

A disease attacking a body or the movement of people to a country? An investigation into the metaphorical and metonymical conceptualisations of immigration in Enoch Powell's *Rivers of Blood* speech and the problems this could pose for language learners from other cultures.

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Take a short piece of written or spoken English. Analyse the metaphor and metonymy used within the text and discuss what problems it might present to language learners from other cultures.

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1. Introduction

This essay will investigate the way in which immigration is metaphorically and metonymically conceptualised and instantiated in Enoch Powell's 1968 "Rivers of Blood" Speech. Some of the ways in which these conceptualisations of immigration and their instantiations in the text might be problematic to an L2 learner from another country will then be identified in order that we may devise methods that could be used in an ESL classroom to help learners overcome these problems.

2. Background

In this essay the cognitive semantic approach to metaphor, and specifically Lakoff and Johnsons' conceptual metaphor theory (1980), will be employed so as to investigate the conceptualisation of immigration in the text. The analysis of the text will involve looking at the instantiations of three aspects of conceptual metaphor: Image-schema metaphors, conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonyms. We will now take a look at each of these aspects of metaphor and metonymy and some of the relevant literature associated with them a little more closely.

2.1 Image-Schema Metaphor

In 'Metaphors we live by' (1980) Lakoff and Johnson speak of deeply rooted conceptual metaphors that they term 'image-schema metaphors.' (See Michael Reddy's paper on the conduit metaphor for the original inspiration behind this idea, 1979, revised in 1993; cited in Knowles & moon 2006: 36) Lakoff and Johnson (1980) explain that these metaphors map very little from the 'Source' to the 'Target' and are in effect 'skeletal image schemas'.

In this paper we will look at two interconnected image-schema metaphors in Powell's speech: THE BODY IS A CONTAINER and, by extension, THE NATION STATE IS A CONTAINER.

These two image-schema metaphors ultimately allow for the “conceptualisation of the country as a closed container that can be sealed or penetrated.” (Chilton, 2004: Ch. 4 ‘Coercing’) Container metaphors constitute imposing boundaries and the ‘marking off’ of territory; something which Lakoff and Johnson argue is a basic human instinct. (1980) Immigration, meanwhile, can thus be perceived as the flow of water from *without* that threatens to enter or ‘penetrate’ the container *within*. Paraphrasing Goatly and Kövecses, (1997; 2003; Charteris-Black 2011) Charteris-Black explains that water metaphors have an experiential basis in the rapid flows of blood experienced in the body during moments of high emotion. In this way we can see a connection between the two image-schema metaphors. This connection will be discussed in more detail at the end of section 4.1 as it forms the basis for the conceptual metaphor that we will be analysing in section 4.2. We will now turn our attention to this conceptual metaphor.

2.2 Conceptual Metaphor

The conceptual metaphor we will be investigating in this essay is: IMMIGRATION IS A DISEASE.

Lakoff and Johnsons’ conceptual metaphor theory (1980) emphasises a uni-directional link between two different ‘concepts’ whereby certain attributes from one ‘concrete concept’ or ‘Source Domain’ (in this case ‘Disease’) are applied or transferred to another ‘abstract concept’ or ‘Target Domain’ (in this case ‘Immigration’). The elements of the ‘Source Domain’ that are to be transferred to the ‘Target Domain’ are known as ‘Mappings’ and in effect constitute systematic “correspondences” from one domain to the other. (Kövecses, 2010: 8)

‘Mapping’ constitutes an important process in metaphor interpretation, especially where L2 learners are concerned. In this process ‘Highlighting’ refers to the special attributes that are selected from the ‘Source Domain’ and applied to the ‘Target Domain.’ ‘Hiding’ is what occurs when the remaining attributes are not selected or ‘suppressed.’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) Boers (2003) points out that where there are shared mappings across cultures, there may nonetheless be differences in *value-judgements* concerning the Source or Target Domains. Research by Littlemore (2001) supports this. She showed how positive or negative connotations attached to the vehicle (Source Domain) could affect interpretation of the topic (Target Domain). In a later piece of research she also found that: “the misinterpretation of metaphors...arose from inappropriate connotations of the vehicle”, (Littlemore et al., 2011: 411) often leading to what she termed: ‘**misunderstanding**’. (Littlemore, 2001: 343) Thus, drawing the learners’ attention to those aspects of the Source Domain that we should ‘highlight’ in the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION IS A DISEASE enables us to minimise instances where this ‘**misunderstanding**’ might occur. Devising methods to combat these problems in an ESL classroom, ideally with the aim of imparting “knowledge of the source domain situation as a whole” to our L2 learners, would also no doubt help in this process. (Deignan, 2003: 266)

We will now take a look at conceptual metonymy.

2.3 Conceptual Metonymy

Metonymy involves part and whole relations or association. In the conceptual viewpoint metonymy is a relation within a single domain, whereas metaphor constitutes a transfer between two different domains. (Lakoff & Turner, 1989; cited in Cameron & Low 1999) Charteris-Black (2011: 48) makes the case that metonyms have the capacity to be highly ideologically effective due to their relative invisibility. He identifies 2 blended conceptual metonyms in Powell’s text: BLOOD FOR ETHNICITY and BLOOD FOR CONFLICT. It

is the first of these two conceptual metonyms and its relationship to immigration that we will analyse and discuss in this paper. (Ibid, 2011)

It is important that we now review some of the relevant literature concerning L2 learners' interpretation of metaphor and metonymy.

2.4 Review of the literature on L2 learners' interpretation of metaphor and metonymy

Littlemore draws our attention to the fact that: "meaning has to be inferred though reference to shared cultural knowledge", (2003: 273) but paraphrasing D'Andrade (1987; *ibid*: 274) points out that the degree of shared cultural knowledge varies across cultures, which in turn affects metaphor interpretation. Deignan's *et al* (1997: 354) comparative study of metaphor, which looked at the differences in metaphor interpretation between English and Polish subjects, empirically proved this. Considering, then, the plurality of possible metaphoric interpretations between cultures, it is perhaps advisable to devise teaching methods that aim to reach an understanding of metaphor through an appeal to 'cognition'. The teaching methods proposed in section 5 of this paper aim to do this.

In the discussion in Section 5 we will use Gillian Lazar's 'three stages of decoding figurative language.' (1996: 46) The first stage involves the student comprehending an otherwise unusual collocation between two words or things, the second stage essentially involves 'highlighting' and 'hiding' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), whilst the final stage involves a consideration of how the meaning of the 'Target Domain' may change *after* the 'highlighted' features of the 'Source Domain' have been applied to it.

Finally, in some of the activities that will be devised to assist in metaphor and metonymy interpretation we will employ Littlemore and Low's idea of

developing simple questions in order to reach an accurate prediction. (2006: 24) We will now turn to the analysis of the text.

3. Method

The analysis will consist of three sections: analysis of image-schema metaphor, analysis of conceptual metaphor and analysis of conceptual metonymy. The two Image-schema metaphors were conceived of after it emerged that patterns of words or terms whose semantics were specifically associated with the notion of ‘boundaries’ or the ‘flow of liquid’ were identified. The conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION IS A DISEASE was conceived of through identifying patterns of words and specific metaphoric instantiations associated with ‘disease’ and looking at how they came to be used to describe immigration. Specific metaphoric expressions in the text were identified using the Pragglejaz Group MIP method. (2007) Finally, the conceptual metonym chosen for study was taken from Charteris-Black’s analysis of the same text. (2011)

4. Analysis of the text

The text chosen for analysis is the British politician Enoch Powell’s now infamous ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech. The speech itself was delivered to a Conservative association meeting in Birmingham on April 20th 1968 and it concerns the topic of the immigration of peoples *from* the former British colonies *to* ‘England’, something that Powell strongly opposed. The text was chosen because of its strong stance on immigration and was thus felt to be a good choice for an investigation into how immigration can be (negatively) conceptualised. Some of the implications of these findings for teaching foreign language learners will be presented in the discussion section that follows the analysis.

4.1 Analysis of image-schema metaphors in the text

Table 1:

<p>THE BODY IS A CONTAINER/ THE NATION STATE IS A CONTAINER</p>	<p>Powell (1968) Appendix 1 Section 2:</p> <p>A.) “How can its <i>dimensions</i> be reduced?”</p> <p>B.) “can it be <i>limited</i>”</p> <p>C.) “alien <i>element</i> introduced <i>into</i> a country”</p> <p>D.) “Stopping, or virtually stopping, further <i>inflow</i>”</p> <p>E.) “promoting the maximum <i>outflow</i>”</p> <p>Powell (1968) Appendix 1 Section 3:</p> <p>F.) “<i>flow</i> of dependants”</p> <p>G.) “the total <i>inflow</i> for settlement should be <i>reduced</i> at once to negligible <i>proportions</i>”</p> <p>Powell (1968) Appendix 1 Section 5:</p> <p>H.) “I am <i>filled</i> with foreboding”</p> <p>I.) “In numerical terms, it will be of American <i>proportions</i> long before the end of the century”</p>
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The language used is markedly scientific and yet its attempt to quantify immigration remains vague and imprecise: “*dimensions*”, “can it be *limited?*”, “*proportions*”, “*reduced.*” (See Table 1) Nevertheless, this attempt at quantification is rendered possible precisely through its predication upon the underlying image schema that conceives of the sovereign state of Great Britain as a container. This is, in itself, based upon a more basic experiential sense of the body being a container. In this way we are made aware of the ‘limits’ of the container, its ‘dimensions’ and its ‘proportions’, all terms which could equally be applied to the notion of a body *as a container*.

With the conceptualisation of the nation as a container, we are able to see how immigration can be perceived of as a fluid (non-countable noun) in motion that is threatening to fill, and indeed displace, this container and the people within it: “inflow”, “outflow”, “flow of dependants”, “alien *element* introduced *into* a country.” (See Table 1) This clearly relates to Charteris-Black’s point about the water metaphor relating to movement of blood in the body at times of high emotion. (2011) The implication here would seem to be that the movement of large numbers of immigrants into Britain would cause a national state of ‘high emotion’ or more precisely ‘a national panic.’

A further conceptualisation of the immigration process vis-à-vis the container metaphor appears in quote C.) in Table 1 above. Here the word ‘element’ has certain connotations pertaining to a chemical substance. In this way we can conceive of immigration as a disease, a substance or an *element* being introduced ‘into a body’ or, in this case, ‘a country.’ Meanwhile, in the same quote, the preposition ‘into’ comes into being through its very predication upon the container metaphor and indeed the underlying idea of there being an ‘inside’ and an ‘outside’ in the first place, a foundation upon which the whole idea of an ‘alien’ element (other) can be constructed in opposition to the *body as container* (self).

One final way in which we can see how the BODY IS A CONTAINER image-schema comes to exist is through the instantiation in the line “I am *filled*

with foreboding.” (See Table 1) Emotions are often conceived of with recourse to the BODY IS A CONTAINER schema in English, such as in the phrase: ‘I have had it up to here.’

Having already established then that THE BODY IS A CONTAINER and that, by extension, THE NATION STATE IS A CONTAINER, it is now possible for a new conceptual metaphor to be constructed out of the two target domains so that finally we are left with: THE NATION STATE IS A BODY. To be sure, THE NATION STATE IS A BODY and IMMIGRATION IS A DISEASE that is attacking ‘the body.’ As Charteris-Black puts it:

“Britain was conceived as a *living entity* that, in a highly emotive way, was under attack from without and, through immigration, from within.” (2011: 115) (My Italics)

This construction helps to conceptualise the process as a disease that is attacking the body, as opposed to the reality of a movement of people entering a country. We will now investigate how this affect is achieved in the text.

4.2 Analysis of conceptual metaphor in the text

Table 2:

<p>IMMIGRATION IS A DISEASE</p>	<p>Powell (1968) Appendix 1 Section 1: A.) “The supreme function of statesmanship is to provide against <i>preventable</i> evils” B.) “evils...at <i>each stage</i> in their <i>onset</i>”</p> <p>Powell (1968) Appendix 1 Section 2: C.) “Granted it be not wholly <i>preventable</i>” D.) “an alien element <i>introduced into a country</i>”</p> <p>Powell (1968) Appendix 1 Section 4: E.) “This communalism is a <i>canker</i>” F.) “For these <i>dangerous</i> and divisive <i>elements</i> the legislation proposed in the Race Relations Bill is the very <i>pabulum</i> they need to <i>flourish</i>.”</p> <p>Powell (1968) Appendix 1 Section 5: G.) “Only...<i>urgent</i> action will <i>avert</i> it even now”</p>
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Powell constructs a conceptualisation of immigration by way of employing a pattern of carefully chosen medical terms usually associated with disease to describe it. In example B.) in Table 2 the abstract notion of ‘evils’, which foreshadows Powell’s later conception of immigration, is presented as being the *onset* of a process which occurs in *stages*. The word ‘onset’ has negative

semantic connotations pertaining to the process of something unpleasant, often a disease. According to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary the medical definition of onset is: “initial existence or symptoms of a disease.” (Accessed on 27/01/2013) The word ‘stage’ is equally likely to be used to describe diseases. In this way we talk of different ‘stages’ of cancer and the ‘onset’ of heart disease. At this point the listener need only to know though that some evils are ‘preventable’, (See Table 2: quote A.) and that it’s the state’s job to prevent them.

The question of whether immigration is one such ‘preventable evil’ is quickly answered in Section 2 whereupon Powell states: “Granted it be *not* wholly preventable.” (See Table 2: quote C.) Immigration then, in this conception at least, is a fairly serious terminal disease whose ‘stages’ of ‘onset’ can only be managed not ‘prevented’. It’s important to understand though that Powell presents this as a situation that *can* be stopped if action is taken now: “Only *urgent* action will *avert* it even now.” (See Table 2: quote G.) Most of us are familiar with the term ‘he/she needs *urgent* treatment’ and likewise ‘avert’ is often collocated with the word danger whilst being interchangeable with the phrase ‘ward off’, a phrase which is itself often collocated with ‘preventable’ diseases e.g.: ‘warding off the flu’.

Another good example of how immigration is conceptualised as a disease occurs in quote D.) in Table 2, where immigrants are seen as an alien element ‘introduced into’ a country. A simple web search was conducted by the writer of this essay using Google (web search conducted on 27/01/2013) and it was found that after typing in: ‘introduction of disease into America’, a number of hits associated with the notion of a disease being ‘introduced into’ a country (America) were found. Whilst the use of a medical corpus to conduct a more precise investigation into the use of terms associated with disease in Powell’s speech might be recommended here, it is nonetheless beyond the scope of this essay. Suffice to say for now though that many of the terms Powell employs to describe immigration *are* associated with disease. Further evidence of how the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION IS A DISEASE is instantiated will

now be presented by looking at two specific metaphoric expressions in the text.

The first metaphoric expression is: “This communalism is a canker” (Table 2: quote E.) Here Powell employs the word ‘canker’, which is a disease or fungi that rots trees and garden fruits such as tomatoes and apples. The Source Domain then is ‘disease’, but more specifically it is a disease concerned with gardening, something of a national obsession in Britain. (See Boers and Demecheleer 1997; cited in Deignan 2003) The source domain is thus a particularly culturally dependent slant on disease that he must have felt his British ‘electorate’ could easily relate to. Using a metaphor involving a source domain that pertains to diseases in ‘plants’ also has a de-personifying effect here, following the transfer to the target domain. It de-humanises the process of immigration. Communalism, meanwhile, is an interesting choice of target domain that no doubt pertains to a possible effect of immigration but nonetheless seems to run counter to Powell’s aims. Here he would seem to be advocating dialogue between races within Britain whilst simultaneously condemning the process that leads to those races being there in the first place.

The next metaphoric expression concerns quote F.) in Table 2 above. To break it down we must ask: Can divisive elements *flourish*? Can legislation be a *pabulum*? To understand these two inherent metaphors and indeed how they come into being we must first understand that ‘flourish’ relates to a living organism and derives from the Latin *florere* meaning a flower. Pabulum meanwhile relates to nourishment and the absorption of nutrients. (Merriam-Webster online dictionary, Accessed on 27/01/2013) The MIP method of metaphor interpretation encourages us to consider if the basic meaning contrasts with the contextual one. (Pragglejaz Group, 2007) Given that ‘elements’ are either parts of something abstract or chemicals that do not ‘live’, while legislation concerns laws (both things that could never flourish or be fed), we can deduce that the usage here of ‘flourish’ and ‘pabulum’ is indeed metaphorical. The metaphor employed is again the plant disease metaphor. The Target Domain of the “dangerous and divisive elements”

(read: immigrants) and the threat they pose, are thus construed through the source domain of a living organism (read: disease) whose nourishment or “pabulum” comes from the race-relations bill that, once passed, will allow them to “flourish.” (Table 2: quote F.)

Through the conceptualisation of immigration as a disease (and particularly a plant disease), Powell is able to de-personify the subjects involved in the process and in doing so allow himself a certain degree of distance by which he can absolve himself of his proposals. We will now turn our attention to the analysis of metonymy in the text.

4.3 Analysis of metonymy in the text

Charteris–Black (2011) points out that in the most infamous of Powell’s quotes: “I seem to see the River Tiber foaming with much blood”, (Powell, 1968: Appendix 1, Section 5) two conceptual metonyms are activated: BLOOD FOR ETHNICITY and BLOOD FOR CONFLICT. We will focus on the first of these two.

Using blood as a “reference point device” for ethnicity appeals to a sense of tribalism that is deeply rooted in human nature. (Langacker, 1993; cited in Littlemore and Low, 2006: 18) The very existence of a nation state is sufficient evidence in support of such a fact. Through building an entire argument upon an image schema-metaphor that pertains to ‘containment’ and the threat of outside forces, Powell is now able to appeal to a sense of tribalism that has *already been* kindled in the listener. Thus to make the connection between blood and ethnicity in the quote: “I seem to see the River Tiber foaming with much blood”, the listener is most likely to have had to first conceive of the underlying image schema running throughout the text, and then grasp the cumulative effect of the textual discourse which is built upon that schema. (Powell, 1968: Appendix 1, Section 5)

Furthermore, as we have seen, the nation state has already been conceptualised as a body, allowing for the conceptualisation of immigration as a ‘disease’ that is attacking that ‘body’. In this sense choosing ‘blood’ to stand in metonymically for ‘ethnicity’ seems only natural. Blood runs through bodies, and if the nation is a body then it follows that ethnicity is the blood. This not only makes sense both experientially and metaphorically, it also allows for multiple interpretations. Thus the threat of immigration might well be seen as an infection of that blood, a ‘disease’ in other words. Alternatively it could also be seen as a process of dilution or displacement by ‘foreign’ blood. Now we can perhaps deduce that the fluid non-countable noun that immigration was conceived of as, in Section 4.1, might indeed be ‘blood’ or in fact ‘ethnicity’. Taking this into account it is perhaps not altogether surprising that the quote: “I seem to see the River Tiber foaming with much blood”, (Powell, 1968: Appendix 1, Section 5) came to stand metonymically (as the phrase ‘rivers of blood’) for the whole speech, whilst also being the peroration of it.

We will now consider some of the problems that metaphor in this text might present to language learners and suggest some ways of overcoming these problems in an ESL classroom.

5 Discussion

5.1 Discussion of Image-Schema Metaphor

Due to the universality of the BODY IS A CONTAINER metaphor, dealing as it does in deeply rooted human experiences, we have chosen to instead focus our attention on the second of the two image schemas and its implications for teaching.

The target domain of a ‘nation state’ can be understood in relation to the source domain of a ‘container’ by way of geographical demarcation, such as in ‘Iceland’, or where this doesn’t apply it can be understood by way of political delineation, such as in ‘Austria.’ However, a simple activity sheet that aims to draw students’ attention to the *aspects* of a ‘container’ that are to be transferred to the target of a ‘nation state’ might be suggested here. We can see how this might be done in Appendix 2. Here the proposed activity sheet uses 2 photographs combined with Littlemore and Low’s idea of asking simple questions in order to reach an accurate prediction. (2006) Through contrasting the two photos, the idea is to direct the L2 learners towards aspects of ‘containment’ in relation to liquid and to encourage them to reflect upon how a nation state and its people might be conceptualised in the same way. The emphasis, then, is on which aspects to ‘highlight’ and which aspects to ‘hide.’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) The questions are ordered in such a way as to lead the learner in this direction and answers should be discussed with the class at each stage of the process. Once the concept of a nation state being a container for a liquid has been established, presenting handouts of Extracts 1-5 from appendix 1 and asking students to identify words that are associated with ‘containment’ and ‘liquids’ might be a good next step towards showing how this image schema metaphor is instantiated in the text.

We will now illustrate some of the problems an L2 learner might have with interpreting the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION IS A DISEASE by focusing on one of the particular metaphoric instantiations that pertains to it.

The aim is to suggest ways of overcoming these problems in an ESL classroom.

5.2 Discussion of Conceptual Metaphor

The metaphoric expression we will be looking at is: “this communalism is a canker.” (Powell, 1968: Appendix 1, Section 4)

Prior to teaching this metaphoric expression, a few preparatory exercises might be recommended. The first of these involves providing a handout which lists a number of terms that often collocate with disease. Some of the ‘disease related’ terms used in Powell’s speech e.g. ‘preventable’ and ‘onset’ (See Table 2 in Section 4.2) should feature in this list. The next step would be to give a few example sentences showing how these terms naturally occur in phrases associated with disease. Following this the teacher should encourage learners to try to find examples of some of these words in the text. Through encouraging the learners to identifying these terms within the text, we can draw their attention to some of the ways in which these terms are unusually collocated in the text. This pertains to the first of Gillian Lazar’s three stages of metaphor interpretation. (1996) To conclude this exercise we can draw their attention to the unusual collocation of ‘communalism’ and ‘canker.’

However, before presenting it ‘as a metaphoric expression’ an understanding of the source domain of ‘plant diseases’ must first be reached. The way that a plant disease might be interpreted could vary quite considerably across cultures. Therefore, in order to gauge just how varied that might be the following activity sheet has been devised. (See Appendix 3) The picture shows the adverse affects of a plant disease (namely ‘rotting’) on an apple. Question 1.) is designed to gauge how positively or negatively perceived this process might be across cultures. Question 2.) is designed to measure the perception of how serious the situation is by way of ascertaining what options (if any) are available for stopping the process. Question 3.) aims to ascertain

whether the cross-cultural perception of the ‘speed’ of a plant disease varies or not. Question 4.) raises the question of ‘preventability.’ Question 5.) paves the way for further discussion on the NATION STATE IS A BODY metaphor vis-à-vis ‘disease’ attacking that body. Finally, question 6.) is designed to be a fun way to ascertain how the cross-cultural conceptualisation of a plant disease varies across cultures, particularly with regards to whether that conceptualisation is in the singular or in the plural. A modified version of this activity sheet could also form the basis of an empirical study into the cross-conceptual conceptualisations of plant diseases through the use of a Likert scale.

Upon establishing a working understanding of the source domain, we must next employ Lazar’s (1996) second stage of metaphor interpretation and draw the learners’ attention towards the features of a ‘canker’ which could feasibly be applied to ‘communalism’. The above activity sheet (See Appendix 3) has been designed in such a way as to draw attention to these features. In this way the speed of the disease, the negative connotations of it, the chances of preventing it, the seriousness of it and the conceptualisation of it as an invading force (as it is perceived in English) are all features that should be ‘highlighted’ and transferred and they would have all, in this proposed lesson, been discussed already. Thus the learner has only to ‘map’ these already established features onto the target domain of ‘communalism’.

Finally, to take the third stage of Lazar’s (1996) process, we could ask learners to reflect upon how our sense of ‘communalism’ has altered *after* these ‘negative’ features have been mapped on to it. This final exercise also has the added benefit of helping learners to grasp the speaker’s evaluative stance on a topic, a matter of great importance regarding a speech such as this one. (See also Littlemore, 2001; Littlemore et al, 2011; who discuss this in relation to University lecturers.)

6 Conclusion

This paper has shown how the image-schemas: THE BODY IS A CONTAINER and THE NATION STATE IS A CONTAINER have been instantiated in the text. The way in which the threat of immigration to the nation state of Britain has been conceptualised as the threat of a ‘disease’ that could attack a ‘body’ has been explored in the text using Lakoff and Johnsons’ conceptual metaphor theory. (1980) The metonymic conceptualisation of BLOOD FOR ETHNICITY has also been shown to be indicative of how the liquid threatening to fill the container could indeed come to stand for the ‘foreign infected blood’ of immigrants threatening to ‘infect’ the nation state of Britain.

In spite of the wealth of literature highlighting the importance of metaphoric competence to second language acquisition, little has been done about incorporating metaphor-teaching practices into the ESL classroom. Through identifying some of the problems L2 learners from other cultures might face when confronted with specific examples of metaphor and metonymy in a given text, and through devising methods for overcoming these problems in an L2 learning context, this essay has attempted to show how metaphor-teaching practices could be successfully incorporated into an ESL classroom.

Notwithstanding, further research into the successful implementation of metaphor-teaching practices in the ESL classroom is of the utmost importance. It is to be hoped that a more developed framework for realising this implementation may be established in the future.

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Appendix 1: Specific Sections of Text Used (Numbered 1-5)

1.) The supreme function of statesmanship is to provide against preventable evils. In seeking to do so, it encounters obstacles which are deeply rooted in human nature.

One is that by the very order of things such evils are not demonstrable until they have occurred: at each stage in their onset there is room for doubt and for dispute whether they be real or imaginary.

2.) The natural and rational first question with a nation confronted by such a prospect is to ask: "How can its dimensions be reduced?" Granted it be not wholly preventable, can it be limited, bearing in mind that numbers are of the essence: the significance and consequences of an alien element introduced into a country or population are profoundly different according to whether that element is 1 per cent or 10 per cent.

The answers to the simple and rational question are equally simple and rational: by stopping, or virtually stopping, further inflow, and by promoting the maximum outflow. Both answers are part of the official policy of the Conservative Party.

3.) Let no one suppose that the flow of dependants will automatically tail off. On the contrary, even at the present admission rate of only 5,000 a year by voucher, there is sufficient for a further 25,000 dependants per annum *ad infinitum*, without taking into account the huge reservoir of existing relations in this country - and I am making no allowance at all for fraudulent entry. In these circumstances nothing will suffice but that the total inflow for settlement should be reduced at once to negligible proportions, and that the necessary legislative and administrative measures be taken without delay.

I stress the words "for settlement."

4.) The words I am about to use, verbatim as they appeared in the local press on 17 February, are not mine, but those of a Labour Member of Parliament who is a minister in the present government:

'The Sikh communities' campaign to maintain customs inappropriate in Britain is much to be regretted. Working in Britain, particularly in the public services, they should be prepared to accept the terms and conditions of their employment. To claim special communal rights (or should one say rites?) leads to a dangerous fragmentation within society. This communalism is a canker; whether practised by one colour or another it is to be strongly condemned.'

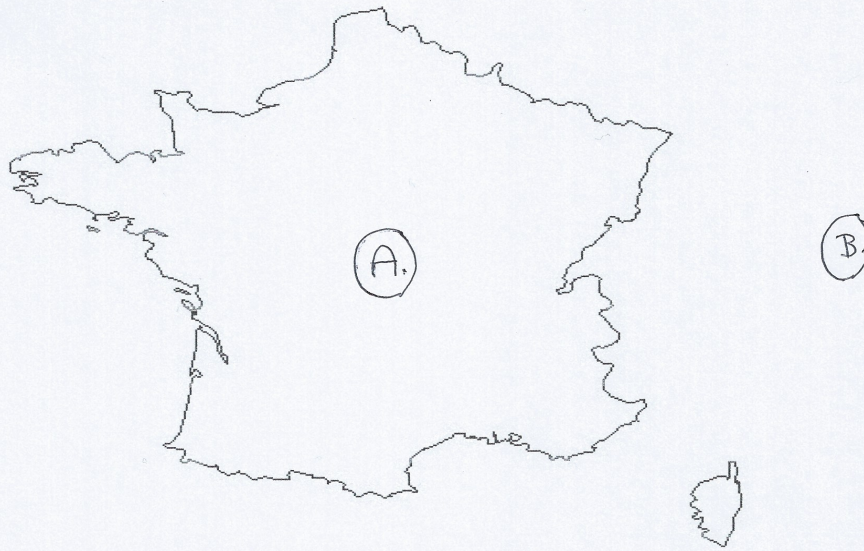
All credit to John Stonehouse for having had the insight to perceive that, and the courage to say it.

For these dangerous and divisive elements the legislation proposed in the Race Relations Bill is the very pabulum they need to flourish.

5.) As I look ahead, I am filled with foreboding; like the Roman, I seem to see "the River Tiber foaming with much blood."

That tragic and intractable phenomenon which we watch with horror on the other side of the Atlantic but which there is interwoven with the history and existence of the States itself, is coming upon us here by our own volition and our own neglect. Indeed, it has all but come. In numerical terms, it will be of American proportions long before the end of the century. Only resolute and urgent action will avert it even now.

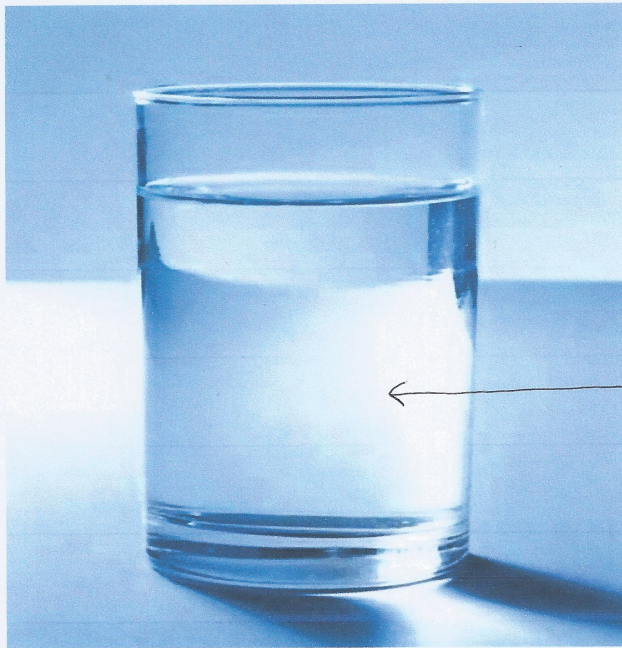
Appendix 2: Image-Schema Activity Sheet (Page 1+2)



If I belong to section A.), what am I?

If I belong to section B.), what am I?

Would you label section A.) as 'inside' or 'outside'?



Can you see any relationship between this picture and the previous one?

What aspects of Label A.) in this picture could be used to describe label A.) in the first picture we saw?

Appendix 3: 'Plant Disease' Source Domain Activity Sheet



- 1.) How would you rate what is going on in this picture? (On a scale of 1-5, with 1 being 'very bad' and 5 being 'very good')
- 2.) What can be done to stop this process? (Please give suggestions).
- 3.) How fast do you think this process is? (On a scale of 1-5, with one being 'very slow' and 5 being 'very fast')
- 4.) Do you think there is a 'cure'?
- 5.) If this were happening to you, how would you feel?
- 6.) Please draw your own cartoon or picture depicting the thing that is affecting the apple.

Appendix 4: Text in Full (Selected sections used in analysis are in bold type)

The supreme function of statesmanship is to provide against preventable evils. In seeking to do so, it encounters obstacles which are deeply rooted in human nature.

One is that by the very order of things such evils are not demonstrable until they have occurred: at each stage in their onset there is room for doubt and for dispute whether they be real or imaginary. By the same token, they attract little attention in comparison with current troubles, which are both indisputable and pressing: whence the besetting temptation of all politics to concern itself with the immediate present at the expense of the future.

Above all, people are disposed to mistake predicting troubles for causing troubles and even for desiring troubles: "If only," they love to think, "if only people wouldn't talk about it, it probably wouldn't happen."

Perhaps this habit goes back to the primitive belief that the word and the thing, the name and the object, are identical.

At all events, the discussion of future grave but, with effort now, avoidable evils is the most unpopular and at the same time the most necessary occupation for the politician. Those who knowingly shirk it deserve, and not infrequently receive, the curses of those who come after.

A week or two ago I fell into conversation with a constituent, a middle-aged, quite ordinary working man employed in one of our nationalised industries.

After a sentence or two about the weather, he suddenly said: "If I had the money to go, I wouldn't stay in this country." I made some deprecatory reply to the effect that even this government wouldn't last for ever; but he took no notice, and continued: "I have three children, all of them been through grammar school and two of them married now, with family. I shan't be satisfied till I have seen them all settled overseas. In this country in 15 or 20 years' time the black man will have the whip hand over the white man."

I can already hear the chorus of execration. How dare I say such a horrible thing? How dare I stir up trouble and inflame feelings by repeating such a conversation?

The answer is that I do not have the right not to do so. Here is a decent, ordinary fellow Englishman, who in broad daylight in my own town says to me, his Member of Parliament, that his country will not be worth living in for his children.

I simply do not have the right to shrug my shoulders and think about something else. What he is saying, thousands and hundreds of thousands are saying and thinking - not throughout Great Britain, perhaps, but in the areas that are already undergoing the total transformation to which there is no parallel in a thousand years of English history.

In 15 or 20 years, on present trends, there will be in this country three and a half million Commonwealth immigrants and their descendants. That is not my figure. That is the official figure given to parliament by the spokesman of the Registrar General's Office. There is no comparable official figure for the year 2000, but it must be in the region of five to seven million, approximately one-tenth of the whole population, and approaching that of Greater London. Of course, it will not be evenly distributed from Margate to Aberystwyth and from Penzance to Aberdeen. Whole areas, towns and parts of towns across England will be occupied by sections of the immigrant and immigrant-descended population.

As time goes on, the proportion of this total who are immigrant descendants, those born in England, who arrived here by exactly the same route as the rest of us, will rapidly increase. Already by 1985 the native-born would constitute the majority. It is this fact which creates the extreme urgency of action now, of just that kind of action which is hardest for politicians to take, action where the difficulties lie in the present but the evils to be prevented or minimised lie several parliaments ahead.

The natural and rational first question with a nation confronted by such a prospect is to ask: "How can its dimensions be reduced?" Granted it be not wholly preventable, can it be limited, bearing in mind that numbers are of the essence: the significance and consequences of an alien element introduced into a country or population are profoundly different according to whether that element is 1 per cent or 10 per cent.

The answers to the simple and rational question are equally simple and rational: by stopping, or virtually stopping, further inflow, and by promoting the maximum outflow. Both answers are part of the official policy of the Conservative Party.

It almost passes belief that at this moment 20 or 30 additional immigrant children are arriving from overseas in Wolverhampton alone every week - and that means 15 or 20 additional families a decade or two hence. Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad. We must be mad, literally mad, as a nation to be permitting the annual inflow of some 50,000 dependants, who are

for the most part the material of the future growth of the immigrant-descended population. It is like watching a nation busily engaged in heaping up its own funeral pyre. So insane are we that we actually permit unmarried persons to immigrate for the purpose of founding a family with spouses and fiancés whom they have never seen.

Let no one suppose that the flow of dependants will automatically tail off. On the contrary, even at the present admission rate of only 5,000 a year by voucher, there is sufficient for a further 25,000 dependants per annum *ad infinitum*, without taking into account the huge reservoir of existing relations in this country - and I am making no allowance at all for fraudulent entry. In these circumstances nothing will suffice but that the total inflow for settlement should be reduced at once to negligible proportions, and that the necessary legislative and administrative measures be taken without delay.

I stress the words "for settlement." This has nothing to do with the entry of Commonwealth citizens, any more than of aliens, into this country, for the purposes of study or of improving their qualifications, like (for instance) the Commonwealth doctors who, to the advantage of their own countries, have enabled our hospital service to be expanded faster than would otherwise have been possible. They are not, and never have been, immigrants.

I turn to re-emigration. If all immigration ended tomorrow, the rate of growth of the immigrant and immigrant-descended population would be substantially reduced, but the prospective size of this element in the population would still leave the basic character of the national danger unaffected. This can only be tackled while a considerable proportion of the total still comprises persons who entered this country during the last ten years or so.

Hence the urgency of implementing now the second element of the Conservative Party's policy: the encouragement of re-emigration.

Nobody can make an estimate of the numbers which, with generous assistance, would choose either to return to their countries of origin or to go to other countries anxious to receive the manpower and the skills they represent.

Nobody knows, because no such policy has yet been attempted. I can only say that, even at present, immigrants in my own constituency from time to time come to me, asking if I can find them assistance to return home. If such a policy were adopted and pursued with the determination which the gravity of the alternative justifies, the resultant outflow could appreciably alter the

prospects.

The third element of the Conservative Party's policy is that all who are in this country as citizens should be equal before the law and that there shall be no discrimination or difference made between them by public authority. As Mr Heath has put it we will have no "first-class citizens" and "second-class citizens." This does not mean that the immigrant and his descendent should be elevated into a privileged or special class or that the citizen should be denied his right to discriminate in the management of his own affairs between one fellow-citizen and another or that he should be subjected to imposition as to his reasons and motive for behaving in one lawful manner rather than another.

There could be no grosser misconception of the realities than is entertained by those who vociferously demand legislation as they call it "against discrimination", whether they be leader-writers of the same kidney and sometimes on the same newspapers which year after year in the 1930s tried to blind this country to the rising peril which confronted it, or archbishops who live in palaces, faring delicately with the bedclothes pulled right up over their heads.

They have got it exactly and diametrically wrong.

The discrimination and the deprivation, the sense of alarm and of resentment, lies not with the immigrant population but with those among whom they have come and are still coming.

This is why to enact legislation of the kind before parliament at this moment is to risk throwing a match on to gunpowder. The kindest thing that can be said about those who propose and support it is that they know not what they do.

Nothing is more misleading than comparison between the Commonwealth immigrant in Britain and the American Negro. The Negro population of the United States, which was already in existence before the United States became a nation, started literally as slaves and were later given the franchise and other rights of citizenship, to the exercise of which they have only gradually and still incompletely come. The Commonwealth immigrant came to Britain as a full citizen, to a country which knew no discrimination between one citizen and another, and he entered instantly into the possession of the rights of every citizen, from the vote to free treatment under the National Health Service.

Whatever drawbacks attended the immigrants arose not from the law or from public policy or from administration, but from those personal circumstances and accidents which cause, and always will cause, the fortunes and experience of one man to be different from another's.

But while, to the immigrant, entry to this country was admission to privileges and opportunities eagerly sought, the impact upon the existing population was very different. For reasons which they could not comprehend, and in pursuance of a decision by default, on which they were never consulted, they found themselves made strangers in their own country.

They found their wives unable to obtain hospital beds in childbirth, their children unable to obtain school places, their homes and neighbourhoods changed beyond recognition, their plans and prospects for the future defeated; at work they found that employers hesitated to apply to the immigrant worker the standards of discipline and competence required of the native-born worker; they began to hear, as time went by, more and more voices which told them that they were now the unwanted. They now learn that a one-way privilege is to be established by act of parliament; a law which cannot, and is not intended to, operate to protect them or redress their grievances is to be enacted to give the stranger, the disgruntled and the agent-provocateur the power to pillory them for their private actions.

In the hundreds upon hundreds of letters I received when I last spoke on this subject two or three months ago, there was one striking feature which was largely new and which I find ominous. All Members of Parliament are used to the typical anonymous correspondent; but what surprised and alarmed me was the high proportion of ordinary, decent, sensible people, writing a rational and often well-educated letter, who believed that they had to omit their address because it was dangerous to have committed themselves to paper to a Member of Parliament agreeing with the views I had expressed, and that they would risk penalties or reprisals if they were known to have done so. The sense of being a persecuted minority which is growing among ordinary English people in the areas of the country which are affected is something that those without direct experience can hardly imagine.

I am going to allow just one of those hundreds of people to speak for me:

“Eight years ago in a respectable street in Wolverhampton a house was sold to a Negro. Now only one white (a woman old-age pensioner) lives there. This is her story. She lost her husband and both her sons in the war. So she turned her seven-roomed house, her only asset, into a boarding house. She worked hard and did well, paid off her mortgage and began to put something by for her old age. Then the immigrants moved in. With growing fear, she saw one house after another taken over. The quiet street became

a place of noise and confusion. Regretfully, her white tenants moved out.

"The day after the last one left, she was awakened at 7am by two Negroes who wanted to use her 'phone to contact their employer. When she refused, as she would have refused any stranger at such an hour, she was abused and feared she would have been attacked but for the chain on her door. Immigrant families have tried to rent rooms in her house, but she always refused. Her little store of money went, and after paying rates, she has less than £2 per week. "She went to apply for a rate reduction and was seen by a young girl, who on hearing she had a seven-roomed house, suggested she should let part of it. When she said the only people she could get were Negroes, the girl said, "Racial prejudice won't get you anywhere in this country." So she went home.

"The telephone is her lifeline. Her family pay the bill, and help her out as best they can. Immigrants have offered to buy her house - at a price which the prospective landlord would be able to recover from his tenants in weeks, or at most a few months. She is becoming afraid to go out. Windows are broken. She finds excreta pushed through her letter box. When she goes to the shops, she is followed by children, charming, wide-grinning piccaninnies. They cannot speak English, but one word they know. "Racist," they chant. When the new Race Relations Bill is passed, this woman is convinced she will go to prison. And is she so wrong? I begin to wonder."

The other dangerous delusion from which those who are wilfully or otherwise blind to realities suffer, is summed up in the word "integration." To be integrated into a population means to become for all practical purposes indistinguishable from its other members. Now, at all times, where there are marked physical differences, especially of colour, integration is difficult though, over a period, not impossible. There are among the Commonwealth immigrants who have come to live here in the last fifteen years or so, many thousands whose wish and purpose is to be integrated and whose every thought and endeavour is bent in that direction.

But to imagine that such a thing enters the heads of a great and growing majority of immigrants and their descendants is a ludicrous misconception, and a dangerous one.

We are on the verge here of a change. Hitherto it has been force of circumstance and of background which has rendered the very idea of integration inaccessible to the greater part of the immigrant population - that they never conceived or intended such a thing, and that their numbers and physical concentration meant the

pressures towards integration which normally bear upon any small minority did not operate.

Now we are seeing the growth of positive forces acting against integration, of vested interests in the preservation and sharpening of racial and religious differences, with a view to the exercise of actual domination, first over fellow-immigrants and then over the rest of the population. The cloud no bigger than a man's hand, that can so rapidly overcast the sky, has been visible recently in Wolverhampton and has shown signs of spreading quickly. **The words I am about to use, verbatim as they appeared in the local press on 17 February, are not mine, but those of a Labour Member of Parliament who is a minister in the present government:**

'The Sikh communities' campaign to maintain customs inappropriate in Britain is much to be regretted. Working in Britain, particularly in the public services, they should be prepared to accept the terms and conditions of their employment. To claim special communal rights (or should one say rites?) leads to a dangerous fragmentation within society. This communalism is a canker; whether practised by one colour or another it is to be strongly condemned.'

All credit to John Stonehouse for having had the insight to perceive that, and the courage to say it.

For these dangerous and divisive elements the legislation proposed in the Race Relations Bill is the very pabulum they need to flourish. Here is the means of showing that the immigrant communities can organise to consolidate their members, to agitate and campaign against their fellow citizens, and to overawe and dominate the rest with the legal weapons which the ignorant and the ill-informed have provided. **As I look ahead, I am filled with foreboding; like the Roman, I seem to see "the River Tiber foaming with much blood."**

That tragic and intractable phenomenon which we watch with horror on the other side of the Atlantic but which there is interwoven with the history and existence of the States itself, is coming upon us here by our own volition and our own neglect. Indeed, it has all but come. In numerical terms, it will be of American proportions long before the end of the century.

Only resolute and urgent action will avert it even now.

Whether there will be the public will to demand and obtain that action, I do not know. All I know is that to see, and not to speak, would be the great betrayal.

