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Pathos in Canadian Prime Ministerial 9/11 Addresses:

A Comparative Rhetorical Analysis

By

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Abstract

This undergraduate honours thesis is a study of the rhetorical choices by Canadian prime ministers when addressing the Canadian public following the initial 9/11 attack as well as the 5th, 10th, and 15th anniversary addresses. It examines Canadian prime ministerial 9/11 rhetoric, primarily *pathos*-oriented rhetoric, and determines its effectiveness and ethical implications. A comparative rhetorical analysis of these four addresses serves to determine the ways in which Canadian prime ministers employ strategies to invoke emotional responses within Canadian audience members and the shift of *pathos*-oriented rhetoric that occurs throughout the subsequent 15 years. Communication can either unite or separate a public, and the prime ministers productively channeled the emotions brought on by 9/11 through their rhetorical choices, helping unite the Canadian people.

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Figures.....	v
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Chapter Two: Literature Review	4
Heads of state response to terrorism.....	5
Emotions in anti-terrorism speeches	7
Society’s emotional responses to terrorism	9
Leader’s terrorism rhetoric	11
Conclusion	14
Chapter Three: Methodology and Theory	15
Rhetorical perspective	15
Selecting artifacts	16
The rhetorical situation.....	17
Rhetorical strategies	20
Pathos	20
Rhetorical canons	21
Rhetorical figures	22
Ethics of Pathos	23
Conclusion	24
Chapter Four: Analysis	26
Rhetorical situations for all the prime ministerial addresses.....	26
Chrétien 2001	28
Rhetorical situation	28
Rhetorical strategies	30
Harper 2006	34
Rhetorical situation	34
Rhetorical strategies	35
Harper 2011	39
Rhetorical situation	39
Rhetorical strategies	40
Trudeau 2016.....	43
Rhetorical situation	43
Rhetorical strategies	44
Delivery	47
Chapter Five: Conclusion.....	49
Further research	51
Implications for Canadian society.....	52
References.....	53
Appendix A.....	60
Appendix B	61
Appendix C.....	64
Appendix D.....	66

Table of Figures

Figure 1 Timeline of analyzed addresses.....	17
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Chapter One: Introduction

“At a time like this, the only saving grace is our common humanity and decency.”

- Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien (2001, para. 2)

On September 11, 2001, an airplane flew into the World Trade Center in one of the most catastrophic acts of terrorism to date. With over 3,000 deaths related to the attacks, including the deaths of 24 Canadians, leaders recalled the event as an attack against the world (Historica Canada, n.d.a). Two days later, the Canadian prime minister stood on Parliament Hill and addressed the Canadian population. While over 75,000 people watched in person, Prime Minister Chrétien’s address was also televised for the rest of Canada and the world to see.

Chrétien spoke to his audience about the attacks, expressing his sympathies along with fervor for unity and action. In the years following, the acting prime minister would continue this tradition, delivering an annual anniversary address. This event serves as a rhetorical act, as the prime minister seeks to persuade the audience into agreeing with his argument while using the platform of 9/11 to connect with Canadians. It is also epideictic in nature as Sloane (2001) asserts that the epideictic genre “performs a significant function as a means of inculcating a civic history and ideology in the masses” (p. 269). There are certain expectations for epideictic rhetoric, such as its inspirational and grandiose nature. Relatedly, the prime minister ceremonially addresses the public regarding the 9/11 attacks, praising Canada’s response and inspiring Canadians.

During a time of crisis, citizens may turn to their heads of state to understand the appropriate collective response. During this time of crisis, it was the duty of the prime minister to reassure and guide the public. Therefore, Prime Minister Chrétien’s discourse surrounding the

event, as well as following landmark anniversary addresses by acting prime ministers, aids in shaping public opinion regarding 9/11 or, more generally, the “war on terror.” This research project not only explores 9/11 rhetoric, but also situates it within a Canadian context.

The way that heads of state address terrorism influences the public’s framing of the attack. Therefore, the Canadian prime minister’s discussion on 9/11 assists in shaping the way that 9/11 is perceived following the initial event and its relationship to the present. The decision to include or exclude certain information impresses ideas about the event in one’s mind and can impact the perception of the event as well as relations with other countries. *Pathos* relates to framing as directing emotion in a productive way enhances the rhetor’s argument, which may assist in Canadians collectively understanding the attacks. All the addresses used *pathos*-oriented strategies within their rhetoric, channeling the emotions brought on by the attacks and uniting Canadians in hopes for a safer future.

This project aims to determine the ways in which prime ministers attempt to elicit emotion within their audience members when discussing the 9/11 attacks. The following research questions guide this inquiry:

- Which stylistic strategies and tactics do the prime ministers incorporate within their rhetoric to heighten the audience’s emotions? How do these change over time?
- How is *pathos* used to foster fear/division and hope/unity within audience members? To whom or what are these emotions felt?
- What are the effectiveness and ethical implications of doing so?

The transcripts of the speeches—including Chrétien in 2001, Harper in 2006, Harper in 2011, and Trudeau in 2016—are attached within Appendices A, B, C, and D,

respectively. Prime Minister Paul Martin was intentionally excluded, as his term as prime minister fell outside of the five-year increments. Evaluating the 5th, 10th, and 15th anniversaries was necessary for determining the ways in which the prime minister's rhetoric changed over time while including the landmark anniversaries.

Of the four artifacts decided upon, two prime ministers were Liberals while one was Conservative. Yet two of the addresses selected for analysis were speeches made by Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper. Their political associations, as well as other factors further developed within the analysis section, influence the rhetors' decisions when making a public address on 9/11.

This thesis begins in Chapter 2 with a literature review of existing scholarship related to heads of state responding to terrorism, heads of state generating an emotional response in terrorism communication, emotions in anti-terrorism speeches, and leader's terrorism rhetoric. This chapter also demonstrates how 9/11 contexts are international and complex, while highlighting the shortage of studies similar to this one. Chapter 3, on theory and methodology, describes aspects of rhetorical theory in relation to the methodological approach taken in this research, justifying the rhetorical framework and methodology selected for exploring the relationship between the rhetor and audience. Chapter 4, the analysis, implements the theory and methodology, analyzing the rhetorical situation for each address as well as rhetorical *style* strategies and tactics used by each prime minister. Chapter 5 concludes this thesis with implications for Canadian society as well as recommendations for further research on the topic.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The events of 9/11 aided in the development of extensive scholarship pertaining to terrorism and the war on terror worldwide. This chapter situates an analysis of prime ministerial 9/11 rhetoric within already established academic literature while providing contextual information on terror rhetoric, specifically 9/11. Search results for “terror communication,” “terrorism rhetoric,” and “9/11 rhetoric” yielded numerous studies within the realm of terrorism communication (i.e. Ames, 2017; Goodall, 2006; Holland, 2011; Markwick, 2010; Polletta & Lee, 2006). However, some of these works were excluded from my analysis due to the limited length of an undergraduate honours thesis and the narrower scope of this research (as these works focus on areas such as education, international affairs, law, policy, and sociology).

Other research proved relevant for this analysis and have been included within this chapter. One result from the “terrorism communication” search category recovered an edited book compiling multiple sources (i.e. Gring, 2008; Winkler, 2008) relating to communication and rhetorical perspectives on terrorism. Another edited book, included within my summer reading list, compiled various researchers’ (i.e. Basical, Bocarnea & Brown, 2002; Snyder & Park, 2002) analyses of both public and media responses to 9/11. For an analysis of 9/11 communication, the most productive search category was “prime minister terror rhetoric,” which located one article and two books (i.e. De Castella & McGarty, 2009; Gibbs Van Brunschot & Sherley, 2005; Tuman, 2010) relating to fear appeals, head of state 9/11 communication, and rhetorical perspectives on terrorism. I examined the reference lists of this literature to find additional sources to further shape my analysis. Only one study (Gibbs Van Brunschot & Sherley, 2005) has analyzed the Canadian government’s terrorism communication, providing an ethnographic content analysis rather than a rhetorical approach. No current literature exists, to

my knowledge, that conducts a historical and comparative analysis of Canadian prime ministers' 9/11 rhetoric. Although scholarship has discussed the response to terrorism by other heads of state and the use of emotion within these addresses, an analysis of this research indicates a lack of literature pertaining to Canadian prime ministerial 9/11 rhetoric.

This review covers this literature thematically:

1. Studies that analyze how heads of state respond to terrorism
2. Studies on emotions in anti-terrorism speeches
3. Studies of society's emotional responses to terrorism
4. Studies on leader's terrorism rhetoric

Heads of state response to terrorism

Multiple studies have analyzed the ways in which heads of state respond to terrorism. Carol Winkler (2008) has discerned linguistic patterns for leaders making public use of terrorism in order to determine the motivational structure of leader's discourse. She concludes that there appears to be a set of structured responses presidents use to define both the threat of and solution to terrorism (Winkler, 2008). Winkler (2008) breaks down the tasks that presidents must complete during terror-related addresses: identifying the terrorists, determining their motivations, and understanding their means to accomplish their objectives. She argues that the leader's response simultaneously shape perceptions about the problem and discern the most appropriate responses for solving them (Winkler, 2008). In following a standard set of questions to answer in an address on terrorism, the president incorporates the first rhetorical canon of *invention*. The process in which leaders use this rhetorical canon within speeches related to terrorism provides insight into the rationale behind Canadian prime ministers' rhetorical choices.

While Winkler (2008) analyzes U.S. presidential discourse in relation to terrorism, Erin Gibbs Van Brunschot and Alison Sherley (2005) focus on a related issue, the Canadian state's

communication surrounding the war on terror. Under the overarching frameworks of risk and trust, Gibbs Van Brunschot and Sherley (2005) conduct a content analysis of prime ministerial documents such as speeches and press releases to determine the thematic categories emanating from the prime ministers' terrorism-related addresses. Gibbs Van Brunschot and Sherley's work ascertains how the terrorist threat has been interpreted and communicated to the public by the Canadian state. These claims provide context surrounding typical conventions of terror rhetoric, grounding an analysis of prime ministerial 9/11 rhetoric.

According to Gibbs Van Brunschot and Sherley (2005), there are three main characteristics that appear within "terrorist threat" rhetoric by the Canadian state. First, they find although 9/11 was an act of terror conducted against the United States, the threat itself was communicated as an attack on the global community and as something that should be dealt with in a collective manner. All civilized humanities and societies are susceptible to terrorism and therefore must join forces to defeat the threat of terrorism. Second, they discern a shift in what is commonly deemed the "threat of terrorism," changing from a threat against the Western societal values of freedom, peace, and security in 2001 to a threat on economic and financial stability by 2003. Third, they argue that the threat of terrorism has shifted over time, slowly becoming a threat with less immediacy and proximity. This historical change of the "terrorist threat" provides background on how terrorism-related communication changed for the Canadian state in the subsequent years following 9/11, contextualizing the different environments for the prime ministerial speeches. Gibbs Van Brunschot and Sherley's analysis helps answer the question as to why the "threat of terrorism" is perceived differently within Prime Minister Chrétien's initial response to 9/11 than it is within the anniversary statement put forth by Prime Minister Trudeau, which is also perceived differently within all the other anniversary addresses between.

Overall, Gibbs Van Brunschot and Sherley explore the way in which Canadian leaders communicate the threat of terrorism. Their approach proves invaluable for considering the sociological relationship between risk and trust underlying prime ministerial communication. Applying a rhetorical lens to Chrétien's 9/11 speech (along with other prime ministerial addresses omitted by Gibbs Van Brunschot and Sherley) results in an alternative reading of these texts, one related to the invocation of emotion through *pathos*. By recognizing how prime ministers construct the rhetorical situation with regards to terrorism, specifically 9/11, one can identify attempted elicitation of emotion through the use of *pathos* in the form of rhetorical strategies.

Emotions in anti-terrorism speeches

Heads of state employ emotion-arousing content within their communications to elicit desired responses from publics. Krista De Castella, Craig McGarty, and Luke Musgrove (2009) have found that emotion-arousing language is not always present in political speeches about terrorism. Based on their content analysis of Australian Prime Minister John Howard's anti-terrorism speeches, they conclude that fear-arousing content "is not consistently present throughout Howard's rhetoric" (p. 21). Furthermore, De Castella et al. argue that

The contexts in which fear appeals arose indicate that rather than provoking consistent fear of terrorism, fear-arousing communication may be selectively employed by political leaders with the strongest fear appeals used at times of heightened political uncertainty, conflict, and declining support for the government and its policies. (p. 21).

This finding is significant as it suggests that employing fear-arousing language is rather a choice made by the rhetor as a means to a political end, not a fundamental component within terrorism-related speeches. Therefore, the decision by prime ministers to include fear-arousing language

within their addresses is not intrinsically linked to terrorism rhetoric. Moreover, they find that the decision on whether or not to incite a fear of terrorism within speeches is influenced by external factors such as promoting national cohesion, reducing conflict, and supporting their political agenda. Similarly, the way that each Canadian prime minister addressed 9/11 following the initial event and during the subsequent anniversaries was also likely impacted by additional forces, such as policy decisions, while the research done by De Castella et al. highlights the importance of a contextual analysis of each artifact.

Cengiz Erisen and José D. Villabos (2014) have further explored the invocation of emotion in presidential speeches. The findings from their coding of 359 American presidential speeches showed that there was a difference between hope, fear, and anger invocation within foreign and domestic addresses. They argue that emotional invocation is more prevalent in speeches regarding foreign policy, rather than domestic. However, they note that presidents still attempted to invoke emotions within certain types of domestic speeches, such as President George W. Bush appealing to fear as a response to the 9/11 attacks as well as the threat of future terror acts. Although they found emotion-laden rhetoric appears less within domestic speeches, it is more likely to be present within 9/11 presidential addresses. Furthermore, they discover that the invocation of emotions appears in addresses to the public but not to Congress. In summary, Erisen and Villabos (2014) argue that political leaders “may invoke motivational cues in their attempts to influence citizen responses and behaviour” (p. 1). Their findings relate to this research as the selected addresses are domestic in nature but speak to Canadians on the topic of terrorism, thus altering the expected amount of emotion-laden rhetoric within each. Their research helps illustrate the degree in which rhetoric incorporating emotion-arousing language

depends on the various contexts situating the address and the ways it is used to achieve a political end.

Despite their not analyzing political party leaders' speeches through a rhetorical lens, De Castella et al. (2009) along with Erisen and Villabos (2014) provide insight into how political leaders attempt to evoke emotions within audiences and the potential underlying motivations for doing so. Both articles reinforce the notion that emotion-arousing language is a strategic tactic employed by the rhetor to propagate their agenda; in other words, political leaders have a stake in communicating terrorism to the public and they may use emotions to fortify these goals. Within a Canadian context, it stands to reason that prime ministerial 9/11 communication may also be affected by the prime minister's political agenda as well as the current domestic and foreign socio-cultural environments.

Society's emotional responses to terrorism

Although political leaders may choose to use language in hopes of eliciting certain emotions from their audience, the act of terrorism alone and the way that it is communicated leave emotional footprints on publics. While terrorism produces massive casualties and devastation, the act of terror transcends its immediate impact and can produce long-lasting emotional effects. Studying these emotional effects remains imperative for understanding the significance of 9/11 communication, as the rhetor should be aware of and sensitive to audience feelings associated with the attacks.

Leslie B. Snyder and Crystal L. Park (2002) have conducted research on the way that 9/11 affected the psychological health of the U.S. population and whether or not this distress was exacerbated or alleviated by the media. Snyder and Park's analysis takes a psychological approach, uncovering the emotional and stress-related responses felt by adult Americans. They conclude that Americans experienced fear, psychic numbing, arousal, depression, dysfunction,

and PTSD related to experiencing 9/11, interpersonally and through the media. Their findings show a positive relationship between the strength of the emotional response and the amount of television viewed. While their research focuses specifically on the American population, 9/11 was communicated by leaders as a global threat (Gibbs Van Brunschot & Sherley, 2005). Therefore, the way in which American media outlets communicated the 9/11 attacks to viewers can be applied to an analysis of Canadian media addressing the terrorist acts. Snyder and Park's (2002) research on the media is particularly useful, as three out of four artifacts chosen for analysis were first distributed through television channels. Understanding the psychological effects on American media viewers as well as the importance of the media in constructing a perception of 9/11 proves useful when analyzing the *pathos* within prime ministerial addresses as it helps determine the prime minister's attempt to enhance particular emotions within Canadian audiences as well as helps to determine the influence of communication channels used to distribute the message.

Michael Basil, Mihai Bocarnea, and William Brown (2002) have looked specifically at national responses to the 9/11 attacks, including fear, grief, and sympathy. They emphasize the importance of the public's emotions in relation to dramatic events by stressing that "there are relatively few moments in history that are so dramatic that people remember where they were and what they were doing when they first learned of the event through the news media or interpersonal communication" (p. 1). Basil et al. deem the 9/11 terrorist attacks as one of these instances. They discuss news diffusion and how it increases during times of dramatic events. While their research scope centers on 9/11 information diffusion through media, their results remain relevant for realizing that publics predominantly learned about the events of 9/11 through television. This is significant, as their research found "television news plays an important role in

influencing beliefs and emotions” (Basil et al., 2002, p. 258), where visual communication enhances the emotional force of the news story.

Both of these arguments confirm the influence of visual information when learning about the 9/11 attacks. Three out of four artifacts chosen for this research project were initially published directly through Canadian television channels. This visual form of *delivery* likely influences the emotional impact on audiences, heightening their emotional responses to the prime minister’s rhetoric when addressing the terrorist attacks. Other types of communication channels, such as Trudeau’s 15th anniversary statement issued only in text on his official website, may be less emotionally impactful on the audience due to their textual, not visual, format.

Leader’s terrorism rhetoric

Joseph Tuman (2010) has distinguished terrorism from other forms of murder and destruction by arguing that terrorism is a part of a larger process of communicating messages and eliciting desired responses through encoded content. With this differentiation, the way that terrorist acts are communicated is deemed as equally important to study as the attacks themselves. Studying rhetorical analyses currently available on leaders’ addresses regarding 9/11 helps establish the fundamentals for conducting rhetorical analyses of 9/11 communication.

Tuman (2010) affirms that individuals with authority, including leaders of countries and decision makers, likely shape public opinion. He suggests a methodology for effectively examining the rhetoric of terrorism in public oratory. First, the researcher must ask the question “who is the audience for this speech?” as the act of public speaking and persuasion centers around the audience. He states that this question can be answered by understanding audience demographics. In relation to this thesis, the prime minister has multiple audiences when conducting a speech, such as Canadian citizens, political parties, and industry leaders. After determining the audience, the prime minister will likely look at the common ground between the

audience and himself. For example, the prime minister and Canadians were likely concerned for the safety of Canada and Canadians following the attacks. In the subsequent years, the audience had already been exposed to 9/11 addresses from the acting prime ministers and the threat was no longer immediate. Therefore, the common ground between the groups shifts in its nature, likely resulting in different communication requirements.

Second, Tuman notes that the researcher must consider the message itself. While Tuman's book details all three rhetorical appeals—*ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos*—this research study analyzes *pathos*, specifically. Tuman (2010) describes *pathos*, or the appeal to emotion, as “speech rhetoric that persuades and affects an audience because it appeals to them on an emotional level” (p. 116). By appealing to *pathos*, the rhetor may connect emotionally with the audience, increasing the likelihood that the audience will agree with the rhetor's message. If the prime minister effectively exercises *pathos* within a speech, they may persuade the audience and ultimately shape public opinion. Finally, Tuman establishes that the rhetor conducts a *pathos*-oriented address through the application of rhetorical figures. He highlights rhetorical figures commonly present in discussions of terrorism, including *anaphora*, *antithesis*, and *prolepsis*. These figures, along with others present within the artifacts, are expanded upon further in the theory and analysis sections. Tuman's suggestions showcase figures commonly found in terrorism rhetoric and provide a starting point for analysis.

In chapter seven of his book, Tuman applies the methodologies he previously discusses to two by President George W. Bush speeches on 9/11. He claims that President Bush's initial response to the events of 9/11 is *pathos*-oriented, “designed to remind the country of the mood it is feeling, which, in the words of the President hovers between ‘disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger’” (Tuman, citing Bush, 2010, p. 133). He claims Bush's second

speech given on September 20, 2001 also incorporates *pathos* filled rhetoric, targeting both Americans and the international community. Bush references individuals who were killed during the attacks, exemplifying the sacrifice and courage of Americans. Bush's rhetorical choices in this speech appear similar to those of Prime Minister Stephen Harper's 2006 address, where Harper discusses the sacrifices and courage of Canadians who "accept enormous sacrifice and risk to themselves" (Harper, as cited in Taylor, 2006, 4:41). Looking at rhetorical analyses of presidential 9/11 addresses helps discern the fundamentals for conducting rhetorical analyses of prime ministerial 9/11 communication.

Tuman's (2010) book is of particular importance as his work helps inform the rhetorical analysis of terror communication, specifically leaders' speeches. He deconstructs the methods researchers may use to study public oratory about terrorism, including *pathos* and its rhetorical strategies. Moreover, he conducts a rhetorical analysis of two of President Bush's addresses on terrorism. His overarching analysis of the rhetorical dimensions of terrorism helps construct the theoretical space in which this research occupies while demonstrating an application of his methodologies.

Mark Gring (2008) has also conducted a rhetorical analysis of leader's 9/11 communication, focusing on religious leaders. He notes that for the first month following 9/11, church attendance spiked by 47%. After conducting a rhetorical analysis of 204 sermons, Gring (2008) found that the first goal was to offer human comfort and reassurance, as "all the sermons conveyed the preacher's personal emotions and fears balanced by the desire to offer consolation to those who comprised their audience" (p. 289).

Both types of leaders, national and theological as described by Tuman (2010) and Gring (2008), respectively, offer audiences consolation while reaffirming their leadership status. One

particularly interesting conclusion put forth by Gring is the notion that arguments lacking high theological sophistication tend to be more emotive. A more complex presentation of the events results in a weaker emotional connection with the audience (Gring, 2008). According to Gring, for a sermon to be emotionally impactful on the audience, preachers will simplify their explanations of events and their connections to doctrine. Although the prime ministers typically exclude mentioning God and religion within their 9/11 addresses, the act of simplifying concepts to be more emotive may persist throughout their public oratory, as well.

The research done by both Tuman and Gring aligns closely with a rhetorical analysis of prime ministerial 9/11 communication. Tuman considers the tools necessary for rhetorically examining public addresses and provides two examples of doing so. While a preacher's leadership is innately spiritual, the argument put forth by Gring is applicable to an analysis of prime ministerial rhetoric, applying his research to national leaders' terror rhetoric as they may also often simplify concepts in order to make it more emotionally arousing. In addition, Gring also explores the role of context in analyzing and developing responses to terrorism.

Conclusion

Currently, studies focus on how various heads of state respond to terrorism. However, none have done so through a rhetorical framework of Canadian prime ministerial addresses. The rhetorical analyses that have been conducted regarding 9/11, as well as terrorism in general, focus on other communicators, including American presidents, religious leaders, or the media. In contrast, this research project not only explores terrorism rhetoric, but also situates it within a Canadian context.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Theory

This chapter identifies and outlines the theoretical framework needed to analyze *pathos*-oriented speech within prime ministerial 9/11 addresses. Rhetoric affords both a lens and mode for analysis; as this research project applies rhetorical theory, rhetorical criticism is its methodology. The rhetorical analysis is applied through choosing the artifacts, developing the context surrounding each, selecting appropriate rhetorical theories, employing the theories to discover how strategies and appeals function, and determining their effectiveness and ethical implications in context. This chapter discusses aspects of rhetorical theory in relation to the methodological approach relevant within the chronology of this project.

Rhetorical perspective

Rhetorical theory was chosen for this analysis due to its thorough examination of the relationships between the rhetor, audience, and environment. The public addresses of 9/11 are classified as the rhetoric while the prime ministers are the rhetors. Aristotle (c. 335/1926) defines rhetoric as “the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject” (Rh. 1.2). As this definition suggests, the goal of rhetoric is to determine a method for persuasion. Longaker and Walker (2011) expand on the rhetorical perspective as understanding how personal convictions have been formed through persuasive actions. The goal of the rhetor, or prime minister, is to persuade the audience, or the Canadian population as well as the international community, to agree with the rhetor’s viewpoints using the platform of 9/11. The prime minister’s form of persuasion stems from additional environmental factors that contextualize the address.

A rhetorical perspective differs from other theoretical perspectives as it is rhetor-centered. While critical discourse theory may be used to analyze 9/11 communication, rhetoric encompasses many of the same components. For example, critical discourse theory examines

both the context and language use of the text (Andrus, Clary-Lemon, & Huckin 2012). However, as critical discourse theory routinely engages in power relations and social inequality, a rhetorical analysis focusing on potential audience persuasion seems more fruitful when analyzing these emotion-laden addresses and the channeling of audience emotions. Additionally, a rhetorical perspective assumes that the rhetor uses logical reasoning within their rhetoric. By respecting the rhetor in this way, contextual research assists in determining potential rationales for the prime minister's rhetorical choices.

Another possible theoretical framework includes audience studies, as it seeks to understand the types of readings maintained by audience members (Morely, 1993). These studies were not selected as modes for analysis as the theories often oversimplify audience feelings while further complicating the audience's composition (Morely, 1993). In contrast, rhetoric not only considers the audience, but also explores additional elements such as contextual factors and the relationship between the audience and rhetor, considering both perspectives. As disaster rhetoric is primarily audience centered (Hikins, 1996), developing the relationship between the rhetor and audience, sufficiently done by rhetorical analyses, seems imperative for examining 9/11 terror rhetoric.

Selecting artifacts

The artifacts chosen for analysis were selected based on their relevance to Canadian prime ministerial 9/11 communication. Each address was made by the acting Canadian prime minister on the topic of 9/11 and was chosen based on the occasion. The prime minister was selected as he is considered the highest member of Cabinet and the leader of Canada. In addition to being a powerful Canadian leader, the prime minister must also be an effective communicator.

Therefore, the way that he discusses 9/11, using certain persuasive strategies, may shape policy decisions and public opinion. The first artifact was the Canadian head of state's initial response

to the terror attacks and the three other addresses were made by acting prime ministers for the 5th, 10th, and 15th anniversaries of 9/11. The five-year increments between each address gave a consistent time lapse between them while also arriving at the landmark anniversaries of the attack. It also ensured a sufficient spread of time between each address, helping to better understand how the prime ministerial rhetoric surrounding 9/11 shifted throughout the 15 years following the event.

The Figure 1 timeline illustrates the chronology of the artifacts chosen for analysis. All the chosen addresses were made by the acting prime minister on the topic of 9/11.

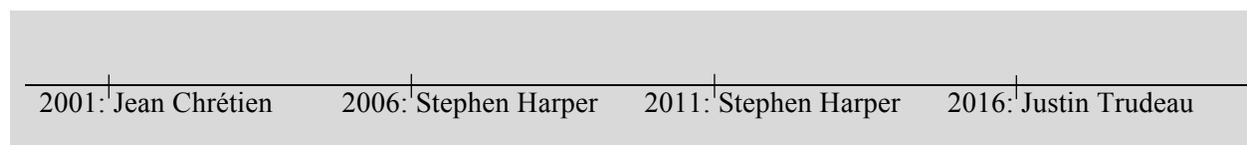


Figure 1 Timeline of analyzed addresses

The rhetorical situation

The artifacts cannot be evaluated without consideration for the rhetorical situation, as one must first understand the context of the address in order to identify the rationale behind the rhetorical choices.

Richards (1936) stresses the context surrounding a rhetorical act as imperative for understanding the rhetoric itself. As a researcher, failing to understand the context reduces the meaning behind the rhetor's choices and oversimplifies their significance (Richards, 1936). Richards argues that meaning is something that shifts and is contingent upon contexts. With this notion in mind, it is essential to analyze the shaping force of the attacks on the rhetoric. However, this context changes throughout the years and the rhetor must embed current information into an address about a 2001 event. Moreover, as suggested by the theory of *kairos*, the way that 9/11 is communicated by the prime minister depends on the current environmental factors and adapts to political standings within that instant.

It was appropriate to choose rhetorical theories that considered the effects of the rhetoric and the event, such as those by Lloyd Bitzer and Richard Vatz. Bitzer (1968) argues that rhetoric is situational, as the event essentially influences the rhetoric. There would not be 9/11 rhetoric without the 9/11 attacks, as the event created a need for a prime ministerial response to terrorist actions. Additionally, the prime ministers' anniversary addresses discuss the present in relation to the past. Vatz (1973) disagrees with Bitzer's deterministic approach, instead considering rhetoric a creative process where the rhetor can shape the meaning of the event. Thus, the rhetoric itself establishes the rhetorical situation (Vatz, 1973). The reimagining of the event, as done through the prime minister's rhetoric, may itself alter the memory of the event in Canadians' minds. Despite their contrasting arguments, rhetorical models by both Bitzer and Vatz prove significant when understanding the relationship between the rhetor and the event in regard to the rhetorical situation, as the rhetoric simultaneously shapes and is shaped by the event.

Hikins further enlightens on the theory of rhetoric in relation to disaster. The human fascination with disaster exhibits three emphases: communicating the event itself as an anomaly from historical patterns, considering the event discourse as functional and instrumental to the foundation of the human response, and treating the cultural, social, and psychological dimensions of the event (Hikins, 1996). The deaths brought on by the 9/11 attacks disturbed the international community and psyche of citizens around the world. As such, international leaders conveyed their shock and horror with this anomalistic terror event (CBC, 2001). These leaders expressed their sympathies with the United States as well as towards other countries that lost citizens in the attacks. Moreover, many democratic leaders praised first responders and the bravery they exhibited (CBC, 2001). NATO proclaimed that the negative effects of 9/11

impacted every member nation, not just the United States (History.com, 2010). Overall, understanding the rhetorical situation helps one further understand the themes and strategies developed within each prime ministerial 9/11 address. The way that the rhetoric is communicated serves to both alter the socially constructed reality as well as establish and maintain these alterations (Hikins, 1996). While the event of 9/11 influences the discourse surrounding it, the way that the prime minister, along with other nations' leaders, decides to communicate 9/11 also affects the public's perception of the event.

Two considerations determined the secondary texts for researching the rhetorical situation. First, an analysis of the media environment proves useful to further develop the rhetorical situation. News articles leading up to each address were examined to develop the socio-cultural context in which the situation of each address resides. Due to limitations of an undergraduate honours thesis as well as limited archival resources, the examined news outlet was restricted to the CBC, Canada's public national news agency. Some additional articles were discovered on CTV and Global News, but the archived information on these websites appears sparse. The articles reviewed were found through Wayback Machine, a website archival database, and focused specifically on "Canada" and "politics." Articles considered for evaluation had been published prior to each address. Second, examining the leader's political platform, found in current scholarship or posted on official party websites, helped determine the opportunities and constraints present for each prime minister. For example, Prime Minister Harper supported the war on terror, with Afghanistan becoming one of Canada's primary foreign policy commitments in 2006 (Bratt, 2007), whereas Trudeau focused less on military involvement (Berthiaume, 2016). Academic literature currently available on the prime minister and his political choices around the same time as the address further refined the context (Bratt,

2007; Chapin, 2010). These political standings influenced the rhetorical choices made by the rhetor in order to persuade the audience.

Rhetorical strategies

Underneath the overarching notions of rhetoric and rhetorical situation are rhetorical strategies and tactics to obtain the rhetor's goal of audience persuasion.

To be successful in the art of persuasion, the rhetor utilizes the three appeals: logical inference (*logos*), perceived good character (*ethos*), and arousal of the audience's emotion (*pathos*) (Aristotle, c. 335/1926). Although all three appeals interweave to create a persuasive argument, this research focuses specifically on the appeal to *pathos*, which relies on eliciting an emotional response from the audience. With 9/11 being a highly emotive topic, the way that the rhetor decides to appeal to the emotions of the audience and channel these emotions proves imperative for understanding the effectiveness and ethical implications of their rhetoric.

Pathos

When studying political communication, addressing *pathos* is almost unavoidable because of the way that it is embedded within political communication. *Pathos* assists in enhancing the prime minister's methods of persuasion by affecting audience emotions. According to Aristotle (c. 335/1926), emotions, or *pathos*, "cause men to change their opinion in regard to their judgments, and are accompanied by pleasure and pain; such are anger, pity, fear, and all similar emotions and their contraries" (Rh. 2.1.8). There is a strong relationship between the assessment of *pathos* and of the audience (Silva Rhetoricae, 2007g). *Pathos* plays on the emotions of the audience, "a part of the general psychology that unites the body and mind" (Sloane, 2001, p. 576). Aristotle (c. 335/1926) further emphasizes *pathos* as a motive for judgement. *Pathos* is a powerful tool that changes people's minds and causes them to act (Aristotle, c. 335/1926). The rhetor makes choices about how and when to arouse or dampen audience emotions (Sloane, 2001). Therefore,

pathos is crucial for building upon the theoretical framework necessary in an analysis of prime ministerial 9/11 rhetoric, a topic that is often laden with emotions. Studying how the rhetor appeals to emotions as a means of channeling emotion productively assists in determining his rhetorical effectiveness as well as ethicality.

Rhetorical canons

Pathos appeals can be employed by strategies throughout the rhetorical canons, including *invention, arrangement, style, and delivery*. When the speech is about an emotional topic, *pathos* appeals may exist throughout. The rhetor may include vivid descriptions of 9/11 as a way of reliving the event through words. *Pathos* appeals frequently arise from strategies in the canon of *arrangement*, as these appeals are typically common at openings (to make an audience receptive) and endings (to leave them with powerful feelings). These canons work together to enhance the overall argument.

It has long been acknowledged that *style* and *delivery* both facilitate the invocation of *pathos*. Therefore, this research project primarily centers on *style* but also acknowledges the importance of *delivery* in relation to *pathos*.

Richards (1936) delves into Aristotle's theory of *pathos* by refining the notion of *style*. Governed by *decorum*, the alignment of word choice and subject matter (Silva Rhetoricae, 2007c), *style* is the way the ideas be expressed in language, and they must not only fit the rhetor's purpose but also the audience and context (Silva Rhetoricae, 20071). This is important to analyze as the Canadian prime ministers incorporate *style* as a means of effectively persuading the audience. By detecting the *style* strategies within the addresses, this research discerns the overall effectiveness of the rhetoric.

The *delivery* of the addresses impacts the audience's reception of the rhetoric and determines how the prime minister appeals to *pathos*. *Delivery* persists as a crucial canon for the

rhetor's adaptation to the occasion (Sloane, 2001). Aristotle (c. 335/1926) links *delivery* with emotion, stating that each emotion brings with it a unique appearance, tone, and gesture. In order to elicit certain emotional responses within the audience, the rhetor must consider the features of *delivery*. Relatedly, the acting prime minister's chosen platform for the 9/11 address—such as video, audio, or text—must be considered when analyzing their rhetorical choices as well as their effectiveness. The speech audio was reviewed to determine which phrases were emphasized or diminished. This was compared to the structure of the statement by Trudeau. While this project focuses primarily on *style*, considering the *delivery* of each address is important for understanding the *pathos*-oriented strategies as well as their effectiveness.

Rhetorical figures

Following the examination of the rhetorical situation, the rhetorical *style* strategies within each address were analyzed in more detail. Certain figures of speech within the canon of *style* can assist in persuading audience members through emotional appeals (Silva Rhetoricae, 2007d). Tuman (2010) highlights rhetorical figures commonly present in discussions of terrorism, including *anaphora*, *antithesis*, and *prolepsis*. These formed the foundation for the analysis. Next, various other figures of *pathos*, as categorized by Silva Rhetoricae, were identified within the addresses. Additional rhetorical figures acknowledged on the Silva Rhetoricae website were examined in order to determine whether or not the rhetor incorporated other figures, as these may also appeal to audience emotion. To easily identify which rhetorical figures were used, the speeches were transcribed and all the addresses were placed in an Excel spreadsheet. The findings were colour-coded in the spreadsheet while the most salient, such as figures used multiple times between and within addresses, were pulled for further elaboration.

While any rhetorical figure can potentially evoke an emotional response, there are specific figures of speech designed to appeal to *pathos* and require identification within the

artifacts. The rhetorical figure of *anaphora*, the repetition of a group of words at the beginning of successive clauses (Silva Rhetoricae, 2007a), appears throughout prime ministerial speeches and adds emphasis. Similarly, the employment of *perclusio*, or the threat against something (Silva Rhetoricae, 2007h), is used by Canadian prime ministers to threaten the terrorist state alongside Canadian allies. Rhetorical figures such as *anaphora* and *perclusio* are specifically designed to evoke an emotional response from the audience (Silva Rhetoricae, 2007d). Thus, the employment of these rhetorical figures within the addresses increase the rhetor's appeal to audience emotions.

Ethics of Pathos

In addition to improving rhetorical effectiveness, *pathos* has ethical implications. As rhetorical theory hinges upon the relationship between rhetor and audience, ethical concerns may arise.

Richards' (1936) focus on *style* examines how word choice can be used to avoid misunderstandings due to insensitive language. He argues that persuasion is merely one component of a multifaceted discourse, whereby rhetoric can be used to avoid misunderstanding and ultimately reduce international conflict (Richards, 1936). As indicated by Richards, the way that the prime minister chooses to discuss 9/11 informs the Canadian and global population about Canada's stance on 9/11, terrorism, and fighting the war on terror. With Richards' (1936) idea of rhetoric in mind, the way that the prime minister decides to communicate 9/11 may help mitigate misunderstandings of the event.

Similarly, Hikins (1996) discerns that various notions of communication contribute to the socially constructed reality that discourse fosters. He argues that when faced with calamity, rhetoric aids in "preventing the unraveling of the social fabric" (Hikins, 1996, p. 109). As stated by Hikins (1996), "disaster pervades the human condition" (p. 110); in other words, disaster is an inherent component of human experience. However, how one responds to disaster differs based

on an event's surrounding context. Both Richards (1936) and Hikins (1996) agree that disaster rhetoric functions primarily to preserve and repair the threatened social fabric. The prime minister employs rhetorical strategies to uphold and defend Canadian ideals amidst the threat of terrorism.

While sometimes it is argued that *pathos* is used for audience manipulation, it can also guide audiences towards positive action. When *pathos* is misused, it can cause ethical issues to arise, such as creating division within and between groups of people. However, when used ethically, it can be channeled productively and heal division. Historically embedded within an environment of military domination, Richards (1936) suggested that rhetoric should be used as a “study of misunderstanding and its remedies” (p. 3). Applied to 9/11 rhetoric, the acting prime minister provides solutions for the current situation and offers inspiration for a better future.

Conclusion

An examination of 9/11 prime ministerial rhetoric affords an explanation of contexts, strategies, and tactics to invoke emotion as a means of political persuasion. Yet rhetorical analysis can be challenging because there may be ambiguity about the rhetor's actual motives and intentions, symbols that have many potential meanings, and diverse audiences with a wide range of possible audience responses (T. Smith, personal communication, November 27, 2017). However, this complexity can be combatted by considering rhetorical criticism itself as rhetorical, allowing for responsive, flexible, and locally-situated methods (Zdenek, 2009). This project considers the varying soci-cultural and political environments of each address and reflects on various potential audience interpretations. While one cannot know with certainty the motivation behind the prime minister's rhetorical choices, the use of logical reasoning based on contextual research done in this rhetorical analysis helps ascertain potential rationales. Doing so results in a more responsible and invested criticism (Zdenek, 2009), divulging the ways in which prime ministers use *pathos*

strategies, the potential impacts on audience members, and the shift of *pathos*-oriented rhetoric that occurs throughout the subsequent 15 years.

Chapter Four: Analysis

This analysis shows that effective *pathos*-oriented rhetoric appears frequently within each address. However, fear-inducing tactics are more present following the attacks and appear less often during the prime ministerial addresses in the following years. On the other hand, the invocation of hope is observed consistently throughout each address. Overall, the rhetors successfully employ *pathos*-oriented communication which strategically invoked hope and fear depending on their desired outcome. While Prime Minister Trudeau employs less *pathos*-oriented rhetoric than Prime Minister Chrétien and Prime Minister Harper, all four of the analyzed prime ministerial addresses juxtapose fear with hope and commonly use rhetorical *style* strategies such as *anaphora* and *antithesis*.

The chapter has been outlined based on the artifact's sequence in chronology (Jean Chrétien in 2001, Stephen Harper in 2006, Stephen Harper in 2011, and Justin Trudeau in 2016). The first section examines consistencies across the rhetorical situations for all the prime ministerial addresses. Next, the artifacts have each been broken down into two sections: the rhetorical situation for that prime minister's address and the rhetorical strategies employed by that prime minister within their address. This chapter concludes with an analysis the prime ministers' *delivery* and its potential impact on audience emotion.

Rhetorical situations for all the prime ministerial addresses

The prime ministers' political agendas positively impact the rhetoric used within their respective addresses. As noted by De Castella et al. (2009), the prime minister's decision to include or exclude fear-inducing phrases within terror rhetoric is largely influenced by external factors, such as promoting national cohesion and supporting their political agenda. A cohesive nation in a time of crisis establishes unity, an important argument found within the Canadian prime ministers' 9/11 addresses.

The political position of each prime minister as well as their political party affects how they describe the terror event. For example, the Liberal Party is less supportive of military action than the Conservative Party, making the rhetoric less militaristically-focused in comparison. More specifically, Stephen Harper reduces emphasis on multilateral relations and the United Nations, rather focusing on strengthening Canada's relationship with the United States by, according to Paris (2014), offering Canadian support to the U.S. war on terror. Overall, out of the four artifacts selected for analysis, two were issued by Liberals while two were issued by Conservatives.

Each rhetor, or acting Canadian prime minister, spoke to his audience of well-educated Canadians. According to the Flesch-Kincaid readability test, which calculates readability based on the average number of words used per sentence and average number of syllables per word, the average grade level of the four addresses was 10.875, with the lowest at 7.9 and the highest at 14.2. This high-level readability across speeches demonstrates the expectations that this type of communication should be grand and complex. Moreover, the rhetors use quotations and examples that require background knowledge on prominent individuals (such as Martin Luther King Jr) as well as current events. Such allusions suggest that the intended audience is likely well educated and aware about current affairs. By speaking eloquently and incorporating quotations and facts, the prime minister may also establish himself as a distinguished and well-educated leader, regardless of whether all audience members can entirely follow his complex speech.

The rhetoric's *kairos* helps situate the address within a certain timeframe based on the given context. The place and time of the address constrains or aids in the effectiveness and appropriateness of rhetorical choices (Silva Rhetoricae, 2007e). Considering the audience in

relation to previous speeches about terrorism, current news, and legislation helps provide more salience for certain rhetorical choices. While each address is on 9/11, the rhetorical choices vary based on the timing, as the rhetors describe the attacks differently depending on the year and other contextual considerations. The way that each rhetor chooses to reinterpret 9/11 may heighten or reduce its significance for audience members depending on the timing of the address.

Chrétien 2001

Rhetorical situation

Three days after the September 11 attacks, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien delivered a National Day of Mourning 9/11 address on Parliament Hill. As the acting Canadian prime minister during 9/11, Chrétien's speech served as the first time a Canadian leader addressed the attacks. During this time, the Canadian prime minister responded slowly, waiting three days before making a public address. While the prime minister remained silent, major news outlets—including CBC News, CTV, and Global News—primarily featured content about 9/11 on their homepages. All the articles on the CBC News (2001) homepage related to the attacks, regardless of their section (such as the business, sports, and entertainment topics). The constantly developing information about 9/11 dominated the news cycle across Canada following the attacks. For example, CBC News (2001), CTV News (2001), and Global News (2001) stories all discussed the terrorist attacks, commonly using words such as “evil” and “enemy” to describe the search for the attack perpetrators. Concurrently, the Canadian population began assisting the United States quickly, volunteering food, shelter, and rescue forces (Chapin, 2010). This overwhelming support by Canadians likely pressured the Canadian government to also show solidarity.

The threat that the 9/11 attacks posed to democratic values has been situated within an international context in which Canada has to assist in the fight against terrorism (Gibbs Van

Brunschot & Sherley, 2005). Other nations had immediately demonstrated that they stood in solidarity with the United States (CBC, 2001), such as the singing of the American national anthem at Buckingham Palace and the hanging of billboards depicting the Christ the Redeemer statue embracing the New York City skyline in Brazil (History.com, 2010). Even nations that had typically disagreed with American government—such as Russia, Cuba, China, Iran, and Palestine—expressed their condolences and condemnation of the attacks (History.com, 2010). As these other countries supported American forces, more pressure was put on Canada to follow suit. Moreover, on September 12, 2001, NATO declared that the 9/11 attack was one against all member nations (History.com, 2010). The international community and international governments, along with Canadians, watched to see how the Canadian prime minister, who had typically disassociated himself from the United States (Nossal, Paquin & Roussel, 2015), would respond.

Much Canadian news involved coverage of Canadian assistance to the 200 airplanes diverted to Canadian airports, specifically the town of Gander in Newfoundland. In the weeks following 9/11, news stories displayed the significant support shown by community members. The small community of Gander found itself accommodating 37 planes with over 6,700 passengers (Dubreuil, 2015). As a small Atlantic town, accommodating such a large quantity of visitors seemed overwhelming. However, many residents of the town opened their homes to house passengers, offering them hot meals and other necessities (Mansbridge, 2001). With comments such as “the unexpected visitors have found a meal and a bed thanks to the hard work of a small army of volunteers” (The National, 2001), the tone within these articles reflect notes of Canadian patriotism. Canadian news outlets positively described this event, highlighting the overwhelming hospitality and support provided by Canadians when faced with adversity

(Mansbridge, 2001). This moment was highly reported on as it demonstrated the epitome of Canadian values, as citizens welcome strangers and lend a hand to those in need. The acting prime minister recalls this prominent news story, often remembered during 9/11 anniversaries, to highlight Canadian unity in times of crisis.

Rhetorical strategies

This moment of speech helped notify Canadians along with the international community of Canada's position on 9/11 and how the Canadian government intended to respond to the terror attack, acting alongside the United States. As described by Richards (1936) and implemented by Chrétien throughout his speech, rhetoric can reduce misunderstandings and international conflict. Likely due in part to the need for audience accessibility and clear understanding, Chrétien's speech ranks the easiest to read out of the artifacts selected for analysis at a grade 7.9 readability. The simplification of the event description makes terror rhetoric more emotionally arousing (Gring, 2008), enhancing the *pathetic* effect within audience members. In addition to heightening audience emotions, Chrétien channeled them in a productive way to reassure Canadians.

Chrétien's speech, included within Appendix A, opens by uniting America with Canada. He recognizes the hardships faced by both countries while discussing their ability to persevere through difficulties. In closing, Chrétien reminds audience members of the resilient alliance between Canada and America, committing Canadian involvement in support of America's war against terrorism.

Rather than heavily focusing on fear-inducing tactics, which could cause even more panic, Chrétien elicits hope and unity. Chrétien applies the rhetorical figure of *antithesis*, which juxtaposes contrasting words or ideas (Silva Rhetoricae, 2007b), in order to juxtapose fear with hope:

Side by side, we have lived through many dark times; always firm in our shared resolve to vanquish any threat to freedom and justice. (Chrétien, 2001, para. 4).

This proves more poignant because his proclamation of democratic victory follows his description of dark times. When arguing that Canadians join Americans through dark times to vanquish threats to freedom (Chrétien, 2001), audience members may feel hopeful in overcoming the tragedy that they experienced. This *antithesis* serves to illustrate Chrétien's argument that the triumph of democracy will dominate the evil forces of terrorism.

Chrétien reaffirms the importance of certain phrases by passionately applying *anaphora* several times within his speech. First, Chrétien (2001) unites Canadians as “a people” three times within the same sentence:

A people united in outrage, in grief, in compassion, and in resolve; a people of every faith and nationality to be found on earth; a people who, as a result of the atrocity committed against the United States on September 11, 2001, feel not only like neighbors but like family. (Chrétien, 2001, para. 1)

The consistent use of “a people” may connect audience members together and emphasize their joined resolve, making them more inclined for collective action. Chrétien follows this with another *anaphora*, reiterating “at times like this” in order to associate 9/11 with previous moments of devastation.

At a time like this, words fail us. [...]

At a time like this, the only saving grace is our common humanity and decency.

At a time like this, it is our feelings, our prayers and our actions that count. (Chrétien, 2001, para. 2, 3 & 4)

Reinstating “at times like this” increases the memorability of the phrase and compares the attack to other disasters, as it implies times of unexpected calamity. Doing so reminds audiences of tragedy and associates the 9/11 attacks with negative feelings typically accompanied by witnessing destructive events, likely heightening emotions of fear and worry while making audiences more receptive to Chrétien’s guidance. Third, Chrétien starts his sentences with “we cannot” three times in a row to add emphasis to the atrocity experienced:

We cannot stop the tears of grief. We cannot bring back lost wives and husbands....

We cannot restore futures that have been cut terribly short. (2001, para. 2)

While these statements mourn the death of the 9/11 victims, they also create a more compelling *pathetic* effect of urgency, necessary for the Canadian population as they seek answers to the atrocity that they had just witnessed. By stating the things that cannot be undone, the audience may feel a sense of hopelessness, making them more inclined to listen to answers provided by the prime minister. Chrétien skillfully incorporates this *anaphora* within a parallel structure, providing empathetic effects and applying elegance to the speech. Additionally, exercising *anaphora* in schemes of three makes the rhetoric feel more complete (Longaker & Walker, 2006). Not only did Chrétien repeat each phrase three times, but the triple repetition of this effect further enhances the overall feeling of completion.

Chrétien associates Canada with America, linking Canadians to the attack by selecting specific words that unite Canadians with Americans through his description of Americans as “not only like neighbours but like family” (para. 1). As Canada and America share a border, making them physical neighbours, calling Americans “neighbours” resonates emotionally. Neighbours should help one another when in need of assistance. Canadian audience members may then feel more likely to help as the people affected were not just strangers, but rather people

close to them. Through the use of *simile*, the word “family” establishes a deeper emotional connection with audience members and brings more emotional weight into the speech, including inseparable bonds and unconditional love and support. When associating Americans to family, Chrétien appeals to the audiences’ strong familial ties, ultimately strengthening the connection between Canadian and American citizens and bringing the attacks closer to home for Canadians. Doing so may make Canadians feel directly affected 9/11, encouraging them to support Chrétien’s policy response to the event.

Chrétien’s use of *paramythia*, an expression of consolation/encouragement (Silva Rhetoricae, 2007f), works to comfort Americans for their loss while also providing reassurance. Chrétien proclaims, “you are not alone; we are with you -- the whole world is with you” (para. 4), showing international support in America’s decision for justice. This statement aligns Canada with the other nations that showed America solidarity following the 9/11 attacks. Instead of merely expressing condolences, Chrétien affirms Canadian action on behalf of the United States. This may make Canadians more inclined to support retribution by expecting that Canadian policy will uphold this promise.

Chrétien ends his speech with a *protrope*, or call to action using threats/promises (Silva Rhetoricae, 2007k), calling Canadians to stand beside Americans to defeat the threat posed by terrorism on civilized nations.

Side by side, we have lived through many dark times; always firm in our shared resolve to vanquish any threat to freedom and justice. And together, with our allies, we will defy and defeat the threat that terrorism poses to all civilized nations.

(Chrétien, 2001, para. 4).

This statement leaves audiences with a clear takeaway from the speech: Canadians will join the fight to stop terrorism. Underscoring the end of the speech with such a claim emboldens Canadian unity and action. By stating that “the only saving grace is our common humanity and decency” (Chrétien, 2001, para. 3) earlier in his speech, Chrétien creates an “us versus them” mentality. This relates to his closing statement as it insists that if audiences do not support the pursuit of justice, then they lack humanity and decency. Moreover, as Chrétien established a strong connection with America through this speech, it would be un-neighbourly to refuse to provide assistance. Audiences do not want to be depicted as indecent humans, likely feeling an obligation to support the war on terror.

Harper 2006

Rhetorical situation

In Harper’s first year in office, two of his main foreign policy priorities appeared highly prominent: improving Canadian-American relations and increasing Canadian involvement in the Afghanistan mission that started in late-2001 (Nossal et al., 2015). These foreign policy concerns were noticeable throughout the 2006 election (Nossal et al., 2015) and appear within much of Harper’s political communication leading up the 2006 anniversary address.

Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s 2006 address occurred during a time when skepticism for the Afghanistan war had increased, which made it important to address Canadian military action during his speech. During this time, there was growing debate on Canada’s military role in Afghanistan. While both the Conservative and Liberal Parties supported Canada’s involvement, the NDP Leader Jack Layton vocalized his concerns, recommending that Canada withdraw troops by February of 2007, focusing Canadian efforts on humanitarian aid instead of a “George Bush-style counter-insurgency war” (CBC, 2006, para. 3). Layton’s reference to “counter-insurgency war” critiques George Bush’s post-9/11 military action, as noted by Eikenberry

(2013) when Bush deployed troops in Afghanistan and Iraq without clear strategic objectives. Additional news stories also supported the concerns put forth by Layton, questioning whether the war in Afghanistan made Canada safer while Canadian soldiers continued to die on the frontlines (i.e. CBC, 2006; CTV, 2006).

The public was divided on Canada's involvement in Afghanistan. An Ipsos Reid poll showed Canadian support for the war increasing to 51 per cent from 47 per cent in July just before the fifth anniversary of 9/11 (Malloy, 2006). Given the situation, Harper and his team likely understood that he could make a timely appeal to his audience to support his stance on military involvement in Afghanistan.

Rhetorical strategies

Harper vividly incorporates *pathos*-oriented strategies to solidify his international security policies, specifically Canada's involvement in the Afghanistan war. As Harper's audience included both supporters and skeptics of the Afghan war, much of his speech consisted of rationale behind supporting Canada's war on terror, using the 9/11 anniversary as a platform for this argument.

Harper's speech, in Appendix B, begins with a *paradiegesis*, an introductory narrative (Silva Rhetoricae, 2007j), to refresh the audiences' minds on the 9/11 attacks. He starts by introducing the families of Canadians who perished in 9/11. This story establishes it as an event with detrimental consequences. This serves as a reminder that the attacks directly impacted Canadian families, vividly narrating "their family members remind us that they were real people with real lives" (Harper, 2006, para. 2). Providing visual representations of the disaster, such as victims' families, enhances the emotional force of the story (Basil et al., 2002). Additionally, as the threat of 9/11 seems less proximate with the progression of time (Gibbs Van Brunschot &

Sherley, 2005), this story provides examples of the repercussions for Canadians due to the attack committed in the name of terrorism.

Harper follows this story with another narrative describing the moment when he first learned of the attacks, starting the story with “like most Canadians I have a vivid memory of that morning as my wife Lauren and I watched the second tower collapse on television...” (Harper, 2006, para. 2). His phrase “like most Canadians” attempts to appeal to Canadians as an ordinary citizen, not the prime minister. Relating to the audience makes the rhetor appear more authentic (Longaker & Walker, 2011), potentially making audience members more receptive to the prime minister’s argument as he appears to be looking out for the interests of Canadians. By including other Canadians in recalling the moments after 9/11, Harper encourages audiences to remember their feelings when they first heard the news. This may bring back negative emotions commonly felt when first learning of the attacks, which Snyder and Park (2002) would describe as psychic numbing, arousal, depression and dysfunction, and PTSD. This story, along with the *paradiegesis* in the first paragraph, work together to bring not only the event but also the feelings associated with the event to the forefront of the audiences’ minds, potentially making them more receptive to Harper’s argument in support of the war on terror.

Harper then faces the challenge of garnering support for deploying troops. He exercises *antithesis* to juxtapose the best and worst of humanity, or “us versus them,” respectively. He does this several times within the speech; however, it is most explicitly stated in the following statement near the end of his speech: “while this war of terror has displayed some of the worst of which humanity is capable, so to it has revealed the greatness and generosity that lie at the core of so many ordinary people” (Harper, 2006, para. 4). By contrasting the worst of “humanity” (terrorists), with the best of humanity (ordinary Canadians), Harper appeals to one’s desire to be

an upstanding citizen. Audience members likely want to categorize themselves as the greatest and most generous. According to Harper's rhetoric, to be an honorable citizen one must also support the war as a means of defeating the worst of humanity and protecting the best.

Harper shapes the perception of the problem by answering questions commonly found in terror rhetoric—such as identifying the terrorists, determining their motivations, and understanding their means to accomplish their objectives (Winkler, 2008)—putting blame on a specific group. Harper describes the perpetrators of the attack as enemies of freedom, inspired by an “ideology of hatred” (Harper, 2006). Choosing to describe the terrorists in this way threatens the state of Canadian values of democracy, creating a clear group responsible for the deterioration of values upheld by Canadians. An “ideology of hatred” associates the perpetrators with an ideology unlike that of Canadians. Harper then determines that hate motivates the terrorists:

The targets and tactics were different in every case but the objective is always the same: to kill, maim, and terrify as many people as possible. Not in the name of any idealistic cause but because of an ideology of hatred. (Harper, 2005, para. 4).

In describing the attacks in this shocking way, audience members may feel terrified of the chaotic “ideology” of terrorism and may be more inclined to support the war on terror effort as an attempt to feel safe once again. Moreover, Harper (2006) further blames the Afghan regime for “coddling terrorists” (para. 4), putting blame on the Afghan government. The word “coddling” relates to nurturing, like a mother caring for her child. By describing the government like this, Harper accuses the Afghan government of not only supporting but also cultivating terrorists, likely making audiences agree that Afghanistan is responsible.

Harper's *anaphoric* repetition of "I would ask" in his closing remarks links 9/11 victims and their families with Canadian troops and their families.

I would ask that tonight you keep in your thoughts and prayers the victims and families of 9/11 and all those ordinary people who have died or lost loved ones in related acts of terror. I would also ask as well that you keep in your thoughts and prayers the personnel and families of the extraordinary people in Afghanistan and elsewhere who will put themselves on the line so that the world is a better and safer place for all of us. (Harper, 2006, para. 6).

This request proves effective as he first seeks prayers for 9/11 victims and then requests prayers for Canadian troops who responded to the war on terror. Simply asking audience members for "prayers" increases its emotional capacity (Gring, 2008), while offering consolation reaffirms his leadership status (Tuman, 2010; Gring, 2008). By asking in this order, the audience is more receptive to the latter point about supporting the families of soldiers in Afghanistan. Moreover, because an *anaphoric* scheme of two shows balance (Longaker & Walker, 2006), Harper compares 9/11 terror victims with the soldiers fighting terrorism. Harper ends his speech with this sentiment, enhancing the memorability of his argument that Canadian troops in Afghanistan are helping stop perpetrators of terrorism.

Overall, Harper's choice to incorporate "us versus them" rhetoric may be unethical as a fear-mongering approach could divide the nation with racial and religious tensions. For example, Canadians of Afghan descent may feel displaced by these statements and may not relate to the united Canada that Harper tries to foster.

Harper 2011

Rhetorical situation

In 2011, Prime Minister Stephen Harper delivered the 9/11 10th anniversary speech alongside other Commonwealth leaders at the British Garden in New York City. The location of the address commemorated the Canadian and other Commonwealth victims of 9/11. Prime Minister Harper's audience included not only Canadians but also other Commonwealth countries and their leaders, such as Britain and Australia, as they collectively announced the founding of an official memorial for Commonwealth citizens who were victims of 9/11. Harper and his advisors likely felt that this address could assist in strengthening Canadian ties with these Commonwealth nations, relating Canadian interests to the interests of countries other than the United States.

During this time, Canada was still recovering from economic problems. Post-9/11 policies damaged Canadian economic interests due to stricter exportation laws, reduced flow of capital, and decreased business investments (Fry, 2012). In addition, the 2008-2009 recession had brought sharp declines in output and employment, requiring significant responses by Canadian policy-makers and lasting until the end of 2011 (Historica Canada, n.d.b). Therefore, Harper had increasingly sought stronger relations with other nations to boost the Canadian economy (Fry, 2012). He may have thought that such an argument could positively increase Canadian trade and, in turn, the Canadian economy following the negative economic repercussions of 9/11 along with the recession.

In the months leading up to the 10th anniversary of 9/11, Canada's role in Afghanistan had shifted away from leading the fight against terrorists towards training the Afghan National Army to take over as the principal defenders of Afghanistan (The National, 2011). Therefore, with a less militaristic focus during this time, Harper did not need to justify Canadian military

involvement as he had to previously in 2006. This lack military involvement decreased the need to include war rhetoric within the 9/11 address, as Harper did not attempt to persuade his audience to support another war on terror. Instead, Harper chose to use this platform to focus on other problems, such as Canadian economic issues.

Rhetorical strategies

Harper's address primarily emphasizes unity, both within Canada and with the international community.

Harper's speech, enclosed within Appendix C, begins by thanking the other leaders standing alongside him. He expresses Canada's gratitude in being memorialized amongst other Commonwealth nations. He then touches on successful efforts to thwart terrorism, providing several examples. He recalls Canada's participation in assisting America following the attacks, highlight Canadian bravery and strength in unity. He ends by honouring the victims as well as Canadian soldiers, reminding audience members of the government's duty to join together with allies to protect citizens.

Harper's word choice, particularly the use of *metaphors*, further bonds Canada with the international community. Similar to Chrétien's regarding Americans as "family," Harper (2011) calls Americans "our American cousins" (para. 3). By associating America with cousins, Harper personifies and attaches a familial bond to citizens of the nation. The choice to call America "family" emanates the threat of terrorism as a global, not just American, issue (Gibbs Van Brunschot & Sherley, 2005). Moreover stating "our" before "American cousins" connects Harper to other Canadian citizens; in this instant, he is not only the prime minister but also a Canadian citizen. Audiences may feel closer to both America and the prime minister as this word choice effectively unites Canadians, even the Prime Minister of Canada, with Americans.

Harper (2011) further appeals to the audience's inherent humanity, as "we must not forget our capacity for goodness, and our knowledge of what is right, which is written in the hearts of all men" (para. 4). An audience member may respond positively to Harper regardless of their beliefs, as he relates to all of humankind in the pursuit of doing what is right. This *style* strategy highlights Harper's moral compass, justifying his actions as a way of improving upon Canadian society.

Harper incorporates additional *metaphors* that provoke emotional responses from audience members. He calls Canada and other allies "champions of freedom together" (Harper, 2011, para. 3), highlighting the glory of working together. He consistently refers to Canadian assistance, committing Canadians to "working with friends and allies" on creating a "more secure and peaceful world" (Harper, 2011, para. 5). Ending his speech on this sentiment leaves an impression on audience members as they may remember the event as a time where Canadians stood by other "champions" and claimed victory.

In his multiple reiteration of "let us" Harper applies *anaphora* to stress consolation and unity between Canadians and those who were victims of terrorist attacks. He ends the *anaphora* with a powerful statement: "let us renew our resolve so that no more dates on the calendar should become symbols of the wounding of a nation" (Harper, 2011, para. 4). Essentially, Harper encourages Canadians to put aside their differences in order to protect others from becoming victims of terrorism. Audience members with various political leanings may hear this statement and be more inclined to put aside differences, joining together to stop terrorist attacks from affecting more nations and Canadians.

Harper calls the victims of terrorist attacks "innocent civilians" (para. 4), highlighting the helplessness of people and the need for international involvement. One usually thinks of soldiers

in battle when thinking of international violence. By associating terror attacks with everyday people, Harper brings the threat of terrorism closer to home for audience members. Moreover, he reiterates the “innocent” people endangered by terrorism, further prompting the audience to protect those who are defenseless.

Harper applies two *antitheses* in a row, providing balance while simultaneously reaffirming human decency in light of the 9/11 attacks. He asserts that in the shadow of 9/11, one must not forget the capacity for goodness (Harper, 2011). This is followed by a proclamation that although lives were taken in an act of heartlessness, the responses showed lives given freely, nobly, and courageously (Harper, 2011). The statement seems balanced in a scheme of two when two antitheses are incorporated consecutively (Longaker & Walker, 2011), making the rhetoric’s positive impact feel complete. Audience members may feel more at ease due to Harper’s emphasis on goodwill in a scheme of two.

Throughout Harper’s speech, he recalls several examples and stories that not only evoke emotion within the audience but also provide logical reasoning to support his stance on foreign policy and increasing Canadian international involvement. He lists numerous countries and cities—London, Bali, Madrid, Mumbai, and Toronto—that have thwarted terrorist plots. Situating terrorism within physical places, instead of merely addressing terrorism figuratively, demonstrates the real-life danger of terrorism and its impact on various nations.

Harper ends his speech by reflecting on Canadian civilian involvement during 9/11 as a demonstration of Canadian selflessness. He draws attention to Canadian towns that welcomed grounded travelers on 9/11, potentially inspiring audience members to become more involved, within the local and international community. In closing, Harper incorporates a *prolepsis*, or

figure of anticipation (Silva Rhetoricae, 2007i), to demonstrate the safe and secure world created by allies working together to defeat terrorism.

Trudeau 2016

Rhetorical situation

On September 11, 2016, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau issued a statement on the official Prime Minister of Canada website. This statement addressed both the 15th anniversary of the 9/11 attacks as well as the National Day of Service. Trudeau and the Liberal party had often opposed Canadian combative efforts, recommending Canada's assistance in non-combative roles, instead (Liberal Party of Canada, 2014). For example, Trudeau had just recently committed \$465M to Afghanistan for humanitarian aid in July of 2016, focusing \$90 million on aid and \$56 million on security forces, yearly (Berthiaume, 2016).

The Prime Minister kept a low public profile during September, likely due to G20 meetings in China that reduced his presence in Canada (Campion-Smith, 2016). Trudeau being out of the country and not making public speeches during this time could be a potential reason for the issuing of an online textual statement rather than a video address. Trudeau's choice in medium proved inconsistent with past prime ministers, as Prime Minister Harper had issued a video address in the previous year (CBC News, 2015). His absence from Canada likely impacted his approval ratings, as Trudeau's and the Liberal Party's approval ratings decreased by five and two percentage points, respectively, in early-September of 2016 (Campion-Smith, 2016). Additionally, one of Trudeau's campaign platform points, repealing elements of Bill C-51 (which grants more power to Canada's security agencies), opposed increasing Canadian surveillance efforts to improve national security (Real Change, 2015). He likely did not want to give confusing messaging by fervently condemning terrorism while reversing legislation that would increase Canada's capacity to combat terrorism.

Rhetorical strategies

Trudeau's National Day of Service address, issued on the official prime minister website, includes written *pathos*-oriented rhetoric that unites Canadians instead of focusing on military action.

Trudeau's textual statement, included within Appendix D, starts by recognizing the 15th anniversary of 9/11. He then recommends Canadians honour victims and recognize first responders, emphasizing Canadian goodwill in the face of adversity. In closing, Trudeau advises Canadians to participate in charitable services as a way of venerating Canadians' benevolent actions after the attack.

Trudeau (2016) includes *antithesis* with the repetition of "we", bonding himself to Canadians.

We join with the families and friends of the victims to remember and honour those who fell. We also offer our heartfelt support to those still struggling with the physical and emotional injuries they sustained on 9/11. We recognize the extraordinary courage and bravery of the first responders on that day and the days that followed. We honour the EMTs, the firefighters, the police officers, and all those who ran toward the sounds of danger and the plumes of smoke, risking their lives so others might live. (Trudeau, 2016, para. 2)

By reiterating "we", the audience of Canadians feel connected to others who join in remembering the victims, offer support to those struggling with injuries, recognize the courage of volunteers, and honour the first responders. While Canadians reading the statement are likely located in different physical spaces, they could still relate to others with similar experiences regarding the 9/11 attacks.

Trudeau also poignantly incorporates *antithesis* within his address, highlighting values upheld within Canadian society by contrasting them with negative actions. For example, Trudeau (2016) references both the best and worst of humanity in the following sentence: “While 9/11 will long be remembered as a day of destruction and terror, let us also remember it for the remarkable humanity that was shown in such a tragic time” (para 4). The phrase proves more effective when the positive sentiment follows the negative as it overshadows the “destruction and terror” with the “remarkable humanity” shown. In the audiences’ minds, the latter seems to conquer the former, while also increasing its memorability.

Trudeau’s statement also closely aligns with Richards’ definition of rhetoric, acting as a tool to avoid conflict. Trudeau clearly articulates the purpose of the statement, a 9/11 anniversary address, focusing on *logos*-oriented phrases which facilitate logical agreement within audience members. While much of the content appears less *pathos*-oriented, Trudeau still displays a clear argument whereby he unites Canadians and encourages goodwill between citizens.

In relation to the other three addresses, Trudeau’s statement differs from the conventions found within the previous 9/11 prime ministerial addresses. As emotion-arousing language is not consistently present within political speeches about terrorism (De Castella et al., 2009), Trudeau does not adhere to the practice of including highly emotive language, which is dissimilar to past prime ministers’ 9/11 anniversary rhetoric. Compared to the other three addresses, Trudeau’s rhetoric seems less appropriate given the rhetorical situation of a 9/11 anniversary address. His 9/11 15th anniversary statement ignores Canada’s military involvement, rather emphasizing domestic assistance in his closing sentence with a recommendation for charitable actions on behalf of 9/11 victims and volunteers.

On behalf of the Government of Canada, Sophie and I encourage Canadians to remember the tremendous outpouring of goodwill shown on 9/11 by participating in charitable and community activities, and other worthy causes across the country, as part of the National Day of Service. (Trudeau, 2016, para. 4)

His statement ranks the highest in level of difficulty at a 14.2 on the Flesch-Kincaid readability test, four grade levels higher than the next highest address (Harper's 2006 speech that ranked a 10.8 grade level reading difficulty). This highly formal and more complex language seems unsuitable given the rhetorical situation as the past prime ministers' speeches were highly emotive and at an easier grade-level understanding. In issuing a textual statement that is not written like a speech, his address appears more stoic and logical, different from the other prime ministerial 9/11 speeches.

Overall, the statement made by Prime Minister Trudeau seems like a formality, potentially due to several reasons. First, as 9/11 occurred 15 years prior to this address, the threat of 9/11 terror attacks seem distant, and therefore the need for emotion-invoking rhetoric had been reduced. Second, Trudeau and his political party's less militaristic ideology constrained him from framing 9/11 as a Canadian militaristic duty, unlike Harper's framing of 9/11 in his 2006 address. As Trudeau focuses less on foreign policy, where emotional invocation is more prevalent (Erisen & Villabos, 2014), he requires less emotion-arousing language when referring to domestic issues such as Canadian assistance. Trudeau differed from conventional prime ministerial 9/11 anniversary addresses, issuing a statement rather than a speech, inconsistent with past prime ministers. This change in *delivery* may reduce the impact of emotion-arousing content, such as an inability to stress certain words, gesture, or make facial expressions.

Delivery

Delivery persists as a crucial canon for the rhetor's adaptation of the occasion (Sloane, 2001).

The 9/11 attacks were one of the first large-scale news events in which online news participated alongside TV, radio, and newspapers. While most people learned about the attacks through television, the internet produced important information as the story developed (CBC, 2001). These different modes of communication affect the rhetor's *delivery* choices.

The *delivery* of the rhetoric influences the audience's reception of it. As previously suggested by research put forth by Snyder and Park (2002) as well as Basil et al. (2002), visual information when learning about 9/11 heightened the audiences' emotional response to the attacks more than nonvisual information. Therefore, the audience likely experienced greater emotional responses to the prime ministers' rhetoric in video, rather than textual, format.

Within their speeches, Chrétien and Harper stress certain words and phrases using staccato in order to add emphasis. For example, Chrétien underscored the end of the sentence when he proclaimed, "as your fellow Americans grieve and rebuild, *there will be no silence from Canada*" (Chrétien, 1:32, italics added). Accentuating this point reaffirms the Canadian government's commitment to supporting the United States and the war on terror. Another example includes Harper's 2006 speech where he emphasized the importance of Canadian intervention in Afghanistan, when he stressed the last three words in the following sentence: "And many, but not yet all, Afghan families are beginning to rebuild their lives *with our help*" (as cited in Taylor, 2006, 4:01, italics added for emphasis). By adding more time between words than usually expected in normal speech, Chrétien and Harper provide dramatic effect, emphasizing these words. This choice, enabled by the format of the address, highlights one of his main arguments: the Canadian mission in Afghanistan was imperative for rebuilding Afghan

families' lives. Both Chrétien and Harper made the stylistic choice to stress certain words, made possible through recorded audio.

In contrast, Trudeau's statement cannot make the same powerful articulation due to the textual, rather than visual or audible, format. The lack of visual cues relating to the 9/11 address decreases the audiences' emotional response to the information conveyed by the rhetor (Synder & Park, 2002; Basil et al., 2002). Moreover, the inability to emphasize certain words impacts the audiences' reception of the speech as well as their emotions differently. By simply reading Trudeau's 2016 textual statement, audience members cannot hear which words are deemed more important as suggested by the stressing of certain phrases.

With Trudeau's text being issued online, it could be easily disseminated to a larger audience, one not initially anticipated. Therefore, by not focusing on a specific audience, he does not exclude particular audiences that may read his statement. This inclusivity may also reduce the emotion-arousing rhetoric found within the address, instead appealing to a wide range of audiences by incorporating less powerful sentiments about terrorism. While the other addresses were set in physical spaces, they also reached unanticipated audiences as they remain available online through archives and digital media channels. However, the initial audience seems clearer and thus reflected in each address.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This research contributes to the academic literature on Canadian prime ministerial 9/11 rhetoric, highlighting potential rationales behind rhetorical strategies as well as audience interpretations. It may enhance our awareness of choices made within prime ministerial terror rhetoric and their potential implications.

This research project sought to understand the nature of Canadian prime ministerial 9/11 rhetoric. The speeches made by the prime ministers were effective in their respective arguments to the target audience of higher-educated Canadians. The rhetors successfully employed *pathos*-oriented strategies and tactics which invoked hope and fear depending on their desired outcome. Some addresses, such as Chrétien's and Harper's speeches, exhibit clear *pathos*-oriented strategies in the pursuit of a political goal related to Canada's response to terrorism. The lack of emotion-laden phrases within Trudeau's statement is likely due to the document's textual format and its increased formality.

Communication can either unite or separate a public. Therefore, the communication of Canada's head of government, the prime minister, affects the unity or separation of the Canadian people. Each Canadian prime minister used the 9/11 attacks to emphasize Canadian unity and Canadians formidable response to "evil."

This analysis supports the finding of Gibbs Van Brunschot and Sherley (2005) that the use of fear-inducing strategies appear less frequently as the threat of 9/11 becomes less immediate and proximate. Chrétien did not have to describe the effects of 9/11 to Canadians, as it was fresh in their minds. However, he still acknowledged the atrocity witnessed and the impacts it would have on Canadian/American relations. In 2006, Harper started his speech emphasizing the lives affected by 9/11 by introducing victims' family members. At this point,

the emotional footprint of 9/11 lessened and this strategy aided in bringing the fear of terrorism back into the minds of audience members to make them more receptive of his argument on Canadian military involvement in Afghanistan. In 2011, Harper used stories to remind audience members of the severity of 9/11 as well as examples of other acts of terrorism throughout the world. However, he discussed these stories in relation to Canadian strength through unity within Canada as well as with other nations. By 2016, Trudeau recognized the almost 3,000 victims but did not relate them to real people, giving the victims a faceless identity. While some people may find this more relatable, it also reduces the emotional impact.

Considering the ideas put forth by Richards (1936) and Hikins (1996)—where rhetoric helps repair the damaged social fabric—remains imperative when crafting or analyzing terror rhetoric. Looking at the ways in which prime ministers use 9/11 as a platform through this lens highlights the rhetor's effectiveness as well as ethical implications. While *pathos* may seem unethical for spurring action, it can be channeled in productive ways as a means of restoring society following a disaster. Moreover, the rhetors refrain from incorporating *pathos* fallacies despite the opportunity to do so. Instead they use *pathos* to heighten their argument by providing emotional salience. This serves to unite the prime minister with the public and make them more likely to agree with the prime minister's stance.

Certain rhetorical figures were commonly employed both within and between addresses. Through *antithesis*, sentiments of hope followed sentiments of fear consistently throughout each address. *Anaphora* was also commonly implemented to provide rhythm and drama to the rhetoric. The incorporation of these rhetorical figures supports the findings of Tuman as the rhetors consistently used *pathos*-oriented appeals to connect emotionally with the audience while increasing the likelihood that the audience would agree with their response to terrorism. Despite

these strategies purpose of enhancing emotion-arousing speech, particularly fear/division and hope/unity, audience members may respond differently to the information provided due to varying factors, such as race, religion, age, or political stance. These alternative readings by diverse Canadians must be considered when analyzing the selected artifacts.

The *delivery* of each address also affected its *pathos*. Trudeau's textual document incorporated less *pathos*-oriented rhetoric, such as the exclusion of *perclusio*, *prolepsis* and *paradiegesis*. The difference in *delivery*—for example the inability to stress certain words or emphasize claims through nonverbal cues—likely impacted the opportunity to include *pathos*-oriented rhetoric within the address. In the first three speeches, audience members could hear the words that the prime minister accentuates through diction, pitch, and rhythm, affecting its importance and relevance to the argument. This was not possible in Trudeau's statement and thus reduced the visibility of *pathos* within his rhetoric.

Further research

Additional avenues of research could interrogate the same topic. Further scholarship may help to make this project's findings more reliable, generalizable, or transferable.

A similar research project could be carried out examining other terror-related rhetoric, government officials, or rhetorical appeals. First, by discerning *pathos*-oriented rhetoric within other terrorism act, one could determine if the findings from this project transfer into other prime ministerial terrorism addresses, not only 9/11 communication. Second, the way that the acting prime minister communicates 9/11 may differ from other important Canadian leaders, such as other Cabinet members or provincial premiers. One could compare how 9/11 rhetoric differs among not only prime ministers, but other influential government officials. Third, a similar study could be conducted but with a focus on *ethos* or *logos* rather than *pathos*. This could develop a

greater understanding between the interplay between the appeals in relation to prime ministerial 9/11 rhetoric.

Implications for Canadian society

Canadian leaders' positions on terrorism may impact the socio-economic and geopolitical environments of Canada as well as the international community. The public may become more inclined to support the prime minister and his political actions if his rhetoric persuades them. They may also feel more united with other Canadians and the prime minister if his *pathos*-oriented strategies regarding 9/11 are employed successfully. On the other hand, the international community may portray the Canadian prime minister as representing Canadian ideals on behalf of the Canadian population. This could positively or negatively impact international relations depending on their position. For example, a country disagreeing with the prime minister's language may be less interested in developing a stronger relationship with Canada (such as Afghanistan following Harper's comment on their coddling of terrorists). However, this may have been Harper's intention as he reaffirmed Canada's position alongside the United States. Moreover, how the acting prime minister decides to frame 9/11 in the years following ultimately shapes public perception of the event as years pass. As the attack becomes distant in Canadians' minds, the way that the prime minister chooses to represent 9/11 may make Canadians reimagine the actual event.

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Appendix A

Chrétien's (2001) 9/11 Speech

Mr. Ambassador, you have assembled before you, here on Parliament Hill and right across Canada, a people united in outrage, in grief, in compassion, and in resolve; a people of every faith and nationality to be found on earth; a people who, as a result of the atrocity committed against the United States on September 11, 2001, feel not only like neighbors but like family.

At a time like this words fail us. We reel before the blunt and terrible reality of the evil we have just witnessed. We cannot stop the tears of grief. We cannot bring back lost wives and husbands, sons and daughters, American citizens, Canadian citizens, citizens from all over the world. We cannot restore futures that have been cut terribly short. At a time like this, the only saving grace is our common humanity and decency. At a time like this, it is our feelings, our prayers and our actions that count. By their outpouring of concern, sympathy and help, the feelings and actions of Canadians have been clear. And, even as we grieve our own losses, the message they send to the American people is equally clear: Do not despair; you are not alone; we are with you. The whole world is with you.

The great Martin Luther King, in describing times of trial and tribulation, once said that: "In the end, it is not the words of your enemies that you remember, it is the silence of your friends."

Mr. Ambassador, as your fellow Americans grieve and rebuild, there will be no silence from Canada. Our friendship has no limit. Generation after generation, we have traveled many difficult miles together. Side by side, we have lived through many dark times; always firm in our shared resolve to vanquish any threat to freedom and justice. And together, with our allies, we will defy and defeat the threat that terrorism poses to all civilized nations.

Appendix B

Harper's 2006 9/11 Speech (as cited in Taylor, 2006)

I'm speaking to you from the Hall of Honor in the center block of Parliament and with me are some Canadians whose lives have been touched by 9/11 in ways that most of us can't even begin to imagine.

Men and women who lost loved ones in the attacks on the World Trade Center. Tonya Tomasevic who lost her husband Vladimir, Danny Ison who lost his cousin Danny, and Maureen and Erica Basnicki who lost their husband and father, Ken. I asked them to join me because words alone are not enough to express what needs to be said today. As we pay tribute to those including the 24 Canadians who lost their lives in that infamous day five years ago, their family remembers what their family members remind us that they were real people with real lives. Lives that were cut short--deliberately so--by a murderous act of terrorism.

Like most Canadians, I have a vivid memory of that morning as my wife Laureen and I watched the second tower collapse on television. As the enormity of the events began to sink in, I turned to her and said, "this will change the course of history." And so it has.

In the years that followed terrorists struck: Bali in Indonesia, Madrid in Spain, and London in Great Britain. And security forces in many countries, including Canada, have foiled alleged terrorist plots before they could be executed. The targets and tactics were different in every case, but the objective is always the same: to kill, maim, and terrify as many people as possible. Not in the name of any idealistic cause but because of an ideology of hatred. And while this war of terror has displayed some of the worst of which humanity is capable, so to it has revealed the greatness and generosity that lie at the core of so many ordinary people. Something that was on display for all to see when Canadians opened our arms and homes to the thousands

of travelers whose flights were diverted on 9/11. And because of this war on terrorism, people around the world have come together to offer a better vision of the future for all humanity. For this vision to take hold, the menace of terror must be confronted. And that is why the countries of the United Nations, with unprecedented unity and determination launched their mission in Afghanistan to deal with the source of the 9/11 terror and to end once and for all the brutal regime that horribly mistreated its own people will coddling terrorists.

And that is why I invited also the families of some Canadian soldiers who are currently serving in Afghanistan to join us here today. I want to thank Raquel Hounsell, Janice Shaw for being here. Their husbands are currently serving in Afghanistan. And Captain Edward and Judy Corship whose son is serving in Afghanistan. Their presence here also reminds us that real people, Canadian men and women with families and children, are courageously putting themselves forward to make that part of the world a safer place. It is the desire to make a better and safer world, which compels our soldiers to put their lives on the line. There are Canadian heroes being made every day in the desert and mountains of southern Afghanistan. These are the stories we don't hear; the countless acts of courage and sacrifice that occur every day on the battlefield and in the towns and villages where Canadians are reconstructing the basic infrastructure of a shattered nation. Because of their efforts, the Taliban is on the run, not in charge. Women now have basic rights as human beings. Youngsters are getting a chance to go to school. And many, but not yet all, Afghan families are beginning to rebuild their lives with our help.

Because we are a country that has always accepted its responsibilities in the world. From two great wars in Europe, from Korea to the Balkans, Canada has acted whenever the United Nations has asked. And as the events of September 11 so clearly illustrate, the horrors of the

world will not go away if we turn a blind eye to them no matter how far off they may be. And these horrors cannot be stopped and less some among us are willing to accept enormous sacrifice and risk to themselves.

I would ask that tonight you keep in your thoughts and prayers the victims and families of 9/11 and all those ordinary people who have died or lost loved ones in related acts of terror. I would also ask as well, that you keep in your thoughts and prayers the personnel and families of the extraordinary people in Afghanistan and elsewhere who will put themselves on the line so that the world is a better and safer place for all of us. Goodnight.

Appendix C

Harper's 2011 9/11 Speech (as cited in PostMedia News, 2011)

Thank you, Mr. Johnston. Thank you to everybody. Greetings to Consul General Prado, to Consuls General Lopez and Scanlon, to Sen. Wallin, to Commissioner Castro, to Mr. Stewart, to of course so many members of our protective services, and of course families and friends of those whose memory is honoured here today.

As prime minister of Canada, it is my honour to accept the offer to include in this beautiful place an official commemoration of the Canadians whose lives were taken so cruelly 10 years ago today. On behalf of the people of Canada, I thank Her Majesty, the Queen, and I thank Mr. Stewart, Mr. Johnson and the officers and directors of the trust for this gracious gesture. We warmly welcome the decision to also include here other Commonwealth countries, and we support wholeheartedly the plan to rename this garden the Queen Elizabeth II Garden to reflect this decision. It is fitting that the Canadians who perished on 9/11 should be remembered here, alongside the Britons, Australians and other Commonwealth citizens who were also killed in that atrocity.

In the global conflicts of the past century, our countries have been champions of freedom together. On Sept. 11, 2001, together we were attacked by the enemies of freedom. Their primary targets that day were our American cousins, but as we have seen in London, Bali, Madrid, Mumbai, and let us not forget Toronto, where the plotters were thwarted, we are, all of us, in their sights. All of us, but especially innocent civilians. And it is the innocent who we honour here today. To you who mourn their loss most profoundly, to their family and friends, I offer my respects and condolences and my hope that you find on this day at this place and in this ceremony some measure of comfort.

At your initiative, we are pleased to have designated this day in Canada as a National Day of Service. Just as Canadians welcomed American travellers grounded on that terrible day, just as both countries remember still these simple acts of decency, let us take this solemn anniversary as an inspiration to serve selflessly to do good for those around us. In the shadow of the evil of Sept. 11, 2001, we must not forget our capacity for goodness, and our knowledge of what is right, which is written in the hearts of all men.

Yes, Sept. 11, 2001, lives were taken in an act of heartlessness beyond words. But in response, lives were given, freely, nobly, and acts of courage beyond compare. Brave Canadians in the company of other heroes among our friends and allies have made the ultimate sacrifice in Afghanistan. They have helped ensure that that country is no longer a safe haven for those who plot to kill the innocent half a world away. Let us honour our fallen countrymen also in our reflections today. Let us offer our praise and thanks to their colleagues and to our law enforcement and intelligence personnel, and to the countless others who work each day to keep us safe. And let us renew our resolve that no more dates on the calendar should become symbols of the wounding of a nation.

For if we are to honour the innocent, we must not only remember them. We must remain vigilant to protect all those they left behind and to thwart all those who would do them harm. This unceasing effort is our government's most solemn duty. Together with our friends and allies, we are committed to carrying out that duty in the hope of a more secure and peaceful world. Thank you all for being here today.

Appendix D

Trudeau's (2016) 9/11 Statement

Today, we mark the 15th anniversary of the terrorist attacks in the United States that killed nearly 3,000 innocent victims – including 24 Canadians.

On this solemn day, we join with the families and friends of the victims to remember and honour those who fell. We also offer our heartfelt support to those still struggling with the physical and emotional injuries they sustained on 9/11.

We recognize the extraordinary courage and bravery of the first responders on that day and the days that followed. We honour the EMTs, the firefighters, the police officers, and all those who ran toward the sounds of danger and the plumes of smoke, risking their lives so others might live.

While 9/11 will long be remembered as a day of destruction and terror, let us also remember it for the remarkable humanity that was shown in such a tragic time. May we never forget the countless Canadians, from coast to coast to coast, who opened their hearts and their homes to those affected by the attacks.

On behalf of the Government of Canada, Sophie and I encourage Canadians to remember the tremendous outpouring of goodwill shown on 9/11 by participating in charitable and community activities, and other worthy causes across the country, as part of the National Day of Service.