

The Lives and Afterlives of Enoch Powell

Fifty years after Enoch Powell's self-styled detonation in the form of his so-called "Rivers of Blood" speech, this volume brings together contributions from international scholars in the field of history, political science and British studies, with new insights from hitherto unexplored archives. It investigates some of the key national and grassroots parameters which, from above and from below, led to Powell's violent irruption into the immigration debate in 1968. It apprehends Powell as a political and intellectual figure firmly established in the British Tory tradition, a tradition that was to shape the 1970s' debate on race and immigration and be avidly instrumentalized by the British far right. It also analyses Powell's positioning vis-à-vis the Irish question and apprehends Powell's late-1960s' moment from an international standpoint, as one of the early stages of the conservative revolution that was to culminate in 2016 with Trump's election. Last, this book weaves a thread between Powell and another recent political detonation: Brexit.

Olivier Esteves is Professor of British Studies at the University of Lille, France.

Stéphane Porion is Senior Lecturer in British Studies at the University of Tours, France.

Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right

Series editors: Nigel Copsey, *Teesside University*, and Graham Macklin, *Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo*.

This new book series focuses upon fascist, far right and right-wing politics primarily within a historical context but also drawing on insights from other disciplinary perspectives. Its scope also includes radical-right populism, cultural manifestations of the far right and points of convergence and exchange with the mainstream and traditional right.

The Portuguese Far Right

Between Late Authoritarianism and Democracy (1945-2015)

Riccardo Marchi

Never Again

Rock Against Racism and the Anti-Nazi League 1976-1982

David Renton

Antifascism in Nordic Countries

New Perspectives, Comparisons and Transnational Connections

Edited by Kasper Braskén, Nigel Copsey and Johan Lundin

The March on Rome

Violence and the Rise of Italian Fascism

Giulia Albanese

Aurel Kolnai's 'War Against the West' Reconsidered

Edited by Wolfgang Bialas

The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America

Fighting Fraternities

Miguel Hernandez

The Lives and Afterlives of Enoch Powell

The Undying Political Animal

Edited by Olivier Esteves and Stéphane Porion

The Lives and Afterlives of Enoch Powell

The Undying Political Animal

**Edited by Olivier Esteves
and Stéphane Porion**

First published 2019
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2019 selection and editorial matter, Olivier Esteves and Stéphane Porion;
individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Olivier Esteves and Stéphane Porion to be identified as the
authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual
chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the
Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or
utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now
known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in
any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing
from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or
registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation
without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Esteves, Olivier, editor. | Porion, Stéphane (M. Stéphane), editor.

Title: The Lives and Afterlives of Enoch Powell / [edited by]

Olivier Esteves, Stéphane Porion.

Description: First edition. | London ; New York, NY :

Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2019. |

Series: Routledge studies in fascism and the far right |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018058889 (print) | LCCN 2019001764 (ebook) |

ISBN 9780429805172 (adobe) | ISBN 9780429805158 (mobi) |

ISBN 9780429805165 (epub) | ISBN 9781138339286 (hardback) |

ISBN 9780429441158 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Powell, J. Enoch (John Enoch), 1912-1998--Political

and social views. | Powell, J. Enoch (John Enoch), 1912-1998--Influence. |

Conservatism--Great Britain--History--20th century. | Right-wing

extremists--Great Britain--History--20th century. | Great Britain--Politics

and government--1964-1979. | Great Britain--Race relations--Political

aspects--History--20th century. | Great Britain--Emigration and

immigration--Political aspects--History--20th century. | Politicians--Great

Britain--Biography. | Conservative Party Great Britain--Biography.

Classification: LCC DA591.P64 (ebook) |

LCC DA591.P64 E565 2019 (print) | DDC 941.085--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2018058889>

ISBN: 978-1-138-33928-6 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-429-44115-8 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman

by Taylor & Francis Books

Contents

| | |
|--|-------|
| <i>List of illustrations</i> | vii |
| <i>Acknowledgements</i> | viii |
| <i>List of contributors</i> | ix |
| Introduction | 1 |
| OLIVIER ESTEVES | |
| 1 Powell and after: Immigration, race and politics in Britain | 13 |
| ROBERT FORD | |
| 2 Wrathful rememberers: Harnessing the memory of World War II in letters of support to Powell | 32 |
| OLIVIER ESTEVES | |
| 3 Powell and the media: an insider's account | 47 |
| NICHOLAS JONES | |
| 4 An international press review of the Powell moment (1968–1973) | 65 |
| OLIVIER ESTEVES | |
| 5 The rise of the Runnymede Trust: Enoch Powell and the media wars | 81 |
| BRETT BEBBER | |
| 6 Enoch Powell, British nationality and the Irish question, 1968–1987 | 97 |
| DAVID C. SHIELS | |
| 7 Enoch Powell, Julian Amery and debates over Britain's world role after 1945 | 113 |
| PAUL CORTHORN | |

vi *Contents*

| | | |
|----|---|-----|
| 8 | The end of an intellectual journey: How Alfred Sherman's ideas on immigration and the British nation were framed by Powellism (1968–1979) | 126 |
| | STÉPHANE PORION | |
| 9 | “Enoch was right” – the Powell effect on the National Front in the 1970s | 145 |
| | STÉPHANE PORION | |
| 10 | The ambivalence of UKIP towards Enoch Powell's legacy | 162 |
| | KARINE TOURNIER-SOL | |
| | Conclusion | 176 |
| | STÉPHANE PORION | |
| | <i>Index</i> | 186 |

Illustrations

Figure

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1.1 Estimated net change in voting due to immigration, 1964–1979 | 25 |
|--|----|

Tables

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1.1 Attitudes about immigration, 1964–1979 | 21 |
| 1.2 Voter perception about which party would be more likely to stop immigration, 1964–1979 | 22 |
| 1.3 Immigration policies, 1970–1974. Voter reports of their own preferences and perceptions of Conservative and Labour Party positions | 23 |
| 1.4 Attitudes to race and immigration and identification with the Conservative and Labour Parties, 1983–1996 | 27 |

Acknowledgements

This edited volume finds its source in a one-day conference on Enoch Powell held at Sciences-Po Lille on 27 January 2018. The great bulk of the papers presented there are published in the following pages. As all edited volumes and conferences, this has been a complexly collective effort. We would like to thank the large number of colleagues whose contributions big and small have made these two events possible, first the conference, then the book.

Administrative and academic staff at Sciences-Po Lille proved instrumental in guaranteeing maximum logistic efficiency to the conference: Sophie Bécart, Guillaume Duseigneur, not to mention Cécile Leconte and Emmanuel Roudaut, of course. At CERAPS political science research centre, Jean-Gabriel Contamin, Etienne Penissat, Younes Haddadi and Djazia Bielicki did their utmost to ensure the conference was a smooth affair in most inauspicious times, i.e. the merging of the three Lille universities. We also would like to thank CRECIB and ICD (University of Tours) for their support, especially Monica Zapata, Isabelle Peymirat Cochet and Norberta Dias da Cruz.

Nonna Mayer proved, unsurprisingly, a wonderfully stimulating panel chair and her input in the debates was appreciated by all present. Also deserving our gratitude is Lucie De Carvalho.

The chapter on Powell and the international press necessitated the mobilization of translation skills from various colleagues. To be thanked are Sylvain Feucherolles and Thomas Serrier (German), Gabriella Marongiu (Italian), Thomas Beaufils (Dutch). Also to be thanked is Peo Hansen.

Rob Ford's reading of strategic parts of the manuscript proved decisive. And we both would like to extend our gratitude to the staff at Routledge who have pushed us forward throughout this academic project and have been very flexible people to work with.

Olivier Esteves and Stéphane Porion

Contributors

Brett Bebbler is Associate Professor of History at Old Dominion University. He is the author of *Violence and Racism in Football: Politics and Cultural Conflict in British Society, 1968–1998* (2012) and the editor of *Leisure and Cultural Conflict in Twentieth-Century Britain* (2012). His current research examines the development of race relations expertise and integration ideas in post-war Britain. He has published various articles on the topic in *The Journal of Social History*, *Contemporary British History* and *The Journal of Civil and Human Rights*.

Paul Corthorn is Senior Lecturer in Modern British History at Queen's University Belfast. He is joint editor of *the Labour History Review* and author of *In the Shadow of the Dictators: The British Left in the 1930s* (2006; paperback 2013). His next book, *Enoch Powell: Politics and Ideas in Modern Britain*, will be published by Oxford University Press in 2019.

Olivier Esteves is a Professor in British Studies at Université de Lille and also teaches at Sciences-Po Lille. His research focuses on the history and sociology of race and ethnicity in Britain. He has worked on British intellectuals, notably George Orwell and Bertrand Russell. He is the author of various monographs, including *The “Desegregation” of English Schools: Bussing, Race and Urban Space* (Manchester University Press, 2018). His research team is CERAPS (UMR 8026), in political science.

Robert Ford is Professor of Political Science at the University of Manchester. He is the author of *Revolt on the Right*, a study of the rise of UKIP, and has published in a range of academic journals including *the American Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Political Studies* and the *European Journal of Political Research*. His academic interests include the politics of immigration, racial attitudes, the radical right, the politics of welfare and electoral politics in Britain.

Nicholas Jones has spent a lifetime in journalism. After training on local newspapers, he joined *The Times* and then spent 30 years as an industrial and then political correspondent for BBC radio and television. He has written extensively on the way politicians and public figures seek to

use – and manipulate – the news media. His first book *Strikes and the Media* (1986) examined the role of trade union leaders in the industrial disputes of the 1980s. In *Sultans of Spin* (1999) he revealed the way his father Clement Jones, then editor of *the Express and Star*, had advised Enoch Powell on his media strategy.

Stéphane Porion is Senior Lecturer in British Studies at the University of Tours, France. His PhD thesis was a study of Enoch Powell's political and economic ideas (1946–1970). His key research interests focus on post-war Conservatism and Britain's radical right parties. His latest publications include “George Wallace and Enoch Powell: Comparing the Politics of Populist Conservatism in the US and the UK” (a chapter co-written with Michael Kazin in *Postwar Conservatism, A Transnational Investigation: Britain, France, and the United States, 1930–1990*, Palgrave, 2017) and “Diana Spearman's Role within the Post-War Conservative Party and in the ‘Battle of Ideas’” (*Women's History Review*, June 2018).

David Shiels is a policy analyst at the think tank Open Europe and a College Research Associate at Wolfson College, Cambridge. He also works as a researcher for the authorized biography of Margaret Thatcher and has contributed to *the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. He has been an Archives By-Fellow at Churchill College, Cambridge, and a representative on the User Advisory Group at the National Archives at Kew. His PhD thesis was a study of Enoch Powell and his book, *Enoch Powell: The Outsider*, will be published by I B Tauris in 2019.

Karine Tournier-Sol is Senior Lecturer in British politics at the University of Toulon, France. Her key research interests focus on Britain's relations with the European Union, the UK Independence Party and populism. With Chris Gifford she co-edited *The UK Challenge to Europeanization: The Persistence of British Euroscepticism* (Palgrave, 2015). Her most recent book is *Prendre le large : le UKIP et le choix du Brexit* (Paris, Vendémiaire, 2017).

Introduction

Olivier Esteves

UNIVERSITY OF LILLE

Blue plaques are unmistakable symbols of the UK landscapes. In London, for instance, their function has mostly been to produce a celebratory consensus around the rich historical heritage and cultural vibrancy of the country's capital, from Mozart and Handel to Jimi Hendrix, from Gandhi to Churchill, from Virginia Woolf to George Orwell. Across the Irish Sea, 88 of them are known to bedeck the city of Belfast walls, from Rory Gallagher to Van Morrison, from the ill-fated designer of the *Titanic* to poets Philip Larkin and Louis MacNeice. And in Scotland, Andrew Carnegie and Adam Smith each has his plaque in quaint Kirkcaldy, some 30 miles north of Edinburgh. These are predominantly names of figures who have made history, but countless plaques in the country commemorate people of more obscure renown. In Wolverhampton alone, some 40 of them were erected from 1983 to 2005.

Reigniting controversy

Blue plaques have mostly been serving as props to what Michael Billig has termed "banal nationalism". Much like the unwavering, barely noticeable flags on public buildings, their purpose is nevertheless "to cover the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced" (Billig 1995, p. 6). They are small, interlocking loci which have sustained Britain's imagined community.

Although the immense majority of those plaques are innocuous and remain barely noticed by passers-by, there are times when the memories of a history foaming with much rage are sparked back into controversy. The January 2018 suggestion that Enoch Powell ought to get a blue plaque in Wolverhampton is unmistakably one such time. Hailed as a common-sense idea by the substantial portion of public opinion that, like in the 1980s and 2000s, has always believed that "Enoch was right", the prospect has unsurprisingly met with fierce resistance from the anti-racist left and beyond. Much of the controversy revolves around the public function of such plaques: are they just about people (Powell) or can they be about events (the Birmingham speech of 20 April 1968, commonly known as the "Rivers of blood" speech)? Are they meant to celebrate or to commemorate? Can these plaques possibly do both simultaneously for different Britons with clashing views on the *enfant terrible* of the British right?

The commemorative/celebratory binary at the heart of the blue plaque polemic is a memorial straightjacket urging Britons to remember Powell as either a hero or villain and then take the risk of being dismissed either as a “racist” by some or a “liberal do-gooder” by others. It almost seems that there is no way out of this racist/non-racist (or anti-racist) aporia, unless one takes a few steps back and starts asking some of the questions we have endeavoured to ask in this book. In itself, this dichotomy is reflected by political, media and scholarly lexicon. Notice, for instance, how the phrase “rivers of blood speech”, has imposed itself or been imposed with barely any possibility to refer to this rhetorical act as anything else. In a way, the phrase partakes of the “hero vs. villain” dichotomy: for the Powellites, it encapsulates the necessity to do something now before actual blood is shed, whereas for the anti-Powellites, it highlights how ludicrously pessimistic the populist’s forecast was, in a country that today has some of the highest proportions of mixed-marriages in Western nations. In order to remove some of this sound and fury around Powell, we have collectively decided to drop the phrase “rivers of blood” speech and to refer instead to the “Birmingham speech”, the “1968 speech”, “Powell’s speech” (since it towers above all else in the man’s career). “Rivers of blood” was a media-fabricated term and has all too often lived a most bizarre life of its own, not to mention the (also ludicrous) fact that in the speech, there was originally *one* river only, the river Tiber.

But to come back to the plaque polemic. Would it not be more appropriate, if one were to be erected at all, to have it on the façade of the Midland Hotel from which Powell delivered his speech, which is today known as the Macdonald Burlington Hotel in New Street? Although hardly possible because the owners would not want it, this would at least single out a populist, opportunistic rhetorical exercise by a maverick, albeit intellectually brilliant politician. Instead of seemingly paying tribute to an individual career, a plaque on the Birmingham hotel would commemorate an act of discourse that the anti-racist left, ethnic minorities themselves and radical right whites probably all regard as one of the most important speeches in contemporary British history.

Another option is possible. As Justin Gest’s 2015 ethnographic fieldwork in Barking and Dagenham (East London) has shown, mainstream voters have a very keen sense that those they elected into the Commons often do not live in the areas they represent, a fact made possible by quite unrestrictive British election laws in this respect and which is all the more keenly felt in London constituencies, i.e. in places not far away from Westminster, where it is possible for MPs *not* to have two homes (Gest 2016, p. 199).

Enoch Powell was all too aware of this. In a *Daily Telegraph* piece that foreshadowed his Birmingham speech, he likened the New Commonwealth influx of immigrants to a new invasion suffered by those who had survived the Luftwaffe two decades earlier, before claiming that he was painfully cognisant of this situation as one who “live[d] within the proverbial stone’s throw of a street which ‘went black’” (*The Daily Telegraph*, 16 February 1967). The

truth, however, was slightly more complex than that. For one thing, Powell never aimed at remaining a Wolverhampton MP for 24 years (1950–1974). Although, as **Nick Jones** highlights in his chapter, Powell did relish spending a great deal of time in his constituency home on weekends and on long parliamentary recesses, it still remains that for much of the week his abode was not near a street that “went black” in the Black Country, but rather in upmarket South Eaton Place in the heart of Belgravia (London). It is also worth remembering that the very man who fallaciously claimed that one school in Wolverhampton had a nearly all-black class actually sent his two daughters to a central London school, before they went to fee-paying Wycombe Abbey, where black girls, if there were any, were more likely to have been daughters of African ambassadors.

Back in 1968–9, many demonstrators against Powell made no mistake about his abode: a few communist militants put up a large swastika banner in front of the Belgravia house and anti-racist protest letters were directly sent to this house (*The Guardian*, 09 February 1968). The tension caused some concern among neighbours. This was particularly the case of one lifelong Labour militant, Anne Symonds, who lived on 30 Eaton Place, after Penguin Press, in Paul Foot’s *The Rise of Enoch Powell*, had wrongly published Powell’s address as 30, instead of 33, South Eaton Place. Irritated by the publisher’s gaffe, she stated that quite apart from “the thought that I live with Enoch Powell [...] I don’t want a brick through my window” (*The Guardian*, 20 February 1969). Powell lived in that house until his death in 1998. A few yards from a blue plaque with internationally successful playwright and composer “Noel Coward lived here” written on it, it was sold by Powell’s widow that same year. Eleven years later, in the wake of the credit crunch, the house was again on sale for £3.65 million. As for the Wolverhampton house, the Powells sold it in 1975, after the populist right-winger had become elected Unionist MP for South Down (Northern Ireland). Pamela Powell recalls, painstakingly avoiding the received wisdom that the immigrant presence brought house prices down: “We bought our house in 1954 for £1,300 – semi-detached, five bedrooms, very cold as you remember, didn’t have a telephone – and we sold it in 1975, using a different name, and got exactly the same money we paid for it after twenty-one years because all around had so greatly changed” (*The Times*, 22 February 2009). Occurring each after two major economic crises (1973, 2008), the sale of the two houses still illuminates the way the two Powell abodes were almost on two different English planets.

Despite the almost metronomic conjuring of Powell’s ghost, which writer Sarfraz Manzoor has likened to a “toxic cloud above all political debate on race relations” (*The Guardian*, 24 February 2008), several ironies clearly indicate that as this book goes to press both people and buildings have simply moved on. These ironies make the building of a plaque unfeasible for pragmatic reasons. For many years, a West Indian family – the Walkers – lived in the very same house as the Powells, on Merridale Road. The family was anxious to avoid any recognition of their home, particularly by the news media. Another irony is that Powell’s former parliamentary office has now been transformed into a West

Indian heritage centre, a change that Labour MP Eleanor Smith interprets as “poetic justice” (*Channel Four*, 31 October 2017). Last but not least, this MP for South West Wolverhampton, exactly Powell’s turf, is the first West Indian MP to have ever been elected in the West Midlands as a whole.

No Iago, no Churchill

These reminders are not anecdotal. They underline the complex interconnections between the micro- (Wolverhampton and its various neighbourhoods), the meso- (West Midlands), the macro- (Britain or rather *England*) and super-macro- (the former British Empire in Powellite discourse on immigration, the United States as a racial foil in Powellite discourse, not to mention Europe and the Common Market) levels that must be appraised when studying a figure with such proclaimed local rootedness as well as such national resonance overnight. For the social scientist, these layers of meanings are both centripetal (the neighbourhood is a powerful symbolical axis, whether seen as a terrain to be defended against racist forces or as a threatened space encroached on by immigrants) and centrifugal: the defiled letter box mentioned by Powell, like a stone thrown in a pond radiating out in ripples, has something to say about the Keynesian-Fordist welfare state, about British national identity, about post-colonial visions of orderliness (after Mary Douglas’s anthropology of dirt as a symbolic “matter out of place”) (Douglas 1966), and about British (or rather English) fears of American-style black ghettos.

Another example of this interconnectedness is similarly instructive: the January 1969 “March for Dignity”¹ held by the “Black People’s Alliance” and the “Zimbabwe solidarity action committee” exposed two enemies, one at home (“racism”),² one abroad (“imperialism”) (Bourne 1998), but it was abundantly clear from the video footage and the slogans shouted to the 8000-strong crowd that Enoch Powell in Wolverhampton and Ian Smith in Rhodesia were two sides of the same ugly coin. The struggle, then, could not but be multi-scalar, as individuals carrying “Disembowel Powell” or “Black Power: Fire This Time” took on Rhodesia House and South Africa House before being thwarted by the police forces.³

This multi-scalar interconnectedness, added to the way in which Powell has been mythified into a villain or hero, means that one of the challenges facing future research is to reterritorialize Powell, by firmly placing him back into specific territorialities, the most obvious of which being Wolverhampton itself (Hirsch 2018). These territorialities may be geographical, political, symbolical, professional, ethnic, associational or even emotional (Goodwin, Jasper & Polletta 2001). In the pages that follow, **Brett Bebb** analyses the foundation of the Runnymede Trust in May 1968 as an immediate political response to Powell’s speech. **Nick Jones** investigates the way Powell’s instrumentalization of the media through his contact with his own father, Clement Jones, was an early stage in the weaving of a powerful connection between two discrete professional fields, 16 years before the term “spin doctor” appears to have

been coined.⁴ **David Shiels** illuminates the way Powellite discourses on immigration harnessed the Irish question.

One other way of reterritorializing Powell is to research, for different political actors and at different times, his lasting influence on debates on immigration, race, nation and multiculturalism. This lasting influence can hardly be exaggerated. Some of it is perfunctorily rhetorical. It ranges from the all-too-obvious, as in Boris Johnson's 2002 claim that "the Queen has come to love the Commonwealth, partly because it supplies her with regular cheering crowds of flag-waving piccaninnies" (*Daily Telegraph*, 10 January 2002), the last word being an obvious echo of Powell's "charming, wide-eyed piccaninnies" harassing this frightened widow, to the not-so-obvious but clearly there, as in David Barnett's praise of the 2016 book *The Good Immigrant*: "If I could, I'd push a copy of this through the letter-box of every front door in Britain" (*The Independent*, 06 October 2016). Most of this influence, however, is programmatic and ideological and needs to be reterritorialized into specific decades, if only to challenge the ahistorical, disembodied "Enoch was right" or its symmetrical contrary vilifying Powell as a timeless, Iago-like villain (Schofield 2013, p. 10).

To launch this analysis, **Robert Ford** reappraises the centrality of immigration and race in electoral behaviour from shortly before Powell's moment (1964) to the advent of Thatcherism in 1979. Then, **Stéphane Porion** analyses the Powell effect on the National Front in the 1970s, which desperately needed "charismatic leadership" and explains why Powell never was one of them. In another chapter, the same author studies the way Alfred Sherman – who was one of the pivotal architects in the advent of Thatcherism – was, to a large extent, a champion of Powellism, but on the European question. As for **Karine Tournier-Sol**, she studies the interconnectedness between Powellism and UKIP in more recent years. **Paul Corthorn** aims at re-evaluating Powell from the standpoint of a broader declinist discourse, taking into account not only race and immigration, which is what this book is primarily about, but also the disintegration of the British Empire, Europe, international relations and the economy. This he does by drawing a comparison between the political itineraries of Powell and Julian Amery.

Populism, nativism, autochthony

A quite shallow definition of "populism" of the kind we have been fed for more than a decade⁵ could be that "populism" is when "politicians tell the people what they want to hear". Powell's rhetoric, rather than his style, peerlessly matches this definition. Indeed, in some of the most notorious cases, he impersonated a political ventriloquist mechanically quoting the epistolary grievances bestowed on him. Although evident, that point is often lost in the presentations or analyses made of the Birmingham speech. From documentaries (*White Season*, BBC, 2008) to essays about race (Reni Eddo-Lodge's *Why I'm No Longer Talking To White People About Race*, Eddo-Lodge 2017, p. 117), and the sheer political contrast between these notwithstanding, the infamous claim that "in this country

in 15 or 20 years' time the black man will have the whip hand over the white man" is often mistakenly quoted as being by Powell himself and not by some unnamed constituent whom Powell quoted in a performative rhetorical gimmick. Some letters of support to Powell corroborate this sense of confusion over "who speaks". For instance, a woman from Colchester (Essex) vehemently agreed with the populist's tragically declinist oracle: "The immigrants will, as you said, soon have the whip hand" (Stafford, D3123/14). As Bill Schwarz has underlined, thanks to such quotes and to other rhetorical devices, "an inchoate jumble of racial bigotry crossed the threshold from private reverie to public wisdom" (Schwarz 2011, p. 19). Just as disturbingly, Powell's discourse and the fears and resentments he voiced (rather than his high-flown style, his quoting of Virgil, etc.) tend to invalidate classical distinctions between top-down and bottom-up approaches. And accordingly, a study of Powell's populist politics should include an "ethnography of populism", whose contours are here delineated by Dutch sociologist Paul Mepschen: "By focusing the ethnographic lens on everyday perspectives and behavior, the emphasis in the social analysis of populism shifts from electoral politics and political discourse only, to processes of articulation, interpellation, and to agency" (Mepschen 2016, p. 64). These everyday perspectives and behaviours weigh on electoral behaviour, as is analysed here by **Robert Ford**. In another perspective, they also weave their way into the epistolary expression of resentful autochthony analysed in one of **Olivier Esteves's** chapters, through letters of support to Powell, which frequently harness memories of the Second World War, in order to express their hostility to immigrants who are regarded as "space invaders". As Sara Farris puts it in her study of what she calls "femotionalism", i.e. the instrumentalization of women's rights by the far right, "the people that is called upon to act against the Other is not [...] a shapeless demos, but a specific *ethnos* or *natio*" (p. 60). It was (also) as a bounded, ethnicized, beleaguered and insular *ethnos* that the Powellites apprehended their identity, through tropes of autochthony, such as "displacement, nostalgia, and respectability" (Mepschen 2016, p. 48).

Many perceptions, themes and feelings permeating the letters of support to Powell cohere with ethnographies of populism in other countries and at other periods. Indeed, much of the contents in these 1968 letters allows many parallels with Michele Lamont's study of the American and French working classes in the 1990s, Justin Gest's study of Barking and Dagenham as well as Youngstown (Ohio) in the 2010s, not to mention, indeed, Paul Mepschen's analysis of the "New West" neighbourhood of Amsterdam in the years 2009–2011 (Lamont 2000; Gest 2016; Mepschen 2016). What all this reveals is that the Powell moment of 1968 should be seen as a pivotal political precursor to the upsurge of radical right-wing politics at the turn of the 21st century. Like the chaos unleashed at the time of the Democratic convention in August 1968 in Chicago, Powell's detonation is an often forgotten episode of 1968, lost in celebrations of a (left-wing) revolutionary year from Paris to Mexico City, from Prague to Belfast, from Rome to Tokyo. Both Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley's moment in August 1968 and Powell's a few months before adumbrate the Western revolt on

the right, by a (white) “silent majority” striking out against radical students, immigrants, left wingers, undeserving “freeloaders”, etc. In this sense, there is a real need to further “deparochialize” the figure of Powell, i.e. to analyse his rhetoric, his politics and his following from a broader international perspective. Another chapter from this book, by **Olivier Esteves**, is an international press view of articles dealing with Powell, mostly from the European and US press. Although quite modest in itself, this deparochializing effort serves as a complementing counterpoint to the reterritorializing effort mentioned above: instead of narrowing the focus on Powell to specific domains in British politics or society, the idea is rather, here, to broaden the perspective on a figure whose analysis is too often limited to English/British confines.

If we now place the focus on populism as electoral politics more traditionally understood, much academic research published since the mid-2000s likewise serve to highlight key components of Powell’s politics itself. Among the plethora of books and articles published on the catch-all concept of populism, it is possible to identify nine specific traits that help to make sense of Powell’s ideology, career, as well as of the responses he brought about and the party reactions his campaign generated. These elements are mostly drawn from the works of political scientists or sociologists, such as Barr, Kaltwasser, Lucardie, Moffit, Mudde and Taggart, all of whom deal primarily with European, North or South American populisms. These nine points are bound up with nativism and autochthony, be it directly or indirectly.

To begin with, Mudde and Kaltwasser suggest the following minimal definition of populism, which is an apt starting point:

Populism is a thin-centred ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, “the pure people” and “the corrupt elite”, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* of the people. This means that populism is in essence a form of *moral* politics, as the distinction between “the elite” and “the people” is first and foremost moral (i. e. pure *vs* corrupt), not situational (e.g. position of power), socio-cultural (e.g. ethnicity, religion), or socio-economic (e.g. class) (Mudde & Kaltwasser 2012, pp. 7–8).

In terms of populism as a political style, two features identified by Moffit help to make sense of Powell. First, “populist leaders must strike a balance between appearing as both ordinary and extraordinary to appeal to ‘the people’. In doing so, they must ostensibly be ‘of the people’ *as well as* simultaneously beyond ‘the people’” (Moffit 2016, p. 52). The Birmingham speech is a perfect illustration of this two-sided strategy: by quoting both from Virgil’s *Aeneid* (after some dithering about whether he should quote him in English or Latin) as well as from resentful constituents themselves, Powell firmly set his place both way beyond the people and well as profoundly *of* them. Second, Moffit positions populist leaders as being characterized by “bad manners”, which to him does not necessarily mean having

a vulgar accent or speaking or behaving in a specifically uncouth or coarse way (Moffit 2016, p. 45). Some populist leaders have sometimes seemed aloof or snobbish (e.g. Geert Wilders, Ross Perrot), at a remove from, say, George Wallace's self-proclaimed (and genuine) fondness for ketchup at every meal. Yet they have committed breaches of protocol for strategic purposes and such was so blatantly the case for Powell. It is well known that immediately prior to the Birmingham speech, he deliberately refrained from revealing the contents of his speech to Edward Heath's shadow cabinet (Schofield 2013, p. 209). More importantly, what was shocking about the speech was not so much *what* he said in it rather than *how* it was said. As Schofield pointed out: "Powell had violated the central premise of the political consensus – the rule of polite opinion" (*Ibid.*, p. 238). How strategic the violation of polite, elite-friendly norms of behaviour was is highlighted within the speech itself, where Powell famously warned: "I can already hear the chorus of execration ... How dare I say such a horrible thing?", in a rhetorical ploy that cunningly combined Weberian ethics of conviction with ethics of responsibility.

Three partisan elements follow from these style-related features. First, many populists, as Mudde and Lucardie have argued, present themselves as party purifiers intent on restoring the original ideology of a party (believed to have been diluted or betrayed by the current leaders) rather than as actual "prophets" who articulate a thoroughly new ideology for new times (Lucardie 2000, pp. 176–7; Mudde 2016, p. 10). This, clearly, is also the case for Powell. Once he realized, in 1974, that the Conservative party could not be "purified" according to his terms, he crossed the Irish Sea and became an Ulster Unionist Party MP. The second point is that while he was still a member of the Conservative Party, he nurtured a self-image of keeping at the margins of the political game despite keeping his parliamentary seat in Wolverhampton. As Mudde says in general terms: "Populist radical right parties prefer to keep 'one foot in and one foot out' of government, meaning that they prefer to keep their *oppositional image*, by using radical rhetoric and pushing for excessively radical policies, rather than run the risk of being perceived as 'normal' governmental party and part of the 'corrupt elite'" (Mudde 2016, p. 16). Third, the way the Conservative Party dealt with Powell's populist threat within its ranks is also evocative of political party reactions vis-à-vis populists in general. These are classically of four types: "isolation, confrontation, adaptation and socialization" (Mudde & Kaltwasser 2012, p. 213). Heath's party in 1968 and in the years that followed opted both for "isolation" as well as "adaptation": the former was illustrated by his swift exclusion from Heath's shadow cabinet, which had built a *cordon sanitaire* around Powell. It is worth recalling here that the man literally became *persona non grata* and was ostracised within the party he had spent his life working for. Mudde and Kaltwasser posit that the isolation strategy is in itself a mirror image of the populist language, since "it assumes that the political world should be seen as a moral battle, which is (almost) impossible to solve through democratic channels". "Adaptation" to Powell was clearly illustrated by the way the 1970

Conservative Party platform did include some points on immigrants' repatriation. More broadly speaking, the recurrent come back of Powell's ghost in debate on race and immigration testifies to myriad cross-party "adaptations" through decades, and it is some of these adaptations and reconfigurings that are analysed in the pages that follow, notably by **Robert Ford, Stéphane Porion and Karine Tournier-Sol.**

Three points remain to be made, one on the perceived failure of democratic rule, one on cross-class alliances, the last one on "nativism" itself.

The sense of emergency and crisis populists exploit is intensified by what is seen as the betrayal, political naivety or cosmopolitanism of the elites, which seems to rig the democratic process itself. It is no coincidence that constituents, in their letters of support to Powell, very often use words such as "referendum" or (less often) "plebiscite": the idea is that had they been consulted as behooves a full-fledged democracy, they would have refused both the concept of a multi-racial Britain and the Race Relations Bill itself, a feeling which is borne out by polling evidence. This frustration, which in the present case is also experienced as a menace to the essence of (freedom-based) Britishness, is in line with the populist "belief that the *volonté générale* should be implemented without any restrictions. Nothing is more important than the general will of the people" (Mudde 2007, p. 151). It is no coincidence either that Powell himself was one of the first senior British politicians to push for greater use of referendum.

Nativism, the need for direct democracy in the form of referendum, and the sense of betrayal by the elites all facilitate cross-class alliances, which is often what populist leaders strive for (Mudde & Kaltwasser 2012, p. 5). The mythified ethnos that native Britons are summoned to identify with at the exclusion of New Commonwealth immigrants is made up of a portion of the working class and of many middle-class folks. It is noteworthy that media coverage emphasized, not only in Britain, the Powellite alignment of dockers, meat porters, etc. While it is itself debatable how many dockers actually sided with Powell (Lindop 2001), it does remain that the core of Powell supporters did not take noisily to the streets and was made up of suburban middle classes, as is testified by the large number of support letters sent from Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Devon, etc. This is precisely how, in Powell's case, the hazy notion of the "silent majority" should be understood.

One last point. Rather than engage in debates on what kind of "right" Powell was identified with (either "far", "extreme" or "radical"), it seems important to associate his rhetoric and ideology to "nativism", which is a "key feature of the populist right" according to Mudde and "an ideology that holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group ('the nation') and that non-native elements (persons and ideas) are fundamentally threatening to the nation state's homogeneity" (Mudde 2016, p. 6). As Duyvendak and Kesic underline, although a more appropriate concept than mere "nationalism" to make sense of the contemporary upsurge of populist parties in Europe, the concept happens to be very rarely deployed (Duyvendak & Kesic 2018). As we have said above, it may be argued that Powell's rocket-like career served as a (British) prologue to this contemporary upsurge and that it was nativist at its core.

Nativism is commonly used to study the United States, say, from the period of reconstruction to the end of the First World War. In his foundational work, John Higham defines nativism as “intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign (i.e. ‘un-American’) connections” (Higham 2011, 4). Higham distinguishes three types of nativism: religious nativism (Catholics as a threat to the WASP model), political nativism (the Red Scare), and racial nativism (100% Americans vs. presumably inferior though threatening races, i.e. all non WASPs). From this triad, Duyvendak and Kesic have wrought another one, adapted to the Netherlands and more broadly to contemporary Europe: religious nativism (in the form of Islamophobia, although they do not use the word itself), class nativism (elites as a threat to the nation) and racial nativism (immigrants and ethnic minorities lumped together as occupying too much space, literally, politically and symbolically). Elements two and three of this triad are very germane to apprehend Powell and his following, whereas the first one (religious nativism) is only minor: at a time when Islam as such was outside political debate in Britain and Britons had never heard of “hijabs”, “fatwas” or “jihad” (Esteves 2011), it was Sikh customs and militancy that were construed as a threat, particularly in the West Midlands and Southall. This is true despite the very obvious fact that anti-Sikh feelings and discourses in the 1960s pale into insignificance when compared with current polemics about Islam, many of which have been conditioned by foreign policy issues.

Three tropes connected with nativism are central to Powellite discourses and perceptions. One is home politics, a rudimentary, 1960s’ form of what William Walters would label “domopolitics” in the post-9/11 securitization of Western societies (Walters 2004), with homes being seen as under constant siege. A second one is (race-based) rootedness naturalizing national belonging and suggesting a culturalization of citizenship that, in turn, legitimizes welfare chauvinism discourses. That rootedness, after Pierre Bourdieu, needs to be questioned (Bourdieu 2000, pp. 142–3). Third, the centrality of nostalgia. Duyvendak talks about a “revanchist nostalgia” that is prevalent in Western Europe today. Again, it may be argued that Powell set the tone for much of this in Britain. In this neighbourhood-centred nostalgia, “*spatial* transformations have largely been interpreted as *temporal* developments” (Duyvendak 2011, p. 108). To put it differently, in Powellite perceptions the hackneyed phrase “there goes the neighbourhood!” is very often race-based coded language. It is often based on a notion of territorial rights, along the lines of “we were here first”, which itself gives the natives the right to prescribe to immigrants how they must behave (*Ibid.*, 110). In all of this, and as hopefully we have managed to demonstrate in this book, top-down discourses and bottom-up indignant feelings are remarkably in sync. Further, Powell’s 1968 episode also set the tone for much of the British debate on race and immigration and adumbrated some of the European contemporary waves of nativist populism. It is highly ironic that a post-Brexit book about a quintessentially English figure might serve to illuminate, if indirectly, some current political debates in Europe.

Notes

- 1 I have found alternatively “March For Dignity” and “March of Dignity”.
- 2 “Racialism” was nearly always used in the 1960s and “racism” was not, at least not in Britain.
- 3 For video archives, check: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3SYNo2t6nxxg> (accessed 06.04.2018).
- 4 It is often claimed that the first occurrence of the term was in the *New York Times* (21.10.1984), on the Mondale/Reagan televised debates.
- 5 In 2004, Cas Mudde was already referring to the “contemporary populist *Zeitgeist*” (p. 31).

References

Primary sources

Staffordshire Record Office Powell papers, letters in support, bundles D3123/14; D3123/15; D3123/167.

Secondary sources

- Billig, M. (1995), *Banal Nationalism*, London: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P. (2000), *Pascalian Meditations*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bourne, J. (1998), “UK: The Powell Effect”, *Race and Class*, 39(4), pp. 59–62.
- Douglas, M. (1966), *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Duyvendak, J.W. (2011), *The Politics of Home: Belonging and Nostalgia in Europe and the United States*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Duyvendak, J.W. and Kesic, J. (2018), “The Rise of Nativism in Europe”, *Europe Now*, available at <https://www.europenowjournal.org/2018/01/31/the-rise-of-nativism-in-europe/> (accessed 19.09.2018).
- Eddo-Lodge, R. (2017), *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race*, London: Bloomsbury.
- Esteves, O. (2011), *De L'invisibilité à l'islamophobie : les musulmans britanniques (1945–2010)*, Paris: Presses de Sciences-Po.
- Farris, S (2017), *In The Name of Women's Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Gest, J. (2016), *The New Minority: White Working Class Politics in an Age of Immigration and Inequality*, London and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Goodwin, J., Jasper, J. and Polletta, F. (2001), *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Higham, J. (2011 [1955]), *Strangers in the Land. Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Hirsch, S. (2018), *In the Shadow of Powell: Race, Locality and Resistance*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Koselleck, R. (2006), “Crisis”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 67(2), pp. 357–400.
- Lamont, M. (2000), *The Dignity of Working Men: Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class and Immigration*, New York and Cambridge, MA: Russell Sage Foundation/Harvard University Press.

- Lindop, F. (2001), "Racism and the Working Class: Strikes in Support of Enoch Powell in 1968", *Labour History Review*, 66(1), pp.79–100.
- Lucardie, P. (2000), "Prophets, Purifiers and Prolocutors: Towards a Theory on the Emergence of New Parties", *Party Politics*, 6(2), pp.175–185.
- Mepschen, P. (2016), *Everyday Autochthony: Difference, Discontent and the Politics of Home in Amsterdam*, University of Amsterdam, PhD dissertation.
- Moffit, B. (2016), *The Global Rise of Populism: Performance, Political Style, and Representation*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Mudde, C. (2007), *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, C. (2016), *On Extremism and Democracy in Europe*, London: Routledge.
- Mudde, C. and Kaltwasser, C.R. (2012), *Populism in Europe and the Americas*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pilkington, H. (2016), *Loud and Proud: Passion and Politics in the English Defence League*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Schofield, C. (2013), *Enoch Powell and the Making of Post-Colonial Britain*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Schwarz, B. (2011), *The White Man's World: Memories of Empire (Vol. 1)*, New York and London: Oxford University Press.
- Taggart, P. (2000), *Populism*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Walters, W. (2004), "Secure Borders, Safe Haven, Domopolitics", *Citizenship Studies*, 8(3), pp.237–260.

Notes

Introduction

- 1 I have found alternatively “March For Dignity” and “March of Dignity”.
- 2 “Racialism” was nearly always used in the 1960s and “racism” was not, at least not in Britain.
- 3 For video archives, check: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3SYNo2t6nxg> (accessed 06.04.2018).
- 4 It is often claimed that the first occurrence of the term was in the *New York Times* (21.10.1984), on the Mondale/Reagan televised debates.
- 5 In 2004, Cas Mudde was already referring to the “contemporary populist *Zeitgeist*” (p. 31).

Chapter 1

- 1 There was much less negative reaction to the substantial influx of Polish immigrants immediately after the Second World War or to the sustained migration of much larger numbers of Irish migrants throughout the post-war period.
- 2 Enoch Powell was a longstanding critic of this legislation, although when he was Health Minister in the early 1960s he did not oppose the recruitment of Commonwealth medical staff to work in the NHS.
- 3 A very detailed and authoritative account of this complex controversy can be found in Hansen 2000,
- 4 Including frequent use of the slogan “If you want a nigger for a neighbour, vote Labour”, which Griffiths did not use himself but refused to condemn.
- 5 The Kenyan Asians were exempt from the migration controls of 1962 due to a loophole relating to the unusual way these controls were introduced. They also did not have any Kenyan citizenship to fall back on, as the Kenyan government had forced them to choose between British and Kenyan citizenship when Kenya became independent. The Wilson government’s introduction of migration controls thus rendered many of them stateless. The tangled and tragic story of the Kenyan Asians is discussed at great length in Hansen (2000).
- 6 A decision 70% of voters considered wrong (Schoen 1977, p. 37). Heath allegedly never spoke to Powell again (Hansen 2000).
- 7 Note that I am here simply employing the original survey terminology and not endorsing such a description of black and Asian immigration. The fact that “coloured immigration” was routinely employed in social surveys in the 1960s and 1970s but has now ceased to be an acceptable way of describing

immigration from South Asia and the Caribbean is an interesting example of how British social norms concerning race have shifted in response to ethnic diversification.

- 8 Details of these controls are provided in the Appendix.
- 9 A comparison of these attitudes with actual immigration settlements during the period also reveals no relationship at all between attitudes and previous or current black and Asian immigration levels.
- 10 There was one notable change in public sentiment following Powell's departure: support for voluntary and assisted repatriation, Powell's favoured solution to the immigration problem, dropped considerably between 1974 and 1979 and opposition to a repatriation policy rose even faster.
- 11 Seventy-seven percent of 1970 BES respondents had heard Powell's views, 75% correctly identified his position as repatriation of immigrants and 83% of those who had heard Powell's views declared themselves "glad Enoch spoke".
- 12 Full details of the control variables are provided in the Appendix.
- 13 In 1995 and 2003, reduce immigration.
- 14 In 1983 and 1989, this is a scale of attitudes about the children of immigrants. In 1995, it is a scale of attitudes to immigrants themselves.
- 15 Reforms to restrict family reunion migration, by 1979 the main source of black and Asian immigration to Britain, were never proposed by Thatcher or seriously discussed by her colleagues (Hansen 2000, Chap. 10). Although efforts were made to restrict entrance to those believed to be marrying in order to gain entrance to the UK, the impact of these was relatively limited. This "primary purpose" rule was abandoned by Labour in 1997.

Chapter 2

- 1 These are not verbatim quotes from actual letters but ideal-typical summaries of letters studied that refer to the war(s).
- 2 I personally agree with sociologist Abdelmalek Sayad's analysis of immigration and work as being intrinsically inseparable (Sayad 2004).

Chapter 3

- 1 Pitman shorthand, a phonetic system using symbols to represent the spoken word, was once of the most popular form of stenography used by secretaries, reporters and other for taking notes.

Chapter 4

- 1 In *The Observer* (28 April 1968), Ivan Bates also made a parallel between Powell and the French leader.
- 2 The IWA in Southall, the largest in the country, ran very much independently from the national headquarters.

Chapter 5

- 1 The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, also known as the Kerner Commission after its chair Governor Otto Kerner, Jr., of Illinois, investigated the causes of recent rioting in African American and Latino neighbourhoods in the United States (Watts in Los Angeles, Division Street in Chicago, Newark). The report sharply criticized the adoption of a white perspective by the media.

Chapter 6

- 1 Powell, along with his fellow UUP MPs, resigned his seat in December 1985 in protest at the Anglo-Irish Agreement and was re-elected in the subsequent by-election in January 1986.
- 2 The MP Andrew Hunter left the Conservative Party in 2002 and later sat as a member of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) group, 2004–2005, while still representing an English seat.
- 3 In 1998, when Ulster Unionists were protesting the use of the Irish language at Queen's University, Belfast, Powell told one correspondent that "the struggle in Ireland is about the nation to which Ulster shall belong. There is no reason why it should depend upon a single language or a single religion" (Powell letter, 26 January 1998, POLL 9/1/17).
- 4 This is taken from a Sunday newspaper feature in which JEP had given written answers to questions posed by readers, "Answer Me That, Enoch Powell", *Weekend*, 2–3 October 1968. It is not clear from the clipping in which newspaper this appeared.
- 5 For Powell's early expression of opposition to the death penalty, see Powell, "Hanging, Logic and the Public", *Daily Telegraph* 1973, quoted in Collings 1991, pp. 228–232.

Chapter 7

- 1 RUSI changed its name to the Royal United Services Institute in 2004.
- 2 The Labour government under Harold Wilson was, in fact, continuing the policy adopted by the Conservative government: offering moral support to the United States and providing military training for the South Vietnamese army that was backed by the United States. The Wilson government also clandestinely sold arms to the United States, including napalm. Wilson juggled criticisms of the United States from within his Cabinet, from the parliamentary party and the rank and file with a commitment to maintaining good Anglo-American relations: see Vickers 2008, pp. 47–48; see also Busch 2001.
- 3 There were, in fact, three European Communities – the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), and the European Economic Community (EEC) – which were governed by common institutions after 1967.

chapter 8

- 1 The Selsdon Group was set up by Nicholas Ridley (among other Conservatives) in September 1973, after Edward Heath's set of U-turns. Its aim was to promote the free-market ideas embraced in the 1970 general election Conservative Manifesto, whose formulation dated back to January 1970, when Heath held a brainstorming session of his shadow cabinet at the Selsdon Park Hotel in Croydon.
- 2 In her study of training Conservative minds for the battle of ideas, Clarisse Berthezène argues how hard it is to use the label of "a Conservative intellectual" (Berthezène 2011, pp. 29–45). As for E.H.H. Green, he stresses the fact that Powell was an oddity among his Conservative fellows: "Conservative suspicion of abstract logic and reason (in the Oakschottian technical sense) found expression in party criticisms of its own members, like Enoch Powell, who was described as 'too clever by half' and possessing an 'over-logical mind'" (Green 2002, pp. 283–284).
- 3 Ilford North (London borough of Redbridge) had always been won by the Conservatives since 1945, except in October 1974 when the Labour Party was returned to power.
- 4 Since 1950, Deptford had been won by the Conservatives except in 1966. It was also key in the run-up to the Brixton riots (1981). It was eventually abolished in 1983.

- 5 In March 1968, just before Powell's Birmingham speech, Ralph Harris pointed out to Powell that his general thought was inconsistent with his ideas on immigration, because it was not coherent to advocate a control of immigration and free-market ideas (implying the free circulation of workers) at the same time (POLL 1/1/49; Powell, 8 March 1968).
- 6 See Stéphane Porion's chapter on the National Front and the BNP in this book.
- 7 See Karine Tournier Sol's and Olivier Esteves's chapters (Powell's letters of support) on the confusion between "Britain" and "England".

Chapter 9

- 1 Breitbart News is seen as a far-right syndicated American news, opinion and commentary website. It was created by conservative commentator Andrew Breitbart in 2007. It supported Donald Trump's presidential campaign in 2016.
- 2 For an analysis of UKIP and the Powell legacy, see Karine Tournier Sol's chapter. The BNP's exploitation of the Powell legacy will be examined in the conclusion of the book.
- 3 Both the Greater British Movement (GBM) and the National Socialist Movement were excluded from the creation of the National Front due to their toxic open commitment to Nazism and anti-Semitism. Yet, after GBM leader John Tyndall moderated his stance, GBM members were thus entitled to join in 1968, as well as members of small far-right organizations.
- 4 As Nigel Copsey and Matthew Worley put it, "the name of this new organisation, the 'National Front', had been used by Chesterton before. It had been the name given to a short-lived group which had been formed by Chesterton and Collin Brooks towards the end of 1944 ... In the early 1950s, Andrew Fountaine also established a 'National Front Movement' (Copsey and Worley 2018, p. 7).
- 5 For further developments, see Stéphane Porion's chapter on the influence of Powellism on Alfred Sherman.
- 6 See *Spearhead* February 1971, pp. 10–11.
- 7 During a House of Commons debate in June 1960, Enoch Powell was one of the 22 Conservative MPs who voted alongside the Labour opposition for an amendment designed to decriminalize consenting male homosexual acts in private. Powell was also against death penalty.
- 8 See *Spearhead* January 1970, p. 7.
- 9 Sark is part of the Channel Islands, nestled in between Guernsey and Jersey.
- 10 See Stéphane Porion's chapter on Alfred Sherman in this book.
- 11 This interview never took place as Webber had to cancel it.
- 12 Croix de Feu (French: "Cross of Fire") French political movement (1927–1936). Originally, an organization of World War I veterans, it embraced ultra-nationalistic, fascist views. Under the leadership of François de La Rocque (1885–1946), it held popular demonstrations in reaction to the January 1934 French political and economic crisis engendered by the sudden mysterious death of Alexandre Stavisky. It intended to overthrow the government, subsequently lost ground and was abolished by the 1936 Popular Front government.

Chapter 10

- 1 Speeches taken from <http://www.enochpowell.info/speeches/>, or *Hansard*.
- 2 Derek Walker-Smith was one of the first conservatives to oppose EEC membership on sovereignty grounds. See *Hansard*, 2 August 1961, vol. 645, vol. 1507–1514: "It is not just a debate about economics, important as they are. It is acknowledged that it raises great political issues: issues which concern our constitutional practices, our national institutions and our future as a sovereign State."

- 3 The majority of UKIP's elected representatives are concentrated in England, but at its peak between 2013 and 2016, the party gained representation in the other three nations as well, at various levels: in the 2014 European elections, for the first time a UKIP MEP was elected in Scotland, David Coburn; the party also entered the Welsh Assembly in 2016 with the election of seven Assembly Members (AMs); in Northern Ireland, the party has had up to four local councillors. Following the Brexit vote, the party has been losing ground everywhere.
- 4 With, for instance, persistent rumours of a pact between UKIP and the Conservative party before 2015. See the leaked discussion document drafted by Michael Fabricant (Tory vice-chairman and chief of campaigning) for David Cameron in 2012, urging for a pact to limit the damage UKIP could inflict on the Tories at the following general election. Fabricant M. (2012) *The Pact? The Conservative Party, UKIP and the EU, A Discussion Paper*, November, <http://thepactreport.wordpress.com/>.
- 5 The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. Bulgaria and Romania were not included in the list.
- 6 Interestingly enough, Romania itself was not part of the A8 countries, having joined later in 2007 together with Bulgaria. EU restrictions on migration were lifted on 1 January 2014 for those two countries.

Conclusion

- 1 See the introduction to this book, which tackles the issue of commemorative plaques.

References

- Staffordshire Record Office Powell papers, letters in support, bundles D3123/14; D3123/15; D3123/167.
- Billig, M. (1995), *Banal Nationalism*, London: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P. (2000), *Pascalian Meditations*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bourne, J. (1998), "UK: The Powell Effect", *Race and Class*, 39(4), pp. 59–62.
- Douglas, M. (1966), *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Duyvendak, J.W. (2011), *The Politics of Home: Belonging and Nostalgia in Europe and the United States*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Duyvendak, J.W. and Kesic, J. (2018), "The Rise of Nativism in Europe", *Europe Now*, available at <https://www.europenowjournal.org/2018/01/31/the-rise-of-nativism-in-europe/> (accessed 19.09.2018).
- Eddo-Lodge, R. (2017), *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race*, London: Bloomsbury.
- Esteves, O. (2011), *De L'invisibilité à l'islamophobie : les musulmans britanniques (1945–2010)*, Paris: Presses de Sciences-Po.
- Farris, S (2017), *In The Name of Women's Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Gest, J. (2016), *The New Minority: White Working Class Politics in an Age of Immigration and Inequality*, London and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Goodwin, J., Jasper, J. and Polletta, F. (2001), *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Higham, J. (2011 [1955]), *Strangers in the Land. Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Hirsch, S. (2018), *In the Shadow of Powell: Race, Locality and Resistance*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Koselleck, R. (2006), "Crisis", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 67(2), pp. 357–400.
- Lamont, M. (2000), *The Dignity of Working Men: Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class and Immigration*, New York and Cambridge, MA: Russell Sage Foundation/Harvard University Press.
- Lindop, F. (2001), "Racism and the Working Class: Strikes in Support of Enoch Powell in 1968", *Labour History Review*, 66(1), pp.79–100.
- Lucardie, P. (2000), "Prophets, Purifiers and Prolocutors: Towards a Theory on the Emergence of New Parties", *Party Politics*, 6(2), pp.175–185.

- Mepschen, P. (2016), *Everyday Autochthony: Difference, Discontent and the Politics of Home in Amsterdam*, University of Amsterdam, PhD dissertation.
- Moffit, B. (2016), *The Global Rise of Populism: Performance, Political Style, and Representation*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Mudde, C. (2007), *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, C. (2016), *On Extremism and Democracy in Europe*, London: Routledge.
- Mudde, C. and Kaltwasser, C.R. (2012), *Populism in Europe and the Americas*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pilkington, H. (2016), *Loud and Proud: Passion and Politics in the English Defence League*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Schofield, C. (2013), *Enoch Powell and the Making of Post-Colonial Britain*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Schwarz, B. (2011), *The White Man's World: Memories of Empire (Vol. 1)*, New York and London: Oxford University Press.
- Taggart, P. (2000), *Populism*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Walters, W. (2004), "Secure Borders, Safe Haven, Domopolitics", *Citizenship Studies*, 8(3), pp.237–260.
- Bartle, J. (1999), "Improving the Measurement of Party Identity in Britain", *British Elections and Parties Review*, 9(1), pp. 119–135.
- Bartle, J. (2001), "The Measurement of Party Identification in Britain: Where Do We Stand Now?", *British Elections and Parties Review*, 11(1), pp. 9–22.
- Bartle, J. (2003), "Measuring Party Identification: An Exploratory Study with Focus Groups", *Electoral Studies*, 22(1), pp. 166–173.
- Butler, D. and King, A. (1966), *The British General Election of 1966*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Butler, D. and Stokes, D. (1971), *Political Change in Britain* (2nd ed.), London: Macmillan.
- Ford, R. (2008), "Is Racial Prejudice Declining in Britain?", *British Journal of Sociology*, 59(4), pp. 609–636.
- Ford, R. (2011), "Acceptable and Unacceptable Immigrants: How Opposition to Immigration in Britain is Affected by Migrants' Region of Origin", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(7), pp. 1017–1037.
- Hansen, R. (2000), *Citizenship and Immigration in Postwar Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heath, A.F. (2013), *The Political Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- IPSOS-MORI (2018), "Important Issues Facing Britain", <https://www.ipsos.com/ipsos-mori/en-uk/important-issues-facing-britain> (accessed 25.10.2018).
- Kinder, D. and Sanders, L. (1996), *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Layton-Henry, Z. (1984), *The Politics of Race in Britain*, London: HarperCollins.
- McLean, I. (2001), *Rational Choice and British Politics: An Analysis of Rhetoric and Manipulation from Peel to Blair*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Powell, E. (1968), "Speech to the West Midlands Area Conservative Political Centre", transcript, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3643823/Enoch-Powells-Rivers-of-Blood-speech.html> (accessed 25.10.2018).
- Rose, E. and Associates (1969), *Color and Citizenship: A Report on British Race Relations*, London: Oxford University Press/Institute for Race Relations.

- Schoen, D. (1977), *Powell and the Powellites*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shaggar, S. (2000), *Race and Representation: Electoral Politics and Ethnic Pluralism in Britain*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Solomos, J. (2003), *Race and Racism in Britain*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Steed, M. (1964), "Appendix: An Analysis of the Results", in Butler, D. and King, A., *The British General Election of 1964*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Studlar, D. (1978), "Policy Voting in Britain: The Colored Immigration Issue in the 1964, 1966 and 1970 General Elections", *American Political Science Review*, 72(1), pp. 46–64.
- Thatcher, M. (1978), "Interview with World in Action", transcript, <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/103485> (25. 10. 2018).
- Stafford Record Office, Powell papers, Letters in support, bundles D 3123/10 (noted as A in the text) ; D 3123/11 (noted as B) ; D 3123/12 (noted as C) ; D 3123/13 (noted as D) ; D 3123/14 (noted as E) ; D 3123/15 (noted as F) ; D 3123/167 (noted as G).
- Stafford Record Office, Powell papers, Letters against, bundle D 3123/110 (noted as H).
- Banting, K. and Kymlicka, W. (eds.) (2006), *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Recognition and Redistribution in Contemporary Democracies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Calder, A. (1991), *The Myth of the Blitz*, London: Jonathan Cape.
- Crehan, K. (2016), *Gramsci's Common Sense, Inequality and Its Narratives*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Elton, G. (Lord) (1965), *The Unarmed Invasion, A Survey of Afro-Asian Immigration*, London: Collins.
- Esseveld, J. and Eyerman, R. (1992), "'Which Side Are You On?' Reflections on Methodological Issues in the Study of 'Distasteful' Social Movements", in Diani, M. and Eyerman, R. (eds.), *Studying Collective Action*, London: Sage.
- Esteves, O. (2018), *The "Desegregation" of English Schools: Bussing, Race and Urban Space*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Ezekiel, R.S. (1995), *The Racist Mind: Portraits of American Neo-Nazis and Klansmen*, New York: Penguin.
- Gallagher, T. (1987), *Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace, Religious Tension in Modern Scotland*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Gilroy, P. (2004), *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Goldberg, D.T. (2009), "Racial Knowledge", in Black, L. and Solomos, J. (eds.), *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader* (2nd ed.), London: Routledge.
- Goodwin, M. and Milazzo, C. (2015), *UKIP, Inside the Campaign to Redraw the Map of British Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Halbwachs, M. (1992 [1925]), *On Collective Memory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hirsch, S. (2018), *In The Shadow of Enoch Powell: Race, Locality and Resistance*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Jacobson, M.F. (2008), *Roots Too: White Ethnic Revival in Post Civil-Rights America*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jasper, J.M., Goodwin, J. and Polletta, F. (2001), *Passion Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Katznelson, I. (2005), *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in 20th century America*, New York: Norton.
- Koutonin, M.R. (2015) "Why Are White People Expats when the Rest of Us Are Immigrants", *The Guardian*, 13 March.

- Kushner, T. (1989), *The Persistence of Prejudice: Antisemitism in British Society During the Second World War*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- McClintock, A. (2009), "The White Family of Man", in Black, L. and Solomos, J. (eds.), *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader (2nd ed.)*, London: Routledge.
- Pilkington, H. (2016), *Loud and Proud: Passion and Politics in the English Defence League*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Pollard, J. and Feldman, M. (2016), "The Ideologues and Ideologies of the Radical Right: An Introduction", *Patterns of Prejudice*, 50 (4–5), pp. 327–336.
- Ritscherle, A. (2005), "Opting Out of Utopia: Race and Working-Class Political Culture in Britain during the Age of Decolonization, 1948–68", University of Michigan, PhD dissertation.
- Rose, S. (2003), *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain 1939–1945*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sayad, A. (2004), *The Suffering of the Immigrant*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Schofield, C. (2013), *Enoch Powell and the Making of Post-Colonial Britain*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Schwarz, B. (2011), *The White Man's World: Memories of Empire (Vol. 1)*, New York and London: Oxford University Press.
- Seabrook, J. (1971), *City Close-Up*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Simpson, J. (2018), *Migrant Architects of the NHS, South Asian Doctors and the Reinvention of British General Practice (1940s–1980s)*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Whipple, A. (2009), "Revisiting the 'Rivers of Blood' Controversy: Letters to Enoch Powell", *Journal of British Studies*, 48(3), pp. 717–735.
- Wolfe, Alan W. and Klausen, J. (1997), "Identity Politics and the Welfare State", *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 14(2), pp. 231–255.
- Yuval-Davis, N. (2006), "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging", *Patterns of Prejudice*, 40(3), pp. 197–214.
- Barton, F. (2007), "Widow in Enoch Powell's Rivers of Blood Speech Really Did Exist", *The Daily Mail*, 2 February.
- Heffer, S. (1998), *Like The Roman: The Life of Enoch Powell*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson.
- Howard of Rising, Lord (ed.) (2014), *Enoch at 100: A Re-evaluation of the Life, Politics and Philosophy of Enoch Powell*, London: Biteback Publishing.
- Jones, C. (1982), *Race and the Media: Thirty Years' Misunderstanding*, London: Commission for Racial Equality (first published by UNESCO 1980).
- Jones, N. (1999), *Sultans of Spin*, London: Victor Gollancz.
- Jones, N. (2015), *The Election A-Z*, Chatham: Urbane Publications Ltd.
- Marr, A. (2009), *A History of Modern Britain*, London: Pan Books.
- Page, B. (1999), "Enoch's Letters of Blood", *Prospect*, February.
- Phillips, M. and Phillips, T. (1998), *Windrush: The Irresistible Rise of Multi-Racial Britain*, London: HarperCollins.
- Powell, E. (1968), "Walsall Speech", 9 February 1968, <https://www.enochpowell.net/fr-80.html>.
- Powell, S. (1995), Interview in "Odd Man Out", BBC Television.
- Rhodes, P. (1992), *The Loaded Hour: A History of the Express and Star*, Worcester: SPA Ltd.
- Thomson, M. (2007), "Document", BBC Radio 4, 23 January.
- Staffordshire Record Office, Powell papers, Letters in support (D 3123/16; D 3123/167)

- Staffordshire Record Office, Powell papers, Letters against (D 3123/109; D 3123/110).
- Corriere de la Serra*
- De Telegraaf*
- De Volkskrant*
- Die Zeit*
- Gazette de Lausanne*
- Journal de Genève*
- La Stampa*
- Le Monde*
- Le Soir*
- The Daily Telegraph*
- The Guardian*
- The Independent*
- The Irish Examiner*
- The Irish Times*
- The New York Times*
- The Times*
- Cox, O.C. (2009), "Race Relations", in Back, L. and Solomos, J., *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader*, London: Routledge.
- Esteves, O. (2018), *The "Desegregation" of English Schools: Bussing, Race and Urban Space*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Feldman, D. (2011), "Why The English Like Turbans: Multicultural Politics in British History", in Feldman, D. and Lawrence, J., *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fortner, M.J. (2015), *Black Silent Majority, The Rockefeller Drug Laws and the Politics of Punishment*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hillman, N. (2008), "A 'Chorus of Execration'? Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' Forty Years On", *Patterns of Prejudice*, 42(1), pp. 83–104.
- Husband, C. and Hartmann, P. (1974), *Racism and the Mass Media*, London: Davis-Poynter.
- Melchow, H.L. (2011), *Special Relations: The Americanization of Britain?*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Myers, K. (2015), *Struggles for a Past: Irish and Afro-Caribbean Histories in England, 1951–2000*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Porion, S. and Kazin, M. (2017), "George Wallace and Enoch Powell: Comparing the Politics of Populist Conservatism in the USA and the UK", in Berthezène C. and Vinel J.C. (eds.), *Postwar Conservatism, A Transnational Investigation*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ritscherle, A. (2005), *Opting Out of Utopia: Race and Working-Class Political Culture in Britain during the Age of Decolonization, 1948–68*, University of Michigan, PhD dissertation.
- Robinson, V., Andersson, R. and Musterd, S. (2003), *Spreading the Burden: A Review of Policies to Disperse Asylum Seekers and Refugees*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Russell, B. (2005 [1955–1957]), *Détente or Distraction?*, *The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell (Vol. 29)*, London: Routledge.
- Schofield, C. (2013), *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Souillac, R. (2007), *Le mouvement Poujade. De la défense professionnelle au populisme nationaliste (1953–1962)*, Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.
- Whipple, A. (2009), “Revisiting the ‘Rivers of Blood’ Controversy: Letters to Enoch Powell”, *Journal of British Studies*, 48(3), pp. 717–735.
- Nandy, D. (14 June 1968), “The Scope of the Runnymede Trust: Prospects and Proposals”, 14 June 1968, in *Runnymede Collection* (hereafter RMEDE), RC/RF/4/07, folder J.
- Nandy, D. (undated, 1969?), “Race and the British Press, 1956–1968”, RMEDE RC/RF/24/2, folder A.
- Rose, E. J. B. and Leslie, S. C. (undated), “An Official Information Policy on Race Relations” RMEDE, RC/RF/4/02/A.
- Runnymede Trust (March 1969), “Beyond Legislation”, RMEDE, RC/RF/4/07, folder J.
- Runnymede Trust (9 June 1969), “Immigration and Repatriation: Some Comments”, RMEDE, RC/RF/4/07, folder J.
- Runnymede Trust (11 June 1969), “Immigration and Repatriation: Briefing Paper No. 2”, RMEDE, RC/RF/4/07, folder J.
- Stephen, D. *et al.* (1974), “The Runnymede Trust, 1968–1974,” May 1974, RMEDE, RC/RF/4/07, folder J.
- Deakin, N., Runnymede Oral History Project (hereafter ROHP), interviewed by Kjartan Sveinsson, 16 October 2008, C1334/06.
- Lester, A., ROHP, interviewed by Sarah Isal, 30 September 2008, C1334/01.
- Nandy, D., ROHP, interviewed by Michelynn Lafleche, 21 February 2009, C1334/11.
- Phillips, Sir T., ROHP, interviewed by Rob Berkeley, 7 April 2009, C1334/12.
- Prashar, U., ROHP, interviewed by Michelynn Lafleche, 8 October 2008, C1334/05.
- Stephens, David, ROHP, interviewed by Kjartan Sveinsson, 19 November 2008, C1334/10.
- Nandy, D. 17 May 2015, Nottingham.
- Runnymede Trust, “Immigration and Race Relations in the United Kingdom: Background Information,” 15 January 1969, in Bernard Langton Papers, M784/7, folder 12.
- NCCI Public Relations Panel, Meeting Minutes, 10 May 1966, HO231/16, NC/PR/66/1.
- NCCI Public Relations Panel, “Some Notes for Guidance on Relations with the Local Press,” 1966, HO231/16, NC/PR/66/5.
- Working Party on Statistics, First Report, 23 September 1970, CK2/242, CRC/WPS 70/3, 3.
- Working Party on Statistics, Meeting Minutes, 9 February 1971, CK 2/242, CRC/WPS 71/1.
- Bebber, B. (2018), “‘Standard Transatlantic Practice’: Race Relations and Anti-discrimination Law Across the Atlantic”, *Journal of Civil and Human Rights*, 4(1), pp. 5–36.
- Bleich, E. (2003), *Race Politics in Britain and France: Ideas and Policymaking Since the 1960s*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dean, D. (2000), “The Race Relations Policy of the First Wilson Government”, *Twentieth Century British History*, 11(3), pp. 259–283.
- Dummett, A. (Autumn 1987), “The Runnymede Trust, 1968–1987”, *New Community*, 14(1/2), p. 89.
- Eversley, D.E.C. (1973), *A Question of Numbers?*, London: Runnymede Trust.
- Lester, A. (1965), *Justice in the American South*, London: Amnesty International.
- Lester, A. (1967), “The Need for Legislation”, *Fabian Research Series: Policies for Racial Equality*, 262, July, pp. 6–7.
- Lester, A. and Deakin, N. (1967), “Introduction”, *Fabian Research Series: Policies for Racial Equality*, 262, July.
- Lomas, G.B.G. (1973), *Census 1971: The Coloured Population of Great Britain, Preliminary Report*, London: Runnymede Trust.

- Lomas, G.B.G. (1975), *The Coloured Population of Great Britain, A Comparative Study of Coloured Households in Four County Boroughs*, London: Runnymede Trust.
- Nandy, D. (1970), *How to Calculate Immigration Statistics*, London: Runnymede Trust.
- Perry, K.H. (2016), *London is the Place for Me: Black Britons, Citizenship and The Politics of Race*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Race and the Press: Four Essays* (1971), London: Runnymede Trust.
- Rose, E.J.B. (ed.) (1969), *Colour and Citizenship: A Report on British Race Relations*, London: Institute of Race Relations.
- Runnymede Trust (1972), *Immigration and Settlement, 1963–1971*, London: Runnymede Trust.
- Runnymede Trust/Radical Statistics Race Group (1980), *Britain's Black Population*, London: Heinemann.
- Saggar, S. (1992), *Race and Politics in Britain*, London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Churchill Archives Centre, The papers of J. Enoch Powell, POLL, press clipping, 2-3 October 1968, POLL 12/1/27 speech at Bridgnorth, 27 August 1969, POLL 4/1/5, speech at Enniskillen, 7 February, 1970, POLL 4/1/6; speech at Omagh, 11 September 1971, POLL 4/1/7; speech at Penzance, 13 November 1971, POLL 4/1/7; speech at Keith, Banffshire. 22 April 72, POLL 4/1/8; press clipping, POLL 12/1/27; Note, "Tuesday 26 November 1974", POLL 1/6/28; Powell to Molyneux, 12 March 1976, POLL 9/1/8; Powell letter, 22 December 1982, POLL 3/2/1/36; Powell letter, 3 July 1987, POLL 9/1/4; press clipping, *Down Recorder*, 1 December 83, POLL 3/2/1/36; Powell to Prior, 19 March 1984, POLL 3/2/1/36; Powell to Biggs-Davison, 10 March 1983, POLL 1/1/32; Powell letter, 26 January 1998, POLL 9/1/17. The National Archives, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, FCO 26/797, Blakeway to Smith, 21 May 1971, FCO26/797.
- The National Archives, Home Office, HO 344/422, Bohan to Edwards, 27 September 1971.
- The National Archives, Home Office and Northern Ireland Office, Registered Files Series, TNA: CJ4/971 "Record of a conversation between the Prime Minister and the Rt. Hon. Powell, Enoch M.P., at the House of Commons at 3.30 p.m. on Tuesday, 26 November, 1974."
- The National Archives, Prime Minister's Papers, "Note of a Conversation between the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland at 10 Downing Street on 23 August 1979 at 12 noon." PREM 19/84, <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/117914>.
- Margaret Thatcher Foundation, www.margaretthatcher.org: Molyneux letter to Thatcher, 10 December 1980, <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/125320>; Gow minute to MT, 27 July 1982 <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/122796>.
- Bew, P. (2007), *Ireland: The Politics of Enmity, 1789–2006*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bourke, R. (2003), *Peace in Ireland: The War of Ideas*, London: Pimlico.
- Collings, R. (1991), *Reflections of a Statesman: The Selected Writings and Speeches of Enoch Powell*, London: Bellew.
- Cooke, A. (2012), "Enoch Powell and Ulster", in Howard of Rising, L., (ed.) (2012), *Enoch at 100*, London: Biteback Publishing.
- Corbally, J. (2015), "The Othered Irish: Shades of Difference in Post-War Britain, 1948–1971", *Contemporary European History*, 24(1), pp. 105–125.
- Corthorn, P. (2012), "Enoch Powell, Ulster Unionism and the British Nation", *Journal of British Studies*, 51(4), pp. 967–997.
- Daly, M.E. (2001), "Irish Nationality and Citizenship Since 1922", *Irish Historical Studies*, 32(127), pp. 377–407.

- Daly, M.E. (2017), "Brexit and the Irish Border: Historical Context", *A Royal Irish Academy-British Academy Brexit Briefing*. <https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Documents/files/2017-10-30%20Brexit%20and%20the%20Irish%20Border%20Historical%20Context.pdf>.
- Harte, L. (2003), "Somewhere Beyond England and Ireland: Narratives of 'Home' in Second-generation Irish Autobiography", *Irish Studies Review*, 11(3), pp. 293–305.
- Heffer, S. (1998), *Like The Roman: The Life of Enoch Powell*, London: Orion.
- Hickman, M.J., (1998), "Reconstructing Deconstructing 'Race': British Political Discourses about the Irish in Britain", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21(2), pp. 288–307.
- Hillyard, P. (1993), *Suspect Community: People's Experience of the Prevention of Terrorism Acts in Britain*, London: Pluto Press.
- Kenny, M. and Pearce, N. (2018), 'Will Post-Brexit Britain Overcome or Fall Further Upon Enoch Powell's Troubling Legacy', *New Statesman*, <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2018/04/will-post-brexit-britain-overcome-or-fall-further-upon-enoch-powell-s-troubling>.
- Maude, A. and Powell, J.E. (1970), *Biography of a Nation* (rev. ed.), London: J. Baker.
- Paul, K. (1996), "A Case of Mistaken Identity: The Irish in Postwar Britain", *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 49, pp. 116–142.
- Prince, S. (2007), *Northern Ireland's '68: Civil Rights, Global Revolt and the Origins of the Troubles*, Newbridge: Irish Academic Press.
- Sandbrook, D. (2012), *Seasons in the Sun: The Battle for Britain, 1974–79*, London: Allen Lane.
- Weight, R. (2002), *Patriots: National Identity in Britain, 1940–2000*, London: Macmillan.
- Whipple, A. (2009), "Revisiting the 'Rivers of Blood' Controversy: Letters to Enoch Powell", *Journal of British Studies*, 48(9), pp. 717–735.
- Belfast Newsletter*
Belfast Telegraph
Evening Standard
Guardian
New Statesman
The Times
- AMEJ1: Julian Amery to Enoch Powell, 12 January 1954, Julian Amery papers, Cambridge Churchill Archives Centre [hereafter CAC], AMEJ 1/2/71.
- AMEJ2: Julian Amery to Enoch Powell, 23 January 1954, Julian Amery papers, CAC, AMEJ 1/2/72.
- AMEJ3: Enoch Powell to Julian Amery, 2 December 1953, Julian Amery papers, CAC, AMEJ 1/2/72.
- AMEJ4: Julian Amery, "Britain's Military Role in the 1970s: Another View, A Lecture" given at the RUSI on 15 January 1969, *The Royal United Services Institution Journal*, June 1969, 5–13, Amery papers, CAC, AMEJ 7/1/40.
- AMEJ5: Enoch Powell to Julian Amery, 26 February 1975; Julian Amery to Enoch Powell, 28 February 1975, Amery papers, CAC, AMEJ 2/1/72.
- AMEJ6: Jonathan Aitken to Julian Amery, 21 April 1992, Amery papers, CAC, AMEJ 2/1/156.
- BOD1: Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee minutes, 18 February 1970, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Conservative Party Archive, CRD 3/10/1/2.
- POLL1: 'Victory', 11 October 1942, Cambridge, Enoch Powell papers, CAC, POLL 1/6/2.

- POLL2: Enoch Powell, Memorandum, New Delhi, 16 December 1944, CAC, POLL 3/1/1.
- POLL3: Enoch Powell to R.A. Butler, 3 December 1946, CAC, POLL 3/1/4.
- POLL4: Enoch Powell, Memorandum, 3 December 1946, CAC, POLL 3/1/4.
- POLL5: Enoch Powell, 'India: Proposal for a Working Committee', 28 February 1947, CAC, POLL 3/1/5.
- POLL6: "India – 3rd June 1947", CAC, POLL 3/1/5.
- POLL7: Enoch Powell, speech at the Annual General Meeting (AGM) of the Penn Ward Branch, South West Wolverhampton Conservative Association, Rose and Crown Inn, Penn Road, Wolverhampton, 6 November 1953, CAC, POLL 3/1/11.
- POLL8: Leo Amery to Enoch Powell, 12 December 1953, CAC, POLL 1/1/11.
- POLL9: Enoch Powell, draft of "Problems of Empire" for *Birmingham Post*, November 1952, CAC, POLL 6/1/1.
- POLL10: speech at St George's Day Banquet, 22 April 1961 ; speech at Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, 6 July 1963 ; speech at Trinity College Dublin, 13 November 1964 ; speech at the Conservative Party Conference, 1965; speech at St Albans, 30 October 1962 ; speech at Bromley, 24 October 1963, CAC, POLL 4/1/1.
- POLL11: BBC Home Service, "Conservative Party Conference", 22.55, 14 October 1965; Light Programme, "Any Questions", 18 March 1966, CAC, POLL 4/1/27.
- POLL12: Conservative Party Leader's Consultative Committee (LCC) minutes, 16 February 1966, Cambridge, Churchill Archives Centre, Lord Hailsham (Quintin Hogg) papers, HLSM 2/42/2/10; LCC minutes, 25 July 1967, CAC, POLL 3/2/1/8.
- POLL13: Julian Amery to Enoch Powell, 23 April 1968, CAC, POLL 4/1/4.
- POLL14: Enoch Powell, lecture on "Britain's Military Role in the 1970s" at the Royal United Services Institution, 18 September 1968 ; Enoch Powell, speech at the City of London, 31 May 1967, CAC, POLL 4/1/3.
- POLL15: Enoch Powell, speech at Bloomsbury, London, 1 December 1965, CAC, POLL 4/1/2.
- POLL16: Enoch Powell, speech at Clacton, Essex, 21 March 1969; speech at Farnham, Surrey, 7 March 1969, CAC, POLL 4/1/5.
- STAFF1: Staffordshire Record Office, Powell Papers, Enoch Powell speech at St Philip's Parish Hall, Penn Fields, 16 February 1950 Political Correspondence and Other Papers of J. Enoch Powell, D3123/223.
- STAFF2: Staffordshire Record Office, Powell Papers, Enoch Powell, speech at the Annual General Meeting of the Penn Ward Branch of the Wolverhampton South West Conservative Association at the Rose and Crown Inn, Penn Road, Wolverhampton, 12 November 1954, D3123/223.
- STAFF3: Staffordshire Record Office, Powell papers, Enoch Powell speech at the Annual General Meeting of the Penn Ward Branch of the Wolverhampton South West Conservative Association at the Rose and Crown Inn, Penn Road, Wolverhampton, no date but early 1950, D3123/223.
- Amery, J. (1951), *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain (Vol. 6)*, London: Macmillan.
- Amery, J. (1953), "A Conservative View of the Commonwealth", *Political Quarterly*, 24(2), pp. 167–180.
- Broad, R. (2001), *Labour's European Dilemmas: From Bevin to Blair*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Busch, P. (2001), "Supporting the War: Britain's Decision to Send the Thompson Mission to Vietnam, 1960–1961", *Cold War History*, 2(1), pp. 69–94.
- Cannadine, D. , (1997) "Apocalypse When? British Politicians and British 'Decline' in the Twentieth Century", in Clarke, P. and Trebilcock, C. (eds.), *Understanding*

- Decline: Perceptions and Realities of British Economic Performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, A. (2000), *Diaries: Into Politics*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Cooper, J. (2010), "The Foreign Politics of Opposition: Margaret Thatcher and the Transatlantic Relationship before Power", *Contemporary British History*, 24(1), pp. 23–42.
- Corthorn, P. (2019), *Enoch Powell: Politics and Ideas in Modern Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cosgrave, P. (accessed 19 November 2018) "(Harold) Julian Amery", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- Crowson, N. (2007), *The Conservative Party and European Integration Since 1945: At the Heart of Europe?*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Greenwood, S. (2000), *Britain and the Cold War, 1945–1991*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Grob-Fitzgibbon, B. (2016), *Continental Drift: Britain and Europe from the End of Empire to the Rise of Euroscepticism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Healey, D. (1990), *The Time of My Life*, London: Penguin.
- Heffer, S. (1998), *Like the Roman: The Life of Enoch Powell*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998.
- Louis, W.R. (2002), "Leo Amery and the Post-war World, 1945–1955", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 30(3), pp. 71–90.
- Onslow, S. (1997), *Backbench Debate within the Conservative Party and its Influence on British Foreign Policy, 1948–1957*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Onslow, S. (2006), "Unreconstructed Nationalists and a Minor Gunboat Operation: Julian Amery, Neil McLean and the Suez Crisis", *Contemporary British History*, 20(1), pp. 73–99.
- Pham, P.L. (2010), *Ending "East of Suez": The British Decision to Withdraw from Malaysia and Singapore, 1964–1970*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Powell, J.E. (1977), *Joseph Chamberlain*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Ramsden, J. (1980), *The Making of Conservative Party Policy: The Conservative Research Department Since 1929*, London: Longman.
- Saunders, R. (2012), "Crisis? What Crisis? Thatcherism and the Seventies", in Jackson, B. and Saunders, R. (eds.), *Making Thatcher's Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Saunders, R. (2018), *Yes to Europe! The 1975 Referendum and Seventies Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schofield, C. (2013), *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shepherd, R. (1996), *Enoch Powell: A Biography*, London: Hutchinson.
- Tomlinson, J. (1996), "Inventing 'Decline': The Falling Behind of the British Economy in the Post-war Years", *Economic History Review*, 49(4), pp. 731–757.
- Tomlinson, J. (2003), "The Decline of the Empire and the Economic 'Decline' of Britain", *Twentieth Century British History*, 14(3), pp. 201–222.
- Tomlinson, J. (2009), "Thrice Denied: 'Declinism' as a Recurrent Theme in British History in the Long Twentieth Century", *Twentieth Century British History*, 20(2), pp. 227–251.
- Toye, R. (2011), *Churchill's Empire: The World that Made Him and the World He Made*, London: Pan Books.
- Utley, T.E. (1968), *Enoch Powell: The Man and his Thinking*, London: Kimber.
- Vickers, R. (2008), "Harold Wilson, the British Labour Party and the War in Vietnam", *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 10(2), pp. 41–70.

- Ward, S. (ed.) (2001), *British Culture and the End of Empire*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Young, H. (1998), *This Blessed Spot: Britain and Europe from Churchill to Blair*, London: Macmillan.
- Cambridge Archives Centre Churchill College, Powell papers, files POLL 1/7/1; POLL 1/1/36; POLL 4/1/29; POLL 3/2/5/2; POLL 1/1/49; POLL 12/1/12; POLL 12/1/14; POLL 1/1/29.
- LSE Archives, London
- Alfred Sherman, "Deptford and the 1964 General Election", 11 November 1971, folio FHT/F117.
- The Centre for Policy Studies, file CPS 6/2.
- Margaret Thatcher Foundation, www.margaretthatcher.org.
- Keith Joseph's confidential note to Margaret Thatcher, 22 July 1976, www.margaretthatcher.org/document/111233.
- Keith Joseph's Discussion Paper, 7 December 1976, <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/110178>.
- Royal Holloway (University of London), Alfred Sherman papers, files AC 114; AR A5/4/5, Box 15; AC 1312, Box 35, Folder 6; AC 821; AC 29/B1/2/22, Box 3; AC 115, Box 3.
- Collings, R. (ed.) (1991), *Reflections of a Statesman: The Writings and Speeches of Enoch Powell*, London: Bellew.
- Collings, R. (ed.) (1992), *Reflections*, London: Bellew.
- Powell, E. (20 April 1978), Speech in Birmingham.
- Powell, E. (1978), *A Nation or no Nation? Six Years in British Politics*, London: Batsford.
- Sherman, A. (8 September 1976), "Why Britain Can't Be Wished Away", *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 16.
- Sherman, A. (9 September 1976), "Britain's Urge to Self-Destruction", *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 16.
- Sherman, A. (9 November 1979), "Britain is not Asia's Fiancée", *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 18.
- Sherman, A. (2005), *Paradoxes of Power*, Exeter: Imprint Academic.
- Thatcher, M. (30 November 1979), Speech in Dublin.
- Thatcher, M. (1995), *The Path to Power*, London: HarperCollins.
- 1979 Conservative Manifesto,
<http://www.conservativemanifesto.com/1979/1979-conservative-manifesto.shtml>
- Barker, M. (1981), *The New Racism: Conservatives and the Ideology of the Tribe*, London: Junction Books.
- Berthezène, C. (2011), *Les Conservateurs britanniques dans la bataille des idées*, Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.
- Brooke, P. (2007), "India, Post-Imperialism and the Origins of Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood Speech'", *Historical Journal*, 50(3), pp. 669–687.
- Burgess, S. and Alderman, G. (1990), "Centre for Policy Studies, The Influence of Sir Alfred Sherman", *Contemporary Record*, 4(2), pp. 14–15.
- Cockett, R. (1994), *Thinking the Unthinkable: Think Tanks and the Economic Counter-Revolution, 1931–1983*, London: Fontana Press.
- Gordon, P. and Klug, F. (1986), *New Right New Racism*, Nottingham, Searchlight Publications.
- Green, E.H.H. (2002), *Ideologies of Conservatism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heffer, S. (1999), *Like the Roman: The Life of Enoch Powell*, London: Phoenix.

- Howard of Rising, Lord (2012), *Enoch at 100: A Re-Evaluation of the Life, Politics and Philosophy of Enoch Powell*, London: Biteback Publishing.
- Ignazi, P. (2003), *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kavanagh, D. (2010), "Sherman, Sir Alfred", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/97388>.
- Kazin, M. and Porion, S. (2017), "George Wallace and Enoch Powell: Comparing the Politics of Populist Conservatism in the US and the UK", in Berthezène, C. and Vinel, J. C. (eds.), *Postwar Conservatism, A Transnational Investigation: Britain, France, and the United States, 1930–1990*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lynch, P. (1999), *The Politics of Nationhood*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Modood, T. (2005), *Multicultural Politics (Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain)*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- O'Hara, K. (2013), "The Conservative Dialectic of Margaret Thatcher's First Term", in Carr, R. and Hart, B.W. (eds.), *The Foundations of the British Conservative Party: Essays on Conservatism from Lord Salisbury to David Cameron*, New York and London: Bloomsbury.
- Philpot, R. (2017), *Margaret Thatcher: The Honorary Jew*, London: Biteback Publishing.
- Pitchford, M. (2011), *The Conservative Party and the Extreme Right, 1945–75*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Porion, S. (2009), "Le discours des rivières de sang d'Enoch Powell. Approche raciste ou simple remise en cause du multiculturalisme", in Prum, M. (ed.), *Éthnicité et eugénisme. Discours sur la race*, Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Porion, S. (2011), "Enoch Powell et le powellisme: entre tradition disraélienne et anticipation néo- libérale, 1946–1968", University of Sorbonne-Nouvelle, Paris, unpublished PhD thesis,
- Porion, S. (2012), "Alfred Sherman: Evolution d'une pensée 'raciste' au sein de la Nouvelle Droite britannique (1974–1979, 2001–2005) ?", in Prum, M. (ed.), *Racialisations dans l'aire anglophone*, Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Schoen, D. (1977), *Enoch Powell and the Powellites*, London: Macmillan.
- Schofield, C. (2012), "'A Nation or no Nation?' Enoch Powell and Thatcherism", in Jackson B. and Saunders, R. (eds.), *Making Thatcher's Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schofield, C. (2013), *Enoch Powell and the Making of Post-Colonial Britain*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Shepherd, R. (1997), *Enoch Powell: A Biography*, London: Pimlico.
- Smith, A.M. (1994), *New Right Discourse on Race and Sexuality*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Spencer, I.R.G. (1997), *British Immigration Policy since 1939*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Taggart, P. (2000), *Populism*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Vinen, R. (2009), *Thatcher's Britain: The Politics and Social Upheaval of the Thatcher Era*, London: Simon & Schuster.
- Wellings, B. (2011), *English Nationalism and Euroscepticism: Losing the Peace*, Oxford, Peter Lang.
- Wright, P.L. (1968), *The Coloured Worker in British Industry: With Special Reference to the Midlands and North of England*, London: Institute of Race Relations.
- Young, H. (1989), *One of Us: A Biography of Margaret Thatcher*, London: Macmillan.

Birmingham Post
The Daily Telegraph
The Guardian
The Times

Cambridge Churchill College Archives Centre, Powell papers, POLL 3/2/1/10, Files 1 and 2.
Staffordshire Record Office, Powell papers, bundles D 3123/14, D 3123/16.

Candour

Spearhead

Hailsham Papers, MSS1/1/12,

www.margaretthatcher.org/document/8C6EE38A87DE4E3389580877746FEB52.pdf.

Collings, R. (ed.) (1991), *Reflections of a Statesman: The Writings and Speeches of Enoch Powell*, London: Bellew.

Powell, E. (1973), *No Easy Answers*, London: Sheldon Press.

Powell, E. (1977), *Wrestling with Angels*, London: Sheldon Press.

Tyndall, J. (1966), *Six Principles of British Nationalism*, London: Albion Press.

Tyndall, J. (1988), *The Eleventh Hour*, London: Albion Press.

Billig, M. (1978), *Fascists (A Social and Psychological View of the National Front)*, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Carter, E. (2005), *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure?* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Copsey, N. and Worley, M. (eds.) (2018), *"Tomorrow Belongs to Us": The British Far Right Since 1967*, London and New York: Routledge.

Durham, M. (1996), "The Conservative Party, the British Extreme Right and the Problem of Political Space, 1967–1983", in Cronin, M. (ed.), *The Failure of British Fascism: The Far Right and the Fight for Political Recognition*, London: Macmillan.

Eatwell, R. (2000), "The Extreme Right and British Exceptionalism: The Primacy of Politics", in Hainsworth, P. (ed.), *The Politics of the Extreme Right from the Margins to the Mainstream*, London: Pinter.

Eatwell, R. (2003), "Ten Theories of the Extreme Right", in Merkl, H. & Weinberg, L. (eds.), *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-First Century*, London and New York: Routledge.

Eatwell, R. (2018), "Charisma and the Radical Right", in Rydgren, J., (dir.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Edgar, D. (1977), "Racism Fascism and the Politics of the National Front", *Race and Class*, XIX(2), pp. 111–131.

Fielding, N. (1981), *The National Front*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Goodwin, M. and Dennison, J. (2018), "The Radical Right in the United Kingdom", in Rydgren, J., (dir.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hainsworth, P. (2008), *The Extreme Right in Western Europe*, London and New York: Routledge.

Hansen, R. (2000), *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-War Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heffer, S. (1999), *Like the Roman: The Life of Enoch Powell*, London: Phoenix.

Ignazi, P. (2003), *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kassam, R. (2018), *Enoch Was Right: "Rivers of Blood" 50 Years On*, independently published.

- Norris, P. (2005), *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nugent, N. (1977), "The Political Parties of the Extreme Right", in Nugent, N. and King, R. (eds.), *The British Right*, Guildford: Saxon House.
- Pitchford, M. (2011), *The Conservative Party and the Extreme Right 1945–75*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Porion, S. (2012), "Le National Front et Enoch Powell: 'L'un des leurs'?", in Vervaecke, P. (ed.), *A Droite de la droite (Droites radicales en France et en Grande-Bretagne au XXe siècle)*, Lille: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion.
- Porion, S. (2016), "La Question de l'immigration au Royaume-Uni dans les années 1970: le Parti conservateur, l'extrême droite et l'effet Powell", *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, pp. 157–174.
- Schofield, C. (2013), *Enoch Powell and the Making of Post-Colonial Britain*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sykes, A. (2005), *The Radical Right in Britain*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Studlar, D.T. (1974), "British Public Opinion, Colour Issues, and Enoch Powell: A Longitudinal Analysis", *British Journal of Political Science*, 4(3), pp. 371–381.
- Taylor, S. (1982) *The National Front in English Politics*, London and Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Thurlow, R. (2009), *Fascism in Britain, From Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts to the National Front*, London: I.B. Tauris & Co.
- Walker, M. (1977), *The National Front*, London: Fontana.
- The Guardian*
The Independent
The Spectator
The Telegraph
The Times
- <http://www.nationalfront.info/2018/04/20/enoch-powells-river-of-blood-speech/>.
www.alternatehistory.com.
- Abedi, A. (2004), *Anti-Political Establishment Parties: A Comparative Analysis*, London: Routledge.
- Bevir, M. and Rhodes, R.A.W. (2003), *Interpreting British Governance*, London: Routledge.
- Canovan, M. (1981), *Populism*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Canovan, M. (1999), "Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy", *Political Studies*, 47(1), pp. 2–16.
- Daddow, O. (2013), "Margaret Thatcher, Tony Blair and the Eurosceptic Tradition in Britain", *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 15(2), pp. 210–227.
- Evans, S. (2014), *Why Vote UKIP 2015: The Essential Guide*, London: Biteback Publishing.
- Fabricant, M. (2012), *The Pact? The Conservative Party, UKIP and the EU, A Discussion Paper*, November, <http://thepactreport.wordpress.com/>.
- Farage, N. (2011), *Flying Free*, London: Biteback Publishing.
- Farage, N. (2013a), Spring conference speech in Exeter, 23 March.
- Farage, N. (2013b), Speech in Hove, 14 June.
- Farage, N. (2014), Spring conference speech in Torquay, 28 February.
- Farage, N. (2015), *The Purple Revolution: the Year that Changed Everything*, London: Biteback Publishing.

- Ford, R. and Goodwin, M. (2014), *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Forster, A. (2002), "Anti-Europeans, Anti-Marketeers and Eurosceptics: The Evolution and Influence of Labour and Conservative Opposition to Europe", *Political Quarterly*, 73(3), pp. 299–308.
- Goodwin, M. and Dennison, J. (2018), "The Radical Right in the United Kingdom", in Rydgren, J. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, S. and Jacques, M. (eds.) (1983), *The Politics of Thatcherism*, London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Hayton, R. (2016), "The UK Independence Party and the Politics of Englishness", *Political Studies Review*, 14(3), pp. 400–410.
- Kazin, M. and Porion, S. (2016), "George Wallace et Enoch Powell: comparaison des politiques de deux conservateurs populistes aux Etats-Unis et au Royaume-Uni", in Berthezène, C. and Vinel, J.C. (eds.), *Conservatismes en mouvement: une approche transnationale au XXe siècle*, Paris: Editions de l'EHESS.
- Kitschelt, H. (1995), *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Perspective*, Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.
- Kopecký, P. and Mudde, C. (2002), "The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe", *European Union Politics*, 3(3), pp. 297–326.
- Leconte, C. (2010), *Understanding Euroscepticism*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mudde, C. (2004), "The Populist Zeitgeist", *Government and Opposition*, 39(4), pp. 541–563.
- Mudde, C. (2007), *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Porion, S. (2011), "Enoch Powell et le powellisme: entre tradition disraélienne et anticipation néo-libérale, 1946–1968", University of Sorbonne-Nouvelle, Paris, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Powell, E. (1968a), Speech in Birmingham, 20 April.
- Powell, E. (1968b), Speech to the London Rotary Club, Eastbourne, 16 November.
- Powell, E. (1970), "The Enemy Within", Speech at Turves Green Girls School, Northfield, Birmingham, 13 June.
- Powell, E. (1971), Speech to the Association des Chefs d'Entreprises Libres, Lyon, 12 February.
- Powell, E. (1973) Speech to the Stockport Luncheon Club, 8 June.
- Schofield, C. (2013), *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sørensen, C. (2008), "Love Me, Love Me Not: A Typology of Public Euroscepticism", *Working Paper 101*, Brighton: Sussex European Institute.
- Spiering, M. (2004), 'British Euroscepticism', *European Studies: A Journal of European Culture, History and Politics*, Vol 20 (1), pp. 127–149.
- Taggart, P. (2000), *Populism*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Taggart, P. and Szczerbiak, A. (2004), 'Contemporary Euroscepticism in the Party Systems of the EU Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe', *European Journal of Political Research*, 43(1), pp. 1–27.
- Tournier-Sol, K. (2015a), 'Reworking the Eurosceptic and Conservative Traditions into a Populist Narrative: UKIP's Winning Formula?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(1), pp. 140–156.

- Tournier-Sol, K. (2015b), "The UKIP Challenge", in Tournier-Sol, K. and Gifford, C. (eds.), *The UK Challenge to Europeanization: The Persistence of British Euroscepticism*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tournier-Sol, K. (2017), *Prendre le large: le UKIP et le choix du Brexit*, Paris: Vendémiaire.
- UKIP (2001), General Election Manifesto.
- UKIP (2005), *We Want Our Country Back*, General Election Manifesto.
- UKIP (2010), *Empowering the People*, General Election Manifesto.
- UKIP (2011), "What We Stand For", 28 November.
- UKIP (2014a), *Create an Earthquake*, European Election Manifesto.
- UKIP (2014b), *Open-door Immigration Is Crippling Local Services in the UK*, Local Election Manifesto.
- UKIP (2015), *Believe in Britain*, General Election Manifesto.
- Usherwood, S. (2008), "The Dilemmas of a Single-issue Party: The UK Independence Party", *Representation*, 44(3), pp. 255–264.
- Wellings, B. (2010), "Losing the Peace: Euroscepticism and the Foundations of Contemporary English Nationalism", *Nations and Nationalism*, 16(3), pp. 488–505.
- Cambridge Archives Centre Churchill College, Powell papers, files POLL 3/2/5/11, POLL 6/2/2 and POLL 5/69.
- Collings, R. (ed.) (1991), *Reflections of a Statesman: The Writings and Speeches of Enoch Powell*, London: Bellew.
- Griffin, N., speech, 20 March 1968, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QgPo9t1v4CU>.
- Griffin, N., speech, 20 April 2008, <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x5ebor?collectionXid=xhhzd>.
- Walker, A., speech, 19 April 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Awo3vLlHYC8&t=3s>.
- <https://bnp.org.uk/video-enoch-powell-awarded-honorary-bnp-gold-membership/>.
- The Voice of Freedom*
- Bourne, J. (2008), "The Beatification of Enoch Powell", *Race & Class*, 49(4), pp. 82–87.
- Cosgrave, P. (1990), *The Lives of Enoch Powell*, London: Pan Books.
- Deedes, W.F. (2001), "The Real Trouble with Enoch", *The Spectator*, 18 August, p. 20.
- Dezé, A. (2015), "La 'Dédiabolisation': une nouvelle stratégie ?", in Dézé, A., Mayer, N. and Crépon, S., *Les Faux semblants du Front National: Sociologie d'un parti politique*, Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.
- Foot, P. (1998), "Beyond the Powell", obituary of Enoch Powell, *Socialist Review*, 217, p. 12, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/foot-paul/1998/03/powell.htm>.
- Hansen, R. (2000), *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-War Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heffer, S. (1992), "No Autobiography, No Vomit", *The Spectator*, 6 June 6, pp. 16–20.
- Heffer, S. (1999), *Like the Roman: The Life of Enoch Powell*, London: Phoenix.
- Hillman, N. (2008), "A 'Chorus of Execration'? Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' Forty Years on", *Patterns of Prejudice*, 42(1), pp. 83–104.
- O'Neill, M. (2008), "Echoes of Enoch Powell", *New Statesman*, 10 March, <http://www.newstatesman.com/200803100005>.
- Schofield, C. (2013), *Enoch Powell and the Making of Post-Colonial Britain*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Schwarz, B. (2011), *The White Man's World: Memories of Empire (Vol. 1)*, New York and London: Oxford University Press.

Shepherd, R. (1997), *Enoch Powell: A Biography*, London: Pimlico.

Shepherd, R. (2008), "The Real Tributaries of Enoch's 'Rivers of Blood'", *The Spectator*, 27 February, <https://www.spectator.co.uk/2008/02/the-real-tributaries-of-enochandx2019s-andx2018rivers-of-bloodandx2019/>.

Vestey, M. (1998), "Powell's Legacy", *The Spectator*, 4 April, http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3724/is199804/ai_n8805594?tag=content;coll.

BBC "Question Time", 23 October, 2009,

<https://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=nick+griffin+compared+to+enoch+powell+question+time&&view=detail&mid=475DF099F663C731509845DF099F663C7315098&&FORM=VDRVRV>.

New Statesman

The Guardian

The Independent

The Times