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*The supreme function of statesmanship is to provide against preventable evils. In seeking to do so, it encounters obstacles which are deeply rooted in human nature*

*A week or two ago I fell into conversation with a constituent, a middle-aged, quite ordinary working man employed in one of our nationalised industries.*

*After a sentence or two about the weather, he suddenly said: "If I had the money to go, I wouldn't stay in this country." I made some deprecatory reply to the effect that even this government wouldn't last for ever; but he took no notice, and continued: "I have three children, all of them been through grammar school and two of them married now, with family. I shan't be satisfied till I have seen them all settled overseas. In this country in 15 or 20 years' time the black man will have the whip hand over the white man." I can already hear the chorus of execration. How dare I say such a horrible thing? How dare I stir up trouble and inflame feelings by repeating such a conversation?*

*In 15 or 20 years, on present trends, there will be in this country three and a half million Commonwealth immigrants and their descendants. That is not my figure. That is the official figure given to parliament by the spokesman of the Registrar General's Office. There is no comparable official figure for the year 2000, but it must be in the region of five to seven million, approximately one-tenth of the whole population, and approaching that of Greater London. Of course, it will not be evenly distributed from Margate to Aberystwyth and from Penzance to Aberdeen. Whole areas, towns and parts of towns across England will be occupied by sections of the immigrant and immigrant-descended population. As time goes on, the proportion of this total who are immigrant descendants, those born in England, who arrived here by exactly the same route as the rest of us, will rapidly increase. Already by 1985 the native-born would constitute the majority. It is this fact which creates the extreme urgency of action now, of just that kind of action which is hardest for politicians to take, action where the difficulties lie in the present but the evils to be prevented or minimised lie several parliaments ahead.*

*It almost passes belief that at this moment 20 or 30 additional immigrant children are arriving from overseas in Wolverhampton alone every week - and that means 15 or 20 additional families a decade or two hence. Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad. We must be mad, literally mad, as a nation to be permitting the annual inflow of some 50,000 dependants, who are for the most part the material of the future growth of the immigrant-descended population. It is like watching a nation busily engaged in heaping up its own funeral pyre. So insane are we that we actually permit unmarried persons to immigrate for the purpose of founding a family with spouses and fiancés whom they have never seen. Let no one suppose that the flow of dependants will automatically tail off. On the contrary, even at the present admission rate of only 5,000 a year by voucher, there is sufficient for a further 25,000 dependants per annum ad infinitum, without taking into account the huge reservoir of existing relations in this country - and I am making no allowance at all for fraudulent entry.*

*Nothing is more misleading than comparison between the Commonwealth immigrant in Britain and the American Negro. The Negro population of the United States, which was already in existence before the United States became a nation, started literally as slaves and were later given the franchise and other rights of citizenship, to the exercise of which they have only gradually and still incompletely come. The Commonwealth immigrant came to Britain as a full citizen, to a country which knew no discrimination between one citizen and another, and he entered instantly into the possession of the rights of every citizen, from the vote to free treatment under the National Health Service.*



*But while, to the immigrant, entry to this country was admission to privileges and opportunities eagerly sought, the impact upon the existing population was very different. For reasons which they could not comprehend, and in pursuance of a decision by default, on which they were never consulted, they found themselves made strangers in their own country. They found their wives unable to obtain hospital beds in childbirth, their children unable to obtain school places, their homes and neighbourhoods changed beyond recognition, their plans and prospects for the future defeated; at work they found that employers hesitated to apply to the immigrant worker the standards of discipline and competence required of the native-born worker; they began to hear, as time went by, more and more voices which told them that they were now the unwanted. They now learn that a one-way privilege is to be established by act of parliament; a law which cannot, and is not intended to, operate to protect them or redress their grievances is to be enacted to give the stranger, the disgruntled and the agent-provocateur the power to pillory them for their private actions.*

*As I look ahead, I am filled with foreboding; like the Roman, I seem to see "the River Tiber foaming with much blood." That tragic and intractable phenomenon which we watch with horror on the other side of the Atlantic but which there is interwoven with the history and existence of the States itself, is coming upon us here by our own volition and our own neglect. Indeed, it has all but come. In numerical terms, it will be of American proportions long before the end of the century. Only resolute and urgent action will avert it even now. Whether there will be the public will to demand and obtain that action, I do not know. All I know is that to see, and not to speak, would be the great betrayal<sup>1</sup>.*

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<sup>1</sup> Enoch Powell's speech to the Conservative Association, Birmingham, 20 April 1968.

### List of Works

*In Native Worth and Honour Clad*: single-channel SD video/audio, 10m50s, dimensions variable. Original *Desert Island Discs* interview (1989, Sue Lawley / Enoch Powell) available on [BBC Radio 4 Archives](#). [2019-2020]

*bauen, wohnen, denken 1* ('waiting for your Pentecostal wind?'): conduit, mylar, cable-ties, concrete, software, Philips Hue lights. A smart light flashes the Enoch Powell 'Rivers of Blood' (1968) speech in Morse Code (excerpted above), while the other two are triggered by radiation sensor and market data feeds. [2020]

*Colapuc*: software work captured into SD video, 16m15s. Released under Creative Commons BY-NC-SA 4.0 License, courtesy Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory archives. [2020]

*bauen, wohnen, denken 2* ('radioactive flesh'): emergency water barrel, lead, salt, kombu kelp, Dettol, sandal. [2020]

*sweeney shoal*: web project. QR code (above) or [ukc10014.github.io/neu/](https://ukc10014.github.io/neu/). [2020]



U. Kanad Chakrabarti is a writer and artist based in New York and London. His software installations - 'film-essays by other means' - illuminate the ambiguities inherent in technological capitalism. Selected group exhibitions: CAC (Vilnius), Queens Museum (New York City), ICA (London), Nottingham Contemporary, Whitechapel Gallery (London), CCA (Glasgow), Shanghai Minsheng Art Museum, SongEun ArtSpace. Education: MA, Painting and Art Theory (Slade School of Fine Art, UCL, 2015); BSc, Computational Finance (MIT, 1994). [ukc10014.org](https://ukc10014.org)

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## Recommended Reading

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DeLoughrey, Elizabeth. 2017. 'The sea is rising: Visualising climate change in the Pacific islands.' In *Meteorologies of modernity: Weather and climate discourses in the Anthropocene*, edited by Fekadu, S, Straß-Senol, H, and Döring, T, Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto.

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*Resan*. Peter Watkins. 1987. Film.

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