

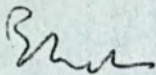
TE MINUTE

PRIME MINISTER

I am told that 3000 (and rising) are dead in the Mexico earthquake. The press may ask you if we are to give aid.

I am afraid that Enoch Powell has made a speech today calling for repatriation of Britain's African and Asian populations and issuing a challenge to you personally as sidelined in the attached. It seems likely the press will ask you to react but there are dangers in doing so on this scanty basis. I would refuse to be drawn.

Mr. Powell may not indeed yet have made the speech, even though he has issued it.



BERNARD INGHAM

20 September 1985

Enoch Powell addressing Conservative Women at Birkenhead, lunchtime Friday

He said Britain's African and Asian population needs to be reduced if catastrophe is to be avoided for everyone. The catastrophe would consist of dissension and violent disorder. He calls for a Govt programme of repatriation and states:-

" If the Prime Minister holds a different judgement -- and I am not sure she does -- let her publicly say one of two things. She can say 'Mr Powell's figures and his picture of the factual future are substantially ~~true~~ right and I believe it will be a happy and peaceable Britain which we and I shall be proud to bequeath to the next generation'

Alternatively she can say, 'Mr Powell's figures and his picture are mistaken. The true population proportion will be lower'

"If she says that however she cannot stop there. She must tell the country what she believes this lower proportion will be and why. And having done so she can then if she wishes go on to make the same assertion about a happy and united Britain."

End.

Speech by the Rt Hon. J. Enoch Powell, MBE, MP to the Birkenhead Conservative Women's Luncheon, at the Masonic Hall, Birkenhead, at 1 p.m., Friday 20th September 1985. ms

Future historians of our country will have no difficulty in perceiving what was the most decisive event that happened to it in the second half of the twentieth century. They will perceive that event to have been the massive transformation, unparalleled for hundreds if not thousands of years, in the population of England.

The nature of that transformation can be expressed in different ways. It can be said, for instance, that by the end of the century eight per cent of the residents in Britain - one in every twelve - will be newcomers of African or Asian origin. So abstract a statement conveys, however, little notion of the magnitude of the event: large areas of England, not to mention the other countries of the United Kingdom, will still not have been directly exposed to the transformation at all. Its true significance only becomes apparent when the same event is described in terms closer to local reality. In a foreseeable future, one-third or more of the population of Inner London and of major English cities and industrial areas will consist of those African or Asian newcomers.

Not so long ago, people living outside those cities and areas did not imagine that they themselves would be affected by the transformation which was occurring there. Indeed, it was not uncommonly treated as a matter for levity or incredulity. In this respect the last few years have seen a big change, a change which I find has become much more pronounced since the rioting in Birmingham earlier this month. The consciousness is now widespread that no part of the nation will be exempt from the consequences of this profound transformation in the population of the capital city and of other great centres.

The days I remember so well as a West Midlands MP, when my constituents and I felt as if we were living in a private nightmare of which others took no cognizance, are gone, and gone forever. People

everywhere know now that the whole nation is involved. Birkenhead is a long way from Liverpool, and a longer way still from Birmingham; but Birkenhead has an equal right to understand and debate something that concerns Birkenhead as deeply, if not yet as directly, as it concerns Liverpool or Birmingham. I want therefore to describe what is known of the future, and how we know it. That is the factual side. This established, it remains to supply the subjective side, that of opinions and judgments.

Since 1969 the birthplace of the parents has been recorded at the registration of ^{all} births. We know therefore, place by place, in ^{what} proportion of the total births one or both of the parents were born in the New Commonwealth countries or Pakistan. What the returns cannot show is the number and proportion of the total births where one or both parents, though themselves born in Britain, are nevertheless of New Commonwealth or Pakistan descent. Obviously this latter magnitude increases as the years go by and must eventually become preponderant. The size of it is conjectural. The official estimate is that in recent years the figures of births to mothers who were born themselves in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan would need to be increased by about ten per cent in order to take account of the births to such mothers themselves born here. Government estimates in this area have notoriously proved in the past not to be on the high side. However I will use this one, for want of a better.

It will be obvious that these birth figures represent a picture of the make-up of the population as a whole at a future date. The picture is not precise, for two reasons. For one thing, different components of the population may have different patterns of reproduction and mortality. That need not worry us too much, however, unless we care to assume that those differences are really substantial. The other extraneous factor is, of course, continued immigration. On both these counts the birth figures which I am about to give you may be regarded as underestimating the future New Commonwealth and Pakistan

ethnic element.

On the basis I have just explained, the following proportions of total births in recent years, 1981 to 1983, were to mothers of New Commonwealth or Pakistan birth or descent: Inner London, 30 per cent; Birmingham, 30 per cent; Bradford, 30 per cent; Blackburn, 33 per cent; Leicester, 33 per cent. I am not going to weary you with any more figures. What I wanted to show, and what I have shown, is that the prospect I referred to earlier that one-third at least of Inner London and other cities will be of African or Asian origin is rational and realistic. I may mention in parenthesis that these facts have been confirmed and reinforced by the corresponding statistics for 1984 which, for some reason I am not privy to, were disclosed last week by the Census authority several months earlier than they have ever previously been made available.

Only one further figure will I add, and that is in reference to the metropolis. The figure for the whole of Greater London which corresponds to the 30 per cent for Inner London is no less than 24 per cent. It is a fact which vividly illustrates how the transformation is affecting the capital city as a whole. It is akin to another factor which recent experience has underlined. Many major centres of population - Leeds, for example, or Bristol, or Liverpool - which, taken as a whole, exhibit ^{relatively} lower African and Asian percentages, may and do nevertheless contain within themselves smaller areas with very high proportions. These may be no less significant in practice for the future of those towns and cities.

The factual prospect that I have just put before you demands from Government, politicians and public a certain act of judgment, which they are bound in conscience not only to make privately but to declare publicly, and thereby to accept responsibility for it and for its implications. The act of judgment is to answer the following question. What sort of a country will Britain be when the capital city and major cities and areas of England consist of a population of which at least one-third is of African and Asian descent?

For my own part I have not dodged that question since it was first posed. My answer, upon my maturely considered judgment, is that it will be a Britain unimaginably wracked by dissension and violent disorder, not recognisable as the same nation as it has been, or perhaps as a nation at all. Let those in positions of responsibility who disagree with my judgment declare their own in equally unequivocal terms. If the Prime Minister of this country holds a different judgment - I am not sure that she does - let her publicly say one of two things. She can say: "Mr Powell's figures and his picture of the factual future are substantially right, but I believe it will be a happy and a peaceable Britain, which we and I shall be proud to bequeath to the next generation". Alternatively she can say: "Mr Powell's figures and his picture are mistaken: the true population proportions will be lower". If she says that, however, she cannot stop there. She must tell the country what she believes those Tower proportions will be, and why; and having done so she can then, if she wishes, go on to make the same asseveration about a happy and united Britain.

The time of truth is coming at last for those who sit in the seats of authority: if they can dissent neither from my projections nor from my judgment of that future Britain they cannot now, with a shrug of the shoulders and a roll of the eyes, declare, "Well, it's just too bad; you will have to make the best of it". The nation will insist upon knowing what they intend to do, so that the relevance of the measures proposed can be judged and debated and their implementation and progress can be monitored.

I do not demand from others ^{answers} / I am not prepared to give myself. For eighteen years I have told the people of this country that not only for their own sake but for that of the millions of strangers who will also be the victims of past indifference, a sufficient proportion of the African and Asian population must be enabled, with generosity and using all the organizational resources of government, to quit a scene

where the same catastrophes await them as await us. On the showing of the official estimate that I have used this afternoon, the great majority of them are not as we are, having no other country, no other home, but Britain. Only a small minority of them belong as yet to the third generation which will not have inherited the citizenship, though it will still have inherited the concern, of their lands of origin.

It is no answer to me to say: "But it would be difficult", or "But it would not succeed". Those are not the words with which in the past we have been prepared to meet the most appalling prospects, once our leaders were prepared to acknowledge them. The only condition is, precisely, that they be acknowledged. For our leaders to do that on our behalf, the nation, not for the first time in my generation, has already been kept waiting far too long.