probable it is that George W. Bush used propaganda during his presidency. The use of propaganda as a tool for shaping perceptions and manipulating behaviour is related back to ancient Greece. (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:50). Propaganda is today widely represented as a negative term but it has not always been so. The Catholic Church established the "De propaganda fide" in the 17th century with this aim: "*mobilize talented intellectuals of every sort into a vast social apparatus to persuade men and women all across the globe to believe in Christian doctrine or, if perchance they had fallen astray, to rekindle their faith*" (Weaver et al., 2006:8-9). It was generally described that the public was regarded as illogical and irrational, and that he/she was in need of some governance and guidance from responsible men, who were trained in decision making and leadership (Weaver et al., 2006:9).

The word propaganda is though in our modern information and communications age widely seen as implying something evil. As explained: "*For some it is a cause of wars; for others, it is an even greater evil than war*" (Taylor, 2003:1). An example of propaganda used during American presidency can be seen in Shawn H. Parry-Giles (2002) studies of the propaganda production during the cold war operations. This was during the Truman and Eisenhower presidency in America. She defined propaganda, built upon her investigation of the propaganda production of the cold war operations, as "*conceived of as strategically devised messages that are disseminated to masses of people by an institution for the purpose of generating action benefiting its source*" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:5). She described that Truman and Eisenhower used propaganda, and that propaganda was used as an integral component of the government's foreign policy operations (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:5). This specifies that George W. Bush will not be the first American president to use propaganda in history.

It is defined that there has been a growth in the use of propaganda within politics in the 19th and 20th century. The most important incentive for this growth is the development of democratic political institutions. This development of democratic political institutions increased the necessity for the politicians to learn the mechanisms of peaceful persuasion by propaganda. Propaganda is

today regarded as an integral part of the political life in the 20th century (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:92). This indicates that it is quite probable that George W. Bush has drawn on the use of propaganda during his presidency.

## 6.2 Propaganda definition

Propaganda can be seen from many perspectives. The post-structuralist perspective argues that it is impossible for communication to be 'ideological free'. This is since: *"all cultural activities, including communication, are 'always situated in specific social-historical context which are structured in certain ways and located within relations of power'"* (Weaver et al., 2006:11). This is contradicted by Jowett and O'Donnell (1992), who stated that all ideologically messages can be considered as "bad", or at least ethically questionable, in a propaganda perspective. So, they argued that communication can be 'ideologically free' and they therefore implied that some kinds of communication are preferable. This preferable kind of communication will be a communication that is free from ideological underpinning (Weaver et al.,2006:11). This view, by Jowett and O'Donnell (1992), defines the ideal kind of communication to be just the opposite of propaganda's 'ideology filled' communication. So, propaganda is abusing the ability to persuasion by being 'ideology filled' with a related objective. Jowett and O'Donnell (1992) defined the purpose of propaganda with these words:

*"Purpose of propaganda is to send out an ideology with a related objective ... [and] there is a careful and predetermined plan of prefabricated symbol manipulation to communicate to an audience in order to fulfill [the] objective. The objective that is sought requires the audience to reinforce or modify attitudes and/ or behaviour"* (Weaver et al., 2006:11).

The propagandist is described to be highly powerful and to operate with a conscious, deliberate self-interested intent (Weaver et al., 2006:11). This is the definition of the communicative process of propaganda and the purpose of it, from Jowett and O'Donnell (1992):

*"Propaganda is the deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist"* (Weaver et al., 2006:11)

The propagandist is therefore, according to this definition, having a pre-determined desired intent that he/she will seek to achieve. The words within this propaganda definition will be described more detailed in order to provide a deeper understanding of propaganda.

## Deliberate

The words 'wilful, intentional and premeditated' describes the word 'deliberate' in this context. It therefore involves a careful consideration of the possibilities. This word is used in the definition of propaganda because it implies that propaganda is carefully considered beforehand. This is done in order to select what will be considered the most effective strategy to promote an ideology and to maintain a favourable situation (Jowett & O'Donnell,2012:7).

## Systematic

The word 'systematic' functions as an adjective for the word 'attempt', since it is a systematic attempt. So, the 'deliberate attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour' is done systematic. The regularity could, for example, be seen in the systematic choice to emphasize a given point with a organized regularity during a political campaign (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:7).

## Attempt

The term implies that goal of propaganda builds on an attempt. 'Attempt' can also be described with the words 'to try' that indicates that the success of the attempt/ to try is not given beforehand. The desire of the propaganda may be perceptual, cognitive, behavioural, or all three (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:7).

## Shaping perceptions

The act of shaping perceptions is normally done through language and images. This project is though only focusing on the language, and specifically rhetoric. Perceptions are characterized by the fact that they are subjective, as described:

*"How a perception was ultimately categorized would depend on the architecture of the system, which a person was born with and that which developed through experience. Some people's brain would tell them they had seen a UFO or an angel instead of a plane."* (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:8).

Perceptions are subjective and the message from a speech can therefore be received differently. The audience can be seen as separate individuals to a given message, and that they therefore all receive that given message differently. This perception of the audience is though omitting the cultural aspect. Members within a given culture share similar values, morals and norms. They can also share

the same law and general practices. It is therefore probable that a given cultural group has group perceptions or very similar perceptions at least. So, an understanding of the cultural aspect of the audience is an important part of perceptions (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:8). The importance of the audience is further explained in chapter 9 and chapter 10 provides an understanding of the American audience. The propagandist can try to shape a given perception for the audience, and the intent of propaganda is to convince the audience about this given perception (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:5-6).

#### Direct behaviour

The direction of a specific behaviour is often the aim of a given propaganda. For example, some leaflets were dropped out to Iraq military forces in 2003 during the Iraq war. The leaflets included this message: *“Do not risk your life and the lives of your comrades. Leave now and go home. Watch your children learn, grow and prosper”* (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:12). This was logically done in order to direct the Iraqi soldiers' behaviour.

#### Achieve a response

The aim of propaganda is to achieve a response, a specific reaction or action from the audience that the propagandist is talking to. This audience can in modern time be the audience listening to the speech live, but it can also be the audience that listen to a given speech on their television, computer, etc.

### 6.3 Propaganda, persuasion and rhetoric. Connection.

Propaganda is defined as an abuse of persuasion (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012:4). The aim of propaganda is therefore conducted by the use of persuasion. It is abuse of persuasion, if the persuasion is 'ideology filled' and used as a: *“deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist”* (Weaver et al., 2006:11).

Rhetoric is defined as a range of methods for persuading others (Black, 2011:13). This outlines that rhetoric is essential to persuasion. Rhetoric is therefore performing a key role in propaganda. Propaganda can therefore not be analysed adequately without the inclusion of rhetoric, since the rhetorical aspect is essential.

## 7. Rhetoric Theory

### 7.1 Rhetoric

Rhetoric and rhetorical theory were developed in Ancient Greece. The definition of rhetoric in the classical antique was as following: “ars bene dicendi, the art of speaking well in public” (Black, 2011:7). It was understood in Ancient Greece that language was being used to discover universal truth, but that language also could be used to manipulate or misrepresent.

Aristotle’s classical rhetoric theory was based on three artistic proofs. These three are as following; ethos, logos and pathos. Aristotle argued that successful rhetoric, which is rhetoric that is able to persuade others, should be able to include all three artistic proofs in a speech (Black, 2011: 7).

1. Ethos, *“deals with the speaker’s capability to display a personal character which makes his speech credible and trustworthy.”* (Moses, 2012:90)
2. Logos, the rational and logical argument and content of a given speech (O’Shaughnessy, 2004:68)
3. Pathos, language that is able to arouse the feelings. (Black, 2011: 7)

Rhetoric is described to be the range of methods for persuading others, as defined in chapter 6.3 (Black, 2011:13). Persuading refers to a use of language by one part that aim to convince another to accept a given point of view. The definition of rhetoric necessarily needs to incorporate persuasion, but they are not identical (Black, 2011:3). The difference between rhetoric and persuasion is here defined: *“By contrast, the term ‘rhetoric’ is used when we want to focus on how persuasion is undertaken: it refers specifically to the methods that the speaker uses to persuade, rather than to the whole gestalt of intention, action and effect.”* (Black, 2011:13).

### 7.2 Rhetoric. Figure 1.1

This chapter illustrates and defines the influence that ethos, logos, pathos and ‘telling the right story’ have on persuasion. The connection between them is illustrated in figure 1. -- *the rhetorical means for persuasion in political communication*. A description of each box in the figure and their connection is followed.

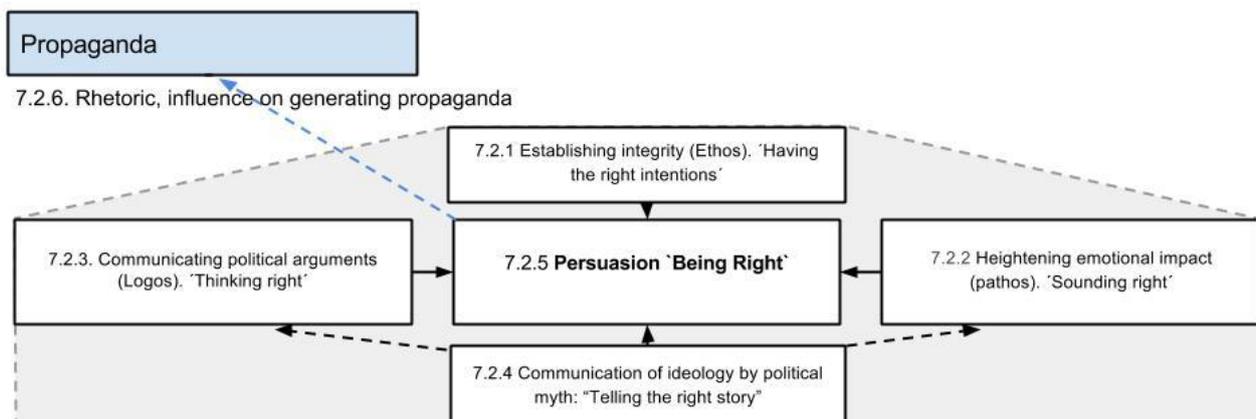


Figure 1 The rhetorical means for persuasion in political communication (Black, 2011:14)

### 7.2.1 Establishing integrity (Ethos) “having the right intentions”.

Ethos is established by convincing a given audience that the speaker has the right motive and intentions for the audience. The ethical integrity, which is established by Ethos, is a premise for being able to be persuasive to a given audience. When people listening to the speech no longer trust the speaker, then no argument by the speaker will be able to be persuasive. Corruption scandals, for example, can be very damaging for politicians. This is because corruption scandals signify that the given politician has the wrong motives and intentions (Black, 2011:14-15). Corruption scandals therefore signals that the politician is primarily concerned with his/her own interests and therefore not concerned with the interest of the people he/she is representing. So, ethos is based on a trust from the audience to the speaker and the audience will only be persuaded by the speaker's arguments if they trust the speaker. Ethos is then a proof in which the language by the speaker has to fit his/her behaviour. The way the audience see the speaker is therefore essential to the speaker's ability to persuade an audience (Black, 2014:9).

### 7.2.2 Heightening emotional impact (Pathos) “sounding right”.

Being believed and seen as having the right intentions (Ethos) and thinking right (Logos) are essential parts of the rhetorical means for persuasion, but the successful rhetorical should also be able to arouse the feelings(Pathos)(Black, 2011:7). ‘Sounding right’ refers to persuasion by heightening the emotional impact of a given message (Black, 2011:15). ‘Sounding right’, which is based on arousing the feelings, is achieved by rhetorical competence, such as metaphors. Use of

rhetoric that arouses the feelings can therefore contribute to create the suitable emotional climate in order for persuasion to occur (Black, 2011:15).

### **7.2.3 Communicating political arguments (Logos) “thinking right”.**

‘Thinking right’ refers to that policies should be based on rationality, and therefore logic (Logos). It is described that political arguments based on rationality are a rhetorical mean for persuading the audience. This is since arguments, which are based on rationality, are reasonable arguments and these arguments are inherently persuasive (Black, 2011:15).

### **7.2.4 Mental representations: Frames and Schemata. “telling the right story”.**

‘Telling the right story’ is about the deliberate decision of which story to tell. A story, which is considered as a right story, is explained to be a story that provides a frame that make political arguments and actions comprehensible. This is done by providing a story, which has an explanation that lies within audience’s experiences and assumptions about the world. A story that cannot make a political argument and political action comprehensible is not able to convince the audience of the rightness of a given political argument and actions. The given story should also lay within a given audience’s experiences and assumptions about the word. It is therefore essential to tell the right story in order persuade and convince an audience (Black, 2011:15).

### **7.2.5 Persuasion “being right”.**

The aspect of ethos, logos and pathos, which is explained in the chapter 7.2.1, 7.2.2 & 7.2.3, are all influential and essential to persuading a given audience. An audience is persuaded if the given audience is convinced that an argument is ‘right’. Establishing ethos is a premise for being right, as explained in chapter 7.2.1. It is defined that successful rhetoric, which is rhetoric that is able to persuade others, should be able to include all three artistic proofs in a speech. Chapter 7.2.4 outlines the importance of the decision of ‘telling the right story’. ‘Telling the right story’ is also essential for persuasion, as explained in chapter 7.2.4.

### **7.2.6 Rhetoric, influence on generating propaganda**

The general connection between propaganda and rhetoric is explained in chapter 6.3.

### **7.3 Rhetoric and Metaphors**

It is argued that metaphors are having a great power for rhetoric (O'Shaughnessy, 2004:65). As described: "Great rhetoric is primarily metaphorical"(O'Shaughnessy, 2004:70). So, metaphors are essential to persuasion and therefore possess the ability to generate propaganda. Metaphors influence how a specific subject is seen and how it is interpreted. So it has an influence on how our thinking is structured. This influence also structures our sympathies in a given circumstance. For example, a metaphor can describe one part of a conflict in a way that creates sympathy for that part. Overall, metaphors affect our thinking and also our emotional response to a given message. Metaphors are therefore analysed within this paper, because of the high significance they have on rhetoric and then also possessing the ability to generate propaganda. This understanding of metaphors enables a possibility to analyse given metaphors within the speeches, and thereafter connect these metaphors to rhetoric and propaganda. Next chapter will define and outline metaphors.

## 8. Metaphors

### 8.1 Defining metaphors

Many different definitions of the term metaphor can be found. Aristotle defined metaphors with these words: “*Metaphor consist in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else*” (Black, 2014:160). The etymological origin of the word metaphor is back from the Greek word *metapherein*, which means ‘to transfer’. This certainly fits to the notion that a metaphor is: “*one in which meaning are transferred*” (Black, 2011:31). The definition of metaphors in this project will be based on Jonathan Charteris Black’s definition in the book “*Analysing political speeches. Rhetoric, Discourse and metaphor, 2014*)” :

*“A metaphor is a word or phrase that has a more basic meaning than the one that it has in the context where it is used”* (Black, 2014:170)

This definition is based on the notion that a word has a more ‘common’ meaning than the metaphor that takes its place. So, a metaphor changes the meaning of a given word or phrase (Black, 2011:31). This change in meaning facilitates a metaphor with the power to change the emotional response that a given word generates (Black, 2011:31).

### 8.2 Metaphors influence on figure 2

This chapter is based on an understanding of the connection between metaphors and figure 1.1, which is illustrated and defined in chapter 6.3. A description of the influence that metaphors have on each box is following.

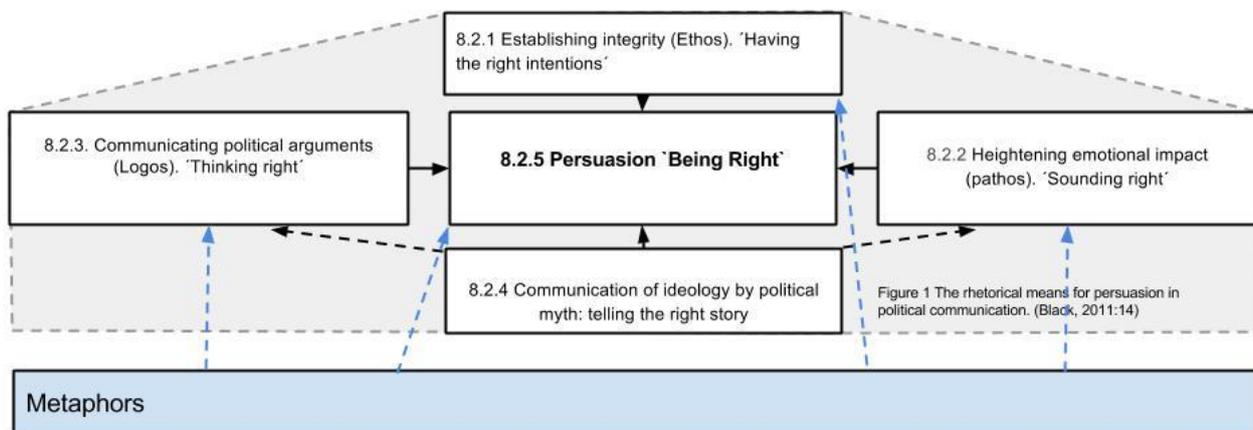


Figure 2 Metaphors influence on figure 1

### **8.2.1 Metaphors influence on: Establishing integrity (Ethos). ‘Having the right intentions’**

Ethos is, as described in chapter 6.3.1, essential to persuasion. A speaker without Ethos will have problems with convincing an audience. The speaker’s rhetoric will therefore sound empty and the speaker will be seen as manipulative. A prime mean for achieving credibility (Ethos) is metaphors that are interacting with semantic contrasts. This could, for example, be metaphors about light and dark that associate the speaker with good and the opponent with evil (Black, 2011:319).

Bill Clinton’s use of metaphors contributed to overcome the scandals within his presidency. He used the metaphors to create an image of himself as a person, who in spite of appearance had the right intentions (Black, 2011:221). His use of metaphors represented himself as a vulnerable man with a moral sense, and that he is a good man under the troubled surface (Black, 2011:221). This exemplifies how the use of metaphors can affect the way that people evaluate a politician and therefore the ethos of the politician. The ethos of a politician is a prerequisite for the ability for the politician to persuade an audience (Black, 2011:316). This means that the establishment of ethos is essential for persuasion, and that metaphors have the ability to influence the ethos of the speaker. (Black, 2011:221)

### **8.3.2 Metaphors influence on: Heightening emotional impact (pathos). ‘Sounding right’**

Metaphors are essential to increasing the emotional impact of a given message (Black, 2011:320-321). Arousal of emotions is essential to the establishment of heroes, victims and enemies. This arousal of emotions responds to the human feelings that are associated with protection of family, friends, nation, etc. This could be based on a fear of attacks from the unknown other (Black, 2011:320-321). An analysis of personifications is also included in this paper. The reason for including personifications will be outlined in chapter 7.3. Chapter 7.3 clarifies an example of use of personifications by Winston Churchill during the Second World War. Winston Churchill attempted to unify and raise morale during the war. It is explained that this use of personifications allowed him to: “*both to sound right and to express the right intentions.*” (Black, 2011:66). So, personification has an influence on sounding right.

### **8.3.3. Metaphors influence on: Communicating political arguments (Logos). ‘Thinking right’**

Metaphors can provide proofs to a logical argument. This can be done by providing equality between one word/phrase and another word/phrase. For example, Martin Luther King represented the segregation based on racism as either an illness, a prison or as slavery. These metaphors therefore applied equality between the word/phrase ‘segregation based on racism’ and the

words/phrases 'illness, a prison or a slavery'. This equality increased the understanding of 'segregation based on racism' by explaining it as 'illness, a prison or a slavery'. The metaphors therefore enabled the possibility to draw a logical equality between 'segregation based on racism' and 'illness, a prison or a slavery'. This argument is therefore based on this logical equality and therefore logos. (Black, 2011:322). So, the use of metaphors provided proof to a logical argument (Black, 2011:35)

Another example of the use of metaphors can be found in the speeches by the former English Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. She used metaphors based on household budgeting to logically argue how a nation's economy should be managed. People in general understand more about personal finances than they do about national finances. Margaret Thatcher emphasized on the need to not spend more money than one earns, and used this as a metaphor to explain that national economy was equal to this aspect of household budgeting. This use of logical argumentation based on household budgeting metaphors made national economy more familiar to the audience (Black, 2011:35). So, the knowledge that the audience already has to a given situation can be extended by the use of metaphor. This leads the audience to draw extended meanings about a given subject, based on the meaning that is provided by the metaphors. Metaphors have, based on this, the ability to create logical argumentation. For example, personal and national finances work in rather different ways in reality. So, the speaker is using metaphors to create favourable arguments to the case proposed by the speaker, as seen in the Margaret Thatcher example (Black, 2011:36).

Winston Churchill declared the presence of 'an Iron curtain descending across Europe' during the Second World War. The word 'Iron curtain' implied that a solid barrier would divide Europe and that the barrier would not be easily moved. This idea also implied an irreversibility and permanence, which would be have been contrasting if he had used a term like 'a silk curtain descending across Europe'. This emphasizes the importance of the meaning that a given metaphor implies (Black, 2011:36).

#### **8.4 Conflict metaphors.**

Conflict metaphors are defined with these words:

*“Conflict metaphors imply a type of evaluation because the agent of conflict is positively represented as a heroine – a Boudicca – while that which is struggled against is negatively represented as an alien invading ideology.”* (Black, 2011:169).

So, conflict metaphors imply a conflict between two oppositions. One part of the conflict is positively represented, whereas the other is negatively represented. Conflict metaphors will automatically create a set of oppositions; it could for example be enemy/allies, good/evil, etc.

For example, George W. Bush consciously drew on Churchill's reifications and personifications. He did this in order to draw parallels between the war in Iraq and the situation in Europe during the time of Nazism. So, he did this in order to argue that the situation in Iraq was similar to Europe during the time of Nazism, but also to dissociate the situation in Iraq to the Vietnam War (Black, 2011:322-323). It could be argued that referring to the situation in Europe during the time of Nazism, by using this metaphor, could increase the understanding of the communication for the audience. This is since the situation in Europe during the time of Nazism is plausibly easier to understand for the audience, than the situation in Iraq at that time. It can also be assumed that the situation in Europe during the time of Nazism is a situation that has a clear image of the enemy, and therefore the oppositions. Nazism and Hitler could be argued to be the clear enemy picture, whereas Bush can draw parallels between Nazism and Hitler and the enemy in 'Iraq'.

Conflict metaphors are described to be effective in clarifying political decisions and constructing national identities. It is also effective in encouraging an audience for taking a particular political stance (Black, 2011:322-323).

### **8.5 Personification**

Personification is a specific kind of metaphors. They are therefore a subcategory of metaphors (Dodson, 2008:29). Personifications are always a metaphor, whereas metaphors are not always personifications (Dodson, 2008:34). Personification is a linguistic figure that is based on describing a word with the use of another word that in other contexts would be a word that is used to define a person. The use of the word that is defining a person-like attribute or action should define a word that is normally not associated with a person-like attribute or action. An example of a personification is here presented "But my ship stands right here" (Dodson, 2008:34). Standing refers to a person-like action, so the ship does not literally stand. It is a personification of the action done by the ship.

Another example is the definition of BRITAIN AS A HERO, with person-like attributes or actions (Black, 2011:61). An example could be the following quote from a Winston Churchill speech in 1942 :

*“Britain, other nations thought, had drawn a sponge across her slate. But instead our country stood in the gap. There was no flinching and no thought of giving in, never give in, never, never, never.”* (29 October 1941)

It is described that Britain ‘had drawn a sponge across her slate’, which therefore implies a physical action by Britain. So, Britain becomes a person who can ‘draw a sponge across her slate’, ‘stand in the gap’ and as a person who has ‘no flinching and no thought of giving in’. These general attributes to Britain supports and increase the concept: BRITAIN AS A HERO. Whereas an analysis of Winston Churchill speeches, which identified the personifications in the speeches, emphasizes that the use of personifications supported and increased the concept of BRITAIN AS A HERO and also GERMANY IS A VILLAIN (Black, 2011:62)

Personifications arouse our attitudes, feelings and beliefs about a given subject, as just exemplified by Winston Churchill's use of personifications to support and increase the concepts BRITAIN AS A HERO and GERMANY IS A VILLAIN. The typical reasoning for using personifications is here explained: *“either to arouse empathy for a social group, ideology or belief evaluated as heroic, or to arouse opposition towards a social group, ideology or belief that is evaluated as villainous.”* (Black, 2011:61). This is done by using attributes that are characterized as heroic, in order to arouse empathy for social groups, ideologies or beliefs. Whereas, use of attributes that are characterized as villainous, will arouse opposition for social groups, ideologies or beliefs. (Black, 2011:61)

## 9. Audience importance. Theory

### 9.1 Audience importance.

The process of speaking to the audience includes the communication of the speaker, but it also includes the importance of the audience that the speaker speaks to. It is described that propaganda, in order to be effective, must be seen, remembered, understood, and acted upon. It must also be, as described: “*adapted to particular needs of the situation and the audience to which it is aimed*” (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2012:6). A political speaker should base the choice of language on a consideration about the audience. The choice of language will be influenced by the speaker’s considerations and assumptions about the current knowledge of the audience (Black, 2014:xvi)

The conservative party in Britain developed this slogan to their 2005 election campaign: “*Are you thinking what we’re thinking?*” (Black, 2014:xvi). This was an implied hint to immigration policy in Britain with an intention to focus on how this specific topic had become a taboo. Their campaign was considered a failure, because of their failure to win the prime minister title. Their failure implied that they had made the wrong assumption about the audience, which is the voters of Britain, because the preoccupation of the majority of people were not the immigration policy. This illustrates the importance of a correct consideration and assumption of the preoccupations of the audience, and that an incorrect consideration and assumption of the preoccupation undermines the persuasiveness of the rhetoric. The audience’s preoccupation is therefore a consideration for political advisers and speechwriters (Black, 2014:xvi).

The power within a given metaphor is linked to the evaluation of the audience. The given metaphor should therefore fit with a given audience, in order to remain persuasive. For example, if Americans have a tendency to agree with a negative conceptualization of the Japanese, then a given metaphor confirming this general conceptualization of the Japanese may sustain its persuasiveness for Americans. However, if it is not the case that Americans have this tendency to agree with a negative conceptualization of the Japanese, then the persuasiveness of the same given metaphor is questionable (Zouhair,2007:138). So, the pre-perceptions of an audience clearly has an impact on the persuasiveness of a given metaphor.

## 10. Audience

This chapter defines the American audience of the speeches, and perspective into cultural aspects of the audience in order to understand the audience better. The American people are chosen as the audience of the speeches, but the audience is obviously not only the American people. This decision to only focus on the American people is based on the estimation that understanding the audience, from all the countries that watched the speeches, would extend the scale of this project.

### 10.1 American culture, Historical perspective.

It is argued that America frequently has disregarded the international law and institutions. This is though met with: *“such high level of approval, or at least complacency, by the American public”* (Saito, 2010:3). Saito (2010) argues that fear-mongering could be a reason for approval, or at least complacency. He though believes that the answer lies in American history.

America itself was born by an exception to international law when they completed their illegal to break with the British colonial, which was contradicting to international law (Saito, 2010:4). It is explained that The United States consistently has claimed legitimacy by advocating on the principles of freedom, democracy and the rule of law. This is while they at the same time have developed policies and done practices, which they have defended by using convoluted legal interpretations (Saito, 2010:4). It is explained that Americans remain in denial about the fact that America's secession from England is defined to be contradicting to international law. As explained here:

*“Rather than concretely reconciling these contradictions, it seems that Americans find it easier to remain in denial, dismissing the country's history with the assertion that it all happened “a long time ago” and moving on to some version of “well, the injustices were unfortunate, but we've ended up with the most democratic— or freest or richest— country in the world, so it must have been for the best.”* (Saito, 2010:4).

America therefore constructs itself as exceptional, since the country claims themselves certain incontestable values such as freedom, liberty, equality and freedom (Saito, 2010:4).

## 10.2 American culture

The terrorist have played a role as the picture of the enemy in popular culture in America for a time that even extends far beyond the current declared 'war on terror', which primarily started post the 9/11 attacks (Schopp & Hill, 2009:84).

It is described that America was under a Wartime epistemology during the Bush presidency. Everyone is, during the wartime epistemology, positioned as either friend or foe.

(Schopp & Hill, 2009:84). This is clearly exemplified in these words by George W. Bush. at his 'address to the joint session': "*Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorist*" (Saito, 2010:9). This general 'friend or a foe' and 'either you are with us, or you are with the terrorist' rhetoric is explained to be a ideological straitjacket. Straitjacket is understood in the way that neither popular culture nor public discourse will be able to break free from this position as either friend or foe. This means that people were not able to criticize, for example, the government, since that would mean a categorization as foe/enemy (Schopp & Hill, 2009:84).

The United States claim some values as uniquely American, such as freedom, liberty and equality. This is defined as the term 'American exceptionalism'. The United States has claimed justification for 'American exceptionalism' in 'The war against terror'. It can be argued that this has created an ideological dilemma, since their disparate treatment of those they have deemed as the 'other' can be seen as contradicting to their own values. The 'other' could, for example, be the population of Iraq and Afghanistan or the terrorist (Saito, 2010:77).

# 11. Overview connection between propaganda, rhetoric, metaphors and audience.

This figure illustrates the system of how rhetoric influence the persuasiveness and therefore the ability to generate propaganda, how metaphors influence rhetoric and the audience’s importance on propaganda. This provides an overview of the connection between all these aspects.

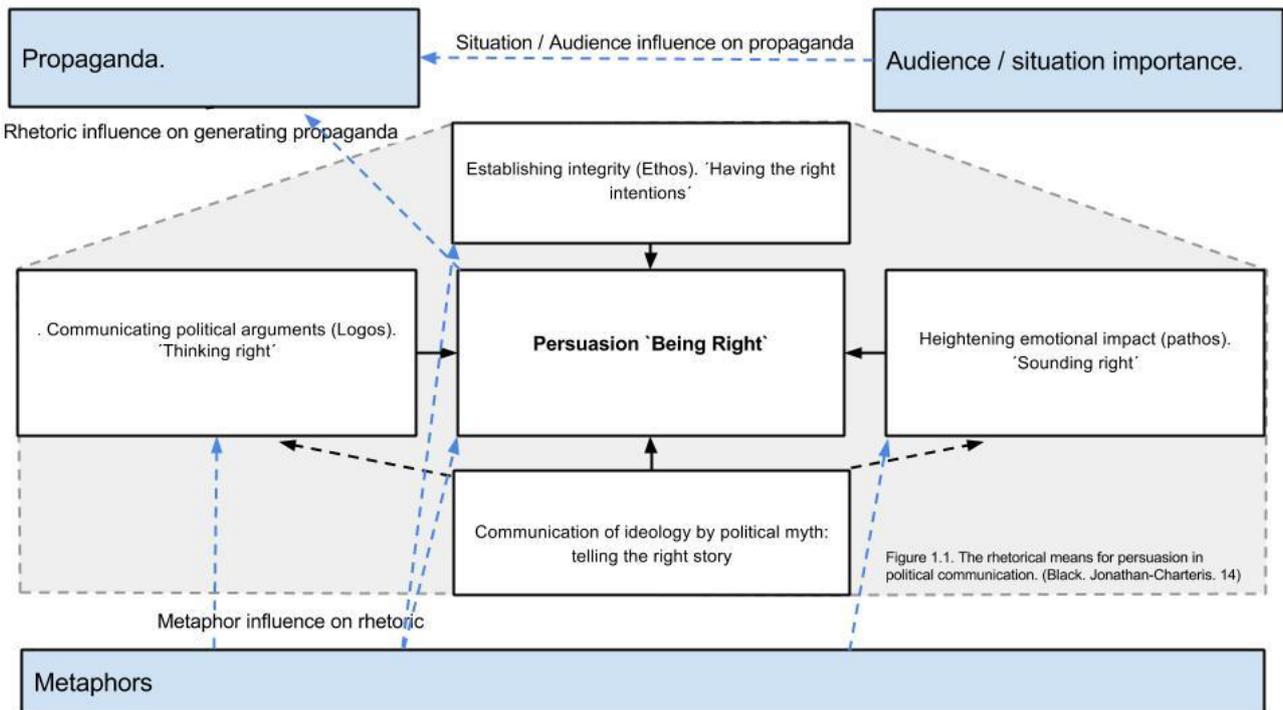


Figure 3 The impact of rhetoric on persuasion and therefore the ability to generate propaganda and the influence of metaphors on rhetoric. The audience’s importance on propaganda.

## 12. Method

### 12.1 Identifying metaphors. Method.

The objective for the analysis is to identify metaphors in order to analyse these metaphors. It is not always necessary to identify every metaphor, as outlined: “it is not always necessary to identify every metaphor in a text unless the approach is entirely quantitative” (Black, 2014: 181). The approach is not quantitative in this paper, because the objective is to understand specific parts of the speeches.

A five phase method for identifying metaphor is used to identify metaphors within the speeches (Black, 2014: 179). The phases are outlined here:

1.

*“1. Identify all potential metaphors by working through a text with a marker pen, initially, all candidate metaphors can be identified.”* (Black, 2014: 179). This identification process will be done based on the knowledge about metaphors within this paper. The identification process is though subjective. If ten metaphor scholars, for example, had to count the metaphors in a text then they would presumably end up with ten different identifications of metaphors (Black, 2014: 170). This shows that individual easily can end up with quite different identifications of metaphors. The reason for this difference in identification is based on different views regarding: *“1. Where exactly a metaphor starts and ends; and 2. What exactly counts as ‘a metaphor, which necessarily takes into account the cognitive processing and psycholinguistic aspect of metaphor”* (Black, 2014: 171). Metaphors therefore emerge from expectations about meaning, which are based on knowledge about how a word formerly has been used. Individuals have different experiences of language and this creates varied outlooks on the common sense of a given word (Black, 2011:31). The identification, in this phase, will be based on the researchers experiences of language, which creates a subjective outlook on the ‘common sense’ or ‘basic meaning’ of a word. The identification is also based on the comprehension of metaphors outlined in chapter 7. The marked metaphors in the speeches, based on this phase, can be observed in, appendix 17.1.

2.

“2. Confirm or reject initial decisions - drawing on dictionaries to establish whether there is more basic sense of a word, and corpora to identify whether the word is usually metaphorical; and decision taken with regard to the type of metaphor.”(Black, 2014: 179). The part of this phase that refers to a use of a corpora to identify whether the word is usually metaphorical, is based on using British National Corpus. This includes an investigation of each word based on an investigation of the use of the given word. For example, the word ‘beacon’ has been looked up and investigated. The investigation defined that “94 out of the first 100 examples of ‘beacon’ have the literal sense of a light that can be seen from afar”. This indicates that an investigation of 100 examples of use of a given word is an appropriate number to reach an satisfying investigation (Black, 2014: 179). Such an investigation of each metaphor will include an investigation that is too extensive for this project. Such an investigation will therefore be omitted. This excludes the understanding of the current use of a given word and the historical basic understanding of a word found in a dictionary can therefore be uncertain. This is since that time can change a word. So, a word that originally was a metaphoric sense might have become a basic sense. Dictionaries are an essential resource in identifying metaphors. This is because dictionaries will assist with identifying basic meanings. A metaphors is defined, in chapter 7.1, as word or phrase that has a more basic meaning that the one that it has in the context where it is used. The Oxford English Dictionary will be used, since is defined as the; “most reliable source for identifying historically earlier meanings” (Black, 2014: 170). So, the objective of this phase is to confirm or reject the marked metaphors from phase 1, which can be seen in chapter 17.1. The confirmation process will be based on dictionaries and an understanding of the basic meaning of the word. The confirmation will also be based on the knowledge of metaphors in chapter 7. This knowledge will enable the possibility to identify the metaphors, if they fit the criterias for metaphors. The marked metaphors from phase 1 that did not pass this confirmation process will not be marked in Appendix, 17.2.

### 3,4,5

Phase 3, 4 and 5 consist an identification of three different kinds of metaphors. The objective for this project is to identify different kinds of metaphors. These kinds of metaphors are conflict metaphors, personifications and general metaphors. All these three kinds of metaphors are defined in chapter 7.

Phase 3 will be an identification of personifications. The identification will be based on the knowledge about personifications, which is outlined in chapter 7.5. The word described with the

person-like ability or person-like action will be described as 'the original word'. The identification of 'the original word' is based on the knowledge that this word should be a word without literal person-like attributes or ability to perform literal person-like actions. The word describing 'the original word', will be defined as 'Personification'. 'The original word' is marked with BOLD letters. Whereas, the personification is UNDERLINED. This can be seen in appendix, 17.2.

Phase 4 will focus on identifying conflict metaphors. (Write more)

Phase 5 will include an identification of general metaphors. General metaphors are metaphors that are not defined as a specific kind of metaphor and are not conflict metaphors or personifications. The metaphor in the speeches is with BOLD letters. The common word for a given metaphor is UNDERLINED, if it is within the speech. This can be seen in appendix, 17.2.

## 13. Analysis

### 13.1 Analysis approach

The analysis in this project is based on a qualitative approach. The analysis will therefore focus on selected parts of the speeches and not the full speeches. This qualitative approach will therefore not be as adequate in concluding some general tendencies of the speeches. The analysis will be based on an identification of general metaphors, conflict metaphors and personifications, which can be found in appendix 2 and 3.

### 13.2 Personifications

An explanation of the identification of the 'original word' and 'personification' can be found in appendix 3.

ADDRESS TO THE JOINT SESSION OF THE 107TH CONGRESS. UNITED STATES CAPITOL. WASHINGTON, D.C. SEPTEMBER 20, 2001

**1P.** Tonight we are a **country** awakened to danger and called to defend freedom

Original word	Personification
Country	Awakened to danger and called to defend freedom

**2P.** And tonight, **the United States of America** makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities.

Original word	Personification
---------------	-----------------

The United States of America	Makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities.
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**3P.** With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends.

Original word	Personification
America	They hope that (America) grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends.

**4P.** The civilized world is rallying to America's side.

Original word	Personification
The civilized world	Is rallying to America's side

**5P.** But this country will define our times, not be defined by them. As long as **the United States of America** is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world

Original word	Personification
1. This country. 2. The Unites States of America	1. Will define our times, not be defined by them 2. Is determined and strong

**6P.** The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud. This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom

Original word	Personification
1. America, you	1. Will act, and ( <b>you</b> ) will make us proud
2. America's	2. Fight
3. The world's	3. Fight
4. Civilization's	4. Fight

**7P.** **The United States** is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded

Original word	Personification
The United States	is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded

ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS THE OVAL OFFICE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

**8P.** But they have failed; our country is strong.

Original word	Personification
Our country	is strong

**9P.** America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time.

Original word	Personification
America	has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE SERVICE OF REMEMBRANCE. AT THE PENTAGON.  
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA. OCTOBER 11, 2001

**10P.** Our nation is strong of heart, firm of purpose.

Original word	Personification
Our nation	is strong of heart, firm of purpose.

### 13.3 Conflict metaphors

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE SERVICE OF REMEMBRANCE. AT THE PENTAGON. ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA. OCTOBER 11, 2001

**11CM.** We cannot fully understand the designs and power of evil. It is enough to know that evil, like goodness, exists. And in the terrorists, **evil has found a willing servant**. In New York, the terrorists chose as their target a symbol of America’s freedom and confidence. Here, they struck a symbol of our strength in the world. And the attack on the Pentagon, on that day, was more symbolic than they knew. It was on another September 11th — September 11th, 1941 — that construction on this building first began. America was just then **awakening to another menace: The Nazi terror in Europe**. And on that very night, President Franklin Roosevelt spoke to the nation. The danger, he warned, has long ceased to be a mere possibility. The danger is here now. Not only from a military enemy, but from **an enemy of all law, all liberty, all morality, all religion**. For us too, in the year 2001, an enemy has emerged that rejects every limit of law, morality, and religion. The terrorists have no true home in any country, or culture, or faith. **They dwell in dark corners of earth**. And there, we will find them.

Conflict metaphors are based on, as explained in chapter 7.4, a conflict between two oppositions. The metaphors therefore represent one part of the conflict negatively and the other part positively.

The first part of the section outlines an opposition between evil and goodness. The terrorists are thereafter defined as the evil, with the first metaphor within the section; **evil has found a willing servant**. The word servant is defined with these words in the dictionary: *“A person who performs duties for others, especially a person employed in a house on domestic duties or as a personal attendant”*. It is also important to understand the word willing, since it performs as an adjective that describes servant. This is the definition of the word willing in the dictionary: *“Ready, eager, or prepared to do something”*. The metaphors could therefore be explained with these words; Evil has found a group of people who are ready, eager and prepared to serve evil by performing evil duties. It is thereafter defined that the terrorist targeted a symbol of America’s freedom and confidence. These words describe the goodness part of the opposition of evil/goodness. The next metaphor within this section is a personification. It has America as the ‘original word’ which performs this person-like action; **awakening to another menace: The Nazi terror in Europe**. This

personification is taken into this conflict metaphor because it is serving as a part of the conflict metaphor. It explains the situation of Nazi terror in Europe that America was facing in 1941. This personification is used to explain that the situation, when the speech took place, is equal to the situation of 1941. As explained; For us too, in the year 2001, an enemy has emerged that rejects every limit of law, morality, and religion. This describes the terrorist, which is the evil part of the opposition, as being an enemy like the Nazis in 1941. The terrorist are also defined with this metaphor; **an enemy of all law, all liberty, all morality, all religion**. The word enemy is defined with these words in the dictionary: “A person who is actively opposed or hostile to someone or something”. The metaphors can therefore be defined with these words; a group of people who is actively opposed or hostile to all law, all liberty, all morality and religion. The next metaphor in the section describes where the terrorist live with these words; **They dwell in dark corners of earth**. Dwell is defined with these words in the dictionary: “*Live in or at a specified place*”. The terrorists are therefore described to be living in a specified place. This specified place is dark corners of the earth. The word dark has multiple definitions in the dictionary. Dark can be defined as an adjective to colours. Dark can though also be understood as: “*Suggestive of or arising from evil; sinister*”. The metaphors can therefore be understood as; They live in places on earth that arise from evil.

1. Opposition. Evil. Terrorist	2. Opposition. Goodness.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- (In terrorist), evil has found a willing servant</li> <li>- an enemy of all law, all liberty, all morality, all religion.</li> <li>- They dwell in dark corners of earth</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- (America was) awakening to another menace: The Nazi terror in Europe</li> </ul>

### 13.4 General metaphors

ADDRESS TO THE JOINT SESSION OF THE 107TH CONGRESS. UNITED STATES CAPITOL. WASHINGTON, D.C. SEPTEMBER 20, 2001

**12GM.** On September the 11th, **enemies of freedom** committed an act of war against our country.

It cannot be defined clearly if this section refers to the people who committed the attacks the 11th of September or the whole organisation behind the attacks. This group is defined as **enemies of freedom**. The word 'enemy' is defined with these definitions in the dictionary: "*a hostile nation or its armed forces, especially in time of war*" & "*A thing that harms or weakens something else*".

Freedom is defined with these words in the dictionary: "*The power or right to act, speak, or think as one wants*". **Enemies of freedom** could therefore be summarized to be; A hostile group with its armed forces that harms or weakens the power or right to act, speak, or think as one wants.

Common word/phrase	Metaphor
The people who committed the attacks on 11th of September or The whole organisation behind the attacks.	Enemies of freedom

**13GM.** The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of **loosely affiliated terrorist organizations** known as Al Qaeda.

This section defines Al Qaeda with these words; **loosely affiliated terrorist organizations**. This implies that all organizations within Al Qaeda are terrorist organisations. All the organizations within Al Qaeda should therefore, based on the comprehension of terrorism in chapter 5.3, have used an unlawful use or threatened use of force of violence against people or property with the intention of intimidating or coercing societies or governments, often for ideological purposes. The attacks on 11th of September could fit to this description of terrorism, but it is only described that the evidence points to Al Qaeda. So, the definition of Al Qaeda as a **loosely affiliated terrorist organizations** should be based on the conclusion that they have committed the attacks on 11th of September or the fact that they have committed terrorism before.

Common word/phrase	Metaphor
Al Qaeda	Loosely affiliated terrorist organizations

**14GM.** Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world — and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.

Al Qaeda is the common word, because it is defined with the original name of the group. Al Qaeda is described with these words; **is to terror what the mafia is to crime**. The word mafia is defined with these words in the dictionary: “*An organized international body of criminals, operating originally in Sicily and now especially in Italy and the US and having a complex and ruthless behavioural code*”. So, it is defined that it is a group of criminals, which indicates that they commit crimes. A mafia therefore commit crimes, and Al Qaeda is therefore also committing terror. It could be argued that mafias in general are seen as organizations, which are based on committing crimes and are committing a high amount of crimes. This illustrates that Al Qaeda is based on committing terror and that Al Qaeda commits a high amount of terror.

Common word/phrase	Metaphor
Al Qaeda	is to terror what the mafia is to crime

**15GM.** We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century.

**They** is here the common word. **They** can be estimated to be relating back to ‘Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists’, based on the speech. The metaphor describes **they** or **a radical network of terrorists** with these words: are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. The word ‘heirs’ is defined with these words in the dictionary: “*A person who inherits and continues the work of a predecessor*”. This metaphor is though not referring back to a person, but **they** or **a radical network of terrorists**. So, **they** or **a radical network of terrorists** are inheriting and continuing the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. Ideology is defined with these words in the dictionary: “the set of beliefs characteristic of a social group of a social group or individual”. The word ‘ideology’ is here defined with the adjective ‘murderous’, which is defined with these words in the dictionary: “*Capable of or intending to murder; dangerously violent*”. The metaphor could be summarized with these words: A group of people who inherits and continues a set of beliefs characteristic, from murderous ideologies of the 20th century, which are based on intent to

murder. It is defined that the inherited murderous ideologies are from the 20th century. It could be estimated that it refers back to, for example, Nazism.

Common words/phrase	Metaphor
They A radical network of terrorists	are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century.

ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS THE OVAL OFFICE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

**17GM. Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America.**

Foundation is defined with these words in the dictionary: *“The lowest load-bearing part of a building, typically below ground level”*. This implies that the foundation is carrying the building, and that the foundation is essential to sustain the building. The word is here used to describe America, instead of a building. So the foundation is essential to sustain America. The metaphorical meaning of **the foundation of America** could therefore be; The part of America that is essential to sustaining America. It is defined that the terrorist can shake the foundation of the highest buildings, but not the foundation of America.

Common words/phrase	Metaphor
1. The part of America that is essential to sustaining America	1. The foundation of America

**18GM. America was targeted for attack because we’re the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world.**

America and we’re are sharing the same meaning, since we’re is referring back to America. It is defined that America and we’re is **the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world**. Beacon is in the dictionary defined as: *“A fire or light set up in a high or prominent position as a warning, signal, or celebration”*. The description of the beacon within the section defines the beacon as s beacon for freedom and opportunity in the word. It is also defined as the brightest beacon in the world. A summarization of the metaphor, based on the dictionary, could be as

following; The brightest fire or light for freedom and opportunity in the world, placed in high or prominent position to signal and celebrate freedom and opportunity.

Common words/phrase	Metaphor
America We're	the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE SERVICE OF REMEMBRANCE. AT THE PENTAGON.  
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA. OCTOBER 11, 2001

**19GM. The hijackers were instruments of evil who died in vain. Behind them is a cult of evil which seeks to harm the innocent and thrives on human suffering.**

The hijackers are in this section defined with these words: **instruments of evil**. The hijackers refers back to the people who hijacked the planes on 11th of September 2001. This word is therefore the common word, which are described with the metaphor; **instruments of evil**. An instrument is defined with these words in the dictionary: “A tool or implement, especially one for precision work”. So, the hijackers are defined, by this metaphor, as a tool that can commit evil.

The next metaphor within the section is as following; **cult of evil**. The metaphor refers back to ‘behind them’, which again refers back to the hijackers. The metaphor, **cult of evil**, then defines the organisation behind the hijackers. The dictionary defines ‘cult’ with these words: “A relatively small group of people having religious beliefs or practices regarded by others as strange or as imposing excessive control over members”. The metaphor **cult of evil** could be summarized with these words: A relatively small group of people having evil religious beliefs or evil practices regarded by others as strange or as imposing excessive control over members.

Common word/phrase	Metaphor
1. The hijackers	1. Instruments of evil.
2. The organisation behind the hijackers	2. Cult of evil

## **13.5 Analysis, based on identified general metaphors, conflict metaphors and personifications.**

### **13.5.1 Metaphors describing 'the enemy'**

Metaphor 11CM, 12GM, 14GM, 15GM, 16GM and 17GM include metaphors, which describe the enemy. The enemy is a common word for the words used for the enemy, these words include; the terrorists, the people who committed the attacks on 11th of September, Al Qaeda, radical network of terrorists. Winston Churchill did, as explained in chapter 8.3.3, use the metaphor 'iron curtain' to describe the situation in Europe during the Second World War. This metaphor implied that a solid barrier would divide Europe. 12GM defines the people who committed the attacks on 11th of September, as 'enemies of freedom'. The metaphor 'enemies of freedom' could be estimated to imply that the people who committed the attacks on 11th of September is equal to this definition, as explained in chapter 13.4; A hostile group with its armed forces that harms or weakens the power or right to act, speak, or think as one wants. This metaphor therefore implies that the group is aiming to attack freedom itself. The group can therefore be seen, according to this metaphor, as a group that is dangerous for the freedom of everybody. This is instead of 'just' being a group that committed the attacks on 11th of September. This metaphor could be argued to make the understanding of the people who committed the attacks more understandable. The people who committed the attacks can suddenly be understood as 'enemies against freedom', and therefore more familiar to the audience. So, this metaphor increases the familiarity of the argument by drawing a logical equality between the people who committed the attacks and 'enemies of freedom'. This metaphor can also be estimated to increase the pathos, by defining them with a metaphor that can arouse the emotions by responding to human feelings associated with protection of family, friends, nation, etc. Another metaphor that includes a familiarization, by the use of a metaphor, can be seen in 16GM. The metaphor is defined with these words; They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. 'They' refers to a radical network of terrorist. This metaphor can be defined with these words, as seen in chapter 13.4; A group of people who inherits and continues a set of beliefs characteristic, from murderous ideologies of the 20th centuries, which are based on an intent to murder. This metaphor refers to murderous ideologies of the 20th century. This could for example be Nazism. The radical network of terrorists, the enemy, is then defined to be equal to, for example, Nazism. Nazism can be estimated to be more familiar to the audience, than this radical network of

terrorist. This metaphor could therefore increase the understanding of the radical network of terrorist, by drawing this logical equality between the radical network of terrorist and murderous ideologies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as for example Nazism. This metaphor is therefore contributing to the logos of the argument. This metaphor could also arouse the emotional impact on the audience, by establishing equality between the radical network of terrorist and ideologies like, for example, Nazism. Nazism can be estimated to be associated with fear and with an ideology that tried to conquer land, which could increase the fear of the audience. So, the metaphor could be estimated to change the audience's outlook on the radical network of terrorist and this could increase the fear of the audience and therefore the pathos.

### **13.5.2 Personifications, connection to American audience**

The personifications 1P, 2P, 5P, 6P, 7P, 8P 9P and 10P describes America with person-like attributes and person-like actions. America is defined as determined, strong, strong at heart, firm on purpose. America is also explained to be awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Personifications are typically used to arouse empathy for a social group, ideology or belief, as outlined in chapter 8.5. It is though used to define and arouse empathy for a country in these personifications. Arousing empathy can be done by defining one part with attributes that characterized as heroic, good and emphatic. 1P defines America to be a country that is awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Defending freedom can be characterized as heroic, good and emphatic. This metaphor can therefore arouse empathy for America. The power that a metaphor possesses is though linked to the evaluation of the audience, as outlined in chapter 9.1. The metaphor should fit to a given audience, in order to remain persuasive. If the audience does not have a tendency to agree with a given argument, then the persuasiveness of the given argument is questionable. The audience is here both Americans and the rest of the world. This paper focuses on the American audience. The United States claim some values as uniquely American, as described in chapter 10.2. One of these claimed uniquely American values is freedom. This corresponds with the following personification of America in 1P; awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. 5P outlines that as long America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world. This implies that America fight for liberty and stands for liberty. Chapter 10.2 defines that liberty is also one of the values that the United States see as uniquely American. 5P defines that America will act and will win this fight, which is America's fight, the world's fight, civilization's fight and the fight for all who believe in process and pluralism, tolerance and freedom. This again defines that America will fight for progress, pluralism, tolerance

and freedom. Personifications can arouse empathy and can characterize things by use of person-like attributes and person-like actions. A country, like America, is then characterized by the personifications and this can arouse empathy. It can create an image of America as good and, for example, a defender of freedom. The personifications therefore possess the ability to characterize the good and evil. The analysed personifications define an image of America as strong, determined, strong at heart, firm on purpose and that America will do these person-like actions; 1P awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. 2P Makes the following demands on Taliban. 5P Will define our times, not be defined by them. 6P Will act, and you will make us proud. 7P Is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded. 9P Has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time. Other of the analysed metaphors adds on to this image of America as a defender of freedom. 19GM defines America as; the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. This metaphor has been summarized with these words, as defined in chapter 13.4; The brightest fire or light for freedom and opportunity in the world, placed in high or prominent position to signal and celebrate freedom and opportunity. So, the analysed metaphors fits with the theoretical explanation of the American audience, based on chapter 9 and 10. This creates the foundation for the metaphors to be persuasive for this given audience.

### **13.5.3 Ethos, the analysed parts**

Ethos is, as defined in chapter 7.4.1, a premise for being able to persuade an audience. The audience should therefore trust the speaker and believe that the speaker has the right intentions. The ethos of a person can be changed by the use of metaphors. As explained in chapter 7.3.1, Bill Clinton's use of metaphors contributed to create a preferable image of him. The ethos of the politician is therefore based on the way that the audience evaluate that given politician and metaphors can contribute to change this evaluation. The analysed metaphors are used to contribute to the image of America and the terrorist. The personifications of America, for example, contribute to create an ethos of America as good. America is, for example, defined as a defender of freedom in 1P. A parallel between the situation that America faced, in the time of speeches, and the situation America faced in 1941 with the war against the Nazi terror in Europe is seen in 11CM. This can be estimated to contribute to the ethos of America as being a defender against evil, because this parallel indicates that America has fought evil and defended freedom before. 11CM is in general contributing to create an opposition between the evil (the terrorist) and the goodness (America), as outlined in chapter 13.3. A prime mean for achieving ethos is by usage of semantic contrast, as outlined in chapter 7.3.1. 11CM outlines a clear semantic contrast based on the opposition between evil and goodness. This will

therefore associate the speaker with good and the opponent with evil, as outlined in chapter 7.3.1, and therefore increase the ethos of the good part of opposition. There is though no use of 'I' in the analysed parts, but a high use of 'we' & 'America'. It can therefore be estimated that the analysed metaphors are not directly contributing to change the ethos of George W. Bush, but that the metaphors are contributing to change the ethos of America.

#### **13.5.4 Pathos, the analysed parts**

Pathos is a tool for heightening the emotional impact of the speech. Metaphors are defined as essential to increase the emotional impact of a given message, as explained in chapter 7.3.2. The analysed metaphors contribute to an establishment of the good, victims and the enemy. As seen in 1P, 2P, 5P, 6P, 7P, 8P, 9P and 10P, which describes America with person-like attributes and person-like actions that can be estimated to represent goodness? Other metaphors describe the enemy, as seen in 11CM, 12GM, 14GM, 15GM, 16GM and 17GM. As explained in chapter 7.3.2; the arousal of emotions respond to the human feelings that are associated with protection of family, friends, nation, ect, This could be based on a fear of attacks form the enemy. So, the establishment of America as good and protector of freedom could increase the pathos, by arousing the emotions responding to human feelings that are associated with protection of family, friends, nation, etc. The metaphors that define the enemy could also contribute to increase the pathos, by arousing the same emotions associated with protection of family, friends, nation, etc.

11CM is clearly defining oppositions based on a categorization of either evil or goodness. The first line in the 11CM outlines this opposition between evil and goodness. The metaphors in the section are mainly contributing to describe the evil part of the opposition. The other opposition is though also described, as outlined in chapter 13.3.

#### **13.5.5 Logos, the analysed parts**

Logos refers to that argumentation should be based on rationality and logic. It is defined, in chapter 7.2.3, that political arguments based on rationality and logic are a rhetorical mean for persuading the audience. Many logical arguments, based on metaphors, can be seen within the analysed parts. 14GM, for example, is defining Al Qaeda by using a logical argument that establishes equality between Al Qaeda and the Mafia. 14GM is explained more detailed in chapter 13.4. This is an example of an establishment of a logical argument by the use of a metaphor. So, some of the analysed metaphors provide a logical argument. It can, for example, also be observed in 12GM. 12GM defines the people who committed the attacks on 11th of September as 'enemies of

freedom'. The logical argument is therefore that the people who committed the attacks on 11th of September are enemies of freedom. To summarize; when the speaker is using arguments that are based on rationality and logos then the arguments are inherently persuasive, as described in chapter 7.2.3. Some of the analysed metaphors are contributing to the logical argumentation and therefore the logos.

## 14. Conclusion

It can be concluded that the analysed metaphors increase the persuasiveness of the speeches, by influencing the ethos, logos and pathos.

Some of the analysed metaphors are establishing a picture of 'the enemy'. This is done by describing 'the enemy' with metaphors, which are influencing the logos and pathos of the messages. The logos is increased by establishing a logical argument based on the use of metaphors, in order to draw a logical equality between "the enemy" and the metaphors. This argumentation based on logos is inherently persuasive. So, the metaphors influence the logos of the message and therefore also the persuasiveness. The establishment of 'the enemy' by use of metaphors is also influencing the pathos of the analysed parts. These metaphors, which are defining the enemy, are contributing to increasing the pathos, by arousing the emotions associated with protection of family, friends, nation, etc.

The analysed conflict metaphor can be concluded to contribute to the establishment of two oppositions. One part described and defined as evil, and the other part described as goodness.

The analysed personifications contribute to describe America with person-like attributes and person-like actions. The metaphors describe America with person-like attributes and person-like actions that are estimated to be heroic, such as 'awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. The personifications of America are contributing to create an ethos of America as being good and defender of freedom. Ethos is a premise for persuasion, so the ethos of America is essential to the persuasiveness of arguments that are based on the ethos of America.

It can be concluded that the metaphor should fit to a given audience, in order to remain persuasive. The American audience in general see the United States to have some values, which are uniquely American. These values include Freedom, liberty and equality. These values can be estimated to fit with the analysed personifications of America and the personifications can therefore be estimated to possess the ability to persuade the American audience.

It is concluded that the analysed metaphors and the rhetoric are increasing the persuasiveness of the parts analysed. This creates the ability to generate propaganda, since propaganda is the abuse of the ability to persuade. It is therefore propaganda, if the ability to persuade is used to a deliberate and

systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist.

## 15. Discussion

It can be estimated that the paper reached the aim of analysing metaphorical and rhetorical parts and understand the influence that these parts have on the persuasiveness of the speeches. The project did not aim to investigate the full speeches. So, some parts of the speeches, which were not analysed, could possibly influence the persuasiveness of the speeches. An analysis of a larger part of each speech could therefore increase the understanding of the persuasiveness of the speeches. The focus on rhetoric, metaphors and the audience in this paper is excluding some aspects, which could be estimated to be important to the persuasiveness. It is not only the written words that possess the ability to persuade. Aspects such as clothes and gestures are important for persuasion. The transmission through television and media creates the possibility of close-up frames. This increases the importance of eye and mouth movements. Another influential aspect is the sound quality and the vocal delivery of the arguments (Black, 2011:3-4). So, an analysis of the words within the speeches, like this analysis of rhetoric and metaphors, do not possess the ability to create a complete understanding of the persuasiveness of the speeches.

This paper focused on understanding the American part of the audience. An understanding of the rest of the audience would be interesting and would possibly change the estimation of the audience's influence on the persuasion of the analysed speeches.

It has been concluded that the analysed parts increase the persuasiveness of the speeches. Propaganda is though based on abusing the ability to persuade, as explained before. To comprehend if the analysed parts of the speeches are propaganda, should then be based on an evaluation of the use of the ability to persuade. It is propaganda, as outlined before, if the use of persuasion is used as a deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist. Each of these parameters is defined in chapter 6.2. The questions, which could indicate if the use of persuasion is propaganda, could then be; 1. Is there an attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and

direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist? 2. Is this a deliberate and systematic attempt?

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## Appendix 1. Phase 1. Identifying metaphors

*Potential metaphors are marked with BOLD letters.*

ADDRESS TO THE JOINT SESSION OF THE 107TH CONGRESS. UNITED STATES  
CAPITOL. WASHINGTON, D.C. SEPTEMBER 20, 2001

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President Pro Tempore, members of Congress, and fellow Americans: In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people. We have seen it in the courage of passengers, who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground — passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight.

We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers — in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own. My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union — and it is strong. Tonight we are a country **awakened to danger and called to defend freedom**. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done. I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time. All of America was touched on the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing “God Bless America.” And you did more

than sing; you acted, by delivering \$40 billion to rebuild our communities and meet the needs of our military. Speaker Hastert, Minority Leader Gephardt, Majority Leader Daschle and Senator Lott, I thank you for your friendship, for your leadership and for your service to our country. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our National Anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin’s Brandenburg Gate. We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo. We will not forget

moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America. Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own: dozens of Pakistanis; more than 130 Israelis; more than 250 citizens of India; men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico and Japan; and hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain. Once again, we are joined together in a great cause — so honored the British Prime Minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity of purpose with America. Thank you for coming, friend. On September the 11th, **enemies of freedom** committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars — but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war — but not at the center of a **great city** on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks — but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day — and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack. Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking: Who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of **loosely affiliated terrorist organizations** known as al Qaeda. They are the same murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for bombing the USS Cole. **Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime.** But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world — and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere. The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics — a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and make no distinction among military and civilians, including women and children. This group and its leader — a person named Osama bin Laden — are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction. The leadership of al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see al Qaeda's vision for the world. Afghanistan's people have been brutalized — many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

The United States respects the people of Afghanistan — after all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid — but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder. And tonight, the United States of America **makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities.** Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating. These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate. I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans, and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them. Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated. Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this chamber — a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms — our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other. They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa. These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America **grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends.** They stand against us, because we stand in their way. We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. **They** are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions — by abandoning every value except the will to power — they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow

that path all the way, to where it ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies. Americans are asking: How will we fight and win this war?

We will direct every resource at our command — every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war — to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network. This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat. Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or **safe haven** to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime. Our nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me — the Office of Homeland Security. And tonight I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend — Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge. He will lead, oversee and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism, and respond to any attacks that may come. These measures are essential. But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where **it grows**. Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers. And tonight, a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military: Be ready. I've called the Armed Forces to alert, and there is a reason. The hour is coming when **America will act**, and **you will make us proud**. This is not, however, just **America's fight**. And what is at stake is not just **America's freedom**. This is the **world's fight**. This is **civilization's fight**. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom. We ask

every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States **is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded** — with sympathy and with support. Nations from Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all. The civilized world **is rallying to America's side**. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what — we're not going to allow it. Americans are asking: What is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives, and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat. I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith. I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, [libertyunites.org](http://libertyunites.org), to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it. I ask for your patience, with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security; and for your patience in what will be a long struggle. I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard work, and creativity, and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11th, and they are our strengths today. And, finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead. Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together. Tonight, we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights, and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct assistance during this emergency. We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. We will come

together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act, and find them before they strike. We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy, and put our people back to work. Tonight we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers: Governor George Pataki, and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. As a symbol of America's resolve, my administration will work with Congress, and these two leaders, to show the world that we will rebuild New York City. After all that has just passed — all the lives taken, and all the possibilities and hopes that died with them — it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead, and dangers to face. But this country **will define our times, not be defined by them**. As long as the United States of America **is determined and strong**, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world. Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom — the great achievement of our time, and the great hope of every time — now depends on us. Our nation — this generation — will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail. It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve

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ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS THE OVAL OFFICE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

Good evening. Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. The victims were in airplanes, or in their offices; secretaries, businessmen and women, military and federal workers; moms and dads, friends and neighbors. Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror. The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge structures collapsing, have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger. These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed; our country **is strong**. A great people has been moved to defend a great nation. Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch **the foundation of America**. These acts shattered steel, but they cannot **dent the steel of American resolve**. America was targeted for attack because we're **the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world**. And no one will keep that light from shining. Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature. And we responded with the best of America — with the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors who came to give blood and help in any way they could. Immediately following the first attack, I implemented our government's emergency response plans. Our military is powerful, and it's prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New York City and Washington, D.C. to help with local rescue efforts. Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured, and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks.

The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight, and will be open for business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business, as well. The search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts. I've directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them. I appreciate so very much the members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance. America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and

we stand together to win the war against terrorism. Tonight, I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened. And I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: “Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me.” This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America **has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time**. None of us will ever forget this day. Yet, we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world. Thank you. Good night, and God bless America.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE SERVICE OF REMEMBRANCE. AT THE PENTAGON

THE PENTAGON. ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA. OCTOBER 11, 2001

Please be seated. President and Senator Clinton, thank you all for being here. We have come here to pay our respects to 125 men and women who died in the service of America. We also remember 64 passengers on a hijacked plane; those men and women, boys and girls who fell into the hands of evildoers, and also died here exactly one month ago. On September 11th, great sorrow came to our country. And from that sorrow has come great resolve. Today, we are a nation awakened to the evil of terrorism, and determined to destroy it. That work began the moment we were attacked; and it will continue until justice is delivered. Americans are returning, as we must, to the normal pursuits of life. But we know that if you lost a son or daughter here, or a husband, or a wife, or a mom or dad, life will never again be as it was. The loss was sudden, and hard, and permanent. So difficult to explain. So difficult to accept. Three schoolchildren traveling with their teacher. An Army general. A budget analyst who reported to work here for 30 years. A lieutenant commander in the Naval Reserve who left behind a wife, a four-year-old son, and another child on the way. One life touches so many others. One death can leave sorrow that seems almost unbearable. But to all of you who lost someone here, I want to say: You are not alone. The American people will never forget the cruelty that was done here and in New York, and in the sky over Pennsylvania. We will never forget all the innocent people killed by the hatred

of a few. We know the loneliness you feel in your loss. The entire nation, entire nation shares in your sadness. And we pray for you and your loved ones. And we will always honor their memory.

The hijackers were **instruments of evil** who died in vain. **Behind them is a cult of evil which seeks to harm the innocent and thrives on human suffering.** Theirs is the worst kind of cruelty, the cruelty that is fed, not weakened, by tears. Theirs is the worst kind of violence, pure malice, while daring to claim the authority of God. We cannot fully understand the **designs and power of evil.** It is enough to know that evil, like goodness, exists. And in the terrorists, **evil has found a willing servant.** In New York, the terrorists chose as their target a symbol of America's freedom and confidence. Here, they struck a symbol of our strength in the world. And the attack on the Pentagon, on that day, was more symbolic than they knew. It was on another September 11th — September 11th, 1941 — that construction on this building first began. America was just then **awakening to another menace: The Nazi terror in Europe.** And on that very night, President Franklin Roosevelt spoke to the nation. The danger, he warned, has long ceased to be a mere possibility. The danger is here now. Not only from a military enemy, but from **an enemy of all law, all liberty, all morality, all religion.** For us too, in the year 2001, an enemy has emerged that rejects every limit of law, morality, and religion. The terrorists have no **true home** in any country, or culture, or faith. **They dwell in dark corners of earth.** And there, we will find them. This week, I have called the Armed Forces into action. One by one, we are eliminating power centers of a regime that harbors al Qaeda terrorists. We gave that regime a choice: Turn over the terrorists, or face your ruin. They chose unwisely. The Taliban regime has brought nothing but fear and misery to the people of Afghanistan. These rulers call themselves holy men, even with their record of drawing money from heroin trafficking. They consider themselves pious and devout, while subjecting women to fierce brutality. The Taliban has allied itself with murderers and gave them shelter. But today, for al Qaeda and the Taliban, there is no shelter. As Americans did 60 years ago, we have **entered a struggle of uncertain duration.** But now, as then, we can be certain of the outcome, because we have a number of decisive assets. We have a unified country. We have the patience to fight and win on many fronts: Blocking terrorist plans, seizing their funds, arresting their networks, disrupting their communications, opposing their sponsors. And we have one more great asset in this cause: The brave men and women of the United States military. From my first days in this office, I have felt and seen the strong spirit of the Armed Forces. I saw it at Fort Stewart, Georgia, when I first reviewed our troops as Commander-in-Chief, and looked into the faces of proud and determined soldiers. I saw it in Annapolis on a graduation day, at Camp Pendleton in California, Camp Bondsteel in Kosovo. And I have seen this spirit at the Pentagon, before and after the attack on this building. You've responded to a great emergency with calm and courage. And for

that, your country honors you. A Commander-in-Chief must know, must know that he can count on the skill and readiness of servicemen and women at every point in the chain of command. You have given me that confidence. And I give you these commitments. The wound to this building will not be forgotten, but it will be repaired. Brick by brick, we will quickly rebuild the Pentagon. In the missions ahead for the military, you will have everything you need, every resource, every weapon, every means to assure full victory for the United States and the cause of freedom. And I pledge to you that America will never relent on this war against terror. There will be times of swift, dramatic action. There will be times of steady, quiet progress. Over time, with patience, and precision, the terrorists will be pursued. They will be isolated, surrounded, cornered, until there is no place to run, or hide, or rest. As military and civilian personnel in the Pentagon, you are an important part of the struggle we have entered. You know the risks of your calling, and you have willingly accepted them. You believe in our country, and our country believes in you. Within sight of this building is Arlington Cemetery, the final resting place of many thousands who died for our country over the generations. Enemies of America have now added to these graves, and they wish to add more. Unlike our enemies, we value every life, and we mourn every loss. Yet we're not afraid. Our cause is just, and worthy of sacrifice. Our nation **is strong of heart, firm of purpose**. Inspired by all the courage that has come before, we will meet our moment and we will prevail. May God bless you all, and may God bless America

**Appendix 2. Phase 2, confirming metaphors. Phase 3, Identifications of personifications. Phase 4, Identification of conflict metaphors. Phase 5, identification of general metaphors.**

General metaphor

Conflict metaphor

Personification

ADDRESS TO THE JOINT SESSION OF THE 107TH CONGRESS. UNITED STATES CAPITOL. WASHINGTON, D.C. SEPTEMBER 20, 2001

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President Pro Tempore, members of Congress, and fellow Americans: In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people. We have seen it in the courage of passengers, who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground — passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight.

We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers — in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own. My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union — and it is strong. **Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom.** Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done. I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time. All of America was touched on the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing “God Bless America.” And you did more

than sing; you acted, by delivering \$40 billion to rebuild our communities and meet the needs of our military. Speaker Hastert, Minority Leader Gephardt, Majority Leader Daschle and Senator Lott, I thank you for your friendship, for your leadership and for your service to our country. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our National Anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate. We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo. We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America. Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own: dozens of Pakistanis; more than 130 Israelis; more than 250 citizens of India; men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico and Japan; and hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain. Once again, we are joined together in a great cause — so honored the British Prime Minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity of purpose with America. Thank you for coming, friend. **On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country.** Americans have known wars — but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war — but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks — but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day — and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack. Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking: Who attacked our country? **The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda.** They are the same murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for bombing the USS Cole. **Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world — and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.** The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics — a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and make no distinction among military and civilians, including women and children. This group and its leader — a person named Osama bin Laden — are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the

tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction. The leadership of al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see al Qaeda's vision for the world. Afghanistan's people have been brutalized — many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

The United States respects the people of Afghanistan — after all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid — but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder. And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities. Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating. These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate. I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans, and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them. Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated. Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this chamber — a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms — our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other. They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast

regions of Asia and Africa. These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way. We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions — by abandoning every value except the will to power — they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies. Americans are asking: How will we fight and win this war?

We will direct every resource at our command — every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war — to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network. This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat. Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime. Our nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me — the Office of Homeland Security. And tonight I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend — Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge. He will lead, oversee and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism, and respond to any attacks that may come. These measures are essential. But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows. Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to

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ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS THE OVAL OFFICE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

Good evening. Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. The victims were in airplanes, or in their offices; secretaries, businessmen and women, military and federal workers; moms and dads, friends and neighbors. Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror. The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge structures collapsing, have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger. These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. **But they have failed; our country is strong.** A great people has been moved to defend a great nation. **Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America.** These acts shattered steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve. **America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world.** And no one will keep that light from shining. Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature. And we responded with the best of America — with the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors who came to give blood and help in any way they could. Immediately following the first attack, I implemented our government's emergency response plans. Our military is powerful, and it's prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New York City and Washington, D.C. to help with local rescue efforts. Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured, and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks.

The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight, and will be open for business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business, as well. The search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts. I've

directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them. I appreciate so very much the members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance. America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism. Tonight, I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened. And I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: "Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me." This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time. None of us will ever forget this day. Yet, we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world. Thank you. Good night, and God bless America.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE SERVICE OF REMEMBRANCE. AT THE PENTAGON

ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA. OCTOBER 11, 2001

Please be seated. President and Senator Clinton, thank you all for being here. We have come here to pay our respects to 125 men and women who died in the service of America. We also remember 64 passengers on a hijacked plane; those men and women, boys and girls who fell into the hands of evildoers, and also died here exactly one month ago. On September 11th, great sorrow came to our country. And from that sorrow has come great resolve. Today, we are a nation awakened to the evil of terrorism, and determined to destroy it. That work began the moment we were attacked; and it will continue until justice is delivered. Americans are returning, as we must, to the normal pursuits of life. But we know that if you lost a son or daughter here, or a husband, or a wife, or a mom or dad, life will never again be as it was. The loss was sudden, and hard, and permanent. So difficult to explain. So difficult to accept. Three schoolchildren traveling with their teacher. An Army general. A budget analyst who reported to work here for 30 years. A lieutenant commander in the Naval Reserve who left behind a wife, a four-year-old son, and another child on the way. One life touches so many others. One death can leave sorrow that seems almost unbearable. But to all of

you who lost someone here, I want to say: You are not alone. The American people will never forget the cruelty that was done here and in New York, and in the sky over Pennsylvania. We will never forget all the innocent people killed by the hatred of a few. We know the loneliness you feel in your loss. The entire nation, entire nation shares in your sadness. And we pray for you and your loved ones. And we will always honor their memory. **The hijackers were instruments of evil who died in vain. Behind them is a cult of evil which seeks to harm the innocent and thrives on human suffering.** Theirs is the worst kind of cruelty, the cruelty that is fed, not weakened, by tears. Theirs is the worst kind of violence, pure malice, while daring to claim the authority of God. **We cannot fully understand the designs and power of evil. It is enough to know that evil, like goodness, exists. And in the terrorists, evil has found a willing servant.** In New York, the terrorists chose as their target a symbol of America's freedom and confidence. Here, they struck a symbol of our strength in the world. And the attack on the Pentagon, on that day, was more symbolic than they knew. It was on another September 11th — September 11th, 1941 — that construction on this building first began. America was just then **awakening to another menace: The Nazi terror in Europe.** And on that very night, President Franklin Roosevelt spoke to the nation. The danger, he warned, has long ceased to be a mere possibility. The danger is here now. Not only from a military enemy, but from **an enemy of all law, all liberty, all morality, all religion.** For us too, in the year 2001, an enemy has emerged that rejects every limit of law, morality, and religion. The terrorists have no **true home** in any country, or culture, or faith. **They dwell in dark corners of earth.** And there, we will find them. This week, I have called the Armed Forces into action. One by one, we are eliminating power centers of a regime that harbors al Qaeda terrorists. We gave that regime a choice: Turn over the terrorists, or face your ruin. They chose unwisely. The Taliban regime has brought nothing but fear and misery to the people of Afghanistan. These rulers call themselves holy men, even with their record of drawing money from heroin trafficking. They consider themselves pious and devout, while subjecting women to fierce brutality. The Taliban has allied itself with murderers and gave them shelter. But today, for al Qaeda and the Taliban, there is no shelter. As Americans did 60 years ago, we have entered a struggle of uncertain duration. But now, as then, we can be certain of the outcome, because we have a number of decisive assets. We have a unified country. We have the patience to fight and win on many fronts: Blocking terrorist plans, seizing their funds, arresting their networks, disrupting their communications, opposing their sponsors. And we have one more great asset in this cause: The brave men and women of the United States military. From my first days in this office, I have felt and seen the strong spirit of the Armed Forces.

I saw it at Fort Stewart, Georgia, when I first reviewed our troops as Commander-in-Chief, and looked into the faces of proud and determined soldiers. I saw it in Annapolis on a graduation day, at Camp Pendleton in California, Camp Bondsteel in Kosovo. And I have seen this spirit at the Pentagon, before and after the attack on this building. You've responded to a great emergency with calm and courage. And for that, your country honors you. A Commander-in-Chief must know, must know that he can count on the skill and readiness of servicemen and women at every point in the chain of command. You have given me that confidence. And I give you these commitments. The wound to this building will not be forgotten, but it will be repaired. Brick by brick, we will quickly rebuild the Pentagon. In the missions ahead for the military, you will have everything you need, every resource, every weapon, every means to assure full victory for the United States and the cause of freedom. And I pledge to you that America will never relent on this war against terror. There will be times of swift, dramatic action. There will be times of steady, quiet progress. Over time, with patience, and precision, the terrorists will be pursued. They will be isolated, surrounded, cornered, until there is no place to run, or hide, or rest. As military and civilian personnel in the Pentagon, you are an important part of the struggle we have entered. You know the risks of your calling, and you have willingly accepted them. You believe in our country, and our country believes in you. Within sight of this building is Arlington Cemetery, the final resting place of many thousands who died for our country over the generations. Enemies of America have now added to these graves, and they wish to add more. Unlike our enemies, we value every life, and we mourn every loss. Yet we're not afraid. Our cause is just, and worthy of sacrifice. **Our nation is strong of heart, firm of purpose.** Inspired by all the courage that has come before, we will meet our moment and we will prevail. May God bless you all, and may God bless America

## Appendix 3. General metaphors, conflict metaphors and personifications

### General metaphors

**12GM.** On September the 11th, **enemies of freedom** committed an act of war against our country.

Common word	Metaphor
The people who committed the attacks on 11th of September, or the whole organisation behind the attacks.	Enemies of freedom

**13GM.** The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated **terrorist organizations** known as al Qaeda.

Common word	Metaphor
Al Qaeda	Loosely affiliated terrorist organization

**14GM** Al Qaeda **is to terror what the mafia is to crime**. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world — and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.

Common word	Metaphor
Al Qaeda	is to terror what the mafia is to crime

**15GM** We have seen their kind before. **They** are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century.

Common word	Metaphor
They	are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century.

**16GM.** America was targeted for attack because we're **the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world**.

Common word	Metaphor
America, We're	the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world.

**17GM.** The hijackers were **instruments of evil** who died in vain. Behind them is a **cult of evil** which seeks to harm the innocent and thrives on human suffering.

Common word	Metaphor
1. The hijackers 2. The organisation behind the hijackers	1. Instruments of evil. 2. Cult of evil

## Conflict metaphors

**11CM** We cannot fully understand **the designs and power of evil**. It is enough to know that evil, like goodness, exists. And in the terrorists, **evil has found a willing servant**. In New York, the terrorists chose as their target a symbol of America’s freedom and confidence. Here, they struck a symbol of our strength in the world. And the attack on the Pentagon, on that day, was more symbolic than they knew. It was on another September 11th — September 11th, 1941 — that construction on this building first began. America was just then **awakening to another menace: The Nazi terror in Europe**. And on that very night, President Franklin Roosevelt spoke to the nation. The danger, he warned, has long ceased to be a mere possibility. The danger is here now. Not only from a military enemy, but from **an enemy of all law, all liberty, all morality, all religion**. For us too, in the year 2001, an enemy has emerged that rejects every limit of law, morality, and religion. The terrorists have no true home in any country, or culture, or faith. **They dwell in dark corners of earth**. And there, we will find them. This week, I have called the Armed Forces into action. One by one, we are eliminating power centers of a regime that harbors al Qaeda terrorists. We gave that regime a choice: Turn over the terrorists, or face your ruin. They chose unwisely. The Taliban regime has brought nothing but fear and misery to the people of Afghanistan. These rulers call themselves holy men, even with their record of drawing money from heroin trafficking. They consider themselves pious and devout, while subjecting women to fierce brutality. The Taliban has allied itself with murderers and gave them shelter. But today, for al Qaeda and the Taliban, there is no shelter.

As Americans did 60 years ago, we have entered a struggle of uncertain duration. But now, as then, we can be certain of the outcome, because we have a number of decisive assets.

<p>1. Opposition. Evil. Terrorist</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- (In terrorist), evil has found a willing servant</li> <li>- an enemy of all law, all liberty, all morality, all religion.</li> <li>- They dwell in dark corners of earth</li> </ul>	<p>2. Opposition. Goodness.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- (America was) awakening to another menace: The Nazi terror in Europe</li> </ul>
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## Personifications

ADDRESS TO THE JOINT SESSION OF THE 107TH CONGRESS. UNITED STATES CAPITOL. WASHINGTON, D.C. SEPTEMBER 20, 2001

### 1P. Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom

Defining the personification. 'Original word' and words describing original word: First part of this section is outlining that we are a country. Country is here the 'original word'. It is described that country has this person-like attribute and will perform this person-like action; awakened to danger and called to defend freedom.

Original word	Personification
Country	- Awakened to danger and called to defend freedom

### 2P And tonight, **the United States of America** makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities.

Defining the personification. 'Original word' and words describing original word: The original word is here **the United States of America**. **The United States of America** is a country, but the word is followed by this person-like ability and action: makes the following demands on the Taliban:. This is the demand that the United States of America is demanding on the Taliban : Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities.

Original word	Personification
The United States of America	- makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities.

**3P.** With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends.

Defining the personification. ‘Original word’ and words describing original word: The original word is here **America**. The country **America** is here defined with this person-like attribute: grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. It is defined that they hope that **America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends.** ‘They’ can be defined as ‘every terrorist group of global reach’, based on the context in which the ‘they’ is used.

Original word	Personification
America	they hope that (America) grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends.

**4P.** The civilized world is rallying to America’s side.

Defining the personification. ‘Original word’ and words describing original word: The verb rallying is describing that **the civilized world is rallying to America’s side.** This is a person-like action, which describes the actions of **the civilized world.** It is therefore a personification of the actions by **the civilized world.**

Original word	Personification
The civilized world	- is rallying to America’s side

**5P.** But **this country** will define our times, not be defined by them. As long as **the United States of America** is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world

Defining the personification. ‘Original word’ and words describing original word: This section of the speech is including two original words. The first verb within the section is ‘define’. This person-like action is done by **this country**. So, **this country** will define our times, not be defined by them. The next person-like attribute or action in the section is ‘determined and strong’. It defines that **the United States of America** has these person-like attributes; is determined and strong.

Original word	Personification
1. This country.	1. Will define our times, not be defined by them
2. The Unites States of America	2. Is determined and strong

**6P** The hour is coming when **America** will act, and you will make us proud. This is not, however, just **America’s fight**. And what is at stake is not just America’s freedom. This is **the world’s fight**. This is **civilization’s fight**. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom

Defining the personification. ‘Original word’ and words describing original word: The first ‘original words’ in this section is **America** and **you**. It is defined that **America** will do this action; will act, and you will make us proud. The next ‘original word’ is **America’s**, which refers to that it is **America’s fight**. **America** is therefore at fight and **America** will act, and you will make us proud. The next ‘original word’ is **the world’s**, which differs from the former ‘original words’ in this section. Is is defined that this both is **America’s fight**, but also **the world’s fight**. The next ‘original world’ is **civilizations’s**, which indicates that it is also **civilization’s fight**. The last part of this section indicates the fight is also for all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom. So, it is **America’s fight** , **the world’s fight** , **civilization fight** and the fight for all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom. The last part is though a description of a specific population and is therefore not a personification in its original meaning. This is since that the person-like attribute or action should describe something that normally not described with a person-like attribute or action, as outlined in chapter 7.5.

Original word	Personification
1. America, you	1. Will act, and ( <b>you</b> ) will make us proud
2. America's	2. Fight
3. The world's	3. Fight
4. Civilization's	4. Fight

**7P.** The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded

Defining the personification. 'Original word' and words describing original word: The human-like attribute in this sentence refers to the word 'grateful'. It is defined that **The United States is grateful**, and that the United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded.

Original word	Personification
The United States	is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded

ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS THE OVAL OFFICE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

**8P.** But they have failed; our country is strong.

Defining the personification. 'Original word' and words describing original word: The person-like attribute in this part is the word 'strong'. It defines **our country**.

Original word	Personification
Our country	is strong

**9P.** America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time.

Defining the personification. 'Original word' and words describing original word: The person-like action in this sentence is the following part: has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this

time. The country **America** is performing the person-like action, and it is therefore a personification.

Original word	Personification
America	has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE SERVICE OF REMEMBRANCE. AT THE PENTAGON.  
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA. OCTOBER 11, 2001

**10P. Our nation** is strong of heart, firm of purpose.

Defining the personification. 'Original word' and words describing original word: Strong on heart, firm of purpose is here the person-like attribute. It is defining **our nation**, and is therefore a personification.

Original word	Personification
Our nation	is strong of heart, firm of purpose.

