

War Metaphors in COVID-19: Analysis of Similarities and Differences in Descriptive Frames of Chinese and American Leaders on Epidemic Spread

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Abstract

Based on the speeches of US President Donald Trump and Chinese President Xi Jinping on COVID-19, this paper analyzes the war metaphors of the two heads of state for COVID-19 and related epidemic prevention work. This paper compares the war metaphors Trump and Xi Jinping use for COVID-19 from the three concepts of "enemy," "soldier," and "victory" and finds that Trump and Xi Jinping have a completely different understanding of the war against COVID-19. These differences will be attributed to the different Framing of the two leaders.

Keywords

COVID-19, Framing study. China, The United States.

1. Introduction

Ever since the emergence of HIV/AIDS in the 1980s, social sciences and societies in the fields of health and diseases have probed into the metaphorical framework of such an epidemic in its social context. The militaristic language for reporting and explaining the disease, which has permeated the discourse of immunology, bacteriology, and epidemiology for at least a century, has aroused wide public concern. This paper studies the framework proposed by Chinese and American leaders for novel coronavirus when COVID-19 broke out in 2020 and discusses the use of war metaphors contained therein.

The novel coronavirus pneumonia is named "coronavirus disease 2019" with "COVID-19" for short by the World Health Organization (WHO), which refers to pneumonia caused by the novel coronavirus infection in 2019. Since December 2019, some hospitals in Wuhan City, Hubei Province, have successively found several unidentified pneumonia cases with a history of exposure to Hua'nán Seafood Market, which has now been confirmed as an acute respiratory infectious disease caused by 2019 novel coronavirus infection. On February 11, 2020, WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus announced in Geneva that pneumonia caused by novel coronavirus was officially named "COVID-19". On February 28, 2020, the WHO Daily Report on novel coronavirus pneumonia changed its regional and global risk level to the highest level as "very high," consistent with China, while the regional and global risk level were previously determined as "high." On March 11, 2020, WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus announced that the WHO labeled the current novel coronavirus outbreak as a global pandemic according to the assessment. In the following months, the virus swept across the world rapidly. As of August 3, 182,15,963 novel coronavirus pneumonia cases, 692,278 deaths, and more than 10,000 confirmed cases in each of the 82 countries had been confirmed worldwide.

After COVID-19 was labeled as a global pandemic, the media all over the world reported it as the headlines, and COVID-19 became one of the hottest topics in the world. COVID-19 pandemic has attracted great attention from politicians, and the public and social media have also begun

to make metaphors on the disease. French President Emmanuel Macron claimed in a television interview: "We are at war"; U.S. President Donald Trump declared himself "wartime president"; British Prime Minister Boris Johnson quoted Churchill's Second World War speech and declared the virus "deadly enemy."

This paper aims to study the text framework of Chinese and American leaders' speech on COVID-19, focusing on the similarities and differences of metaphors used by the two countries' leader for COVID-19. Similar metaphors are regarded as extensions of the previous global pandemic metaphors, while different metaphors are considered as creations. The framework for the leaders of the two countries to report coronavirus has had a significant impact on the performance of the two countries in fighting the epidemic. China quickly brought the epidemic under control after experiencing initial panic, ignorance, and unpreparedness. Chinese citizens spontaneously quarantined themselves and wore masks to prevent the spread of the epidemic. On the contrary, the epidemic in the United States was out of control, causing millions of infections and hundreds of thousands of deaths. This paper attempts to explain the differences of frameworks on the war metaphors of coronavirus between leaders of China and the United States.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Frame Theory

Frame theory was originally articulated by Marvin Minsky in 1927. The concept of "the frame" came from William Bateson. Nineteen years later, Erving Goffman introduced and popularized "framing" as a core concept in cultural sociology in the mid-1970s (1974).

Goffman stated in his thesis that "the framework refers to the cognitive structure that people use to recognize and interpret the external objective world. People's induction, structure, and interpretation of real-life experience all rely on a certain frame. The frame enables people to locate, perceive, understand, and summarize much specific information." He put forth that people interpret what is going on around their world through their primary framework. This framework is regarded as primary as it is taken for granted by the user. Its usefulness as a framework does not depend on other frameworks. (1974)

In Communication theory, a "frame" is a principal organizational feature of public information, such as news stories. The framework of an article draws readers' attention to certain aspects of news events while ignoring other elements [1] In news stories and public speeches, characteristics are significant as frames make certain aspects of social reality more prominent than others [2]

Frame theory is one of the most studied theories and methods of analysis in Communications [3]. It is used to qualitatively study various issues, including health and science news, and breaking news relating to diseases and pandemics. For example, when SARS broke out in 2003, David C. Oh and Wan Fengzhou wrote a paper called Framing SARS: A Case Study in Toronto of a Mainstream Newspaper and a Chinese Ethnic Newspaper. It described the different frameworks and perspectives of the Chinese media and Toronto media's coverage of the epidemic when the SARS virus broke out.

2.2. War Metaphor

Using war as a metaphor is a long-term product of literature and rhetoric. In politics, the metaphor of war is used to manage a perceived social problem. This concept replaces the personal or national enemy in a real war. In 1971, President Nixon proclaimed the war on cancer and signed the National Cancer Act into law. Expressions including "she has defeated cancer" or the patient's remark of "we will fight for it" after receiving the diagnosis are common in daily life. It is not rare to use military metaphors to describe diseases. This use can be traced

back to John Donne's Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions and Death's Duel in 1627. (Metaphor in Cancer Medicine). Thomas Sydenham, a famous British doctor, said: "Disease has to be fought against, and the battle is not a battle for the sluggard." Two centuries later, Louis Pasteur described the disease as "battles in wars that were ultimately lost when bacteria overtook a corpse, and it decayed." Since then, war metaphor has become very popular and is widely used by patients, medical community, and media. At any time in the hospital, the relationship between patient and disease is often portrayed as a "fight." "We have defeated the disease and the virus." Such sentences are frequently heard in the daily lives of human beings.

The war frame is an effective way to attract people's attention and focuses on the target issue; the fear caused by war metaphors also makes them more impressive [4]. War metaphors evoke a sense of fear, which is suggested by linguistic analyses and one of the main functions of war metaphor in political rhetoric [5]. Some schools have proposed the metaphors of war are usually exaggerated and are used in conjunction with the most advanced words to highlight the threats that poverty, drugs, and terrorism pose to society.[6]

The fear can also raise individuals' concern and change their beliefs, encouraging them to take actions about critical Social Issues. For example, the language of war can help people recognize the threat of disease posed to public health. They lead to increased funding for research on fundamental scientific questions about the underlying causes of diseases and the development of more effective treatments [7].

2.3. A Previous Example of War Metaphor: War Metaphors on SARS

Severe acute respiratory syndrome, also known as atypical infectious pneumonia, or SARS for short, caused a major pandemic crisis across the world in 2003. In Chinese and global media reports, the crisis has been called as "nonexplosive warfare." SARS first outbreaked in the Shandong Province of China and spread rapidly to the whole world in a short period of time, which is highly similar to COVID-19. In the reports on SARS, headlines, including "Fighting SARS, the War Between Mankind and Virus—battlefield reports from all fronts" "Chinese Economy Street-battles Against SARS", "Beat Back SARS, We Are Not Putting the Weapons Back in the Arsenal (referring to relaxing vigilance)", "The Battle Fortress to Win SARS" and "The Decisive War on the Nonexplosive Battlefield", adopted metaphors on war. Among them, the direct application of military language is the most common one; for example, words "war", "resistance", "battlefront" and "battlefield." In addition, the Chinese media quoted a large number of war allusions in their reports. For example, "the Great Wall."

The use of these words appeared in wars equates the fight against the epidemic with the war, directly inducing war metaphor.

2.4. Xi Jinping

Xi Jinping (born June 15, 1953) is a Chinese politician who has served as General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, Chairman of the Central Military Commission since 2012, and Chairman of the People's Republic of China since 2013. Xi Jinping since 2012 has always been the most important leader, the most outstanding political leader in China, and officially won the title of "Leadership Core" of the Communist Party of China (CCP) in 2016. Since 2007, he has served as the 17th and 18th Politburo of the CPC Central Committee. Nineteenth Standing Committee Member.

Xi Jinping was the first Secretary-General born after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Since taking power, Xi Jinping has taken extensive measures to strengthen party discipline and to practice internal unity. His anti-corruption campaign led to the downfall of current and retired Communist Party officials, including members of the Politburo Standing Committee. He also formulated or promoted a more decisive foreign policy, especially in terms of Sino-Japanese relations, of China's proposition in the South China Sea, and of its advocacy of

free trade and globalization. He tried to expand China's influence in Africa and Europe, and in Asia through the One Belt and Road Initiative.

2.5. Donald Trump

Donald John Trump (born June 14, 1946) is the 45th and current president of the United States. Before entering politics, he was a businessman and television personality.

Trump's political positions have been described as populist, protectionist, and nationalist. He entered the 2016 presidential race as a Republican and was elected in a surprise victory over Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton, although he lost the popular vote. In foreign policy, Trump has pursued an America First agenda, withdrawing the U.S. from the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade negotiations, the Paris Agreement on climate change, and the Iran nuclear deal. He imposed import tariffs which triggered a trade war against China.

3. Methods

Logically, there are two ways of reasoning: induction and deduction [8]. The inductive method starts from the presupposition of loosely defined frameworks, and its purpose is to identify all possible structures [8]. The deductive method starts with stronger presuppositions. It pre-defines specific frames and checks for the appearance of these frames in the text [8].

For this article, in order to rigorously test the use of war frames in the political rhetoric of the United States and China, the author used induction to analyze the public speeches of Chinese President Xi Jinping and U.S. President Donald Trump from March 1 to April 1, 2020. These two speeches are representative which contain many war metaphors. Besides, by using induction, we can clearly know why there are similarities and differences between two speeches.

4. Main Body

4.1. Xi Jinping's Speeches

From February 16, 2020, to June 18, 2020, Xi Jinping delivered a total of seven public speeches on novel coronavirus, and war metaphors appeared in all the speeches. Xi Jinping's discussion of SARS-CoV-2 focused on the metaphor of war, and the words "block" and "victory" appeared in his every speech. For instance, on February 16, 2020, he said in his speech on the Study of the COVID-19 Epidemic on the Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, "We have to carefully implement the prevention and control of the epidemic because it is directly related to the safety of people's lives and health, the overall economic and social stability, and China's opening up to the outside world. We have to strengthen confidence and solidarity and take science-based and targeted measures; we must earnestly do a good job, race against time, fight against the disease, resolutely curb the spread of the epidemic, and stoutly win the battle of epidemic prevention and control."

It is natural for Xi Jinping to use war metaphors in his speeches on fighting COVID-19. Moreover, Chinese citizens are accustomed to using war metaphors in various affairs. For example, before the college entrance examination, the commonly used sentence to encourage students is "decisive battle for the college entrance examination." In the face of natural disasters such as floods and earthquakes, war metaphors are mentioned a lot.

4.2. Statistics

In Xi Jinping's 7 speeches, the frequency of keywords is as following: 16 "win", 10 "block action", 3 "strive", 4 "people's war", 4 "decisive battle", 2 "tough fight", 1 "strategy", 5 "all-out war", 3 "war", 2 "battle", 2 "defense war", 2 "battlefront", 1 "combat effectiveness" and 2 "battlefield". The use of these war metaphors shows how Xi Jinping framed his view towards novel coronavirus pneumonia.

4.3. Enemy

In all wars, "enemy" is a necessary concept because the concept of war may not exist without "enemy". When we use war metaphor, we subconsciously acquiesce in the existence of an enemy. When banning drugs is considered as a war, the enemy of this war is the drugs themselves, or drug traffickers and drug addicts, as well as drug growers. These targets constitute enemies in the war. In Xi Jinping's speeches, the concept of the enemy was framed on "COVID-19". He said in his speech on February 16: "We must resolutely curb the spread of the epidemic and stoutly win the battle of epidemic prevention and control."

The biggest enemy China faced in this war is undoubtedly the novel coronavirus. As an enemy, the virus needs "contained" and "blocked." In Xi Jinping's speeches, the word "block" frequently appears, which shows that Xi Jinping recognizes the strength of novel coronavirus as an enemy. "Block" is a compound word in Chinese, formed by "block" and "fight". Novel coronavirus first broke out in China, and China must do its best to "block" its spread and "fight" it as a powerful enemy. Therefore, in the framework of Xi Jinping's speeches, the concept of the enemy is quite explicit.

In many previous studies, war metaphors in the epidemics have often aroused the concerns of scholars. In many cases, when the disease becomes the enemy of war, individuals suffering from the disease will be reduced as victims on the battlefield of war. In this way, the fear caused by war metaphor can also eliminate motivation. Most of the time, the concept of "enemy" in war metaphor may expand. The enemy in the war against poverty has changed from poverty to poor citizens, and the enemy in the war against cancer has changed to cancer patients. One study found that those who conceptualized their struggle with cancer as a battle, rather than a journey, experienced more depression and anxiety during treatment [9]. But this did not appear in Xi Jinping's speeches, who carefully limited the concept of the enemy to novel coronavirus. Xi did not mention the infected persons. In his speeches, "protecting the life safety of the people" is a common sentence. "People's life safety and health come first." These deliberate emphases limit the enemy of this "war" to "novel coronavirus."

4.4. Soldier

In war metaphors, the concept of soldier is essential. In a real war, soldiers fight on the battlefield, while in a war against the epidemic, the war metaphor describes the medical workers as soldiers. Xi Jinping introduced the role of soldier in his public speech on March 31, in which Xi Jinping wrote: "I would like to express my high respect to the vast number of medical workers, officers, and men of the People's Liberation Army, community workers, public security officers, grassroots cadres, volunteers and comrades in all fields who are fighting in the front line of epidemic prevention and control!" In this sentence, Xi Jinping described occupations, which are closely related to the virus, as soldiers in the war. Meanwhile, he also wrote the scale of these soldiers: "The People's Liberation Army, the central and national ministries and commissions, provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities have provided full support, sending more than 340 medical teams and more than 42,000 medical personnel to rescue. Nineteen provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities have provided pairing assistance to 16 cities and states except for Wuhan, starting the people's war, the all-out war against the epidemic." Therefore, it can be seen that Xi frequently used war metaphors in his speeches and the "soldier" is one of them.

In His February 23 Report, Xi Jinping Said:

"The use of medicine is just like the use of soldiers; the deployment of doctors is just like the deployment of generals. Medical personnel is the backbone of the victory over the epidemic, and priority must be given to the protection and care of medical workers. At present, more than 2,000 medical personnel have been diagnosed with novel coronavirus pneumonia. Some medical personnel has died in the line of duty. I feel very weighed down. A few days ago, I

especially stressed that we must ensure that the medical team in Hubei (Wuhan) is safe, orderly, coordinated, effective, timely, and rapid; command and dispatch and logistical support should be scientifically in place. The relief of pressure, living guarantee, necessary rest and recuperation, and spiritual encouragement for medical personnel must be strengthened in a timely manner. We should care about frontline medical personnel. We will implement protective materials, living materials, and protective measures, make overall arrangements for breaks, strengthen psychological counseling, secure wages and benefits, temporary work subsidies and health and epidemic prevention subsidies, improve incentive mechanisms, help them relieve worries, and enable them to maintain high morale, vigorous energy and continue to devote themselves to the fight against the epidemic in a healthy manner." [10]

In this sentence, Xi Jinping directly compared the doctor's prescription of medicine to the general's order to soldiers, showing a metaphor of soldiers. It is noteworthy that Xi Jinping's soldier metaphor is not limited to medical personnel. In more cases, he emphasized a war metaphor of "all people are soldiers". The use of the term "people's war" allowed Xi Jinping to expand the role of soldiers in the metaphor of war to all Chinese people. In his speech on March 26, he proposed that "persist in mobilization, joint prevention, and control, openness and transparency, and started a people's war against the epidemic." [11] This implies that all Chinese people have become soldiers in the war against the epidemic. So I also need to obey instructions to join a battle.

Xi Jinping's metaphor for soldiers is in line with his war framework for the epidemic because the "enemy" virus threatened by the previous metaphor is not just doctors and nurses, but all Chinese citizens. And fighting the infection is not the job only for doctors and nurses. As Anthony S. Fauci said: "We require everyone to maintain social distance and wear a mask." So we can know that both Xi and Fauci believe that this epidemic is not only a war for medical workers but also a war for people all around the world. Therefore, personal behavior is crucial in the process of curbing the spread of the virus. Everyone is part of the war. Efforts will contribute to the victory of the war. At the same time, classifying all Chinese into the ranks of soldiers and requiring them to observe social distancing and wear masks like soldiers will also help control the spread of the epidemic.

4.5. Victory

In Xi Jinping's speeches, "victory" is a common concept. It should be mentioned that victory is the goal and focus of all Xi Jinping's war metaphor. In his speech, Xi Jinping said: "Wuhan and Hubei are the top priorities in China's epidemic prevention and control, and the main battlefield of the war against the virus. If Wuhan wins, Hubei wins. If Hubei wins, the whole country wins." In his February 23 report, Xi Jinping mentioned several tasks completed by the Chinese government.

"Timely formulation of epidemic prevention and control strategies

Strengthen the unified command of epidemic prevention in Wuhan and Hubei

Overall planning of prevention and control work in other regions

Strengthen the emergency supply of medical materials and daily necessities.

Effectively safeguard social stability

Strengthen publicity and education and guidance of public opinion

Actively seek support from the international community" [12]

Chinese officials believe that all the necessary important works are directly related to the epidemic. The formulation of epidemic prevention and control strategies, strengthening unified command of epidemic prevention in Wuhan and Hubei, and the coordination of prevention and control work in other regions are direct prevention and control measures for the epidemic. While strengthening the emergency supply of necessities, maintaining social stability, guiding

publicity and education, and actively seeking the support of the international community can all be regarded as auxiliary means to control the epidemic. Therefore, Xi Jinping's war metaphor on fighting the epidemic is very suitable. He described the epidemic as enemy, the medical workers and even all people as soldier, and the control of the epidemic as victory. He depicted China's war against the epidemic from the three related metaphors.

4.6. Trump's Speeches

Trump's discussion of SARS-CoV-2 focused on the metaphor of WAR. He used war metaphor repeatedly in his speeches in March, both on Twitter and in White House press conferences. At a press conference on March 22, he declared himself a "wartime president." "I'm a wartime president. This is a war. This is a war. A different kind of war than we've ever had," he said.

Another war metaphor is Trump's direct comparison of the epidemic with the Second World War:

"To this day, nobody has seen anything like what they were able to do during World War Two. And now it's our time. We must sacrifice together because we are all in this together and we'll come through together. It's the invisible enemy. That's always the toughest enemy: the invisible enemy. But we're going to defeat the invisible enemy. I think we're going to do it even faster than we thought. And it will be a complete victory. It'll be a total victory. " [13]

4.7. Enemy

Like Xi Jinping, there must be an "enemy" in Trump's war metaphor. Trump seemed to admit in a tweet on March 17 that it was difficult to know who was responsible for identifying the enemy. "The world is at war with a hidden enemy. WE WILL WIN!" he wrote at 3:31 p.m. Here, it seems that this "hidden enemy" [14] refers to novel coronavirus, but in fact, Trump has tried several times in his speeches to integrate novel coronavirus with another concept in an attempt to create a more politically meaningful enemy: China.

Trump said at a press conference on March 18, "First of all, I would like to announce some important progress in our war against the Chinese virus... We'll be invoking the Defense Production Act, just in case we need it. In other words—I think you will know what it is—and it can do a lot of good things if we need it." [15]

Literally, novel coronavirus to China virus seems to be a simple word change. But the change in a president's speech means a huge difference. Trump has mentioned "China virus" and "China" multiple times, putting China in the position of the enemy in a practical sense. "Like our earlier, very aggressive actions with China, this measure will save countless lives"; at 1: 02 p.m. on March 15, he wrote on Twitter, "Great decision to close our China, and other, borders early. Saved many lives!"; at 6:51 p.m. on March 16, Trump took national action against China, pointing out: "The United States will be powerful supporting those industries, like Airlines and others, that are particularly affected by the Chinese Virus." and claiming: "We are marshaling the full power of the federal government and the private sector to protect the American people." On March 26, when reporters asked him whether he would like to change the word about Chinese Virus, he defended:

"I think it was time though, because, you know, I talk about the Chinese virus and — and I mean it. That's where it came from. You know, if you look at Ebola, if you look at all — Lyme. Right? Lyme, Connecticut. You look at all these different, horrible diseases, they seem to come with a name with the location. And this was a Chinese virus. But I don't have to say it, if they feel so strongly about it. We'll see." [16]

Trump's explanation is very absurd, with a strong political bias. Taking the Spanish flu as the simplest example, in 2003, historian Alfred Crosby stated that the flu originated in Kansas. In 2004, famous writer John M. Barry described Haskell County, Kansas, as the origin of the epidemic. In 2017, historians also said that Santiago Mata is likely to be the original focus of the

disease. Statistics show that by the end of 1917, the first wave of epidemics had occurred in at least 14 American military camps. According to Trump's logic, the Spanish flu should be called the American flu.

The consequence of this accusation is a sharp deterioration in the international relations between China and the United States. The two parties closed their embassies to each other, and Sino-US relations fell into a freezing point. Trump set China as the enemy, making novel coronavirus destroying the United States an attack by China on the United States, thus covering up the fact that the Trump administration is not competent in the fight against the epidemic. Trump said in a public speech: "I do not take any responsibility. If people regard novel coronavirus as a natural disease, then the Trump administration must be responsible for more than 5 million infections and more than 100,000 deaths in the country. But if people see the virus as an attack by China, all these losses will be borne by China." So there is a clear fact that Trump takes China as the enemy.

4.8. Soldier

Like Xi Jinping's metaphors, Trump's metaphors for soldiers flooded all his public speeches. However, instead of Xi Jinping's metaphor of the entire Chinese people as soldiers, Trump has focused more on the metaphor of soldiers on medical-related industries. Trump's original soldier metaphor can be traced back to Twitter on the afternoon of March 18.

"I want all Americans to understand: we are at war with an invisible enemy, but that enemy is no match for the spirit and resolve of the American people.....It cannot overcome the dedication of our doctors, nurses, and scientists—and it cannot beat the LOVE, PATRIOTISM, and DETERMINATION of our citizens. Strong and United, WE WILL PREVAIL!" [17]

In this tweet, doctors, nurses, and scientists are occupations most directly related to the virus. The three words Love, Patriotism, and Determination, give these professional fighters the role. Similarly, Trump mentioned these groups in his speech at the White House on March 26.

"Because of the sacrifices of our great doctors and nurses and healthcare professionals, the brilliance of our scientists and researchers, and the goodness and generosity of our people, I know that we will achieve victory and quickly return to the path of exceptional health, safety, and prosperity for all of our citizens." [18]

Trump emphasized the sacrifices of doctors, nurses, and experts, and this term further portrays these occupations directly exposed to the virus as soldiers on the battlefield.

Nevertheless, unlike Xi Jinping, Trump does not require all Americans to be regarded as soldiers. On March 26's speech, he thanked those who were willing to conduct social distance. The thanks mean that he does not see the American people like soldiers who need to obey orders, but more like followers. He said: "I want to express our tremendous thanks to the American people for continuing to practice social distancing — like you people are practicing right here; I don't know, this room may never be the same — maintaining good hygiene, and follow government guidelines." The war requires soldiers to obey orders, and it is a matter of course for soldiers to obey orders. When obeying orders is seen as something to be thanked for, the masses lose their foundation as a metaphor for soldiers.

4.9. Victory

Victory is an essential element in all war metaphors. Trump made several promises of victory in March. However, unlike the war metaphor of common diseases, Trump's victory criteria are often not "defeating the virus" or "restoring health" but contributing to "economic growth."

It is a difficult thing to comprehend since victory in the war has destroyed the enemy inasmuch as the "enemy" now is a novel coronavirus. However, as mentioned earlier, the enemy of Trump's government is not merely novel coronavirus, but a complex combination. The Trump

administration has linked China with novel coronavirus, giving the victory a political complexion.

"It's—to me, it's not very complicated. We have to help the worker. We have to save the companies. Because as soon as we're finished with this war—it's not a battle; it's a war—as soon as we're finished with this war, our country is going to bounce back like you've never seen before." [19]

"This will help our economy, and you will see our economy skyrocket once this is over. I think it's going to skyrocket. It's a—it's pent-up demand. It's a built-up demand. And I guess you really have to say, 'Who knows?' But I think it's going to be a tremendous day when we win this war—and we will win the war. We want to win the war with as few—if you look at it—just deaths as possible. We want to have a few numbers of deaths as possible." [20]

Trump made it clear that economic recovery will be a key factor in the victory. Therefore, although Trump mentioned saving lives like Xi Jinping, he undoubtedly attached the same importance to economic recovery and saving lives in his talk, or rather, economic recovery is more important.

"This [virus] is going away. We're—we're going to win the battle, but we also have—you know, you have tremendous responsibility. We have jobs, we have—people get tremendous anxiety and depression, and you have suicides over things like this when you have terrible economies. You have death." [21]

In this speech, Trump shifted the panic brought about by the virus with a completely groundless statement, that is, a bad economy will lead to more death, which directly shows his context: compared with the virus, addressing economic problems is the most important victory.

5. Conclusion

Both Xi Jinping and Trump used war metaphors during the fight against the epidemic. Still, the two have entirely different ways of using war metaphors, and the results are also different to an extent. Xi Jinping's war metaphor is coherent. It has achieved excellent results in cooperation with China's policy to fight the epidemic and also has become one of the world's most prosperous countries to control the outbreak. In the setting of the enemy, Xi Jinping set the target on the virus. By emphasizing the seriousness of the war against the virus to require the people to obey orders to fight the infection, a powerful enemy successfully aroused the people's sense of fear and highlighted social problems. The seriousness of this also makes people willing to accept government control to protect their health and safety. The correct setting of the enemy keeps the public to focus on the damage that the virus may cause to them, and implements active and effective personal prevention and control measures. Stay at home to maintain self-isolation, to wear a mask when going out, and to report where you have been voluntarily so that controlling the virus's spread.

On the other hand, Trump's positioning of the enemy includes China, which undoubtedly activates the hostility of the American people towards China and strengthens the differences between China and the United States. The United States withdraws from the World Health Organization, hates China, and repeatedly attributes responsibility to the outside world not only undermining the international cooperation and research on COVID-19 but also increasing the isolationism of the United States and undermining the possibility of the two countries working together to respond to the global crisis. According to Le Guin's suggestion, "using war metaphors can bring on an overly simplistic, combative way of viewing the world, which may constrain how people reason about an issue, preventing or delaying effective solutions from being considered" [4](Cahn & Cahn, 1964; Coleman, 2013; Elwood, 1995; Hartmann-Mahmud, 2002; Larson, 2005). The simple metaphors used by Trump are likely to cause conflicts between the Chinese and American people, which should be benign. The act of cooperating to fight the

virus has turned into an escalation of disputes between China and the United States, allowing the epidemic to spread faster.

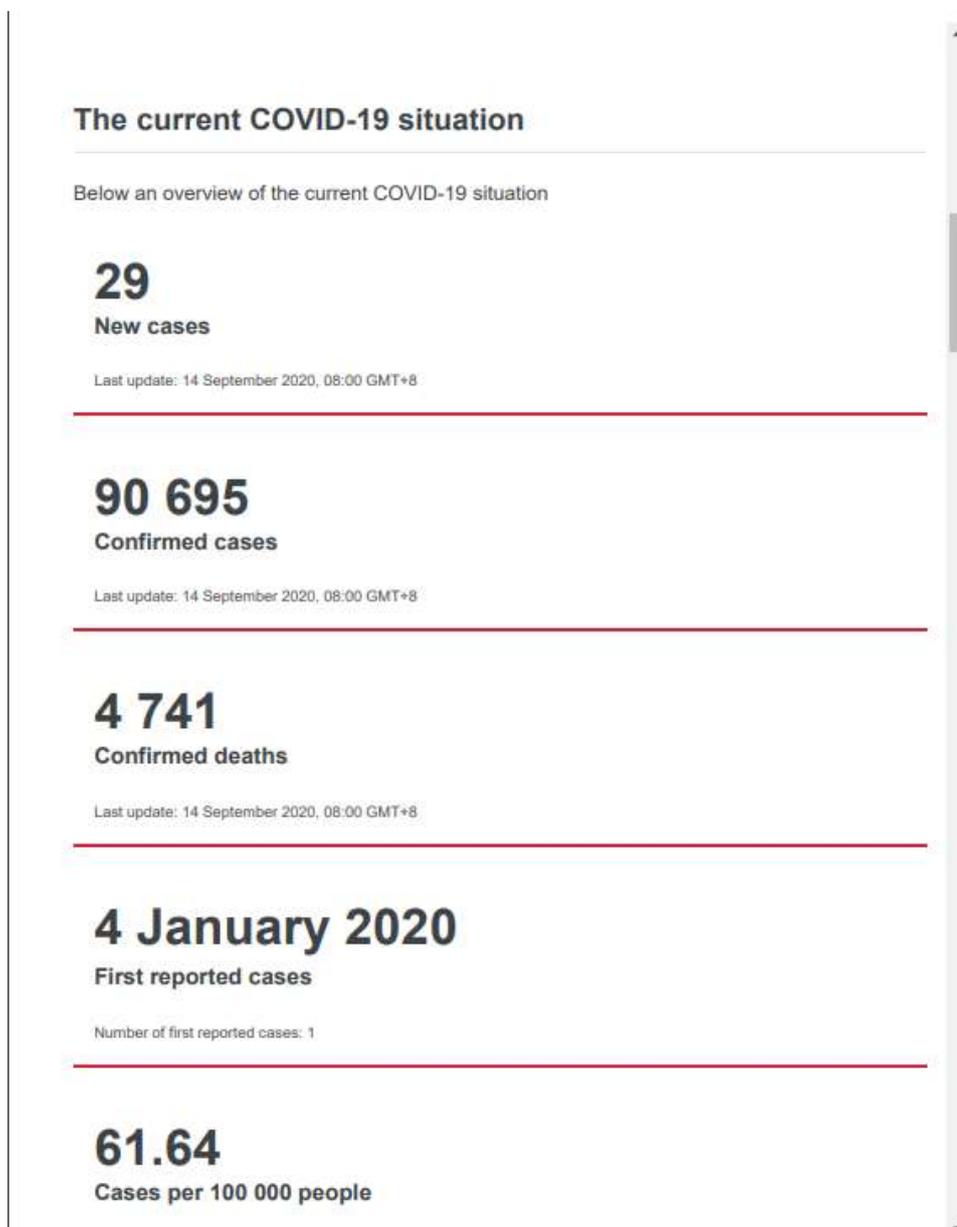


Figure 1. China COVID-19 data [22]

In the metaphor of soldiers, Xi Jinping emphasized the concept of people's war, listed every Chinese people as a soldier in battle, and noted that everyone must contribute to the prevention and to the control of the epidemic. This framing is very effective because of the high level of COVID-19 infection rate. The characteristic of COVID-19 is that a person's infection may cause a significant outbreak. The protective action by everyone is the most critical part of epidemic control. This metaphor that all the people are soldiers has also allowed China to maintain efficient war mobilization capabilities. The production capacity of crucial material masks has increased from 14.8 million per day on February 5, 2020, to 116 million on February 29, 2020, in less than one month, increased by 14.5 times. China has also become the largest exporter of masks from the import of masks. At the same time, Trump's soldier metaphor almost only includes medical staff or emergency personnel but ignores individuals. This incomplete metaphor limits the feasibility of the American people's participation in war and reduces the

mobilization of war. Trump has hardly changed any description of the reality of life and has not made any effective norms and guidelines for personal behavior, limiting public participation effectively. The American people still did nothing for a long time after the outbreak. Even the U.S. government has repeatedly emphasized that the epidemic has little impact on ordinary people, further limiting the ability and awareness of American people to participate in the war. On February 26, after some community transmission cases were discovered in the United States, the CDC's official website still reminded: "No need to wear a mask, just wash your hands more." Even around mid-March, the domestic epidemic situation in the United States increased significantly, and this period is when many schools have spring break. Many students still travel to Florida together. On March 23, five college students ignored the social distancing warning during the spring break. They insisted on celebrating the spring break with their friends after being diagnosed with new coronary pneumonia. After the news came out, many places in Florida announced the closure of beaches. The government's indecency and the public's inattention to the epidemic have led to many outbreaks in the United States.

2020/9/14

United States of America

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The current COVID-19 situation

Below an overview of the current COVID-19 situation

40 126

New cases

Last update: 14 September 2020, 08:00 GMT+8

6 426 958

Confirmed cases

Last update: 14 September 2020, 08:00 GMT+8

192 612

Confirmed deaths

Last update: 14 September 2020, 08:00 GMT+8

20 January 2020

First reported cases

Number of first reported cases: 5

Figure 2. The United State COVID-19 data [23]

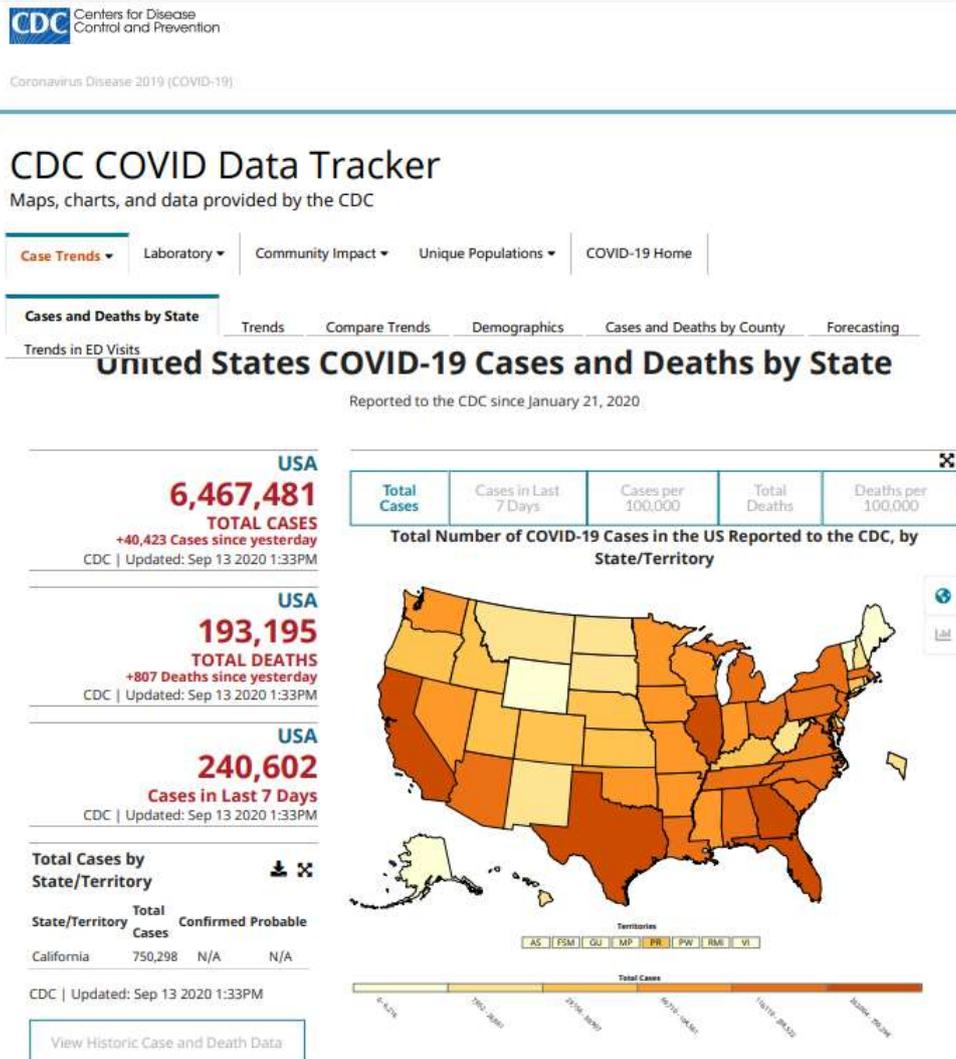


Figure 3. The United State COVID-19 data [24]

In terms of the metaphor of victory, Xi Jinping's standard of victory is highly consistent with his metaphor for enemies and soldiers. The ultimate goal of victory is to mobilize "soldiers" to defeat "enemy" to contain, control, and eliminate the epidemic, and save lives. But for Trump, the metaphor of Trump's victory ultimately betrayed his previous framework. Trump's great emphases on economic development and the protection of people's health have caused intense conflict. For the development of the country's economy, restoring the economy means encouraging people to return to work. A large number of population movements will bring much more virus transmission. After Trump announced the restart, the number of daily infections were surging, and more and more people were infected with the virus. This situation runs counter to the victory of the war against disease. Therefore, Trump's war metaphor is not a war against the virus as it is a competition against China. Trump's metaphorical subtext is not to fight for the safety of the American people, but to target the "enemy" China, inciting American people and even people from all over the world to hate China, and would rather sacrifice their lives in exchange for the American economic advantage. Trump's behavior is also in line with Trump's economic policy towards China and the world since he has assumed as the presidency. He has used high tariffs, the costs of stationing troops in E.U. and other countries, and trade wars to strive for more economic benefits for the United States. Therefore, Chinese leader's metaphor on the epidemic is to fight, to win the war, but American leader put the epidemic at

the second place while targeting China as the enemy as the first. This behavior will make the epidemic even more acute and not benefit to the relationship between two countries.

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