

**Special points of interest:**

- Thoughts on multiculturalism
- Goodbye to an old friend and comrade
- Libertarian beliefs in Britain
- A more!

## WRITING WHILST WEARING MANY HATS...

I begin by merely restating what is a matter of public record. The membership of both the SIF generally and that of its Executive Committee and National Council is these days on average ... not in the first flush of youth. Recent years have seen the death or retirement or attempted retirement (oh, the arms that have had to be twisted...) of a number of Officers who have run the SIF for some time.

As a callow youth of even now just 45, during this same time I have found myself taking on more and more functions such editing as well as writing for this journal, organising the membership subscriptions and arranging and promoting most of the SIF's public meetings.

Assuming that such an accumulation of responsibilities (I hesitate to say "power") is benignly intended (and I became involved in the SIF after the attempted take-over in the early 1990s), the problem remains: what happens when "events" happen to that individual? Which, some good and some bad, is exactly what happened to me and for which I apologise.

I will not bore readers with the details, only to say that some matters have been successfully concluded whilst others are still very

much ongoing. In any event, I am trying to get back into the swing of things and I thank members for their patience.

Nevertheless, it is an indication that we need to think about the future of the SIF. Could we be doing things in a radically different fashion? Or has our time passed?

Which brings me to the main contents of this issue of *The Individual*. And a further apology from me. Readers may be depressed by my analysis of the prevalence of libertarian views in Britain. However, we do ourselves no favours at all by fooling ourselves about the dire situation that lovers of individual freedom find themselves in today's world.

I am pleased to publish Peter Richards' biography of Enoch Powell. It is fair to say that Powell will always remain "controversial" and his life and career always overshadowed by the "Rivers of Blood" speech. A speech which, I suspect, was rather inflammatory in tone and possibly inaccurate in its predictions had the British state and society perused a policy of assimilation.

Nevertheless, this article serves his memory well by reminding us of the decidedly libertar-

*(Continued on page 8)*

### DISCLAIMER & PUBLISHING DETAILS

Views expressed in *The Individual* are not necessarily those of the Editor or the SIF and its members, but are presented as a contribution to debate.

Only policies or opinions that have been approved by the SIF Management Committee, and are noted as such, can be taken as having formal SIF approval. This also applies to editorial comments in this journal.

Edited by Dr Nigel Gervas Meek and published by the Society for Individual Freedom. Contact details can be found on the back page.

### Inside this issue:

*At the Margins of Politics: The Prevalence (and Irrelevance?) of Libertarian Attitudes in the UK* - Dr Nigel Gervas Meek 2

*Enoch Powell: Libertarian, Tory and Nationalist* - Peter Richards 9

## AT THE MARGINS OF POLITICS: THE PREVALENCE (AND IRRELEVANCE?) OF LIBERTARIAN ATTITUDES IN THE UK

**Dr Nigel Gervas Meek**

### How many of “us” are there?

Large numbers of people can hold very silly views. Small numbers of people can hold very sensible views. In other words, the number of people who believe X or Y is not necessarily an indication of the goodness or veracity of X or Y.

Nevertheless, if one is engaged in social marketing, the selling of ideas rather than brands of toothpaste, then it must be sensible to have some idea of where one stands vis-à-vis one’s potential market. How already popular is the product that one is trying to sell? Is one pushing at an open door, or is that door locked, barred and indeed possibly booby-trapped. This is important. It surely requires a different approach if one is trying to sell something that people already want (even if they are not consciously aware of it) as against if one is trying to sell something that people do yet not want (even if they are not consciously aware of it).

This article aims to do just that: to ascertain using at least reasonably academically defensible methods the degree to which the British population already adheres to economically and/or personally liberal (in the SIF’s proper, 19<sup>th</sup> century sense of the term) attitudes.

### Finding suitable measures

It is not my intention to start from first principles or to try to reinvent the wheel. Instead, I start by accepting the views of a number of authorities on the measurement of political attitudes, including the prevalence of libertarian ones, who emphasise the primacy of matters connected with (1) economics or socio-economic relationships on the one hand and (2) civil liberties, morality or law and order on the other.

Anthony Heath and Richard Topf (1987: 59) argued that, “These two sets of variables might be said to represent the two most fundamental ideological principles in contemporary society.” J.A. Fleishman (1988/1991: 3) agreed, noting that such a “two-dimensional model adequately describes the structure of social attitudes”.

This assumption accepted, I have chosen to use two widely-used, statistically valid and reliable multi-item scales or dimensions to measure these

sets of attitudes. These are the (in my view unfortunately named) *Left-Right* dimension as a measure of attitudes towards economics or socio-economic relationships and the *Authoritarian-Libertarian* dimension as a measure of attitudes towards civil liberties, morality or law and order.

Each of these dimensions consists of a number of relevant items to which people are asked to respond. This is for a number of reasons. For example, rather than crudely ask people if they consider themselves to be “libertarian or authoritarian or somewhere in-between”, one can assess complex constructs that cannot be summarized in a single question. Also, multi-item scales are also more reliable and less volatile than single-item questions: they even-out the impact of individual bugbears.

As is often the case in social research, these items are presented with a response option set that I am sure readers will be familiar with: a 5-point set of Agree strongly, Agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree and Disagree strongly. The responses to these items are added together to give a final score or measure along each dimension.

The items for each dimension are as follows:

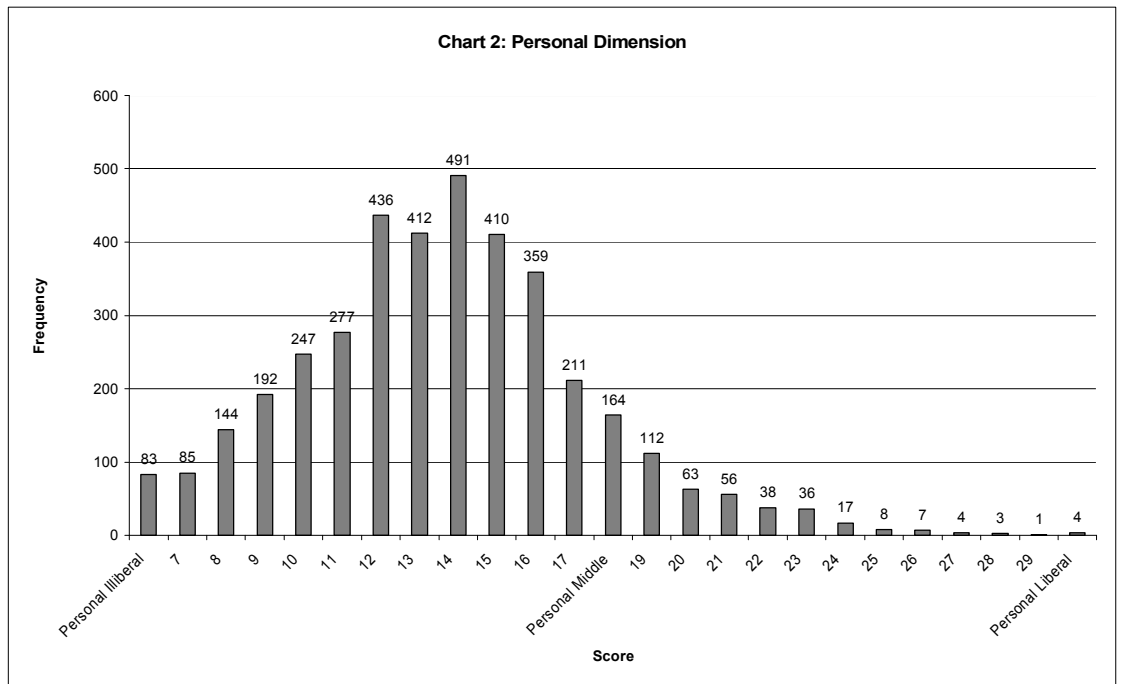
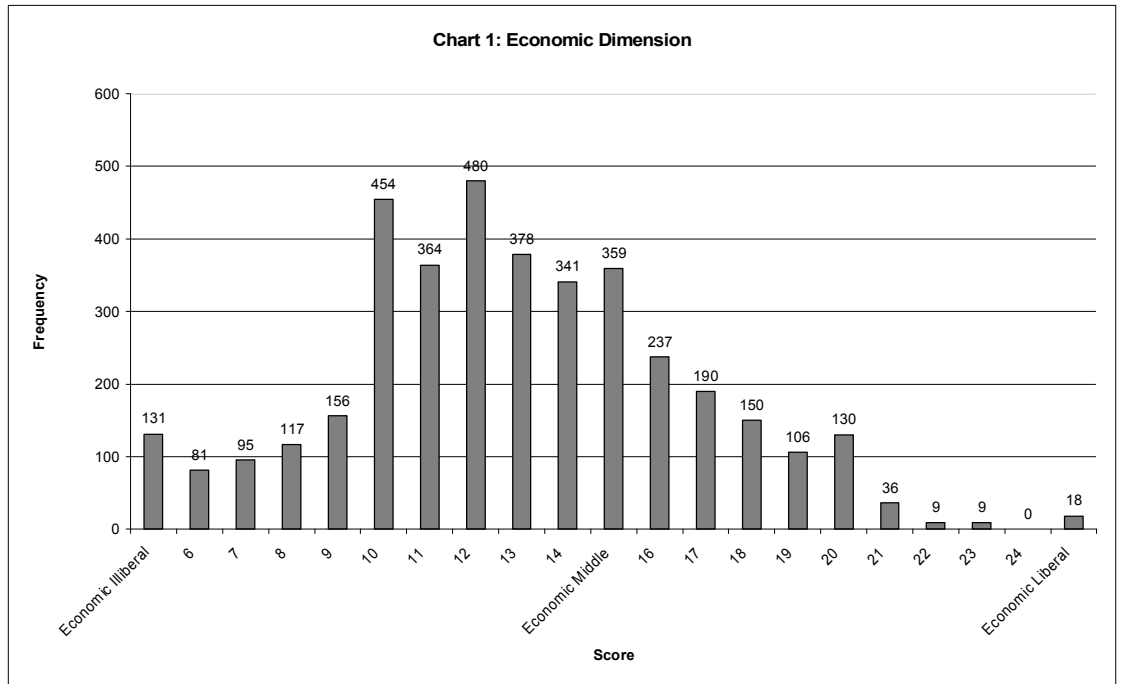
#### *Authoritarianism-Libertarianism*

- Young today don’t have enough respect for traditional British values.
- People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences.
- For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence.
- Schools should teach children to obey authority.
- The law should always be obeyed, even if a particular law is wrong.
- Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards.

(Sometimes this dimension is encountered with an additional item regarding attitudes towards homosexuals. However, this is not always the case and I have not used such an item in the following analysis.)

*(Continued on page 4)*

“How already popular is the product that one is trying to sell?”



(Continued from page 2)

### *Left-Right*

- Government should redistribute income from the better off to those who are less well off.
- Big business benefits owners at the expense of workers.
- Ordinary working people do not get their fair share of the nation's wealth.
- There is one law for the rich and one for the poor.
- Management will always try to get the better of employees if it gets the chance.

### Technical issues

Whilst I do not intend this to be a full-blown academic essay, nevertheless I ought to deal with a few issues.

The *Authoritarianism-Libertarianism* and *Left-Right* dimensions have been widely used in this country for a great many years (including by me). In particular, they are well-known amongst social researchers for their use in the almost-annual *British Social Attitudes* series of surveys. The data for the following analysis is from the *BSA 2008*, the most recent available to the generalist researcher.

The principal investigator was the National Centre for Social Research. The fieldwork was conducted during June through November 2008 and the target population was all adults aged 18 and over living in private households in Great Britain (excluding the 'crofting counties' north of the Caledonian Canal). In total, there were 4468 respondents although this does not mean that all respondents answered or were asked all questions. Further details can be found on the UK Data Archive website, details below.

The dataset for the *BSA 2008* includes a weighting item. Weighting is used to adjust the observed population to more closely match the population ascertained by previous research such as the *National Census*. In the following analysis I have not used weighting. It complicates matters and a little experimentation indicates the differences in results between weighted and non-weighted data were of the most marginal sort if they could be detected at all.

Finally, observant readers will have noticed that the dimensions are unbalanced. That is, the wording for the constituent items are in the same direction with (for example) "Disagree" responses on the *Left-Right* dimension always indicating support for economically liberal or free-market or inegalitarian views. Methodologically this is bad practice. When the dimensions were developed there were balanced and unbalanced versions, but

it seems that custom and practice led to the almost invariable use of the unbalanced versions used here. That said, in the early to mid 1990s two leading researchers in the field, Geoffrey Evans and Anthony Heath, looked at this issue for these two dimensions. They concluded that in practice the effects were often small.

### A first look

Before proceeding, to avoid any confusion over nomenclature, from now on I shall refer to the *Left-Right* dimension as the *Economic* dimension and to the *Authoritarianism-Libertarianism* dimension as the *Personal* dimension.

3841 people validly responded to all five items of the *Economic* dimension and 3860 validly responded to all six items of the *Personal* dimension.

Since there are 5 items each with a 5-point response set, the possible range of scores for the *Economic* dimension is 5 (economic illiberalism or collectivism or similar) to 25 (economic liberalism or individualism or similar). Since there are 6 items each with a 5-point response set, the possible range of scores for the *Personal* dimension is 6 (personal illiberalism or collectivism or similar) to 30 (personal liberalism or individualism or similar). Since both scales are odd in number rather than even, they both have a convenient midpoint: 15 for the economic dimension and 18 for the economic dimension.

One does not have to resort to further statistical analysis to understand what can be seen in Charts 1 and 2. In both cases, but particularly in the case of the *Personal* dimension, the majority of respondents fall in the illiberal (collectivist or egalitarian or similar) half of the dimensions. Only 23% of respondents can be described by these very generous measures as Economic Liberals against 67% who can be described as Economic Illiberals. Only 9% of respondents can be described as Personal Liberals against 87% who can be described as Personal Illiberals. (All figures rounded.)

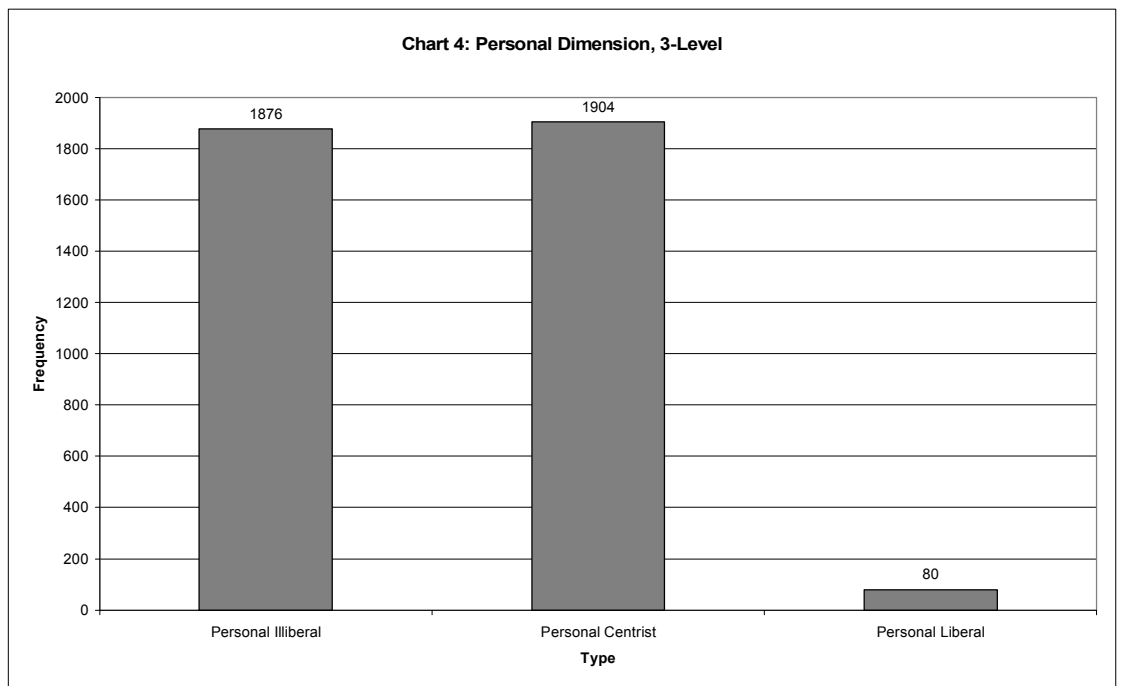
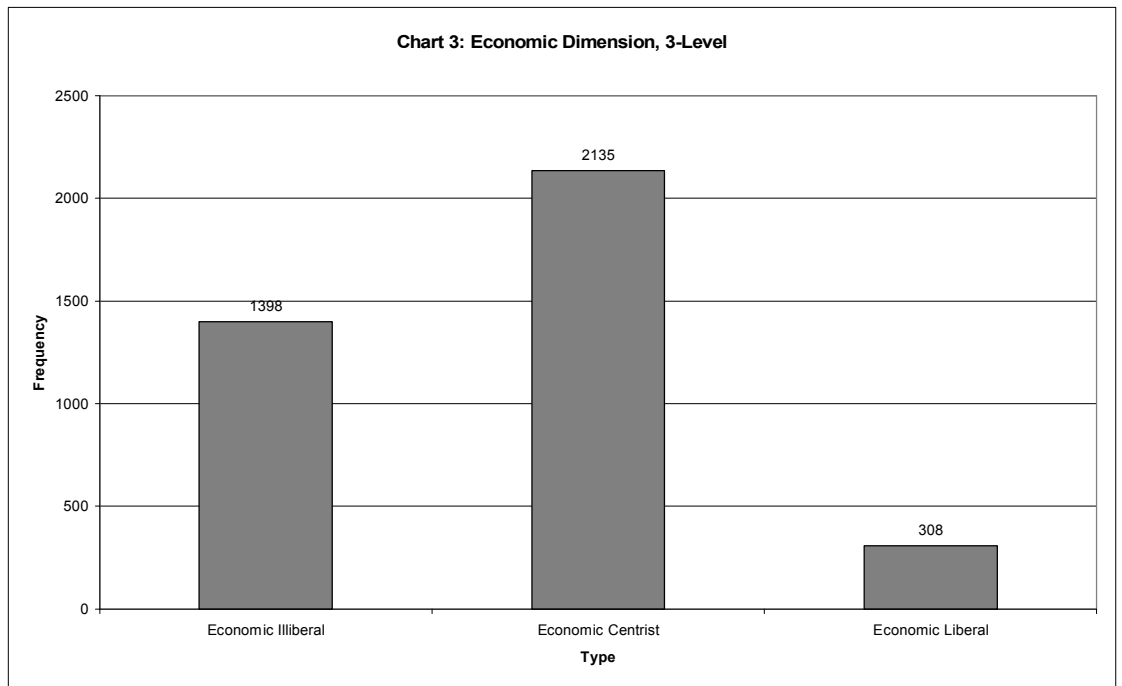
In short, there is a bias amongst the British public *against* the sort of beliefs that inspire the SIF.

### A more focused look

For ease of analysis, these rather lengthy dimensions can be collapsed. I have done this by taking each dimension and dividing it into three measured along each dimension in absolute terms. So, starting with the *Economic* dimension, those scoring 5 to 11 (inclusive) can be labelled Economic Illiberals, those scoring 12 to 18 can be labelled Economic Centrists and those scoring 19 to 25 can be labelled Economic Liberals.

(Continued on page 6)

"... there is a bias amongst the British public *against* the sort of beliefs that inspire the SIF."



(Continued from page 4)

The same procedure is done with the *Personal* dimension. Those scoring 6 to 13 (inclusive) can be labelled Personal Illiberals, those scoring 14 to 22 can be labelled Personal Centrists and those scoring 23 to 30 can be labelled Personal Liberals. (A little fudging is required since the range of the *Personal* dimension does not quite neatly divide by 3. I have increased the Centrist category by 1 so that the two end categories are the same length as each other.)

This has the effect that those labelled Illiberals, Centrists or Liberals or can be considered robustly so and not just falling one score either side of the midpoint, but without requiring “extremist” views.

The number of respondents to each dimension remains the same.

When plotted on Charts 3 and 4, the story for libertarians becomes even more stark and bleak. That said, it should be noted that in both cases, a plurality (the biggest group) fall into the Centrist category, although in the case of the *Personal* dimension it requires analysis to the first decimal point to separate them from the Illiberals. The British public are not a bunch of commies, Nazis, Trots, fascists or whatever one’s favourite pejorative term might be. But they lean towards it.

Using these three-level measures, only 8% of respondents can be described as Economic Liberals against 36% who can be described as Economic Illiberals. Only a risible 2% of respondents can be described as Personal Liberals against 49% who can be described as Personal Illiberals. (All figures rounded.)

#### Are there are any “true” liberals?

For reasons which I have written and spoken about elsewhere, I do not favour a one-dimensional model of politics such is seen in the traditional “left and right” manner of speaking. As suggested throughout this essay there are at least two separate dimensions of politics of crucial importance: personal and economic. However, for the illustrative purposes of this present article we shall allow ourselves the ease of a creating a simple one-dimensional typology of political attitudes.

To return to the question: what proportion of the British population can be considered all-round liberals or libertarians or at least something close? To analyse this, using the three-level typologies discussed above I further recoded the data using only those who can be measured along both dimensions: a total of 3779 respondents.

Those members of the public who are liberals on both the *Economic* and *Personal* dimensions I have labelled Libertarians. Those who are liberals on just one of the two dimensions and are Centrists on the other I have labelled Near-Libertarians. Examples of the latter might be staunch civil liberties supporters who take a moderate view about economics or staunch free-marketeters who take a moderate view on civil liberties. Going down one level more, those who are Centrists along both dimensions I have labelled, rather inevitably, Centrists.

So, how many are there? Of the 3779 valid respondents, a near-invisible 0.2% (just 9 individuals) can be described as Libertarians, believing in both *Personal* and *Economic* liberty. A further 5.2% are Near-Libertarians. In short, only one-twentieth of the British population can be described as “libertarian” using even the most generous of measures.

Just under one-third (31%) of the British population are Centrists. That’s something, I suppose.

But it gets worse. I also created categories for Authoritarians and Near-Authoritarians using the reverse of the procedure just noted. Well over one-third (37.5%) of the population can be described as Near-Authoritarians and over one-fifth (21.6%) can be described as Authoritarians. For them, Orwell’s *1984* was a blueprint, not a warning.

Readers adept at mental arithmetic will have spotted that a small proportion (4.5%) of the respondents appear to have gone missing from this analysis. The raw (not categorised into three) *Personal* and *Economic* dimensions are significantly positively correlated with each other. Those tending to have illiberal views along one tend to have illiberal views along the other and vice-versa. Given that, and within the severe limitations of a one-dimensional typology, these 4.5% of respondents might be regarded as “conflicted”.

They marry liberal views along one dimension with illiberal views along the other. These people exist but I’ve often found such individuals to be decidedly rum. They tend to be the sort that will march against any perceived government infringement of civil liberties whilst simultaneously longing for the day when we all have to queue for our daily food rations at the People’s Food Dispensary (with them as the Commissar). Or at the other extreme, they tend to be the sort that wants to see a return to the good old days when children had to work 18 hours a day down coal mines and who have never yet met a gay man that they didn’t want to imprison. (I perhaps exaggerate to make the point...)

“... only one-twentieth of the British population can be described as “libertarian” using even the most generous of measures.”

**Final remarks**

I can almost hear some readers saying, “But wait a minute. What about all those protests against tax rises or ID cards or whatnot?” Indeed. The problem is that these tend to be discrete issues (“bugbears” as I noted above) that particularly vex individuals. They rarely if ever rise to the level of a component of what my German family and friends would call *weltanschauung*: a comprehensive view of the world and human life.

This is not to say that we libertarians should scoff at such single-issue activism. Far from it. It may often be the only way that we can make any progress at all. However, we should not fool ourselves into thinking that in doing so we are necessarily bringing about a profound change in the political culture of our country.

I will make two final remarks. Some 12 years ago I was writing on a similar theme. Using (of course) different data, I concluded (and I quote verbatim (1998: 4)), “That the general political attitudes of the British public are highly antipathetic towards libertarianism, but strongly supportive of active collectivism instead.” It is clear that in the intervening decade and more nothing has improved. It seems that “the libertarian movement” has made no headway. No doubt I shall be told that behind the scenes we have been influencing “opinion formers”. Really? We may have had some individual successes, but again I reiterate that this does not mean a general change in attitudes.

Finally, I shall quote again from my 1998 essay: “That, starting from this position of unpopularity, straightforward libertarian political parties which appeal directly to the electorate appear to be very ineffectual instruments for substantially increasing support for libertarianism.” For those who have followed the “progress” of the Libertarian Party UK founded in 2008 I would suggest that my earlier remarks continue to have some force. Unlike, for example, Euro-scepticism (UKIP) or environmentalism (the Greens), there is no liber-

tarian constituency worth speaking of to vote for an avowedly libertarian party even under the most generous of proportional representation systems.

So, what is to be done? But this is a question I have no intention of trying to answer here. The purpose of this essay has been merely to set the scene. And things look bleak. I leave it to those more actively engaged in the promotion of libertarian ideas to try to solve this puzzle. I hope that they can, but I am not optimistic.

**References**

*British Social Attitudes Survey 2008*, SN 6390, UK Data Archive Website, 8<sup>th</sup> March 2010, retrieved 15<sup>th</sup> July 2010, <http://tinyurl.com/37kg8pj>.  
 J.A. Fleishman, 1988, in Anthony Heath, Geoffrey Evans, Mansur Lalljee, Jean Martin & Sharon Witherspoon, *The Measurement of Core Beliefs and Values, Working Paper No. 2*, Oxford, Social & Community Planning Research, 1991.

Anthony Heath & Richard Topf, ‘Political Culture’, 1987, Roger Jowell, Sharon Witherspoon & Lindsay Brook (eds.), *British Social Attitudes: The 1987 Report*, Aldershot, Gower, 1987, pp. 51-67.

Nigel Gervas Meek, *The Libertarian Party of Great Britain: An Idea Whose Time Has Not Come*, London, Libertarian Alliance, 1998.

**About the author**

Dr Nigel Gervas Meek graduated as a mature student in 1996 with a BSc in Psychology, followed in 1998 with an MA in Applied Social and Market Research and then in 2010 with a PhD in Political Science. In the last two decades he has worked in various private-sector and public-sector academic and research fields but these days he is primarily a full-time carer. He is the membership secretary and editor of the SIF, the Libertarian Alliance and the Campaign Against Censorship. He can be contacted at [editor@individualist.org.uk](mailto:editor@individualist.org.uk).

**“It seems that “the libertarian movement” has made no headway.”**

.....

On behalf of members, I wish to congratulate our Editor who is now DOCTOR Nigel Gervas Meek. We hope we may be able to help publish his thesis later this year or early next.

**Michael Plumbe, Chairman of the SIF Executive Committee**

## Women and gays against ... women and gays.

For obvious reasons I usually attack left-wing feminist organizations that tend to side with Islamist groups and states in their insane hatred for America, the West in general and Israel. In order to express that hatred they manage to ignore the way women are treated in Islamic societies and even Islamic groups in the West. In other words, they just do not care about Muslim women and their very basic rights to life and liberty.

There are other organizations of that kind around. *The Guardian* reports that organizers of the Gay Pride parade in Madrid have banned Israeli participants because of the events that surrounded the Gaza flotilla. Needless to say, that means there were no organized groups from the Middle East participating in the march because Israel is the only country in the region where you can have Gay Pride marches, where you do not run the risk of being tortured and murdered if you are openly gay. Yet the Madrid organizers side with the murderers of people like themselves. One can only surmise that they do not care about the fate of gays as long as they are Muslims. Can we call that racist?

**Dr Helen Szamuely, 'Do I hear the word insane?', *Your Freedom and Ours* blog, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2010, <http://tinyurl.com/3xqj2c6>.**

*(Continued from page 1)*

ian positions that Powell took on many issues that had little or nothing to do with "immigration".

Which brings me to the proposal by my long-ago associate Philip Hollobone, a Conservative MP, to make it illegal for people to cover their faces in public. This, of course, is mainly aimed at forms of clothing worn by some Muslim women such as the burka. It follows the similar ban enacted by the French government on the grounds of defending the secular nature of the state.

There is at least some logic to the French position, in contrast to the mealy-mouthed cowardice of the debate here in Britain. Advocates of the ban have supported it because covering the face for whatever reason is apparently "un-British" or "intimidating" or "strange". No! Cowed by years of mass immigration from non-Western countries, multiculturalism and political correctness, we are too afraid to say what the real problem is.

It has nothing to do with covering one's face in public. It has everything to do with radical Islam. It is this that makes the burka or similar "Islamic" clothing (since it seems clear that the burka is not inherently Islamic whatever its contemporary symbolism) fundamentally different from (say) the Sikh dastar or turban. Islamism, which of course is *not* the entirety of Islam although it seems clear

that it is a growing part, unlike Sikhism or Hinduism, is an utterly intransigent ideology that seeks nothing less than the total subjugation of the entire world to its illiberal precepts.

However pleasant or plausible individual wearers of the burka or similar clothing might seem, they are living symbols of two things. First, that the wearer consciously and actively hates the West and its pluralist and secular values and seeks their overthrow and replacement. Second, that the wearer, often correctly, regards the West as an almost-defeated enemy, lacking any resolve to defend itself.

Or, of course, that the wearer is a wretched, abused victim of a viciously misogynist creed.

It is fitting to conclude this editorial with a mention of Professor Antony Flew who died in April this year and who was a regular contributor in many ways to organisations such as the SIF and the Libertarian Alliance. The obituaries (or at least the ones that I have read) that appeared in the mainstream media generally utterly failed to honour his life and work as one of the great liberal (in its proper sense) philosophers who held the line in a post-War era when statism and obscurantism of various types seemed to be sweeping all before them. Instead, they obsessed about the events of the last years of his life.

*(Continued on page 19)*



## ENOCH POWELL: LIBERTARIAN, TORY AND NATIONALIST

Peter Richards

### In times like these...

We live in a time when the daughter of a former Prime Minister can be sacked from the BBC for using an inappropriate word in a private conversation. We live in a time when an elected European politician can be banned from entering England for fear that he may upset people. We live in a time when we cannot say, "Enoch Powell was right" in public, without risking official censure.

It is the Rt. Hon. J. Enoch Powell MBE, 1912-1998, one of the most famous British politicians of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, whom I wish to focus on.

This essay attempts to answer some questions about Enoch Powell. Who was he? Was he a racist? Which speech made him so controversial? What were the reactions to that speech? What were his political views and to what extent were his views libertarian?

### Who was Enoch Powell?

John Enoch Powell was an extraordinary man. He has been variously described as a scholar, politician, orator, linguist, writer, academic, philosopher, historian, soldier, poet, and devoted family man. He excelled in all of these roles, although he is best remembered as a politician and in particular for his controversial stance on mass immigration, and, above all, for delivering what is probably the most famous peacetime speech of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

John Enoch (named after his two grandfathers) was the only child of Ellen and Albert Powell. He was born on 16<sup>th</sup> June, 1912, in Stechford, Birmingham, England. His parents always called him Jack.

Jack was an extremely intelligent child. He could read and write at the age of 3, was studying the Harmsworth Encyclopaedia at the age of 4, and amazingly whilst still at school had started translating the great work of Herodotus, the celebrated historian of the fifth century BC, from Greek into English.

At the age of three, he acquired the nickname of 'Professor' and actually achieved this status at the unusually young age of 25. During his lifetime, he learned to speak 12 languages including Hebrew.

He attended King Edward's School Birmingham

where he once attained 100% in an end of year English exam. He was awarded a double starred first in Latin and Greek at Trinity College Cambridge where he became a Fellow, before going on to become a Professor of Greek at Sydney University.

Whilst at Cambridge, Powell attended lectures by A. E. Housman, the distinguished classical scholar and celebrated poet; best known as the author of *A Shropshire Lad*. Housman was a great influence on Powell, inspiring him to write poetry in Housman's own particular romantic style. It was also whilst at Cambridge that Powell became much influenced by the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche, the eminent German philosopher.

Powell is the author of numerous books and publications including: *The Rendel Harris Papyri*; *First Poems*, *A Lexicon to Herodotus*; *The History of Herodotus*; *Casting-off and Other Poems*; *Herodotus Book VIII*; *Llyfr Blegwryd* (with Stephen Williams); *Thucydides historia*; *Herodotus* (translation); *One Nation*; *Dancer's End*; *The Wedding Gift*; *The Social Services: Needs and Means* (with Iain Macleod); *Change is our Ally*; *Biography of a Nation* (with Angus Maude); *Great Parliamentary Occasions*; *Saving in a Free Society*; *The Welfare State*; *A Nation Not Afraid*; *A New Look at Medicine and Politics*; *Exchange Rates and Liquidity*; *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages*; *Freedom and Reality*; *Immigration and Enoch Powell*; *Income tax at 4s/3d in the Pound*; *Common Market: The Case Against*; *Still to Decide*; *The Common Market: Renegotiate or Come Out*; *Medicine and Politics: 1975 and After*; *No Easy Answers*; *Wrestling With the Angel*; *Joseph Chamberlain* (with Keith Wallis); *How Big Should Government Be?* (with Paul H. Douglas); *A Nation or No Nation*; *Enoch Powell on 1992*; *Reflections of a Statesman*; *Collected Poems*; and *The Evolution of the Gospel*.

At the outbreak of war, Powell joined the army and rose from the rank of private to that of brigadier, equalling the highest through-the-ranks promotion in the British Army during World War II. He was also, at 32 years old, the youngest brigadier in the army at that time and indeed one of the youngest to hold that rank in the history of the British Army. In 1943, he was awarded an MBE.

Enoch Powell was the Conservative MP for Wolverhampton South West from 1950-1974, the Minister of Health from 1960-1963, and the Ulster Unionist MP for South Down from 1974-1987.

"Powell joined the army and rose from the rank of private to that of brigadier, equalling the highest through-the-ranks promotion in the British Army during World War II."

Margaret Thatcher described him as “the best parliamentarian I ever knew.”<sup>1</sup>

A book review in *The Spectator* declared that: “Enoch Powell has the finest mind in the House of Commons. The best trained and the most exciting.”<sup>2</sup>

### Was he a Racist?

Powell received notoriety for being sacked from the Conservative front bench after he had made a controversial speech on immigration in Birmingham on 20<sup>th</sup> April 1968. Hereafter it became known as the “Rivers of Blood” speech. The effect of this speech was so powerful that no Conservative has dared mention it in a positive light since without negative consequences. Nigel Hastilow, a Conservative candidate for Halesowen and Rowley Regis found this out to his cost, when almost 40 years later, in November 2007, he mentioned in an article on immigration that, “Many insist: Enoch Powell was right”.<sup>3</sup> This was enough for him to lose his candidacy: he was forced to resign.

Paul Foot, a socialist writer and journalist, described Powell as a ‘racist pig’.<sup>4</sup>

Labour MP Denis Healey (a political opponent of Powell’s) said of him, “He was not a racist in any sense at all. But he was an extreme nationalist.”<sup>5</sup>

### So what is the truth?

One event that occurred in Powell’s political life demonstrates beyond doubt in my view that he was not a racist. On 27<sup>th</sup> July 1959, Powell made a speech criticising the treatment of African prisoners by the British in Kenya (which at the time was still a British colony). The speech made reference to Hola Camp, Kenya, where 11 Mau Mau prisoners were beaten to death after refusing to work in the camp. Denis Healey, who was a Labour MP from 1952-1992, described Powell’s speech as “the greatest parliamentary speech I ever heard ... it had all the moral passion and rhetorical force of Demosthenes.”<sup>6</sup> Powell was outraged that Africans were being treated as if they were ‘sub-human’ and his speech was a passionate expression of his disapproval.

It is also a fact that Powell spoke Urdu, an unlikely possibility for a white racist.

Powell was a conviction politician and he had specifically stated that:

*I have set and I always will set my face like flint against making any difference between one citizen and another on grounds of his origin.*<sup>7</sup>

Powell’s own defence against accusations of racism was perhaps best made in a sermon at St Lawrence Jewry in the City of London in January 1977:

*Though legend relates otherwise, I would not have chosen, if I could have avoided it, to become the eponymous exponent of the conviction that by no contrivance can the prospective size and distribution of our population of ‘New Commonwealth ethnic origin’ ... prove otherwise than destructive of this nation. The basis of my conviction is neither genetic nor eugenic; it is not racial, because I can never understand what ‘race’ means and I have never arranged my fellow men on a scale of merit according to their origins. The basis is political. It is the belief that self-identification of each part with the whole is the one essential precondition of being a parliamentary nation, and that the massive shift in the composition of the population of the inner metropolis and of the major towns and cities of England will produce, not fortuitously or avoidably, but by the sheer inevitabilities of human nature in society, ever increasing and more dangerous alienation.*<sup>8</sup>

Many years later the question was debated on television.

In *The Trial of Enoch Powell*, a Channel 4 television broadcast in April 1998, on the thirtieth anniversary of his Birmingham speech (and two months after his death), 64% of the studio audience voted that Powell was not a racist.<sup>9</sup>

I believe their conclusion was correct.

### The Birmingham Speech

Powell made his famous speech on immigration in Birmingham on Saturday 20<sup>th</sup> April 1968 in a small upstairs room in the Midland Hotel.<sup>10</sup> The speech was addressed to the annual general meeting of the West Midlands Area Conservative Political Centre.

Some extracts from the speech will help to explain its content. Early on in the speech, Powell quotes a conversation with a constituent:

*If I had the money to go, I wouldn’t stay in this country ... I have three children, all of them have been through grammar school and two of them married now, with family. I shan’t be satisfied till I have seen them settled overseas. In this country in 15 or 20 years time the black man will have the whip hand over the white man.*

**“On 27th July 1959, Powell made a speech criticising the treatment of African prisoners by the British in Kenya...”**

At this point Powell anticipates the reaction to his speech:

*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 a 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 the 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.*

Powell continues by expressing his concerns for the future of the nation:

*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 dependents, 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 fiancées whom they have never seen.*

He speaks up for the white population:

*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 future defeated; at work they found that employers hesitated to apply to the immigrant worker the standards of discipline and competence required of a native-born worker; they began to hear, as time went by, more and more voices which told them they were now the unwanted. On top of this, 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.*

He then refers to a letter from a constituent:

*She is becoming afraid to go out. Windows are broken. She finds excreta pushed through her letterbox. When she goes to the shops, she is followed by children, charming, wide-grinning piccaninies. They cannot speak English, but one word they know. "Racialist", 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.*

He concludes with an apocalyptic vision:

*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.*

### Politicians' Reactions to the Speech

The Conservative Party leader, Ted Heath, reacted quickly. On the Sunday evening of 21<sup>st</sup> April, the day following the speech, he spoke to Powell on the telephone and dismissed him from the front bench. Heath then commented on the speech to the press describing it as "racialist in tone and liable to exacerbate racial tensions."<sup>11</sup> Heath added that he had sacked Powell "with the greatest regret".

Shadow cabinet colleagues were mostly in support of Heath's action, but this was largely to do with a feeling of betrayal, as Powell had not given them any advance notice of his speech.

Some of his closest colleagues agreed with his basic message but thought his use of intemperate

**"... the day following the speech, [Heath] spoke to Powell on the telephone and dismissed him from the front bench."**

language was unwise. John Biffin, for example, thought that quoting the constituent's letter "was a grave mistake and could not but be inflammatory."<sup>12</sup> Sir Keith Joseph commenting much later expressed his view, "In my opinion he did a service by speaking out as he did on immigration, though I would never adopt his phrases or his anecdotes"<sup>13</sup>

Predictably Powell's political opponents, in the Liberal Party and the Labour Party, deplored the speech.

### The Media's Reaction

As soon as the media got hold of the story the distortions began. Firstly the Birmingham speech (as Powell always called it) was dubbed the 'Rivers of Blood' speech, despite the fact that these title words were not part of the text; nor were they ever uttered by Powell.

Also, one of the most repeated extracts of the speech, as seen on television broadcasts after the event, was one in which Powell could be heard saying, "In this country in 15 or 20 years time the black man will have the whip hand over the white man." The impression given is that these are Powell's own words. The truth is that he is quoting a member of his constituency—but the impression once made is not easily undone.

Newspapers in general were critical of the speech. For example *The Times* headed its article as 'An Evil Speech', describing it as 'racialist', 'disgraceful' and 'shameful'.<sup>14</sup>

### The Public's Reaction

However Powell's own constituency party issued a powerful statement of support on Monday 22<sup>nd</sup> April

*We deeply deplore his unjustified dismissal from the shadow cabinet because he had the courage to express the true facts which exist in his constituency and in other parts of the country. We pledge our support to Mr Powell and place on record our appreciation of his magnificent service to the constituency over the past 18 years, during which time he has rendered notable assistance and service to constituents of every race, colour and creed with equal dedication and energy.*<sup>15</sup>

Within days of the speech, 1000 East End dockers went on strike and marched to Westminster carrying banners of protest in support of Powell. The following day hundreds of meat porters from Smithfield market added their support by handing a 92-page-long petition directly to Powell and 600

dockers at St Katherine's Docks joined the protest by voting for a one-day strike.

Letters to Powell were arriving literally by the sack full, usually 4 or 5 sacks at a time, and several times a day. The Post Office provided special deliveries to cope with the volume. By 24<sup>th</sup> April 20,000 letters had been received and all but 12 were in support of Powell. This number rose to 43,000 by early May and only 800 of these disagreed with him. There were also 700 telegrams, and only 4 of these were in disagreement.



At the end of April, Gallup had undertaken a survey that showed beyond question that Powell had spoken for Britain. Of those questioned, 74 per cent agreed with what he had said and only 15 per cent disagreed; 69 per cent felt Heath was wrong to sack him and only 20 per cent felt he was right.<sup>16</sup>

Powell's popularity continued for some years to come and in 1972 he was voted most popular politician in the country in a *Daily Express* poll.

Powell's popularity continued for some years to come and in 1972 he was voted most popular politician in the country in a *Daily Express* poll.

### Celebrities' Reaction

Most celebrities supported the political Establishment in their condemnation of the speech.

One of the few celebrities outside of the political world to acknowledge Powell's extraordinary courage in making this speech was the guitarist and singer Eric Clapton.

### Students' Reaction

Whenever Powell was invited to speak at Universities there would be student protests and security measures had to be tightened. When students shouted 'Nazi' at him, he had to remind them that he was fighting the Nazis before they were born.

### Immigrants' Reaction

Immigrants did feel more vulnerable to abuse after the speech than before it.

Simon Heffer also points out that:

*The anecdotal evidence of anti-immigrant feeling after the Birmingham speech is plentiful, and would be held against Powell not just until his dying day, but beyond it.*<sup>17</sup>

Although interestingly:

*A survey of immigrants found that 38% would like to return to their country of*

**"Of those questioned, 74 per cent agreed with what he had said and only 15 per cent disagreed..."**

*origin if given financial help, 47% favoured more immigration controls (only 30% did not) and only 8% said they had been treated worse by white people since Powell's Birmingham speech.<sup>18</sup>*

### The Tragedy

With respect to the Birmingham speech, Powell's intentions were in my view honourable, as he was motivated by a concern for the future of the country, but the outcome, it has to be said, was a tragedy. Simon Heffer puts it well:

*Sadly for him, it would be interpreted, by supporters and opponents alike, as being racial in motive.<sup>19</sup>*

Prominent fascists were quick to show their support for Powell whilst left wing liberals scurried off in the opposite direction, hurrying up the hill to claim the moral high ground from where they could cry 'racist'.<sup>20</sup> Thus a polarisation occurred between one group that included racists (as well as the vast majority of the British public) and an opposing group that saw itself as anti-racist (and included students as well as the liberal Establishment). Thus it was that Powell undeservedly became tainted with racism and his demonization continues to this very day.

Powell himself must carry some of the blame; not only because he used emotive language but also because he chose not to denounce racist sentiments or to distance himself from racist support.

Powell's view was that the issue was entirely political and it is worth reiterating this point:

*It is the belief that self-identification of each part with the whole is the one essential pre-condition of being a parliamentary nation, and that the massive shift in the composition of the population of the inner metropolis and of major towns and cities of England will produce, not fortuitously or avoidably, but by the sheer inevitabilities of human nature in society, ever increasing and more dangerous alienation.<sup>21</sup>*

### Prophetic

In later years there have been many examples of civil unrest which suggest that Powell's Birmingham speech was prophetic. The spring and summer of 1981 saw rioting on the streets of London and Liverpool, in predominantly black areas, that seemed to fulfil some of Powell's darkest prophecies.<sup>22</sup>

As well as riots in Brixton, London and Toxteth, Liverpool there was also one in Handsworth, Birmingham in the same year. Four years later, in

1985, there were more riots, both in Brixton and Handsworth. The notorious Broadwater Farm riot in London also occurred in 1985.

In 2001 there were race riots in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley.

The London bombings of 7<sup>th</sup> July 2005, perpetrated by homegrown terrorists, are also a demonstration of how alienated some people from immigrant descended communities have become.

These are all examples of the long term effects of mass immigration without integration of which Powell gave us fair warning.

Powell's prediction that by the year 2000 there would be 5-7 million immigrants in this country also turned out to be surprisingly accurate.

### Political Views

In order to understand Enoch Powell properly, I think it is useful to examine his political views in more detail.

There were three strands to Powell's political thought: Toryism, nationalism and libertarianism; and these, when put together, came to be known as Powellism.

### Tory

First and foremost Enoch Powell was a Tory. As he said himself:

*I was born a Tory. Define: a Tory is a person who regards authority as immanent in institutions. I had always been, as far back as I could remember in my existence, a respecter of institutions, a respecter of monarchy, a respecter of the deposit of history, a respecter of everything in which authority was capable of being embodied, and that must surely be what the Conservative Party was about, the Conservative Party as the party of the maintenance of acknowledged prescriptive authority.<sup>23</sup>*

Powell supported the monarchy, hereditary peers and the Anglican Church, and he became a keen fox hunter, all of which fit in with his description of himself as a Tory.

### Nationalist

Powell was a fervent nationalist believing as he did in the nation state:

*Independence, the freedom of a self-governing nation, is in my estimation the highest political good, for which any disadvantage, if need be, and any sacrifice*

**"Powell himself must carry some of the blame ... because he chose not to denounce racist sentiments or to distance himself from racist support."**

*are a cheap price.*<sup>24</sup>

His concerns about immigration were tied up with his love for his native land and its indigenous inhabitants. Referring to Wolverhampton in 1967 he said:

*entire areas were transformed by the substitution of a wholly or predominately coloured population for the previous native inhabitants, as completely as other areas were transformed by the bulldozer.*<sup>25</sup>

Powell opposed Britain's entry into the European Economic Community (EEC) because he thought that Britain's sovereignty and indeed its very survival as a nation was in question. One of the main reasons Powell left the Conservative Party in 1974 was in protest at the Prime Minister Edward Heath's decision to take the UK into the EEC. Milton Friedman wrote to Powell praising him for his principled stance.<sup>26</sup>

Powell's nationalism was British. He believed in the Union and fiercely opposed the devolution of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. He was against devolved rule for the six counties of Northern Ireland because he believed that Ulster should become fully integrated with the United Kingdom.

### Libertarian

Both socially and economically Powell's views can, in many respects, be described as libertarian.

Powell was a member of the Mont Pelerin Society, a Classical Liberal organisation whose key founding member and first president was Friedrich Hayek.

In political speeches Powell repeatedly extolled the benefits of the free market:

*we uphold the capitalist free economy as a way of life, as the counterpart of the free society. It guarantees, as no other can, that men shall be free to make their own choices, right or wrong, wise or foolish, to obey their own consciences, to follow their own initiatives.*<sup>27</sup>

His foreign policy has been likened to that of Salisbury's "Splendid Isolationism".<sup>28</sup> Many libertarians would agree with this isolationist foreign policy view, as Murray Rothbard points out:

*Political "isolationism" and peaceful coexistence—refraining from acting upon other countries—is, then, the libertarian counterpart to agitating for laissez-faire policies at home. The idea is to shackle government from acting abroad just as we try to shackle government at home. Isola-*

*tionism or peaceful coexistence is the foreign policy counterpart of severely limiting government at home.*<sup>29</sup>

An example Powell's foreign policy isolationism is when he opposed the Gulf War, with its objective of expelling the Iraqis from Kuwait; he did so on the basis that it was none of Britain's business. In contrast to this, he did support the Falklands War because he thought it was very much Britain's business, in that it was Britain's duty to maintain British sovereignty on British territory.

Powell always valued individual freedom above state intervention:

*Powell's overriding theme, as always, was the contempt being shown by the state for the freedoms of individuals, judged by the casual way in which the state regarded the infringements of those liberties by third parties such as unions. He said that to maintain restrictive practices 'the individual citizen has to be coerced into withholding or restricting his labour against his own judgement and wishes, and into joining associations to which he does not desire to belong'. He stated baldly that the immunities the unions enjoyed made them 'a state within a state' and were 'not compatible with the rule of law'.<sup>30</sup>*

Powell took every opportunity to oppose anti-liberal legislation:

*In his war against regulations and the erosion of liberties, Powell used a speech in Aberdeen on 13<sup>th</sup> October (1967) to argue for an end to the tight restrictions on overseas travel for Britons and on the amounts of money that could be taken abroad.<sup>31</sup>*

Powell consistently and repeatedly opposed both the death penalty and corporal punishment, proving convincingly that he was not a signed up member of the 'hang-em and flog-em brigade'. Simon Heffer, referring to a vote in the House of Commons in 1965, also noted:

*Another political action by Powell at this time gives the lie to the stereotypical impression of him as a hard-line right-winger. He was one of only four Conservative front-benchers to vote in favour of legalising homosexuality between consenting adults in private.<sup>32</sup>*

Powell's attitude towards homosexuality is an example of his social libertarianism.

Ralph Harris of the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) wrote to Powell claiming that his views on immigration were inconsistent with the rest of his

**"He was one of only four Conservative front-benchers to vote in favour of legalising homosexuality between consenting adults in private."**

generally libertarian views. Powell responded by saying:

*It does seem to me right and necessary that any country should have the legal discretion whether or not to admit within its boundaries those who wish to settle there, and, for this purpose, to distinguish between "its own people" and the rest of the inhabitants of the world.<sup>33</sup>*

Although Powell's opposition to the *Race Relations Act 1968* was based on the belief in the right to free speech and in that respect could be regarded as a principled libertarian view, his opposition to mass immigration is usually seen as anti-libertarian.

Libertarians generally argue in favour of the free movement of people, although in countries like Britain, where there is a welfare state, immigration restrictions are sometimes justified by libertarians on the grounds that without them tax-funded handouts would be available to any non-contributors who wished to enter the country in order to receive them.

Dr Sean Gabb, the director of the Libertarian Alliance has said:

*I do not necessarily object if people want to come to this country to look for a new life. I do object if they want this at my expense—at my expense as a taxpayer, and at the expense of the constitutional rights which are my birthright.<sup>34</sup>*

In a speech in Morecambe on 11<sup>th</sup> October 1968, which came to be known as the Morecambe Budget, Powell proposed some radical economic measures. Heffer explains:

*Before, he had tried to argue that easing the problems of immigration was not impossible; now he applied the same doctrine to massive cuts in public spending, the abolition of numerous state agencies and the denationalisation of industry, all of which would enable a massive tax cut.<sup>35</sup>*

The slashing of public spending, the abolition of the Prices and Incomes Board, the National Economic Development Council and other state agencies, the privatisation of industry and a great reduction in taxation, all sit comfortably with his libertarian outlook.

Powell reinforced his libertarian credentials when in 1973 he opposed legislation to make it compulsory for motorcyclists to wear crash helmets. The SIF's associated organisation, Choice in Personal Safety, takes the same view as Powell.

In 1974, *The Libertarian Forum*, a New York publication, expressed the view that Powell was Britain's best candidate for freedom in the election of that year:

*Even the most cautious and gradualist of English libertarians now admit that only a radical change can save England. Enoch Powell is the only man on the horizon who could be the sparkplug for such a change. It is true, of course, that for libertarians Enoch Powell has many deficiencies. For one thing he is an admitted High Tory who believes in the divine right of kings; for another, his immigration policy is the reverse of libertarian. But on the critical issues in these parlous times, on checking the inflationary rise in the money supply, and on scuttling the disastrous price and wage controls, Powell is by far the soundest politician in Britain. A sweep of Enoch Powell into power would hardly be ideal, but it offers the best existing hope for British freedom and survival.<sup>36</sup>*

Purist libertarians often have difficulty with Powell's Toryism and his nationalism, but nevertheless respect his principled defence of individual liberty and the free market.

The SIF's close ally, the Libertarian Alliance, published two papers by Powell: *The Drug Trafficking Act versus Natural Justice*<sup>37</sup> and *Political Hysteria and the Destruction of Liberties*<sup>38</sup> both of which are in defence of civil liberties. The late Dr Chris Tame, the LA's founder, says in the introduction to the first of these pamphlets:

*While there are, to say the least, considerable differences between the respective ideological perspectives of Mr Powell and the Libertarian Alliance, we are pleased to publish his principled statement on this issue.*

## Obituary

This is how the *Daily Telegraph* chose to remember Powell on the announcement of his death:

*For those who saw and heard Enoch Powell, the memory is indelible—the black moustache, the burning eyes, the hypnotic, metallic voice, the precision of language, the agility in debate. These will be largely lost to future generations. But, in a more important respect, Powell will survive more surely than any other British politician of the 20th century except Winston Churchill. His speeches and writings will be read so long as there exists a political and parliamentary culture in which speaking and writing mat-*

**"Powell reinforced his libertarian credentials when in 1973 he opposed legislation to make it compulsory for motorcyclists to wear crash helmets. "**

*ter. And if there comes a time when such a culture is all but destroyed, those brave few who wish to restore it will find in the thoughts of Enoch Powell something approaching their Bible.<sup>39</sup>*

### And Finally

David Conway, writing for the Civitas blog, in a posting he made on 20<sup>th</sup> October 2006 entitled ‘The Times They Are A’ Chaining’ (*sic*), has this to say in conclusion to his response to a man being arrested for displaying a banner, which included the words ‘Enoch was right’:

*Had Powell been listened to rather than dismissed in tones of outrage, and had appropriate action been taken at the time, who can possibly doubt that the country would be a far less divided and dangerous place to live?*

*The political establishment effectively silenced and marginalised Powell in fear he might otherwise upset those about whom he was expressing his concerns.*

*Are we now to think that today no one may claim that Powell was right lest they cause upset to anyone?*

*What a strange, un-free, dangerous, and divided country we have allowed ourselves to become.<sup>40</sup>*

### Notes

(1) Steve Cunningham, ‘Was Enoch Powell a racist?’, *The Answer Bank*, 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2001, retrieved 17<sup>th</sup> July 2010, [www.theanswerbank.co.uk/Article1428.html](http://www.theanswerbank.co.uk/Article1428.html).

(2) Andrew Roth, *Enoch Powell: Tory Tribune*, Macdonald & Co., London, 1970, p. 328.

(3) Francis Elliott, ‘Rivers of blood’ candidate forced to resign’, *The Times*, 5<sup>th</sup> November 2007, retrieved 17<sup>th</sup> July 2010, <http://tinyurl.com/2wsqjov>.

(4) Paul Foot, ‘Beyond the Powell’, *Socialist Review*, March 1998, republished in *Marxists’ Internet Archive*, 27<sup>th</sup> November 2004, retrieved 17<sup>th</sup> July 2010, [www.marxists.org/archive/foot-paul/1998/03/powell.htm](http://www.marxists.org/archive/foot-paul/1998/03/powell.htm).

(5) Cunningham, *op.cit.*

(6) Simon Heffer, *Like the Roman: The life of Enoch Powell*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1998, p. 252.

(7) *Ibid*, p .361.

(8) *Ibid*, p. 957.

(9) ‘Enoch Powell’, *Wikipedia*, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2010, retrieved 17<sup>th</sup> July 2010, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enoch\\_Powell](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enoch_Powell).

(10) J. Enoch Powell, ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech’, *The Telegraph*, 1968/6<sup>th</sup> November 2007, retrieved 17<sup>th</sup> July 2010, <http://tinyurl.com/q2sf2q>.

(11) Heffer, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

(12) *Ibid*, p. 453.

(13) *Ibid*, p. 505.

(14) *Ibid*, p. 460.

(15) *Ibid*, p. 461.

(16) *Ibid*, p. 467.

(17) *Ibid*, p. 462.

(18) *Ibid*, p. 500.

(19) *Ibid*, p. 450.

(20) Roth, *op.cit.*, p. 359. A. K. Chesterton, Policy Director of the National Front, and Colin Jordan, leader of the National Socialist Movement, both offered words of support for Powell.

(21) Heffer, *op.cit.*, p. 450.

(22) *Ibid*, p. 845.

(23) J. Enoch Powell, ‘Enoch Powell: Life and Views’, 1990, retrieved 17<sup>th</sup> July 2010, [www.EnochPowell.net](http://www.EnochPowell.net).

(24) ‘Enoch Powell’, *Wikiquote*, 8<sup>th</sup> June 1973/14<sup>th</sup> April 2010, retrieved 17<sup>th</sup> July 2010, [http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Enoch\\_Powell](http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Enoch_Powell).

(25) Heffer, *op.cit.*, p. 425.

(26) *Ibid*, p. 703.

(27) *Ibid*, p. 314.

(28) The Salisbury referred to here is Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, 3<sup>rd</sup> Marquess of Salisbury, three times British Prime minister in 1885-86, 1886-92 and 1895-1902 and the ‘Splendid Isolationism’ refers to his foreign policy. What is normally understood by this phrase is non-entanglement and anti-interventionism in foreign affairs and it is in this context that it is being used to liken it to Enoch Powell’s outlook.

However Salisbury’s biographer, Andrew Roberts, suggests that the label is an unfair one.

**“Had Powell been listened to ... who can possibly doubt that the country would be a far less divided and dangerous place to live?”**



*A sub-editor at The Times chose the phrase 'Splendid Isolation' for a sub-heading in the report of the speech and thus was a label born, one that has unfairly affixed itself to Salisbury's foreign policy. Just as George Curzon was tagged for life by the 'accursed doggerel' about considering himself a 'superior person' so Salisbury, who had long despised and denounced what he called 'sterile' and 'dangerous' policy of isolation, was stuck with a label for his non-aligned but heavily engaged foreign policy, which was far more complex, subtle and intelligent than crude isolationism. The avoidance of joining entangling alliances or European power blocs, which Salisbury considered an inherent threat to peace, while insisting on complete freedom of manoeuvre in all circumstances, was by no means the same as the Little England isolationism of which he often still stands accused.*

Andrew Roberts, *Salisbury: Victorian Titan*, Phoenix, London, 2000, p. 629.

(29) Murray N. Rothbard, *For a New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto*, Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc, New York, 1978, p. 265.

(30) Heffer, *op.cit.*, p. 358.

(31) *Ibid*, p. 436.

(32) *Ibid*, p. 380.

(33) *Ibid*, p. 445.

34) Libertarian Alliance, 'BBC Censors Discus-

sion of Multiculturalism: Shuts off Microphones on Libertarian Alliance Spokesman', LA website, 16<sup>th</sup> February 2004, retrieved 17<sup>th</sup> July 2010, [www.libertarian.co.uk/news/nr015.htm](http://www.libertarian.co.uk/news/nr015.htm).

(35) Heffer, *op. cit.*, p. 485.

(36) Joseph R. Peden, *The Libertarian Forum*, New York, March 1974, Volume VI, No. 3.

(37) J.Enoch Powell, *The Drug Trafficking Act versus Natural Justice*, Libertarian Alliance, London, 1987, Legal Notes No. 2.

(38) J.Enoch Powell, *Political Hysteria and the Destruction of Liberties*, Libertarian Alliance, London, 1990, Political Notes No. 48.

(39) Heffer, *op. cit.*, p. 952.

(40) David Conway, 'The Times They Are A' Chaining', Civitas blog, 20<sup>th</sup> October 2006, retrieved 17<sup>th</sup> July 2010, <http://tinyurl.com/38xcugt>.

The photograph of Enoch Powell was taken in 1987 by Allan Warren and is republished here under the Open-source Ticket Request System.

#### About the author

Peter Richards is a Hampshire businessman and writer. Besides being a contributor to the SIF, he is a life member of the Rationalist Association and a supporter of the Libertarian Alliance and the Freedom Association. He has also contributed to *The Freethinker* and *Right Now!*



**Libertarian  
Alliance**

**Take your brain for a walk...**

**[www.libertarian.co.uk](http://www.libertarian.co.uk)**

**One of the world's largest libertarian web sites with over 800 publications available on-line.**

### Western Modernity...

Modernity was born in the West in a radical transformation of its past. The world of the Middle Ages, built around Christian Scholasticism world-view, was a society of religious philosophy, feudal law, and an agricultural economy. Out of this soil, the Renaissance and Enlightenment produced a substantially new society of science, individualism, and industrial capitalism...

The cultural foundation of this society, if we state it as a set of explicit theses, was the view that reason, not revelation, is the instrument of knowledge and arbiter of truth; that science, not religion, gives us the truth about nature; that the pursuit of happiness in this life, not suffering in preparation for the next, is the cardinal value; that reason can and should be used to increase human well-being through economic and technological progress; that the individual person is an end in himself with the capacity to direct his own life, not a slave or a child to be ruled by others; that individuals have equal rights to freedom of thought, speech, and action; that religious belief should be a private affair, tolerance a social virtue, and church and state kept separate; and that we should replace command economies with markets, warfare with trade, and rule by king or commissar with democracy.

**David Kelley, '9/11 and The War Against Modernity', The Atlas Society website, May 2002, <http://tinyurl.com/338gnzl>.**



**Professor Antony Flew (1923-2010) looking rather hip!**

### Against the Luddites and in praise of redundancies...

[Casting people out of work] is the source of all economic and social advance.

Anybody, everybody, who automates a routine task, whether it be weeding turnips, catching mice or etching circuit boards is deliberately casting people out of work. And it is that exact casting out of work which allows civilisation to advance: no longer do we have to spend scarce resources of labour on what is now automated, that labour can now be deployed to do something else.

Anything else, meaning that we now have both the now automated production and the new. Even if that now automated production is the circuit boards and the new is simply a freshly changed nappy. Society is now richer by one smiling baby.

Casting people out of work is a fine and noble goal.

**Tim Worstall, 'Polly on David Laws', 1<sup>st</sup> June 2010, <http://tinyurl.com/37afo9x>.**

### The Trap of Multiculturalism...

Unless there is a federating national or supranational narrative that brings all the diverse components of a country together and gives them a common impulse, the country becomes an agglomeration of ... tribes unified by their mutual dissensions and relying on the state only as a simple mediating authority. Then identity ceases to coincide with citizenship; it is in fact what makes citizenship impossible...

It is not enough to regularize the status of thousands of immigrants, to provide them with a life and suitable work. In addition, if they want to stay in Europe, we must make them Europeans—Spaniards, French, Italians—and this presupposes a political society sure of itself and of its values... We blame great nations, often rightly, for their failures to absorb immigrants. But we forget that there is also a despotism on the part of the minorities, who resist assimilation if it is not accompanied by extraterritorial status...

Still more serious is the fact that under cover of respecting cultural or religious differences (the basic credo of multiculturalism), individuals are locked into an ethnic or racial definition, cast back into the trap from which we were trying to free them... As during the colonial era, they are put under house arrest in their skins, in their origins. By a perverse dialectic ... we can no longer see others as equals ... but we must see them as inferiors, victims of perpetual oppression whose past ordeals interest us more than their present merits...

All the ambiguity of multiculturalism proceeds from the fact that with the best intentions, it imprisons men, women, and children in a way of life and in traditions from which they often aspire to free themselves. The politics of identity in fact reaffirm difference at the very moment when we are trying to establish equality...

Multiculturalism may ultimately be nothing more than ... a legal apartheid in which we find the wealthy once again explaining tenderly to the poor that money won't make them happy: let us shoulder the burden of freedom, of inventing ourselves, of the equality of men and women; you have the joys of custom, forced marriages, the veil, polygamy, and clitoridectomy.

**Extracted by the Editor from Chapter 6, 'Listen to My Suffering', *The Tyranny of Guilt*, Pascal Bruckner, Princeton University Press, Woodstock, Oxfordshire, 2006/2010, pp. 139-166.**

*(Continued from page 8)*

Antony was also my friend and, on the strength of a rather cryptic note scribbled at the foot of a Christmas card some years ago, I became one of the first to learn of his apparent "conversion" away from atheism towards some sort of theism.

I will only note two things. First, he said repeatedly that his god was very much the distant Deist god of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century rationalism and not at all the "Oriental despot" found in many of the revealed religions. Second, in 2005 he published a new edition of his book *God & Philosophy*. Other than his new and rather equivocal Introduction,

the book remains sternly opposed to revealed religion, particularly and quite strikingly Roman Catholicism.

It has been claimed that, right at the end of Antony's life, and at a time when mutual and long-standing friends were noticing a severe mental decline in him, he was manipulated into endorsing certain religious views. I don't know. What I do know was that he was a good man who served the cause of freedom more than I ever shall

*Dr Nigel Gervas Meek*

**Society for Individual Freedom**

PO Box 744  
BROMLEY  
BR1 4WG  
United Kingdom

Phone: 01424 713737  
Email (general): [chairman@individualist.org.uk](mailto:chairman@individualist.org.uk)  
Email (editorial): [editor@individualist.org.uk](mailto:editor@individualist.org.uk)



*The SIF's Aim:*

*“To promote responsible individual freedom”*

**The SIF is a classical liberal organisation that believes in the economic and personal freedom of the individual, subject only to the equal freedom of others.**

**The SIF promotes...**

- ✓ The freedom, importance and personal responsibility of the individual.
- ✓ The sovereignty of Parliament and its effective control over the Executive.
- ✓ The rule of law and the independence of the Judicature.
- ✓ Free enterprise.

**SIF Activities**

The SIF organises public meetings featuring speakers of note, holds occasional luncheons at the Houses of Parliament, publishes this journal to which contributions are welcome, and has its own website. The SIF also has two associated campaigns: Tell-IT, that seeks to make information on outcomes of drugs and medical treatments more widely known and available to doctors and patients alike, and Choice in Personal Safety (CIPS), that opposes seatbelt compulsion and similar measures.

**Joining the SIF**

If you broadly share our objectives and wish to support our work, then please write to us at the address on this page, enclosing a cheque for £15 (minimum) made payable to the Society for Individual Freedom.

**The Law of Equal Freedom**

*“Every man has freedom to do all that he wills,  
provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man.”*

**Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics*, 1851**