

RISE OF ENOCH POWELL AND BRITISH IMMIGRATION
POLICY: 1962-72.

by

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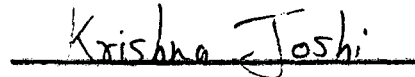
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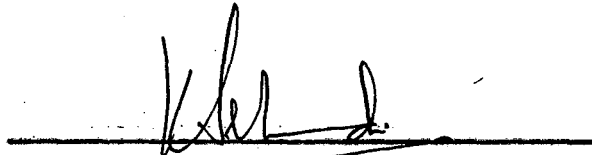
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PREFACE

Asian immigrants to England and the British immigration policies have been frequently in the news recently. There has been a spate of literature on the conditions of life and work of the Asian immigrants in England and of the numerous discriminatory practice to which they have been subjected. There has also been a spate of literature on the British immigration policies, alleging the racial undertones of these policies.

One of the major influences on the shaping of the British Immigration policy as it affects the Asian Immigrants has been Enoch Powell. There has appeared a considerable body of literature on Powell in recent years, but the social and political reasons underlying his success have not been adequately examined. This study is a modest attempt to examine and highlight his role and influence on the shaping of the British Immigration policies, especially toward the persons of Asian origin. It tries to discuss the Immigrant experience, the British orientation to the Asian Immigrants, the philosophy of Enoch Powell and the socio-political factors that have contributed to its success and widespread appeal.

The study is in the nature of second hand study while my own stay in England has helped me to have a better insight into their problems, no claim to any originality is made. I have drawn heavily from the available data and information from other publications on this subject. An attempt has been made as far as practicable to include all that information which may help to complete the picture and lead to a better understanding of the issue involved.

The study is the outcome of my training at the Centre for Political Studies of the Jawharlal Nehru University. I am grateful to its faculty

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for their guidance and help in carrying out this study as well as their encouragement for its completion. I owe a debt of gratitude to my guide, Mr. Imtiaz Ahmed. His suggestions and comments at the expense of his own time and energy have been greatly helpful to me in the preparation of this work. I cannot adequately acknowledge the help given by my husband, Suresh, for obtaining the books on the subject from Britain and for generally encouraging me to undertake this study.

I Introduction

Coloured people had been coming to the British Isles from fairly early times. However, their proportion in the total population was relatively small. For example, the total coloured population of England and Wales in 1951 was estimated at about 1.7 coloured persons per thousand of the population. Among them were 30,800 persons of Indian origin, 5000 Pakistanis, 5,800 Ceylonese and about 15,300 persons from the west Indies. Moreover, these early immigrants were largely confined to the dock areas of port cities like Liverpool, London and Cardiff, and formed small isolated communities visible only to a handful of Britons. They were not dispersed throughout the country.

After 1950 coloured immigration to Britain increased rapidly. Census statistics suggest that between 1951 and 1961 itself, the proportion of coloured immigrants to the Islands increased from 1.7 persons to 7.8 persons per thousand of the population.¹ This rapid rise in the number of coloured immigrations was made possible by a variety of factors. Firstly, it arose out of increased immigrations from the Carribean. Until 1952, the Carribean negroes usually immigrated to the United states because of greater economic opportunities offered by that country. After signing of the Macarran Act in that year, the outlet to U.S.A. was virtually closed and the Carribean negroes automatically ^{entered} searched to the U.K. in search of employment opportunities and better living conditions. Secondly,

1 Countrywise break up immigrants in 1961 was as follows: Indians 163,600, Pakistanis 67,700, Ceylonese 12,900 and West Indians 267,900.

this was made possible by the relative flexibility of immigration policies and the greater economic opportunities available to labour from outside. The large-scale immigration of Asians followed until the early sixties when the commonwealth Immigration Act, 1962, reduced their immigration drastically.

Prior to the passing of the commonwealth Act of 1962, the British immigration policy was essentially one of laissez-faire. Citizens from commonwealth countries were considered British subjects and were allowed free entry to the mother country. On the economic side, this policy allowed a free market in labour. This, however, presented few immediate problems on account of good employment opportunities. There was already a shortage of labour in the post war period and free flow of foreign labour naturally met immediate manpower shortage. Consequently most of the newcomers were absorbed without undue strain on the economy, though they were usually able to get only unattractive, low-paid jobs unwanted by local workers.²

This unrestricted entry of immigrants to the U.K. produced a complex long term problem. The large number of non-white immigrants became 'visible' by reason of their skin colour. They had a different social and cultural back-ground including religion and language. They were no longer isolated in a handful of dock land areas, but were to be found in almost every large town in the country and in most industries. They no longer consisted overwhelmingly of male adult

2 Some evidence exists to show that early Asian immigrants came essentially in search of employment opportunities. A survey published in 1967 showed that unskilled manual workers accounted for 37 per cent, skilled workers accounted for 11 per cent and professional were 9 per cent of the total Asian immigrants. The remaining 25 per cent were classified as 'others'.

workers leading more or less celibate lives. With the arrival of their dependents, they were living as families with their basic needs precisely the same as that for the rest of the population. These mainly were a decent house at fair price, a steady income for the bread winner from a job appropriate to his skills, and good education and opportunities for their children, etc.

With the undirected flow and lack of any official machinery for their suitable distributions, the immigrants naturally chose the labour - hungry areas as West Midlands, whose overstretched welfare services schools, and other amenities had borne the brunt of the influx.³

In such areas of high immigrant population the local people found that the facilities enjoyed by them were being shared by the immigrant and were now available to them to a reduced extent. In the public transport the coloured people shared accommodation with them. In educational institutions and schools more coloured faces were to be seen. In hospitals and maternity wards lesser beds were available for the local population. The immigrants also claimed the same social benefits and welfare services. The housing problem became more acute and competition was also faced in employment. With no official action either at national or local levels to meet the situation, the quality of services and facilities worsened. This led to resentment and ill-feelings among the local population towards the newcomers who had the legal status of equals and the economics status of competitors.

3 The degree of immigrant concentration in some of the towns where they settled in large numbers are Birmingham, (6.3%) Bradford (4.0%) Nottingham (4.0%) Slough (6.9%) and London Boroughs (Hackney 5.5%, Islington. 4.0% Kensington. 5.8% Paddington 10.6% and Willisden 5.3%)

One feature of the colour immigration to Britain has been that this problem arose unexpectedly. The government was certainly not prepared for it. Despite occasional but increasing pressures for control of Commonwealth immigration, the government, between 1954 and early 1961, consistently denied that Commonwealth immigration posed any special problem. It took the line that Commonwealth citizens were free to enter and would receive the same treatment as other citizens after entry. It did not make any special arrangements at the national level for reception or long term integration, or for extra provisions in areas of high immigration. It asked the various governments to restrict the number of immigrants through placing limits on passports. But the forging of passports and racketeering manipulated and defeated government efforts on this score.

Meanwhile, there were growing signs that the difficulties and problems created by the flow of immigrants would not fade away with the passage of time. Public started feeling that immigration constituted a drain on the National Assistance System and there was increasing resentment from the ranks of the lower and working classes. Racial disturbances in Nottingham hill and Nottingdale in 1958 also showed that more strigent control were necessary on the part of the government. Consequently, the government felt sufficiently forced to bring a comprehensive legislation on immigration.

In 1962, the Government introduced the Commonwealth Immigration Act, and it became law in July of that year. Under this Act entry of Commonwealth immigrants was restricted mainly to the holders of Employment Vouchers issued by the Ministry of Labour, and to the

dependents of those who were already in the U.K. It was introduced as a temporary measure to be in operation for eighteen months, but it was subsequently renewed by the succeeding Labour Government.

The Act applied controls to employment. In the matter of immigrant housing and other facilities a laissez-fair and non-discriminatory approach continued to be followed by the Government. The problem of housing was the major reason advanced for the introduction of legislative controls on immigration. Yet, no attempt was made by the Act to relate the volume of immigration to the availability of housing, which has been primarily the responsibility of the local authorities.

The government efforts at dealing with the immigration problem naturally did not produce the required results. On the one hand, the coloured immigrants continued to face systematic and wide-ranging discrimination which effectively deprived them of many of the rights and opportunities enjoyed as a matter of course by the white people. On the other hand, the local population continued to feel resentful and dissatisfied by the government's lenient policy on immigration issue.

This resentment of the local population and the public opinion favouring more stringent controls on the flow of immigrations was mobilized by Enoch Powell. Powell who came to the forefront as an advocate of the perils of coloured immigration. A noteworthy aspect is that even he did not foresee any long term problems of coloured immigration when it was actually going on. It has been observed that till 1967 he made no speech on the issue. (Banton, 1972; Foot 1969) He started delivering speeches about immigration at the moment when

this issue was most useful to his political career. Such evidence has led some commentators to the conclusion that his use of the racial issue is motivated by political opportunism.

Enoch Powell hit the headlines with his speeches on immigration. He suddenly became a very popular, though controversial, politician and was ranked third in popularity after Wilson and Heath. His speeches attracted large audiences. His views on race have had profound effect on British politics, race relations, and the struggle for power within the Tory party. He was sacked from the shadow cabinet by Edward Heath on account of his outspoken speech on immigration and racialism in April, 1968. At the time of his dismissal, he had a higher rating in the public opinion polls than the man who sacked him.

Public attitudes towards Enoch Powell are varied. Some people compliment him for having the courage to tell the British public the unpalatable truth; while others argued that he ought to have been imprisoned for stirring up racial feelings and incitement to hatred. There is no doubt that he exaggerated the immigration problem and presented his estimates of figures (which were invariably higher) to the British public who found it very unsettling. Their hostility towards coloured immigrants lies also in the latent fear of unemployment. The "Poor Whites" in industrial towns who still have not quite forgotten the days of unemployment and hunger marches, had their fears revived due to the larger availability of immigrant labour and the higher figures of unemployment.

Powell has been opposed to the integration of the coloured population. He gets ready support from the extremists and those holding racialist views. Some of the slogans of these people have been to

"keep Britain White" and to "Send the Immigrants back where they come from". There have also been suggestions for a total ban on coloured immigration and for the repatriation of those already in the country. Some Fascist and Neo-Nazi organisations have found a new scape-goat in the coloured immigrant, providing day-to-day reminders of lost glories overseas and present problems at home. But their influence is very limited. A few young Teddy boys have occasionally tried to scare lone coloured pedestrians with physical violence. Such instances, however, do not have any public sympathy but only indicate misguided outlet for youth frustration. Although a substantial portion of British public are prejudiced (27% prejudiced or prejudice inclined according to a survey in 1967), yet the vast majority of them do not favour strong arm tactics. They would leave it to the government to devise a just solution.

The government in power, whether Labour or Tory had to take into consideration the mood of the public. The government policies were to a great extent influenced by the speeches and suggestions of Enoch Powell. The choice for the government was not an easy one. It could not differentiate between its citizens on the basis of skin-colour without being termed "racialist". At the same time the questions of justice, moral principles, honouring the past commitments, and its prestige and interests abroad were involved. It, therefore, tried to accommodate Powell's ideas as much as possible within the framework of other issues at stake.

The rise of Enoch Powell as a strong and forceful advocate of stringent controls on coloured immigration constitutes the central focus of this study. It tries, firstly, to analyse the factors responsible for the popularity and widespread appeal of Powell's views among the British public. Secondly, it tries to trace the influence of Powell's

political views and opinions on subsequent immigration legislations. The study is based on a survey of the available literature and is essentially in the nature of a secondhand study. A more comprehensive first-hand study is contemplated on this subject later. It will try to focus more specifically upon public attitudes to Powell and the influence of his views upon the formulation of the British immigration policy both in the past and at present. Meanwhile, this second-hand study was designed to indicate the broad contents of the problem and to provide an understanding of Powell and his philosophy.

II Immigrants and their Background

Outsiders entering Britain before the Second World War were very few in number. They comprised mainly the seamen and a handful of students and professionals. Some aliens came to the country to help in the war effort and subsequently settled there. Even their number, however, was not particularly large. Large-scale immigration to Britain actually began after the war. Because of rapid industrialization there was acute shortage of labour to run the factories. Good prospects of employment and better living conditions encouraged people from the Commonwealth countries to come to Britain. The imperial link further helped migration from these countries as there was no restriction upon the entry of Commonwealth citizens to Britain, The Mother Country¹.

The main reason for immigration was economic, the 'push factor' being over-population in their home-countries, poverty and fewer opportunities for employment. This coupled with the 'pull factors' of

virtual full employment in the host country and the political circumstances caused this movement of people. In India, the partition caused the uprooting of millions from their traditional areas of domicile, and the resulting communal strife forced them to flee en-masse to other places.

The first to come were mostly people from the West Indies and, to a lesser extent, from West Africa, Cyprus and other smaller countries. The West Indians started coming to Britain in increasing numbers after 1952 when their entry in to the United States, their traditional country for immigration, was restricted. The Asians followed later and reached their peak just before the restrictions on entry were imposed in 1962. Table 1 and 2 presents the estimated net inward movement of west Indians, Indians and Pakistanis between 1955-66.

The West Indians, Indian and Pakistanis form the bulk of the total common-wealth immigrants. The last two groups are also referred to as Asians. The former had a higher expectations on their coming to Britain, as they came from a British-oriented sub-culture. Being English speaking and as christians sharing the same religion, they naturally thought of their ready acceptance in the Mother Country. They were the most disillusioned and disappointed group. They thought it very un-christian like to be treated as unequal because of their skin colour. Their dark complexion and negroid features were a distinct disadvantage as these were associated with primitive culture.⁴

⁴ Historically, the negroes were thought as backwards because, of all other races of the world, they had not produced any major civilization of their own and were considered incapable of doing so.

T A B L E - 1

Estimated net inward movement of West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis

	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962		1963	1964	1965	1966
								Jan-Jun	Jul-Dec				
West Indians	27550	29810	23000	15000	16400	49650	66300	31800	3241	7928	14848	13400	9620
Indians	5800	5600	6600	6200	2950	5900	23750	19050	3050	17498	15513	18815	18402
Pakistanis	1850	2050	5200	4700	850	2500	25100	25080	137	16336	10980	7427	8008
Total of West Indian, Indians & Pakistanis	35200	37450	34800	25900	20200	58050	115150	75930	6154	41762	41341	39642	36030

Source: Patterson, Sheila 1969: Table I P:3.

T A B L E - 2

Estimated coloured population resident in England and Wales - 1966.

Country of origin	Born Overseas	Born U.K.	Total
India	180400	43200	223600
Pakistan (East & West)	109600	10100	119700
Ceylon	12900	3200	16100
Jamaica	188100	85700	273800
Rest of Caribbean	129800	50500	180300
West Africa	43100	7600	50700
Far East	47000	13000	60000
	710900	213300	924200

Source: Rose, 1969: Table 10.2, P.99.

The Asians came from countries having a distinct culture of their own. They had their own religion, language, customs and values which they were keen to maintain. They found some of the British social customs very disgusting and immoral. For example, in their own family structure older members were usually revered and held in high esteem. To them the British practice of sending their aged and retired persons to homes for the old people was indicative of degeneration in British social life. Similarly, a people accustomed to purdah for their womenfolk, they were astounded at the "immorality" prevailing all around. They were thus keen to prevent their children and families from coming under this influence.

Among the Asians the Indians came mainly from two widely separated traditional areas of immigration. These were the Punjab in the north and Gujrat in the west. In Punjab they mostly came from two of the most thickly populated districts of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur. The Punjabis are an adventurous and industrious people. A majority of those who emigrated were Sikhs of mostly Jat or farmer class. For them it was still more difficult to adjust because employment was often denied to them on account of their wearing turbans. In some cases the Sikh immigrants got their hair cut and did away with the traditional turban. But doing so meant a loss of face when going back home. Wherever it is feasible, they built Gurudwaras and formed associations.

The orthodox Sikhs are retaining turbans and other marks symbolic of their religion. In one case, after a long controversy, they forced the Manchester Transport Committee to agree to allow turbans for Sikh recruits. But in some cases the liberal gurudwaras have not insisted

on retention of these marks for their membership and holding office. According to one estimate, about 50% of the Sikh immigrants hold on to their traditional symbols. The immigrants children are, however, exposed to British influence in their schooling and education and do not much care for those symbols. Many parents naturally resent the anglicising of their children and consider this an attempt to corrupt them.

The Punjabis form roughly $\frac{4}{5}$ th of the total Indian immigrants. The rest of the $\frac{1}{5}$ th population is mostly Gujrati - some of them coming from East Africa where they had earlier migrated. The Gujratis are mainly a trading community. They are all mostly Hindus, speaking Gujrati language. They are quite conscious of the caste system and conform in behaviour to the rules of jati and biradari. They are eager to maintain their status in the eye of other members of their community. A strong sanction on the conduct of a young Indian man in Britain is that if he were to acquire a bad reputation for his conduct it might adversely effect his family back home.

The Pakistani immigrants came largely from Punjab and Mirpur areas of Kashmir. Other areas of emigration were North West Frontier Province and the Campbellpore area (mostly Pathans). Up to a quarter of those who have been hitherto counted as Pakistanis are from Bangladesh, formerly East Pakistan. They are from the traditional emigration area of sylhet and the maritime areas of East Bengal. They are all almost exclusively Muslims. Those from Bangladesh speak Bengali language and cannot communicate freely with the West Pakistanis. The West Pakistanis can, however, easily communicate with Indian

immigrants from Punjab in Punjabi language or in Urdu. Except for religion, they have everything in common. The Pakistanis are, however, more strict in the matter of purdah and free movement of their women folk. For this reason the general tendency among them has been to leave their wives back home and themselves stay in all male dormitory houses, living cheaply and saving as much as possible. Another tendency among the Pakistanis has been to bring their young teenage boys to live with them leaving the mothers at home as for them separate bath room, and cooking facilities would otherwise be needed.

Apart from a minority of professionals and skilled workers, the bulk of the common-wealth immigrants were not adequately equipped to enter the complex urban industrial society. Most of them were farm workers or craftsmen, and few of them could speak or write English on their entry. The educational and literacy levels of Pakistanis was lower than those of the Indians.⁵ Their skills were also generally thought lower than those found among Indian immigrants (Patterson, Sheila 1969: 148). Their tendency was, therefore, to earn as much as possible during their stay of five to seven years and to return to their country with the savings to buy land or start business. This has also been the intention of most of the Indians who had mainly come for work.

Thus most of the Asians eventually wished to return home. They cherished their own values and were not suitably disposed to adopt the English way of life. But with the passage of time they got more accustomed to the British conditions. With the arrival of their

⁵ The 1961 literacy figure for Pakistan was 15.3%, the national India figure 23% - which was however higher in the Punjab and Gujrat.

wives and children to stay with them, and with their children growing up in English society, their chances of returning and establishing themselves back home have gradually diminished. A majority of them have adopted England as their home country for all practical purposes. In the case of West Indians there is a high sex ratio with virtual parity between men and women. And the consolidation and enlargement of their families is indicative of their intention of permanent settlement. There has been an imbalance in the case of Indians and more so in the case of Pakistanis. According to an estimate in 1965, the Indian ratio was given as one woman to two men and the Pakistani ratio as one woman to twenty-five men. This imbalance is of course much less now, showing a tendency toward settlement.

III The Immigrant Experience

To most of the coloured immigrants discrimination is the most disappointing feature of life in Britain. They feel that unlike the Cypriots, Italians and Immigrants from continental countries who do not encounter much obvious discrimination, they have to put up with widespread discrimination. This has, therefore, become a part of their experience and moulded their adjustment in Britain to a considerable extent.

Discrimination on account of race and skin colour has no official sanction in Britain. All the immigrants, irrespective of their skin-colour, are regarded as citizens of the country and, theoretically at least, they are all treated on par with the local population. However, the presence of discriminatory attitudes ranging from a massive to a

substantial scale has been noted by a number of researchers.⁶ For instance studies conducted by using operators with similar qualification and abilities but differing in racial origin and skin colour have shown that whites receive a more favourable response in employment market than the coloured people. The people from the West Indies were worst off, especially on account of their dark skin and negroid physical features. Table 3 presents the results of one such study on racial discrimination in the field of employment.

Prevalence of discriminatory social attitudes toward coloured groups have produced a general feeling among the immigrants that they can get only those jobs for which no whites are immediately available. Such feelings are borne out by a study of those employers who hesitate to employ coloured workers. Daniel notes that the reasons generally advanced by hesitant employers are that immigrants possessed poor knowledge of English, that they are not suitably qualified, and that they they are not used to the English way of life. After excluding such immigrants, it has been found that coloured persons with highest qualifications and skill are the one who suffer most discrimination. Asian immigrants, in spite of their education find that they cannot get office jobs and have to resort to duties as bus conductors, and transport employees, etc., with lower status. Those who have been able to get office jobs are mostly in behind the scene work as technical assistants, and in accounts where their role in the administrative set up is passive. Because of shortage of white personnel a significant

6 Michael Banton 1955 National Survey of White attitudes.
Clifford S. Hill 1964.

TABLE - 3

(Grounds for claiming refusal of work because of race or colour)

	Per cent
Was told 'no coloured'	25
Was told 'no foreigners' or 'English only'	2
Was told 'coloured quota full'	4
Was offered the job on phone or in writing but turned down when seen to be coloured on arrival	3
Was told 'unsuitable' without being asked for any details of skills, qualification, or experience	8
Was told 'no vacancies' when he knew there were vacancies because they continued to be advertised	17
White men applying with him got jobs	17
Some one he knew got the job after him	3
Some one he knew at the firm told him	4
Was told 'we will let you know' 'we'll send for you and never heard	7
No answers	10
	<u>100</u>

Source: W.W. Daniel 1971 PP 73.

member of the qualified immigrants are employed as doctors, nurses, and teachers. There is un-deniable evidence of immigrants who were refused jobs solely on reasons of race and colour. The result of one such survey is shown in Table - 3.

Similar evidence or discrimination is found in housing. Table-4 presents the results of a study on private letting where in a West Indian, a white immigrant from Hungary and a white English tester applied to landlords in person. Discrimination was reported in two-thirds of cases when flats which did not exclude the coloured in advance were tested in practice.

Table - 4

Result of personal applications to landlords (60 applications)

Occasions when discrimination occurred	45
Occasions when all three applicants were given similar information	15
	<u>60</u>
Types of Discrimination (45 occasions)	
West Indian told accommodation taken; both other applicants told it was vacant	38
West Indian asked for higher rent than both other applicants	4
West Indian and Hungarian told accommodation taken; Englishman told it was vacant	2
West Indian and Hungarian asked for higher rent than Englishman	1
	<u>45</u>

Source: W.W. Daniel 1971 pp. 155

The coloured immigrants face difficulty in purchase of housing also. They are offered only dilapidated buildings in the old quarters of the city. They have difficulties in getting a mortgage and usually they are asked to give a higher initial deposit and with higher rate of interest as well. The Estate Agents and Building Societies also discriminate against coloured immigrants. The former argue that they have to take into account the wishes of their clients who do not wish to have coloured people in the neighbourhood.

It is in purchase and renting of accommodation that the coloured immigrants are victims of large scale discrimination. But in the third alternative of council housing also, whose declared policy is of 'no discrimination', they are in no way better off. In fact the council houses mostly cater to the manual worker class and since the immigrants mostly come under this category it should be expected that they would be most benefited by this facility. But oddly enough, hardly about 1% of the council flats have been allotted to them. This is because conditions of eligibility are so framed that a vast majority immigrants are excluded. Otherwise also the officials are influenced by personal prejudices to some extent and the net result of their behaviour is to the disadvantage of the immigrants.

Besides the major fields of discrimination like housing and employments, there are other fields also where discrimination occurs. These are services like insurance, credit facilities, car hiring entertainment, hotel accommodation, holiday camping etc. Immigrants seeking insurance cover are frequently quoted higher premium rates and some times the cover is denied by insurance agencies.

Occasionally, coloured immigrants experience personal unpleasant incidents. Indecent language and abuses hurled against them are some forms of indignities to which they are subjected. The term Paki-bashing have been applied to incidents where lone Pakistanis were cornered by white youths and skin-heads and beaten up. Some times immigrant house owners find slogans splashed against their walls or find their window panes smashed by rowdy elements.

The effect of discrimination on the west Indians has been to make them more defiant. It has been found that because of their frustration they behave in a manner intended to ignore the feelings of white neighbours. They talk loudly, form noisy groups and organise late night parties to the inconvenience of whites around them. But by and large the Asians have adjusted their lives so as to insulate themselves from the hostile attitude of the white community.⁷ They avoid circumstances where they can be exposed to discrimination. They live in their own closed community avoiding contact with the whites as far as possible. The educated among them find discrimination very distressing. But the majority of unskilled and the manual workers adopt a resigned attitude.⁸ They feel that as labourers they are earning more than what they would earn in their own countries and therefore feel satisfied in spite of the other draw-backs. A comparison of how the immigrants find their life in Britain is given in Table-5.

7 The discriminating and hostility of the local population has served to unite the immigrant population. It has encouraged them to form their own associations to protect their rights. At the same time it discouraged their free mixing with the indigenous population.

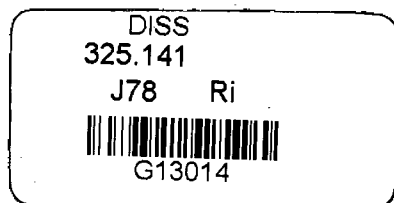
8 The first generation immigrants accept it as a matter of fact. The second generation is however adamant and would like their parents to take a tougher line against this inequality.

TABLE - 5

Life in Britain compared with expectations (all informants)

	Total	W.Indians	Pakistanis	Indians	Cypots
No. of informants- wighed base for percentage	974	540	217	118	99
	1720	851	492	219	158
Comparison with expectations:	%	%	%	%	%
Better	20	12	26	26	33
About the same	29	25	31	32	34
Worse	36	53	19	20	18
Mixed feeling	15	10	24	22	15
	100	100	100	100	100

Source: W.W. Daniel 1971 pp. 34.



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IV The British Orientation

The orientation and disposition of the English people towards the coloured immigrants is partly a result of their history and partly arises from their experience of living with coloured immigrants.

The commonwealth as it is constituted today is a voluntary association of nations who chose to remain together of their own free will and who are otherwise quite independent to conduct their own affairs. However, the fact remains that the commonwealth countries which are the source of coloured immigrants had all in the past been under the rule of Britain. The relationship between the white British colonialists and the native population during the colonial rule had been that of ruler and the ruled. This therefore gave rise to feeling of white superiority, which still persists - especially among the older generation. Independence was granted to the former colonies reluctantly, and under the force of circumstances. The white imperialists were therefore not mentally reconciled to the idea of treating the newly independent nations as equals. The British outlook is by and large conservative, and it is often levelled against them that they are still living in the nineteenth century. They are unwilling to face the fact of loss of Empire - which was the mainstay of their glory and prosperity. They want to stick to their old traditions, customs, and thinking and with this to their attitude towards their former subjects and how the present immigrants.

Britain is mainly a trading nation, and the attitude of the Englishmen towards immigrants was governed by economic considerations. The immigrants were tolerated as long as they were economically suitable. The community did not mind as long as the immigrants did the lowest paid jobs which no

one else wanted to do. But as soon as some of them began to try to rise to levels with better salary, or to jobs for which there were white aspirants as well, there was a fierce opposition from the white employees. Because of this the coloured workers were permanently relegated to an inferior position vis-a-vis their white colleagues. Any attempt by them to rise and to try for remunerative jobs was met by disapproval and resentment and generated strong prejudices.

Prejudices have been nurtured by other factors as well. The bulk of the immigrants were non-professional, workers. On arrival, they naturally moved to industrial areas with labour shortage, and filled this gap. There was however no provision for extra facilities to house them or to provide more social amenities. This caused extra strain on the services. The resulting deterioration was resented by the indigenous population and the immigrants were blamed for causing this state of affairs.

The fact is that the immigrants were the worst sufferers because of the shortage of housing. They had to occupy whatever dilapidated buildings could be found and then too they had to manage whatever accommodation was available. They were generally refused admission in white localities. It was, therefore, very common for more than one immigrant families to live in the same building sharing toilet and other facilities. They were over-crowded and sometimes a whole family had to manage in a single room. These instances have been very common and widely reported. For this reason also there is a widespread feeling that the immigrants *live* shabbily and are dirty. On the contrary, however, they were not responsible for this sub-standard living, as they had no way out. They already have been made to pay more for what was worth much less.

True, some of the Asian manual workers and especially those with their families back home wanted to live cheaply in order to save a larger portion of their earnings. But even those who had their families with them and wished to get decent accommodation failed to secure it. They had to pay higher charges and were forced to live with meagre facilities. Over crowding was the direct result of the lack of housing available for the coloured immigrants. Greedy landlords exploited the situation to get more money without caring for the amenities and the up-keep of the houses.⁹

As the immigrant workers were more dedicated and hardworking they were put in shift work, foundries, rubber moulding jobs, and Textiles etc. They served a very useful purpose by their willingness to fill a large variety of manual occupations. But with their poor education and low socio-economic background they became easy ploy in the hands of unscrupulous politicians. They were wildly charged for undercutting wages (by working for long hours at low wages). They were accused of lowering the standard and ousting the local workers from their jobs. The charges that were earlier levelled against the Irish workers were now directed against the new coloured worker class, who followed the Irish in the new lowest social strata.

There is a feeling among the general public that the immigrants constitute a drain on the National Assistance funds. They are also blamed for living on immoral earning. There has been a high incidence of venereal diseases among the commonwealth immigrants. This includes the West Indians

9 The immigrants who owned their houses did try to maintain it properly. Moreover, health inspectors and other visitors to Asian houses have found no evidence of dirty or unclean living.

for whom these figures are quite serious. It is generally they who are thought to be more promiscuous, because for them marriage does not have the same social sanctity. Among the Asians entering Britain, there are however many cases of ill health because of poverty. Tuberculosis is more common, particularly among Pakistanis. It has also been suggested in some quarters that immigrants come to Britain to avail of the free services in curing their disease. But there is nothing to substantiate it. It does, however, provide an indication of the general attitude towards the immigrants.

Another accusation that is frequently levelled against immigrants is that they are given to crime. Records for those deported due to criminal offences however place Asian last among Irish, West Indians, Maltese and Cypriots.

Sometimes the social habits of the immigrants are also considered offensive by their white neighbours. It is complained that they are more noisy and the Asian houses smell strongly of garlic or curry preparations. The English like more privacy and seclusion in their homes. There are however more and more of them who are now developing a taste for Indian curry and other preparations like Tandoori Chicken and Mughlai dishes, etc. Nevertheless, prejudice still persists against the Asian immigrants for their food habits.

It is clear that the grounds for the prejudicial attitude of the British public are not altogether justified. Firstly, they are often based on distortions of the actual realities. Secondly, there is also a strong tendency among them to generalize from ^hstay experiences and stereotype the entire immigrant community. When they see some people

living in unclean and dirty surroundings they assume that all the immigrants are unclean and dirty. They overlook many of the immigrants who are smartly dressed and live in perfectly clean and hygienic conditions. Again, when they see some immigrants indulging in undesirable practices such as tax evasion they attribute to the whole community. Some people among the whites who have known Asians intimately find them intelligent, cultured and good at work. Similarly, those British personnel officers who had worked in India and knew the Sikhs were quite keen to take them in their establishments. By and large, however, the tendency to stereotype the immigrants remained strong.

This tendency directly affects the attitude and orientation of the average Englishman toward the Asian immigrants.

The poverty and problems in their home country is one of the factor which contributes to the bad light in which immigrants are viewed. The coverage on the T.V. and other mass media of the plight of their countrymen back home is very damaging to the dignity and self-respect of the immigrant population. The foreign reporters are naturally interested to show things which are not common in their own countries, and in this respect poverty, hunger etc., are favourite themes. The viewers, not familiar with the ever all conditions, find all this very horrifying, and form a prejudiced image about all people coming from that country.

English parents, thus, disapprove of their children studying in school with large number of immigrants children. They feel that the educational progress of the white students is held back because the teacher has to spend more time on immigrants children whose mother tongue is Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi or Gujrati. For this reason in some schools

extra staff has been provided to hold reception classes for the immigrant children throughout the different schools so that there is no concentration any where. The Asian children have been found to be quite studious and they value education more as compared to others.

Colour prejudice soon becomes evident to the new immigrants, from their own experience or the experience of others which comes to their knowledge. They soon find out that they are not liked by the host community and are cold-shouldered everywhere. This becomes obvious when they visit public places like hotels, pubs, dance halls etc. The tendency among Asians is then to avoid such situations where chances of prejudice and discrimination can occur. He therefore turns to his own community where he can feel a sense of security and also satisfy his social needs. Thus the immigrants form their own communities based on their common language or place of origin etc.¹⁰ This is resented by the whites and accentuates prejudice among them. They see it as an attempt to stay away from the mainstream of British values.

The politicians take advantage of the situation. Instead of suggesting solution to these problems and highlighting the extra needs of the community, some of them placed the entire blame for the difficulties on the immigrants. As the immigrants belonged to young age they had a higher birth rate. It was widely proclaimed that they are multiplying at a faster rate and would dominate the whites ~~in~~ a few years hence. Another issue exploited to the maximum has been the occupation and ownership

10 The British antipathy towards the outsiders in their country and latter isolation due to it are so complete that there is hardly any social contact between the two after working hours. Whatever little contact ~~their~~ remains is mainly of an official nature and is limited to business dealings.

there

of certain localities by non whites in areas with high percentage of immigrant population. It was made out that due to coloured people some areas have changed beyond recognition and look like a miniature Bombay or Daccarather than an English locality. These issues along with stories of harassment of white landlords at the hands of immigrant received feelings among the public.

✓ Enoch Powell and his Thinking

Enoch Powell has been in the forefront of the movement for stringent controls on the flow of immigrants and for the regulation of immigrants ~~and emigrants~~ to Great Britain. Because of his critical influence on the shaping of the British immigration policies, it will be useful to briefly trace his social and economic background and the development of his thinking about coloured immigration.

Enoch Powell was born to a middle class family of Stretchford in Midland on June 16, 1912. He was the only child of his family. Because of his modest family background, Powell often says that he is the son of the working class. However, his parents were both school teachers. Powell's father was a very upright man while his mother was always in cheerful spirits (Roth; 1970:10). She was a woman of great ambition for her son, tremendous determination, courage and independence of mind. She naturally exercised a powerful influence, in the shaping of her son's early thinking and outlook. Powell himself has admitted that he is a 'mother's boy'.

Powell's early education began at ~~King~~ King Edwards Grammar School at

Birmingham. Later, he went to the Trinity College, Cambridge, as an open scholar. He took a brilliant degree in classics and collected a glittering array of academic awards including Cambridge's blue ribbon of scholarship, the Craven Prize (Utley, 1968: 45). Powell was, thus, a brilliant student. On completion of his studies, he assumed the chair in Greek at Sydney University, Australia. He was said to be the youngest professor at the time in the whole Commonwealth. He served as the Professor of Greek until the outbreak of the war, when he left in order to join the army as a private. Powell was determined to join the army in case Britain entered the war. When that happened, he happily renounced the professorship. Roth reports that Powell saw his prospect of joining the army with relish and felt it was the happiest day of his life (Roth, 1970: 31).

Powell served in the army for a period of nearly six and a half years. He served during this time with distinction and was eventually promoted to the rank of brigadier. His last military assignment was as the Secretary of the Joint Intelligence Committee for India and South-East Asia Command. 'Powell was not the first Englishman; writes Utley, "to have his attitude towards politics and life completely revolutionized by the spectacle of the Indian Empire at work (1958: 50). He saw in it

Powell had decided as far back as 1944 that he would enter politics. On his return to England after his military assignment there, he entered politics. The Conservative Party had few enough men of quality at the time to staff their party organization, and Powell stretched to the limits on research work in a number of departments. Foreign and imperial affairs no longer dominated Tory Party thinking instead, the Party was desperately

trying to construct new policies on such matters as housing and education. Powell applied himself to these and became a keen and fashionable advocate of 'Conservative planning'. Powell entered the House of Commons in 1947 as a ~~ky~~ conservative candidate at a by-election in the Yorkshire mining constituency of Normanton, a traditional stronghold of the Labour Party.

Powell's views on immigration are clearly an extension of his generally imperialist political orientation. Almost as soon as he had returned from Normanton, Powell had given expression to his deep imperialist passion on the British Nationality Bill. Powell declared, "The British Nationality Act, 1948, removed the status of "subject of the King as the basis of British Nationality, and substituted for allegiance to the Crown the concept of a number of separate citizenships combined together by statute" (Foot, 1969: 17-18). Powell was opposed to the British Nationality Bill because it dispensed with subject, because it recognized the independence of the Dominions, and it gave the right to these new countries to break away altogether from the Crown and establish republics.

Powell's views on immigration have not remained throughout, but appear rather to have gradually hardened towards a racist and anti-immigration stance. For example, until 1964, he is not on record as having said anything opposing immigration. In 1964, ~~however~~ his support for control was in mild language and essentially non-racist. In an Article in the Wolverhampton Express and Star on the 10th October, 1964, he wrote, "I have set and always will set my face like flint against making any difference between one citizen of this country and another on grounds of his origin." His views at that time were logical. His support for restricting immigration was aimed at

improving the situation resulting from un-planned policy. His advocated controls only for a temporary period till the whole thing was properly organised. He recognised the human obligation for the free entry of the dependents of immigrants and declared his faith in a multi-racial society.

In fact when the early demands for immigration controls were made by Osborne and his colleagues in the Tory Party, Powell when approached, refused to support them. During the time when Powell was a member of the Tory Government incharge of Health Services he appreciated the good work being done by the immigrant doctors and staff.

His ideas about immigration and race relations underwent a drastic change within the 4 year period from 1964 to 68. His speeches during 1968-69 were highly inflammatory and marked by racialist tone. He used highly charged phrases and images. So much so that his speeches were compared with those by Hitler and Goebbels, if the word jew was replaced for immigrant. He made very gloomy forecasts and painted a dark picture for future. He spoke of the blackman having a whip hand over the white man in fifteen or twenty years time. He likened the inflow with a nation busily engaged in heaping up its own funeral pyre. Some people criticised him for inciting racial hatred, while other admired him for having the courage to speak out the un-speakable.

His un-inhibited speeches earned him a dismissal from the shadow cabinet. This however projected his image as a martyr in the cause of freedom of speech. Overnight the extreme right wingers found in him a leader around whom they could rally.

The reversal of his ideas from non-racialist to racialist form was so complete that many people accuse him of hypocrisy and political oppor-

tunism. It is pointed out that when the great majority of immigrants entered the country during 1951 to 1961 Powell had nothing to say and kept silent even when he was approached for supporting immigration controls. The reason given for his Anti-immigrant posture is that in the 1964 general election it proved to be highly successful vote winner. The result in Smethwick election amply proved it.

Even Powell himself finds it difficult to explain and reconcile this difference in ideas. He attributes it to the errors in calculation. He admits that according to this previous calculation he had thought that the 1962 controls would be sufficient to solve the problem. But that the latter events, proved it otherwise.

According to his latest thinking he wants the non-white immigrants to be sent back to their respective countries. He wants to 'keep Britain white'. He is opposed to the blacks settling in the countries. According to him "the west Indians or Asians does not by being born in England become an Englishman. In law he becomes a United Kingdom citizen by birth. In fact he is a west Indian or Asian still" (his speech in Eastborne on 16th Nov. 1968).

Thus his main concern is the race aspect. In his earlier thinking he had advocated rapid and effective integration so as to restore a homogenous community at the local and national level. His subsequent views however were in sharp contrast with this and are markedly racist. While his earlier support for controls was prompted by economic considerations, this ceased to be the main reason and the race issue was the compelling reason in his philosophy. He in fact made an estimate of the cost involved for repatriation of 600,000 to 700,000 immigrants. By taking the average size of the family as five and ~~£~~[£] 200⁰ for their

passage and resettlement he arrived at the figure of £ 300 millions, and showed that this represented only the cost of eighteen months' aid to the underdeveloped countries.

VI Social Repts of Powellism

Powellism is often used as a term to designate the political philosophy of Enoc Powell towards the immigrants, especially its racist undertones. A political scientist interested in the understanding of the social success of this phenomenon can explain it in terms of one of the two alternate propositions. He can explain it as an expression of the personal charisma of Enoc Powell and the success of that charisma. Or, he can explain it as a phenomenon rooted in the social and economic condition of the times. The two explanations are not mutually exclusive, but they nevertheless differ as to emphasis.

The discussion of the political thinking of Enoc Powell as well as the British orientations to the coloured immigrants would seem to show that the success of powellism as a socio-political phenomenon owes itself less to Powell's personal charisma than the relevance of his political views to the demands of the times and aspirations of the British public, especially to Britons belonging to the working classes. For example, the tremendous popularity enjoyed by Powell among the Britons can easily be seen to be a reflection of the fact that what Powell says on the issue of immigration strikes a sympathetic chord among them on account of their contemporary social and economic difficulties. Powellism, thus, is Enoc Powell's opportunistic response to the popular mood in Great Britain.

England's present economic difficulties is closely linked to the decline of the Empire. Political dominance of Britain in world politics had been gradually declining after the war when one British colony after ~~the next~~ another emerged as an independent nation. With the gradual shrinking of the Empire, the economy of this commercial country naturally came up against a crisis. The rise in the rate of unemployment, a natural outcome of the shrinking in overseas markets, was accompanied by a decline in per capita income as well as the level of social and economic amenities enjoyed by the average Briton as well as the efficiency of the welfare system. All these developments were partly a consequence of internal forces and partly they were precipitated by trends and developments in the internal arena. Even so, the British public has rarely found it possible to accept the logic of events and Powellism has rendered that acceptance doubly difficult by seeking scapegoats for those ills.

) Powellism has very much succeeded in making a scape goat of the Asian or coloured population. Powell's utterances on the delicate issue of race relations have been more than sufficient to create resentment against the coloured immigrants. His exaggerated accounts of ill-treatment of helpless whites at the hands of immigrants received wide propoganda throughout the country. Even in those areas where there was negligible immigrant population. These unpleasant stories, real or fictitious, created public opinion which was prejudiced against immigrants.

Areas with high immigrant population already had problems concerning racial harmony. In such areas Powellism received ready support. In areas of comparative white poverty there were fears of economic

economic competition from the non-whites. Powells idea of removing the immigrants and sending them back came in as a very handy solution to their apprehension.

The Whites feel that the immigrants deprive them of many of the facilities which were earlier exclusively available to them. The quality of services in areas of large immigrant concentration deteriorated due to lack of any additional arrangements. Because of their younger age, the immigrants made a proportionately higher demand on maternity wards, but this did not mean that they were necessarily the chief beneficiaries of the available services. Yet, the general stereotype against the immigrants has been that they take out more from the country than they put in to it. For example, Rose and Associates found that at least 60 per cent of the respondents had this belief. This proportion was as high as 75 per cent for Wolverhampton which has a sizeable immigrant population and which, incidentally, is also the constituency of Enoch Powell. It was also a general belief among the whites that the National Assistance, Health Services, and Education were the Services benefitting the immigrants unduly. The results of the Rose survey are set out in Table 7. However, the investigation by K. Jones in 1966 (Table 8) showed that the contrary was actually true. Mrs. Jones showed that in every area of social welfare the cost per head was higher for the total population than it was for the immigrant population. She also noted that the average immigrant received 80 per cent as much in social benefit as the average member of the total population in 1961, and this figure seemed likely to become 80-85 per cent in 1981.

The popularity of Powell has been to a large extent due also to the fact that he came out with his speeches when the public sentiments had

already been aroused and the time was very opportune. This is borne out by the fact that the other right wing politicians who raised their voice against immigration before Powell did not get much response. The general public at that stage were indifferent and did not consider this an issue of any direct concern. In a national survey of white attitudes in 1955 Michael Banton discovered that only 10 per cent of his sample objected to having a coloured neighbour. Another survey in 1964 by Clifford S. Hill disclosed that 49 per cent of the respondents objected to it. It is clear that attitudes had changed because in the latter case the coloured immigrants had actually come and started living in the areas.

When the coloured immigration started in early 50s it was a period of Industrial boom. With desperate labour shortage the immigrants did not pose any special problem. Complaints against them started when the Industrial boom was on the wave. Later on it became a big issue and Powell got the maximum political reward by taking up this issue.

The extreme right wingers and those believing in racial purity came instantly to the support of Powellism. Powell became a hero of the teddy boys and other right wing extremists.

The declining power of Britain was also one of the main reasons why the immigrants were thought to constitute a burden. It is widely asserted that Britain is a small country and cannot accommodate all the incoming immigrants and their dependents. On the question of Uganda Asians Powell thus said that the British obligation was only the moral one which they shared no more than equally with all the other nations and much less than equally with their true home countries, notably

India. He was successful in mobilising public opinion and in forcing the government to eat its own words over British Passport Holders. He was supported in this by the popular sentiment that had already crystalized in Britain and the growing apprehensions becoming further aggravated by the fresh immigrants of a large number of Ugandan Asians.

TABLE 7

Stereotypes: "Immigrants receive more social service benefit their contributions."

True for immigrants from	Per cent
West Indies	62
India	60
Pakistan	63
Greece, Cyprus	36
None of them	27

Source: E.B. Rose and Associates 1969 pp.571

TABLE 8

Cost per head of Social Services, 1961-81

£ at 1961 Prices				
	Health and welfare	Education and child care	National insurance and assistance benefit	Total
1961				
Total Population	18.5	12.4	31.2	62.1
Immigrant Population	18.4	13.3	19.2	50.9
1966				
Total Population	18.6	12.1	31.7	62.4
Immigrant Population	17.4	13.9	17.4	48.7
1981				
Total Population	19.0	15.3	33.5	67.8
A Immigrant Population	16.9	21.6	19.1	57.6
B Immigrant Population	16.8	22.9	18.1	57.9

Source: K. Janes, QUOTED IN
FRONT. 1967.

VII Immigration Policies and Practices

The foregoing discussion of the development of Enoch Powell's thinking and the widespread appeal enjoyed by his political views on immigration has cleared the way for a review of the British Immigration policies and practices and influence of Powell upon them. It is, therefore, possible to review this subject briefly.

It is well known that during the days of the Empire British citizenship was common to all British subjects. With independence of some countries it became necessary to modify this definition. In the British Nationality act of 1948 citizenship was divided into two categories: "citizenship of the United Kingdom and colonies" and "citizenship of independent common-wealth countries." In other words, the citizens of a common-wealth country came to possess, in addition to their national citizenship, the common status of being British subjects. Thus^{arose} the concept of New Common-wealth¹¹ which included countries like India, Pakistan and West Indies. Their nationals retained their status as British subjects.

As British subjects, commonwealth citizens were free to enter Britain without any let or hinderance. This privilege was not made of much use by persons from New Commonwealth until early 50s when some West

11 The old common wealth countries comprise Canada Australia and New Zealand which were colonies settled by the people of British stock. During the days of the Empire British authorities showed contrasting attitudes towards those colonies and the subject territories inhabited by the "natives". The former were given self governing colony or the dominion status while the latter were left under direct rule.

Indians started coming in search of jobs. After the Second world war there was a period of acute shortage of labour in Britain. This crisis was sought to be met by importing European displaced persons, and ex-servicemen. In some cases these schemes only met with partial success. The labour scarcity persisted and the West Indians coming to Britain were quickly absorbed in industrial areas. Taking advantage of the open door policy and encouraged by the employment possibilities the Asians also started coming.

The entry of coloured immigrants produced resentment among the local people. Sir Cysil Esborne voiced his disapproval against their presence and called for legislation to control their arrival as early as 1934. He could not muster enough support during the 50s. However, with increasing numbers of blacks around and claiming same social benefits as a matter of right the public resentment in immigration areas mounted. The 1958 race riots brought the issue to the fore. But it was not until 1961 that the Commonwealth immigrants Bill was introduced.

The Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 was passed as a temporary measure. (to be renewed every year). The main provisions of the Act was to limit the entry of the Commonwealth immigrants to those who were holders of work vouchers issued by the ministry of Labour. These were divided into categories A, B and C. The class "A" voucher holders were those who possessed a specific job in Britain to come to; class "B" were those who possessed special qualifications or recognised skills, and class "C" for unskilled persons without definite prospects of employment. It also provided for deportation of commonwealth citizens convicted of offences. This law for controls did not apply

to the Irish as it was stated that some practical difficulties were involved. This exception exposed the government to the charges of "hypocrisy" and "racialism".

The Labour Party, under the leadership of Hugh Gaitskell, stoutly opposed any closing of the commonwealth door. However, after his death the new leader, Harold Wilson, fell in line after sensing the popular sentiments and seeing the results of opinion polls. When the labour government assumed power it not only renewed the Act successively but also made the controls more stringent. The class C vouchers were discontinued under the Labour government in 1964 and in 1965 class A and B vouchers were also restricted. The annual issue of these vouchers was cut to 8500 (from 400 per week), this figure including 1000 vouchers per annum for Malta for at least two years. This special provision was widely interpreted as evidence of Colour bar, first in the favour of White Irish and then of the white Maltese.

The influence of Powellism on the policies of the Tory party was clear by the attitudes of the party leaders who gradually drifted to the anti-immigrant line. Though the 1962 Act was successful in drastically limiting the number of immigrants and the successive measures lightened it still further, yet the coming dependents and the families of the immigrants to join them were frowned upon by Enoch Powell and others. Powell was alarmed at the increase in population of coloured immigrants due to reunion of their families and their higher birth rate. He asked for restrictions to be imposed on the dependents as well. Voluntary repatriation was also urged. Tory Leader, Selwyn Lloyd proposed the application of 'one in, one out' principle to the immigrants to prevent a larger increase in their numbers.

Not to be outdone the labour government also adopted the very same policies which the Tories had advocated. The Anti-immigrant stance was popular with the British voters. Harold Wilson and the labour government claimed that there had been large scale evasion of the Act in the concluding months of the conservative government (labour came to power in 1964).

Evasion figures given officially were by its very nature not quite reliable - because it was calculated as the statistical difference between the figures available (for the net overall gain, and total submitted for settlement). The evasion of controls became a burning topic in 1965. On this basis stricter checks were proposed in the white paper of 1965. More discretionary powers for deportation were given to the Home Secretary for immigrants with less than 5 years residence who he considered had flouted immigration controls. Class C (unskilled) vouchers were formally discontinued. Class A and B vouchers were restricted and no more than 15 per cent of class A vouchers issued were to go to any one Commonwealth country.

The Times (3rd Aug.) criticized the government for proposing to continue poaching from commonwealth members their scarce skilled and professional manpower while keeping out their unskilled workers. The Economist (7th Aug.) castigated the government under the heading "Black Paper", and said that Commonwealth immigration was to be slashed while European and Irish immigration (30,000 net increase from Ireland in 1964) went on. It also found the proposals to deport without any recourse to the courts as "utterly intolerable". "Britain accepts the colour Bar" was the comment in New Statesman. The spectator termed it as a surrender to racial prejudice, vilely dressed up to appear

reasonable. Most provincial papers, however, commented more favourably.

During this period the immigration problem became an all the more highly discussed and inflammatory topic because of the situation in Kenya. That country was granted independence in 1963, and at that time there was a minority non-African population of Whites and Asians there. The British government gave an option to them to choose between Kenyan, the U.K. and the colonies to which they originally belonged the citizenships of within two years. As a result, about 100,000 Kenyan Asians clung to their British citizenship until after the 1965 limit. There was no warning from either Conservative or the Labour governments that this citizenship would not bring with it a right of free entry to Britain. In fact throughout the four years 1964-68, Kenyan Asians entered Britain free of control. In 1966, and especially 1967, Kenya government stepped up its programme of "Kenyanisation" with the result that more Kenyan Asians started to enter the country. The Kenyan Government made it clear that those Asians who retained U.K. citizenship were not to be allowed to have dual citizenship. Consequently, pressure mounted on those Asians who had not opted for Kenyan citizenship. They were deprived of Kenyan citizenship and equal opportunities in matter of jobs and practice of their profession was denied to them. This situation led Mr. Duncan Sandys, under whose legislation the Conservative government had granted the right of free entry to Kenyan Asians, to start a popular campaign to break the obligation Britain had entered into.

Enoch Powell, who himself was in the Tory cabinet in 1963 was among the first to call for curbs on the Kenyan Asians. He remarked that "By a decision of the Kenya Legislature, defining a Kenya citizen, hundreds of thousands of people in Kenya who had not belonged to this

country before and never dreamt that they did started to belong to it just like you and me....."He went on to state,

"It is quite monstrous that an un-foreseen loophole in legislation should be able to add another quarter of a million to that score without any control or limit whatever." Together with Sandys, Osborne and other conservative M.P.'s, he kept the immigration issue alive till at least the Labour government yielded, and announced plans to introduce voucher controlling the immigration of Kenyan Asians. With the Kenyanisation of policy the number of British citizens of Asian origin entering Britain increased rapidly. It was 1,500 in the month of August, 1967, 2,661 in September, 1,334 in November, and 2,294 in January. Sir Cyril Osborne predicted ominously that if we go on like this then "there will be more Blacks than whites in seventy years." Duncan Sandys and Powell were most responsible for changing the government policy and the opposition mind. The government legislation restricted the right of entry only to those British pass-port holders who had substantial connection with the U.K. by virtue of birth in U.K. 1500 work vouchers a year were allowed to come in U.K. Restrictions were imposed on the age of dependent children and ~~and~~ the parents wishing to join the immigrants in U.K. The Act was passed on 1st March, 1968.

Powell alongwith Sandys was largely responsible for the Anti-immigrant shift in the Government policy. But he was not to be outflanked. He was not satisfied by keeping the blacks out but wanted to send them back home. His important demand now was "Assisted repatriation and resettlement". He argued that the immigrants were too many and too alien to be assimilable.

The trend towards Powellism on the thinking of Tory leadership

was evidenced by a speech by Edward Heath at Walsall when he demanded a legislation to prevent new immigrants from permanent settlement. He wanted that they should be admitted for a specific job in a specific place for a specific time. Each immigrants permit would "have to be renewed every year, and their permit would have to be renewed every time they want to move to another job". Moreover, "future immigrants should no longer enjoy an absolute right to bring their relatives, however close". As per Mr. Heath's suggestion they were thus to be allowed in future in the words of Paul Foot as factory fodder, with no right to be joined by their families, no right to move around the country freely, no right even to stay as long as they wished. As soon as their jobs vanished so would they. This was in sharp contrast to the earlier talk about treating immigrants as equal citizens.

On coming to power in 1970 the Tory Government passed a new Immigration Act replacing all previous immigration legislation. It was a new single system of immigration control, applicable to both commonwealth and foreign nationals. Under this Act the people wanting to come into Britain were divided into two classes (a) patrial and (b) non-patrial. Under the patrial were included those having close connections with United Kingdom by birth, residence or descent and the rest were classified as non-patrials.

The patrials did not require any leave to enter Britain. They included the following.

- (i) Citizens of United Kingdom and colonies. (This citizenship is in relation to time before the year 1949) or those who have a parent or a grand parent who was born there or acquired citizenship.
- (ii) Citizens of U.K. and colonies who have come from overseas and accepted for permanent residence and have resided for five years.

(iii) Commonwealth citizens who have a parent born in the U.K. Others coming to U.K. were allowed limited leave, that is, stay for a limited period of time. Indefinite leave was given only to people who had already been accepted for permanent residence, the returning immigrants who had not been away for more than two years, and holders of special vouchers issued to U.K. pass-port holders and dependents of persons already settled in U.K. who is accepted for settlement.

Work vouchers were to be issued for a specific job with a particular employer who himself must apply to the department of employment. Persons having work permits were to be admitted for a period of upto 12 months in the first place. The approval of the Department of productively was required for a change of job. After one year, his stay might be extended if he was still in approved employment, and after four years he could be accepted for permanent settlement when other restrictions were removed.

There were exceptions for some persons like doctors, dentists, etc., who were coming to follow their profession. Young Commonwealth citizens wanting to spend a working holiday in the U.K. before settling down in their own countries were allowed in without work permits, but not beyond a maximum limit of three years.

There was provision for deportation for those who contravened the conditions of entry or were convicted for an offence punishable with imprisonment. However, no one who was a patrial could be deported, nor could a Commonwealth or Irish citizen who was resident in the U.K. on 1st January 1973 and who had been resident for five years. Under the Act the penalties for immigration offences were increased. Under the Act help can be provided towards defraying the trave costs of people subject to immigration control if he has failed to properly settle down in the country and lacks the means to leave the country.

It is clear that the British immigration policy has been changing from time to time and assuming a growing racialist undertone. In this change influence of Powell has been very clear - especially after Walsall speech by Edward Heath. In the beginning Powell only wanted controls (may be due to economic reasons). He wrote, "Within a community free movement of labour is excellent, the movement of labour between communities must be controlled. And this control was done by labour vouchers."

Next demand of Powell was regarding control of Kenyan Asians, This was done with the passing of 1968 Act. As his demands were satisfied by the government so he increased them. He demanded control on dependents and this too has been done by 1968 and 1973 Acts. Next step to this has been the repatriation demand. According to him, "It can be no part of any policy that existing families should be kept divided, but there are two directions in which families can be re-united. And if our former and present immigration laws have brought about the division of families, we ought it to be re-arranged for them to be re-united, in their country of origin." The 1973 Act does take into consideration the origin of the immigrant and provision has been made for repatriation on that basis. Powell has, thus, achieved the strongest response for his views on immigration policy.

VIII. The Prospects

Ex-President of Indian Republic, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, has said, "There is no reason to believe that there are fundamental differences between East and West. Human beings are everywhere human and hold the same deepest values. The differences which are, no doubt, significant are related to external, temporary social conditions."

It, is, however, surprising how easily the society can make a scapegoat of a minority living in any part of the world. The only difference in the case of the Commonwealth immigrants is that they stand out in the British society physically due to the colour of thar skin. This is used in the non-discriminatory sense. But their problems are not any different from the migration of Jews from Russia or Peurto Rican immigration to USA. The miseries and problems of human beings are the same.

What we call a problem of commonwealth immigration is not really a problem; but a situation - Situation which is like a floodwater, if permanently harnessed will settle and find its own level in just a course of time.

The problems created because of immigrants are largely due to enonomics reasons. As they are not economically well off they have to live in conditions which are despised by others. They have to be congregated near their factory areas. If they improve economically and are more accepted socially it will automatically involve dispersion and movement to other areas.

Theproblem is not that they only are racially different. A racially different minority can live without causing any hostility as is evident from a sizeable minority of whites living in Kingston (West Indies). The problem is that they are at the bottom of the heap. It is a vicious circle from which it is difficult for them to get out.

They are not responsible for the housing shortage. But they are the worst victims of this shortage, and have suffered due to it. It is also this short_age which was exploited by the landlords and provided

incentives to some of the coloured landlords to evict white tenants and replace them by blacks from whom they could extract more money. These very instances where coloured landlords forced white tenants to vacate their premises were the cause of much propaganda and racial hatred. An improvement in housing situation is bound to reduce this unpleasant occurrences.

The facts and figures quoted by Mr. Powell may be authentic. But the main objectionable feature of his speeches is that they are provocative and invoke passion. It also serves the coloured community to come together instinctively. Some of his followers are clearly more militant and fascist. If these forces grow they will be no different from the Nazis of Germany or the Klu Klux Klan in America. In the unlikely event of the coloured population being forced to leave it is probable that the Asians would submit and prefer to leave. But the West Indians are more likely to fight it out and create Hell on the same lines as in America.

A dispassionate and saner approach is only that of peaceful cooperation in a multiracial society with equal treatment to all communities so that all their activities are complementary to each other. The efforts at integration are bound to smoothen the differences of language and culture with further immigration strictly under control and efforts at promoting racial harmony and social justice in due course Powellism will die a natural death.

The following suggestions can be made to contain Powellism and prevent the development of a meacating situation:-

i. Immigration Racketeers should be severely dealt with. The organisers of these rackets are mostly whites who lull the illiterate

people into false hopes and extract almost all the saving from these prospective immigrants only to leave them in the woods.

ii. A time limit should be put on the wives and children to join the permanent immigrants. This will be conducive to better family relations, promote social discipline and counter disease.

iii. At present most unskilled workers are unable to improve economically as they save money for remitting to their families. They are born between two worlds. This remittance back home should be curtailed so that they are encouraged to bring their families with them.

iv. Press and Public media should play down incidents where coloured immigrants are involved. The incidents describing ill treatment by coloured landlord is blown out of all proportion and serves as material for wild rumours and extremist propaganda.

v. Not much attention should be paid to local immigrant organisations. There is no organisation representing the real interests and problems of the immigrants. The Indian workers Association for example is communist inspired, and its office bearers are traders or commercial people and not the workers.

vi. Majority of the factory workers rely on public transport and therefore try to live near the factories in slum conditions. Efforts should be made to provide suitable accommodation in the factory areas.

vii. Strict health checks should be made for all immigrants at their place of departure, and the requirements of entry should be verified before his leaving.

One of the most optimistic feature of Race relations in Britain is the remarkable tolerance of the British public. Though there has been some instances of impatience and misconduct by some elements, the public by and large has dis-approved such behaviour and refused to encourage extremism.

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APPENDIX

Speech by The Rt. Hon. Enoch Powell, M.P. to the
Annual General Meeting of the West Midlands Area
Conservative Political Centre at the Midland
Hotel, Birmingham, 2.30 p.m. Saturday, 20th April,
1968.

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 fifteen or twenty 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 is broad daylight in my own town says to me, his Member of Parliament, that this country will not be worth living in for his children. I simply do not have the fight 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 fifteen or twenty years, on present trends, there will be in this country $3\frac{1}{2}$ 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 2,000, but it must be in the region of 5-7 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 different 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 above all 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 one per cent or ten 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 twenty or thirty additional immigrant children are arriving from overseas in Wolverhampton alone every week - and that means fifteen or twenty additional families of 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 dependents, who are for the most part ~~of~~ 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 fiances whom they have never seen. Let no-use suppose that the flow of dependents 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 dependents 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. These 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.¹ 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 grants and 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 for the future.

It can be no part of any policy that existing families should be kept divided; but there are two directions in which families can be reunited, and if our former and present immigration laws have brought about the division of families, albeit voluntarily or semi-voluntarily, we ought to be prepared to arrange for them to be re-united in their countries of origin. In short, suspension of immigration and encouragement of re-emigration hang together, logically and humanly, as two aspects of the same approach.

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 descendants 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 motives 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 1930's 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 them 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 onto 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 right of every citizen, from the vote to free treatment under the National Health Service. Whatever drawbacks attended the immigrants - and they were drawbacks which did not, and do not, make admission into Britain by hook or by crook appear less than desirable - 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 ~~the same~~ voices which told them that 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 either 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. She did give her name and address, which I have detached from the letter which I am about to read. She was writing from Northumberland about something which is happening at this moment in my own constituency:

'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 7 a.m. 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 her 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 letterbox. When she goes to the shops, she is followed by children, charming, wide-grinning piccaninnies. 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.'

The other dangerous delusion from which those who are wilfully or other wise 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 to boot.

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 they 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.