



Race and the British Right, 1978 - 1992:

An Introductory Research Guide

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**Race and the British Right, 1978-1992:
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Introduction

Purpose of the Guide

This guide has been compiled in the belief that a great deal more research is required on the subject of race and in particular on the racial discourse of the British Right. As Solomos (1988) has put it, as a discipline political science has done little to take account of the fact that a 'racialisation' of British politics has taken place during the post-war period. Although a number of new and badly needed studies have appeared in recent years, there is still much to be covered. The rationale behind this introductory research guide is to assist and encourage this work at undergraduate level, although I am confident this bibliography will also contain useful references for the more general scholar. It is hoped that more undergraduate projects in this area will facilitate an increase in postgraduate research on race in Britain and on the wider European context. The guide is divided into eleven sections, providing a cross-section of books, journal articles and newspaper material available in English. Where it is appropriate, some references appear in more than one section; this indicates their potential use for more than one section heading. The emphasis in the guide is on the 1980s and 90s, and the bulk of the material listed has been published in this period; however, where background and continuity are crucial to enhance understanding, references are provided for earlier material. This applies particularly to the sections on Enoch Powell, the National Front and the Conservative Party. In addition, those sections with a large number of newspaper references should be treated as themes clearly in need of serious academic study. The Asylum Bill falls into this category.

Guide to the Subject Sections

Section 1: Race and Racism: General

Provides a broad cross-section of material available on race and racism in general in Britain. Any new research on race must address the debate over the correct terminology to use. Although there is no such thing as a 'race' in any meaningful sense, social scientists have little choice but to continue to use the term. Thus it is vital to establish at an early stage how one is to define 'race' and to demonstrate an awareness of the controversy amongst scholars about racial discourse and the forms it has taken in British society. Particularly useful here are the works by: Banton (1988), Reeves (1983), Miles (1989), and Solomos (1986, 1990). As Banton notes, it is essential to appreciate that the word 'race' in its applications to humans has several meanings.

Moreover, Banton emphasises 'race' is often used as if it were an objective, scientific and culture-free designation. It is important to appreciate that this is not possible. Any study on the right in Britain and its attitude to race should take into account the varied social, economic

and political contexts. Miles and Phizacklea (1984), for instance, have argued that the increased 'racialisation' of political culture since the war is the result of a sophisticated conjunction of economics, politics and ideology. A project on race has to take this background into consideration, and also balance it with some understanding of the historical context of race in Britain. Useful here are: Holmes (1988); Layton-Henry (1984); Husbands (1987); and Solomos (1989).

Section 2: Anti-semitism

Brings together material on anti-semitism. There is increasing evidence that anti-semitism is on the rise again, both in Britain and in other European countries. More work is badly required on this. For example, the Board of Deputies recorded a 5 per cent increase in anti-semitic incidents in Britain in 1991 compared with 1990. Although Black and Asian minorities have been the main targets of racists in the 1980s, anti-semitism is still around, recently articulated even more explicitly by extreme Right groups such as the British National Party. One of the more dangerous manifestations of this anti-semitism has been the growth of 'Historical Revisionism'. As Andrew Bell notes (1986), in order to understand revisionism one must remember that the major stumbling block to the progress of the far right in recent decades has been its own historical legacy. The Nazi Holocaust is a reminder to millions of the consequences of allowing fascists to gain power. Neo-fascists have thus attempted to 'revise' - to rewrite - history, in order to make fascism and Nazism 'respectable' again. They hope to do this by disassociating it from the Holocaust. See: Barnes, (1982); Billig, (1989); Eatwell, (1991); Seidel, (1986); Sereny, (1979); and Wilkinson, (1981) for academic analysis of these tactics. Increasingly, far-right 'revisionists' in Europe and North America have been employing sophisticated printing technology to mass-produce material aimed at convincing people, especially the young, that the Holocaust never happened. Thus they claim that fascism and Nazism were not as bad as we have been led to believe. The British far right has played an important role in this revisionist strategy, distributing books such as 'The Hoax of the Twentieth Century' and 'Did Six Million Really Die?'. During the early 1980s, for instance, the British Movement produced packs for school-children called 'Fact Finders'. These denied the existence of the death camps. Also worth noting in this connection are the ideas and activities of the British revisionist historian David Irving. Irving has spent a lot of time developing a 'sophisticated' version of the revisionist message with his books on history, his lobbying of British MPs and attempts to create a common ground between the far right, the New Right and Conservatives.

Section 3: Race and British Politics

Covers material available on how 'race' has influenced mainstream British politics. Again, it should be noted social scientists have relatively neglected the role of ethnic and racial issues in British politics. This is puzzling, for there is a large body of material and sources waiting to be investigated. Recent studies, however, are beginning to indicate some very interesting theories on the role of race in the British political system. For instance, Messina (1989) points to the similarities of approach between the two main parties - Labour and Conservative -

during the post-war period. They both pursued an illiberal approach to immigration together with a liberal approach to those already resident in Britain. He feels this consensus effectively 'depoliticised' the issue of race, but it was 'repoliticised' when consensus broke down in the 1980s.

Anwar (1986), Ben-Tovim (1982), Gilroy (1987), Husbands (1987), Layton-Henry (1984), Miles (1990), and Saggar (1991) have all made important contributions, particularly on the attitudes of the right to race. If there has been a general theme articulated by the majority of the British right in the post-war period, but above all during the 1980s, it has been the idea of the 'threat'. This is a discourse which says that immigration has been and still is a 'threat' to British national identity and solidarity, be it the 'British race' (as most neo-fascists would emphasise) or British 'culture' (as the New Right and Conservatives tend to stress). In particular, from the 1960s onwards, this theme of the 'threat' to nationhood and race provided common ground for a diverse collection of different groups and personalities in British politics, ranging from Enoch Powell and the Right of the Conservative Party, through the Monday Club, Salisbury Group, and the general New Right, and onto the National Front and other assorted Far right groups. In the 1990s the European Community and the possible results of '1992' are already generating the further articulation of this idea, linking in with similar debates amongst the European right. As Gordon (1991) in his work on Europe notes, there is a lack of useful comparative work here.

Above all, the idea of the 'threat' to Britishness, both the external and internal 'threat', has been a key factor in British politics on numerous occasions. To give just one recent example, the experiences of John Taylor, the Black Conservative Parliamentary candidate in Cheltenham, are worth noting. First of all Taylor experienced grass-roots racism from his local party when he was chosen as the candidate. One member of the Conservative Association called him a "bloody nigger", and others made it clear they were unhappy with a black 'non-local' and 'outsider'. During the 1992 General Election campaign racist leaflets were distributed in Cheltenham by the National Front, calling for repatriation, while questionable remarks were made by the Liberal Democrats. Secondly, Taylor had to represent a Party which on the one hand professed its desire for more Black involvement and yet had a leadership which used alarmist Asylum language, something hardly conducive to race relations. Finally, commentators feel that race was clearly a contributory factor to Taylor losing in Cheltenham, the Liberal Democrats overturning a 4,896 Conservative majority. Indeed, a senior Cheltenham Conservative argued in May, 1992 that Taylor lost the seat because of racism. This ended the chances and the 'threat' of Taylor becoming the first Black Conservative MP.

Section 4: Enoch Powell and Powellism

Concentrates on Enoch Powell and the effects of Powell's discourse concerning race. Curiously, there has been little written on Powell's distinctive 'Free market/Strong state' discourse, first expressed in the 1960s. One suspects Powell's influence on what eventually developed into the British New Right has been seriously underestimated. For instance, on 'race' Thatcher and the New Right were probably more influenced by Powell than has been

generally acknowledged. On this, see Barker (1981) and Gordon and Klug (1986). With Powell, one should note in particular the continuity in his arguments between the 60s and 80s. For instance, see: Powell, *The Times*, (1988). On the anniversary of his controversial 1968 'Rivers of Blood' speech in 1988 it was clear Powell still passionately held the same strong beliefs on race. There was also during the 1980s an increasing concern with 'Englishness' and 'Britishness' in his writings, as Solomos (1989) demonstrates. More recently, he has switched the emphasis away from a long-standing concern with 'immigration' to a fear about an 'internal' threat. This is the threat to the 'majority' institutions of the British State from ethnic minorities. There has also been some interesting debate on how far Powell can be termed a 'racist'. See: Cosgrave (1989), Gilroy (1987), Foot (1986), Reeves (1983), and Smith (1989).

Section 5: The Conservative Party and Race

Lists references on the Conservative Party and race, concentrating on the period from when Thatcher took over up to the present. Most scholars agree a 'New Racism' was present in Conservative politics in the 1980s. The first strong signal of this came in January, 1978, with comments about 'swamping' fears from Thatcher. This was confirmed in new party policy announced in April, 1978. In particular, analysts point to an interview given to Granada TV's 'World in Action' on 30 January, 1978. In this, Mrs. Thatcher spoke of the need to end further immigration and argued people were afraid Britain might be "swamped by people with a different culture". One area requiring further investigation is the extent to which this idea and the subsequent policy change contributed to the demise of support for the National Front. It is worth noting that 'The Economist' (2 June, 1979) estimated that Thatcher's harder stance on race was worth approximately 16 extra seats at the General Election in 1979. On this see: Krieger (1986). Hiro (1991 ed.) argues that Thatcher made a calculated move after concluding that the Conservatives stood to profit politically by voicing the anxieties of the white electorate regarding immigration. Moreover, the success of this is reflected in the public opinion polls conducted between mid-January and mid-February, 1978. The Conservatives improved their electoral support, while the percentage of people who saw immigration as an urgent problem leaped from 9 to 21 per cent. Layton-Henry (1984) backs up this evidence by suggesting Thatcher's language helped the Conservatives regain the political initiative from Labour, thus laying important foundations for the Conservative victory in 1979.

During the course of the 1980s numerous instances of 'coded' discourse were used by the Conservative administrations. Legislation such as the infamous Nationality Bill of 1981 and the Immigration Act of 1988 signalled a determination to preserve British national identity and 'cultural values'. Norman Tebbit came up with the 'cricket test' in a speech in April, 1990, to test Black and Asian 'loyalty' to Britain. He also spoke of his worries about future "great waves of immigration" from Hong Kong. At times it seemed as if Tebbit was attempting to become a new 'Powell'. He pointed out to his supporters that immigration had contributed to traditional Labour voters supporting Thatcher in 1979, and he argued that if the Conservatives were to retain this support the Party could not afford to be 'soft' on immigration. Although there is a lack of academic material on how far such views found willing ears amongst the Conservative Party, Antony Messina in 1989 asked Tory MPs to fill out an anonymous questionnaire and found the majority said they supported voluntary

repatriation. It is also worth examining how far John Major's Conservatism may be 'softer' or not on race. There have been contradictions in his stance. Not long after becoming PM, Major spoke of his determination to bring about a 'classless' society, free from discrimination and lack of opportunity. At one point he declared his personal commitment to eradicate racial prejudice and vowed: "Capabilities not colour must count". Yet it is clear Major has still been prepared to appease the right of his party. In June, 1991, he spoke of the potential 'wave' of illegal immigrants if Europe was not able to establish a strong "perimeter fence". Moreover, on the eve of the 1992 General Election, he did not hesitate to join his Home Secretary Kenneth Baker in playing the 'race card', attacking Labour policies that would 'water down' the Asylum Bill.

Section 6: The New Right and Race

Brings together material on the New Right and the influence it exerted on the Conservative Party on the question of race, although again more work is required here. For instance, there is very little material available on the ways in which New Right thinkers 'popularised' the New Racism through their access to the media. Useful here are: Gordon and Rosenberg (1989); Institute of Race Relations (1989) and Van Dijk (1991). Sir Alfred Sherman was one of the first of this circle with his calls in 1976 for an end to immigration (Sherman, Daily Telegraph, 9th Sept. 1976). This was carried on by members and associates of the Salisbury Review Group and other 'Think Tanks', and eventually came to focus on the 'internal' threat from the 'race relations industry' and multi-racial education in the 1980s. It is also important to establish what the New Right is. Barker (1981) and Gordon and Klug (1986) are useful here. Gordon and Klug, for instance, note that the New Right draws from two distinct traditions. One is the free market philosophy of nineteenth century liberalism, while the other has been termed the 'social authoritarian' tradition. Gordon and Klug provide three areas where these traditions overlap and perhaps complement each other. Moreover, there is nothing 'new' about the New Right. Both traditions arose in the late 1960s, the authoritarians taking heart from Enoch Powell's views on race, but these ideas had deep roots in the past. Intellectuals in the authoritarian wing of the New Right fed ideas into what eventually took shape as 'Thatcherism'. In particular, the New Right encouraged Thatcherite discourse to be more 'radical' and firm on questions of immigration, British culture and the 'threat' to national identity. Another important aspect of the ideas of the New Right that requires further study is the extent to which the pseudo-science of 'socio-biology' entered into both Conservative and neo-fascist discourse on race. See in particular: Barker (1981).

Section 7: Writings by the New Right on Race and Related Themes

Deals with the writings of 'New Right' thinkers on race and related themes. Most of the national newspapers gave access to New Right intellectuals, allowing them to promote their views on race and to lobby to create the conditions in which firmer Government policies on race would be acceptable. Prominent here are the works of Roger Scruton and others associated with the Salisbury Review. The 'Salisbury Group' was an assemblage of Conservative intellectuals surrounding Peterhouse College, Cambridge. It was founded in

1977 in memory of the 3rd Marquis of Salisbury, the 19th Century Conservative P.M. who resigned from Disraeli's Government in protest against universal male suffrage. The Group emphasised the strong social values in the New Right's 'Strong state/Free market' equation. On race, there was a concern with the 'threat' to national culture from 'within' and an emphasis on their 'preference' for their 'own kind', with the need to preserve British cultural 'identity'. New Right writers on race will always reject the view that they hold 'racist' ideas - New Right literature will often deny any interest in the 'superiority' of the English. Instead, they indulge in a 'coded' discourse. This articulates the inevitable 'differences' between cultures, the incompatibility between different national cultures and the rationality of protecting one's own shared history and 'kinship' over 'alien' cultures. Immigration and multi-racial education are seen as eroding the British 'way of life' and purpose. See in particular the writings on anti-racism policies in education. For instance: Gordon (1990).

Section 8: The National Front and Race

Lists references on the National Front. There have been surprisingly few studies of the National Front. Formed in 1967, it capitalised on Powell's 1968 'Rivers of Blood' speech and the 'weakness' (as it saw it) of Heath on immigration in the early 1970s. At the first AGM in 1967, Chairman A.K.Chesterton argued they should be cautious about revealing the true extremism of their views. The Front decided the primary purpose of the organisation was to contest elections and to expose and exploit the 'threat' of immigration. It became the fourth largest party in the 1970s, its support on the whole deriving from this single issue. However, 1978 was a watershed year. A combination of internal arguments, disappointing electoral results and the 'firmer' stance of Thatcher on immigration contributed to the Front's downfall. It went into decline from mid-1978 onwards and shattered in the early 1980s. While much of the Front's support was due to the single issue of 'immigration' and academic study has supported this, what has been generally neglected is research into the Front's underlying racist ideology. This was a complex mixture of hard biological racism, extreme nationalism and a belief in the need for "the repatriation of immigrant peoples". The NF manifesto in the mid-seventies claimed the party was upholding "the wish of the majority of the British people for Britain to remain a White country". As Fielding (1981) notes, the NF's nationalism was very much bound up with the racial perspective. For instance, John Tyndall, leader of the NF, claimed in 1975 that 'Western Civilisation' relied on 'race' as the root of all culture; it was, he argued, "the biological source of all our values, standards and culture: the White Race". One of the more interesting aspects of the NF is the extent to which this hardline neo-Nazi racism, often hidden from public view, created contradictions in the NF's claim to be a legitimate electoral force in a liberal democracy. Indeed, in the early 1980s tensions within the NF leadership over questions of ideology broke out into the open and finished the Front as a viable party. Tyndall broke with the Front and went on to form the British National Party, arguably a more explicit and extreme neo-Nazi party. Billig (1978), Fielding (1981), Husbans (1978, 1979, 1983), Taylor (1979, 1982), and Thurlow (1978, 1987) have covered these themes, but more work is required. In addition, the complex history of the Front(s) in the 80s and the discourse on race needs further investigation, focusing especially on the influence of European neo-fascists.

Section 9: The British Extreme Right and Race

Brings together material on the British extreme Right in general, with particular reference to race. More coverage is needed here on the hard socio-biological themes articulated by groups such as the British Movement and British National Party. More recently, right-wing skinhead groups such as 'Blood and Honour' have grown in strength in Britain. They like to join marches and organise concerts in order to attract neo-Nazis from abroad, and argue any attempts to control such activities are part of a 'conspiracy' by the authorities. For instance, in September, 1992, A 'Blood and Honour' spokesman claimed: "The communists organise concerts all the time and are left alone. We organise a concert and the Jews, the left wing, and the Government try to stop it - so much for democracy". Such groups look to the racial violence and activism of brother groups on the continent for inspiration, in particular the neo-Nazis in Germany. There is now evidence that Britain is experiencing it's own new wave of racial attacks. For instance, see: Longrigg, (1992); McGhie, (1992); and Searchlight, (1992). The various factions of the old National Front have arguably been replaced in importance by John Tyndall's British National Party. The BNP's ideas are an echo of the NF's basic discourse in the 1970s, but without the concern to appear 'democratic'. The old concerns with 'race' and 'nation' still dominate, with a crude anti-semitism balanced with a belief in the intellectual 'superiority' of Whites over Blacks. In mid-1992 Tyndall stated: "I dislike members of an alien minority telling me what I should do in my own country. Jews are British in so far as Britain is a convenient place for them to do business". On the BNP, see in particular: Heller (1992) and Husbands (1992). Finally, the terroristic urges on the part of the extreme Right must be related to their racist world view. One should not forget British groups have tried to adopt the more violent terrorist strategies of European neo-fascist groups. For instance, 'Column 88' sent letter-bombs in 1978 and there was an attempt to bomb the Notting Hill Carnival in the early 80s. More recently, the systematic vandalism of Jewish cemeteries has taken place. See: Gable (1991), Hill (1988), and Wilkinson (1981, 1983). In early 1993, anti-racist monitoring groups pointed out eight people were killed in Britain in 1992 as a result of racist attacks, and The Guardian argued that racial attacks have reached unprecedented levels in Britain. (Campbell, 1993). This suggests the extreme right in Britain have been influenced by the Neo-Nazi terror attacks against asylum-seekers in Germany, which reached new heights in 1992.

Section 10: The Asylum Bill and Asylum

In July 1991 John Major's Government declared its intention to introduce legislation to deter 'misuse' of the Asylum process. This section brings together references concerning the Asylum Bill of 1991 and the subsequent controversy. This new aspect of Conservative attitudes to race deserves more research. The Bill provoked widespread condemnation. In particular, many concluded the proposed legislation was created with one eye on the possible electoral 'benefits' of being seen to be firm on 'migrants'. The Government published the Asylum Bill on 1 November, 1991, the Home Secretary Kenneth Baker claiming it was a "fair and proper response" to the magnitude of the problem. He argued it would protect the interests of genuine refugees while dealing "quickly and effectively" with those who misused

the system. He also defended the Bill by linking the legislation with the wider European context. He argued that throughout Europe the institution of Asylum was under strain from the numbers using it as a means to "bypass" immigration controls. The British Bill, he argued, would reduce the potential 'flood' of asylum seekers by drawing distinctions between 'genuine' political refugees and 'bogus' economic refugees. Much of the subsequent Conservative rhetoric on the Asylum Bill was conducted in a questionable and alarmist manner. Commentators noted how Conservative discourse did not hesitate to conjure up fears about Asylum seekers in the run-up to the 1992 General Election, building upon the legacy of Thatcher with her fears about 'swamping'. Key members of the Government perversely argued that the new Asylum legislation would 'prevent' the rise of fascism and racism. They were supported by the more jingoistic elements of the press who 'softened' up the public with what can only be described as a systematic anti-Asylum campaign during late 1991 and early 1992. During the General Election campaign itself, the Conservatives reemphasised the 'problem' of Asylum seekers during the final week of the campaign. Baker and Hurd made speeches on the theme and were supported by Major. On 7 April, for instance, John MacGregor, defending Baker's speech on Breakfast TV, employed the word "flood" twice in relation to Asylum and underlined Liberal Democrat plans to allow in "thousands of Hong Kong Chinese". Analysts have interpreted this discourse as an attempt to play the 'race card' when it seemed the Conservative campaign was in trouble. A useful summary of the campaign is: Flint (1992), while Pilger (1991) makes some salient points about the general background to the Asylum Bill. It is also worth noting that the new Home Secretary, Kenneth Clarke, was determined to press ahead with Asylum legislation and he continued using the alarmist imagery developed by Baker and others. For instance, on 11 May, 1992, Clarke warned that the abolition of immigration controls could lead to the rise of the far right in Europe, a disingenuous argument to say the least. This approach was underlined in late October, 1992, when the Asylum Bill was reintroduced as the 'Asylum and Immigration Bill'. Based largely on the original Asylum Bill, the new Bill contains measures aimed at appeasing criticism of the original Bill, but this is balanced with the loss of the right of appeal against refusal to enter the country both for visitors and short-term students. The Government was thus still able to present the Bill as a 'clampdown' on immigration, and it allowed the pro-Conservative sections of the press to claim it was another step towards stopping "immigrants flooding Britain" (Daily Express). The Government also emphasised the parts of the legislation designed to change local authority rules, stating this would prevent asylum seekers 'jumping' housing queues. In early December 1992 the Bill was passed in the Commons by 50 votes and, despite attempts to amend key parts of the Bill, was voted through in the Lords in early 1993. The only change was a new safeguard for child refugees.

Section 11: Europe, the Right and Race

Ends this research guide with an attempt to provide a cross-section of the material available on the British Right and 'race' in relation to Europe. It also lists some of the more general material on the theme of race and immigration in Europe. Three main areas require more research. Firstly, further comparative work should be carried out on the immigration policies of European Community States. There is evidence that the secretive Ad Hoc Group on Immigration, made up of politicians and civil servants from the EC member states, plans very

firm legislation on Asylum-seekers for the future. The first stage of this process was the agreement reached by EC immigration Ministers in late November, 1992, in which they agreed to try to amend their national laws by 1995 to speed up the removal of asylum seekers with "manifestly unfounded" claims. What has been the response of European Conservatives on this in general? For instance, there is evidence German Conservatives have tried to appease the demands from the far right for an end to Asylum. Similarly, in France, Conservatives have tried to respond to the racial discourse of the extreme right Front National by adopting a similar language in an attempt to halt the rise of the far right. How does the British situation relate to these tactics in Europe?

Secondly, there is a vital need for more research on the resurgence of the racist extreme Right in Europe and possible British connections. Husbands (1992), Kelsey and Bridge (1991) and the anti-fascist magazine 'Searchlight' have pointed to the increasingly close links being forged between the far right in Britain and Germany. Finally, and above all, what will be the effects of the Single European Market regarding race and immigration? Will the 1990s be a period when Conservatives try to steal the clothes of the more extreme Right in Europe on the question of race? Will there be a 'Fortress Europe', from which Asylum seekers, gypsies and third world migrants are excluded, or within which they are treated as a new underclass? Will any further European harmonisation be used for the construction of yet more restrictions on migrants and Asylum-seekers? These are all questions that urgently need investigation.

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