



A DIGEST OF NEWS AND VIEWS ON BRITAIN'S ECONOMY  
AND OUR ROLE IN OVERSEAS TRADE AND PAYMENTS

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# THE ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF DEVOLUTION

*A talk given by Mr Henry McLeish M.P., Minister for Home Affairs and Devolution at The Scottish Office, to members of the Economic Research Council on Tuesday 2nd December 1997.*

On 11 September last year, Scotland decisively and overwhelmingly declared its desire for a devolved Scottish Parliament. We in the present Government are privileged to be charged with the task of providing the Scottish people with a Parliament they can be proud of and which will give Scotland the power to boost its self-confidence – economically, culturally and politically. The focus of this article will be the economic implications of our proposals for devolution, but I think it is important, first of all, to set out these proposals in their proper context – both historically and constitutionally – as well as giving an indication of the new politics we are aspiring to with the new Parliament. I would also like to cover briefly the progress we are making towards the delivery of the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh.

Scotland has not had its own Parliament for almost 300 years. The Union of the Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707 created a Parliament of Great Britain meeting in London. Over the last 100 years or so there has been considerable administrative devolution to Scotland. The first Secretary for Scotland and the Scottish Office were established in 1885. The Secretary for Scotland then became the Secretary of State for Scotland, with Cabinet status, in 1926.

The debate about some form of self-government for Scotland smouldered on but it was not until the 1960s that a serious debate began about whether a new Scottish Parliament should be established. Then, in the late 1970s, the last Labour Government's proposals foundered in the referendum on 1 March 1979.

However the demand for reform of the way Scotland is governed did not go away. Indeed, the issue of a devolved Parliament for Scotland was well described as being "unfinished business". The Scottish Constitutional Convention took up the mantle in 1988 and led the cross-party campaign for change. Its final report – Scotland's Parliament. Scotland's Right – was published on St Andrew's Day, 1995. That report formed the basis of our proposals which were set out in the White Paper, *Scotland's Parliament*, and which have now been given further amplification in the Scotland Bill.

The Scotland Bill, though, is not alone: it is part of a bigger picture of constitutional reform. Along with devolution to Wales it may be blazing the trail but a number of equally significant reforms will follow in its wake. All

parts of the United Kingdom need more effective government, allied more closely to the needs and aspirations of the people. The opening up of government; reform of the House of Lords; a referendum on the voting system for the House of Commons; and the incorporation of the European Convention of Human Rights are all parts of this Government's plans for democratic renewal. A renewal that is vital if our ultimate goal of a prosperous, dynamic and inclusive society is to be achieved.

At this point it is true to say that the Government's proposals of power are not neatly symmetrical. However, that is only because different solutions are being planned for different parts of the UK, reflecting their different aspirations. So, Scotland will get a legislature with control over its own domestic affairs. In Wales, the Assembly will assume responsibility for the functions of the Welsh Office and in Northern Ireland the Government are seeking, through negotiation, to develop arrangements to meet the needs and aspirations of the communities there.

In England the case for reform is no less strong. Within the relatively near future the people of London will be given their chance to decide whether their city will get the strategic voice we believe it deserves. Outwith the capital we will, in the first step in the decentralisation of power, create a network of regional development agencies. These will be in place by 1999 – a White Paper was published last December. Across Europe – Germany being the most obvious example – wealth creation is increasingly and successfully being focused at a regional level. We want to apply that model – appropriate to our circumstances – here.

In the Scottish Constitutional Convention and, later, in the referendum campaign we have seen in Scotland the benefit of a new type of politics. A type of politics where proper party rivalry – the essence of our democracy – has its place but also where cross party co-operation on issues is seen as a strength rather than a weakness. We want to encourage those politics in the Scottish Parliament because, through them, we believe better government results.

To take this forward we have already invited the four main political parties in Scotland – including even one that has no Scottish seats at Westminster – to participate in a consultative group about how the Parliament will operate. This is looking in detail at Parliamentary procedures, the scrutiny of financial matters, IT and telematics and broadcasting and other media arrangements. This is not as mundane as it may sound – we believe how the Parliament operates and how it legislates will have a very significant influence on the nature of the politics that occur there. For example, the Secretary of State, Donald Dewar, has already announced that he prefers a horseshoe shaped

chamber because it sends the right message about the politics we want to promote. I agree with him.

Since the election we have moved decisively in our commitment to establish a Scottish Parliament. When we published our proposals on 24 July 1997, *Scotland's Parliament* immediately became a best seller and over 25,000 copies have now been sold. And, on 11 September the people of Scotland gave an overwhelming endorsement to the Government's proposals for a Scottish Parliament with tax-varying powers. The statistics removed any doubt which may have existed about the wishes of the Scottish electorate. The polls showed that of those who voted, 3 to 1 were in favour of the creation of a Scottish Parliament and 2 to 1 endorsed the proposal to give it what we see as the very necessary power to vary the basic rate of income tax by up to 3p in the pound.

Supported by this ringing endorsement, we introduced the Scotland Bill to Parliament just before Christmas. It is a genuinely historical document – truly a blueprint for a better Scotland. It is a complex, genuinely innovative piece of constitutional legislation and one of the most important Bills to be introduced in Parliament in recent years. It is now being carefully considered by both Houses and will hopefully reach the Statute Book by the summer or early autumn this year. We will then move to the first elections to the new Parliament in May 1999. It is a demanding timetable, but one which will allow the Scottish Parliament to be fully operational early in the year 2000. A new Parliament for a new millennium.

### **Scotland's economy**

Business and industry will benefit from the Scottish Parliament. Since the very clear result in the referendum, the business community in Scotland has demonstrated its commitment to work with an arrangement that plainly is the “settled will” of the Scottish people. This is clear from the very constructive dialogue we have had with the business community on the White Paper and the Bill. I am grateful for their sterling efforts in engaging with the aspects that will affect business. The business community has also shown itself increasingly keen to ensure that its voice is heard within Parliament – some firms are already making special arrangements for their staff to stand for election, and many business people have indicated an interest in standing.

All this bodes well for the Parliament. There are other good omens. Inward investment continues apace, proof of the confidence being placed in the Scottish economy in the run up to devolution and beyond. For instance, we have recently attracted Cadence Design Systems to Livingston, to set up one of the most highly prized design projects in advanced technologies. The

potential for good of devolution has also been endorsed by independent think-tanks – a Fraser of Allander Institute report published last year concluded that the Scottish Parliament could have a positive impact on the Scottish economy.

That report highlighted the benefits of partnership between Government, the business community and the people. It concluded that the Scottish Parliament offers the opportunity to create a new social partnership with strengthened networks of co-operation which would help improve the Scottish economy. Devolution, the report said, could lead to a more effective mobilisation of resources.

Under the proposed settlement major economic and industrial functions will be reserved, in recognition of the importance of maintaining a single UK market and, within it, a level competitive playing field for business throughout the UK. For example, competition policy will continue to be handled on a UK basis, but with a right of representation in the Scottish interest; and regulation of the energy sector will still be a UK matter although the Scottish Parliament will be able to call for reports and oral evidence from the Scottish Parliament.

But within that broad arrangement, the devolution settlement will allow some flexibility, for example in the detailed arrangement and management of schemes of assistance to industry, so that these can be adapted and adjusted to suit Scottish circumstances better.

We will have government in Scotland which is closer to the ground, better informed and more responsive to local needs – this must be good for business. The proposed representation system for the Scottish Parliament should also encourage a more stable and balanced political scene in Scotland. Greater stability means greater continuity of policy which can only help business planning. The Scottish Parliament will also allow the formulation of policies in Scotland to address economic problems which relate particularly to Scotland – in training, in education and other areas.

Devolution will also bring greater transparency and accountability for the enterprise agencies – Scottish Enterprise and Highlands and Islands Enterprise. This should encourage better dialogue with business. The Scottish Parliament will undoubtedly result in a higher profile in the international environment for Scotland – which can only be good for exports and inward investment and tourism – all three of which are vital to Scotland.

Some members of the business community have argued that the range of powers the Scottish Parliament has could work against business interests. I strongly disagree with this view. The Scottish Parliament will be a mature body which will recognise it is in its interest to encourage, not obstruct, the wealth creators in our society. The tax-varying power and the Parliament's

responsibility for business rates are crucial parts of its make-up.

The *limited* tax-varying power will buttress financial responsibility by forcing the Parliament to consider the full financial consequences of its decisions. Moreover, there is no clear evidence that income tax increases will disadvantage the Scottish economy. I am pleased to see that this message is now beginning to get through.

In relation to business rates there is no logical reason why this power should not be devolved to Edinburgh with all the other local government powers. Moreover, the Scottish Parliament will want to consult with business fully before making any changes to the current system. This is in keeping with the consensus-based approach which we consider will be healthy for the democratic process in Scotland.

The Government cannot pretend that the Scottish Parliament will be a panacea for problems in the Scottish economy and there would be no benefit in doing so. Difficult decisions will still need to be taken and difficult problems addressed but – provided all sectors of our society work together – I am sure it will help us to create the prosperous, dynamic and inclusive society I believe we all crave.

We have in front of us a one-off and historic chance to create a better Scotland but also a better United Kingdom. Decentralisation – and the benefits that accrue to the affected economy are not relevant only to Scotland. They are relevant to us all.

I believe what we are doing across the United Kingdom will be a boost to our economy. It will, where appropriate, take decision making closer to the people affected and will assist us to obtain the modern responsive economy that the UK needs for the new millennium.

## **DEVOLUTION AND REGIONALISATION: THE OUTLOOK FOR ENGLAND**

*A talk given to members by Professor Peter Davison, Senior Research Fellow at  
De Montfort University and Executive Secretary of the Economic Research Council,  
on Thursday, 5th February 1998*

At our last meeting, the Secretary of State for Scotland, Henry McLeish, spoke about Devolution and Economics. He made what may have seemed a very slight verbal slip, but, coming from a family that lived in Northumberland as far back as the 1620s, it seemed remarkable to me. How could an educated Scottish politician suggest that Scotland began at Hadrian's Wall? Someone

south of Watford – even Watford Gap, yes; but a Scot? Was there a hidden implication here? The more I pondered on this, the more concerned I became about Scottish and Welsh Devolution, not for the sake of Wales and Scotland, but for England. Tom Dalyell, MP for Linlithgow, said in Parliament in mid-January, “The English dimension has been neglected”. He asked if any Ministers could explain how members representing English constituencies could be persuaded to continue to vote at least 24% more cash per capita to Scotland than to their own English constituents. And would Scottish MPs be reduced from 72 to 41 as Mr Dalyell said was necessary? Why, one might ask, should there be any Scottish or Welsh MPs? Perhaps it is England that should become independent! As *The Economist* said, “plans for financing the devolved governments are a dangerous fudge”.<sup>1</sup>

If I concentrate in Scotland and its relation to England in what I have to say it is because I think Welsh Devolution is a more fragile affair and presents fewer threats to England. It is true that the current government is Celtic dominated. But the Celts are mainly Scottish – and we have historic reasons to be wary of Scottish rule of England. Further, Devolution may not be enough for the Scottish people: Independence is wished by some and may follow.

The United Kingdom might be likened to an omelette; Devolution means it must be unscrambled and that could be tricky. The nations of the UK have different cultures, and they are fully entitled to stand on their own. They have been yoked together by money – money from England – and, in recent years, by standing against a common enemy: 200 years ago France; in this century the Germany of the Kaiser and Hitler, and, I suppose, the incursions of the IRA. England is the dominant partner if only because it is ten times more populous than Scotland. In its time it has used its power unfairly – in suppressing the Welsh Language in the nineteenth-century for example. Nevertheless, Henry VIII, though he mishandled Scotland and Ireland, “understood Wales and solved its problems by a policy which combined repression of disorder with justice to the Celtic population”.<sup>2</sup> England’s relationship with Scotland is especially significant for a number of reasons, partly because Scottish national aspirations are very strong; partly because Scottish kings have ruled England and ruled it badly; partly because of the Scottish domination of our government today at a time when our relationship with Europe and Europe’s policy of regionalisation presents England with a serious threat to its integrity.

Scotland has close historical associations with Europe. Not very long ago Scotland and France were allied against England. Mary Queen of Scots made a compact whereby Scotland was to go as a free gift to the French and in her absence in France, the Regent, Mary of Guise, ruled Scotland with a French army of occupation and thought of Scotland as a “Protectorate to be

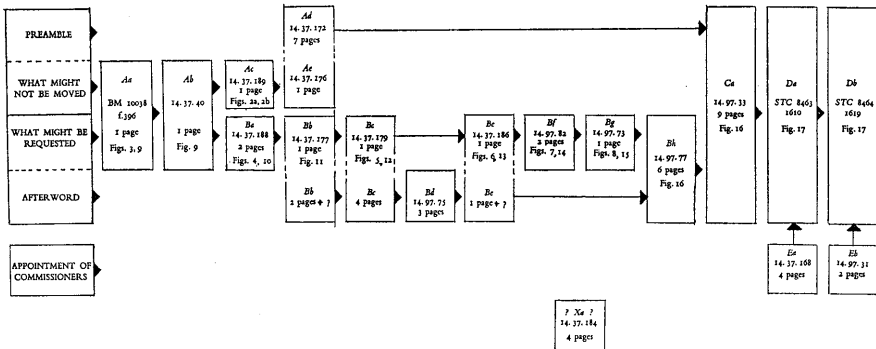


administered in the interests of France”.<sup>3</sup> It was customary for Scotland to invade England whenever England was weak or engaged with France. As Shakespeare has Henry V say, Scotland “hath been still a giddy neighbour to us ... my great-grandfather / Never went with his forces into France / But that the Scot ... Came pouring, like the tide into the breach” (1.2.145-9). Despite that, as early as the 1540s, Protector Somerset dreamt of a united Great Britain, “having the sea for wall and mutual love for its garrison”.<sup>4</sup> If mutual love is no more, as now seems apparent, so ends the relationship. Fifty years later, the Earl of Essex hoped for a union of the four nations. Shakespeare dramatises this union in the scenes of the Four Captains of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland in *Henry V* – with its prophetic Irish Captain Macmorris crying out, “What ish my nation? Who talks of my nation?” (3.2.125, 127). The four nations are culturally diverse; money and a certain self-interest has kept us together. Aspirations to a new nationhood, and hopes of European money to add to continuing English money despite Devolution, look like breaking us apart. The future might be bright for Scotland and Wales, but what are the implications for England? Though money will lurk behind all I say, I want to treat this in part from a cultural point of view – cultural in its broadest sense (not the high art sense). I believe national cultures are more important than is allowed in the forcing of a European Union and will be what in time could break the Union, the United Kingdom, and, indeed, England, unless there is money sufficient to heal the breaches. What I have to say is as relevant to Europhiles as Eurosceptics: this is not a case against European Union. My argument is many-stranded (if you can imagine a many-stranded omelette). I hope you can bear with me until I draw the strands together

So far as Devolution and Independence are concerned, I should prefer England, Scotland and Wales to remain as one – Ireland is a different matter. But I have no objection to Scotland and Wales (and Ireland) becoming independent of England, as long as England is not asked to foot the bill. After all, if St Kitts can go independent, why not Scotland and Wales? It is arrogance to think otherwise. Perhaps I should mention my political orientation. I have never voted Tory: as my old colleague, the novelist Malcolm Bradbury, once said to me, “Peter, the trouble with you is that you’re a typical ineffective Liberal” – that was when Liberals had a capital ‘L’, hardly ever won seats, and weren’t sullied by Social Democrats.

Because the integrity of England will now depend so much on the Scots and our Scottish-dominated government, I shall start by concentrating on the past rule of England by the Scots and shall begin by explaining King James’s *Book of Bounty*, which I mentioned when Mr McLeish spoke to us. This is a genuine and important economic document. It exists in many drafts and I’ve put about a sketch-plan of its development and one or two examples of its

## Schematic diagram



Schematic diagram showing the relationship of the manuscripts drafted in preparation of King James's Book of Bounty. The two right-hand blocks (Da and Db) are the printed versions of 1610 and 1619. The blocks on the left list the sections of the Book of Bounty

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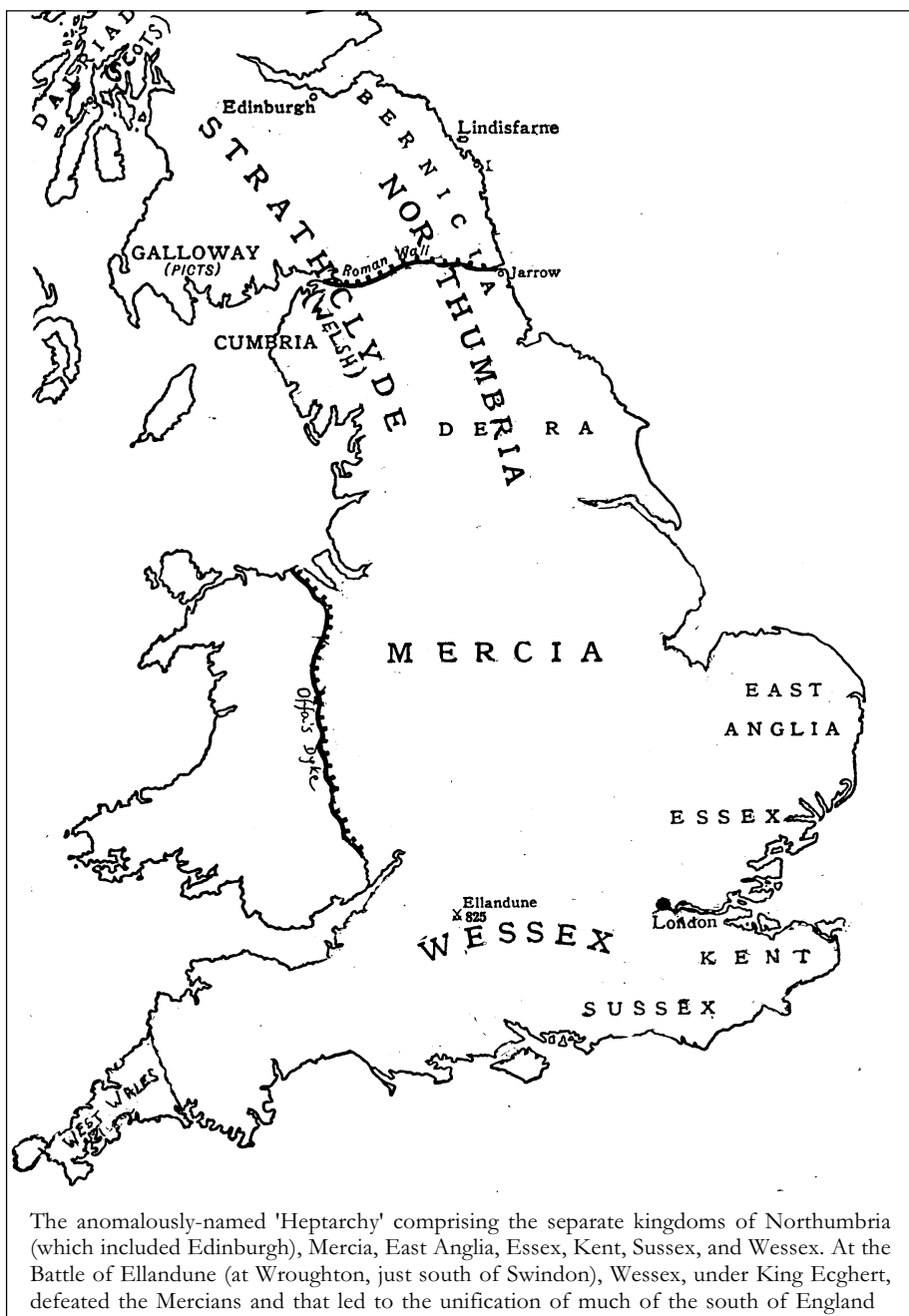
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## King James's Book of Bounty

dozens of drafts. Then I shall turn to the cultural significance of Devolution, especially with reference to our relationships with ‘Europe’. Yes, I know England is geographically part of Europe but I still have affection for that lovely newspaper headline of the 1930s: “Fog in Channel: Europe cut off”. Money, if not economic theory, will then come into play and I shall try to relate culture, money, devolution, and Europe. Finally I shall look at what Brussels has already done in dividing us into regions headed by a non-elected “Committee of the Regions” with 222 unelected members in Strasbourg, and the creation of “frontier regions” such as that linking two counties of Wales with eastern Ireland. Let me stress before I go further that I have no animus against individual Scots, Welsh (especially) or French, etc. Indeed, I love going to France. Wherever they come from, people can be pleasant or unpleasant. It is governments that present England with problems (just as our governments present us with problems).

So first, the experience of Scottish rule of England. In the last years of Queen Elizabeth I’s reign the problem of succession led to much anxiety. Could it be managed peacefully or would there be a return to the internecine strife of the Wars of the Roses? At first sight, the accession of a foreigner, James VI of Scotland, as James I of England, was peaceful enough (apart from the Gunpowder Plot). Scotland was then a foreign country with an Ambassador in London – at Scotland Yard. Civil War – the English Revolution – did not start for another forty years but it ended with James’s son’s public execution. The Scottish kings ruled badly, (we have been much more fortunate with our Scottish Prime Ministers since 1918: Ramsay MacDonald, thrice, and Sir Alec Douglas Home). There were signs from the start that all was not well. As he made his slow progress south (stopping, incidentally, for a great entertainment at Althorp), James gave early indication that he did not understand the process of ruling England. At Newark a thief was apprehended. James ordered his immediate hanging on the spot without trial. People were horrified. To the Scottish king, his word was law: he ‘spoke law’ – *lex loquens*. Parliament and legal process were irrelevant. That was to be the order of events. Scotland had a Parliament but it was merely a court of record. As T. C. Smout, Professor of Scottish History at Edinburgh University remarks, “its loss in 1707 was not nearly so important an event to contemporaries as it seems in retrospect to us”.<sup>5</sup> In 1707 it was bankrupt and England paid off its debts. England was *terra incognita* to James and, as Trevelyan notes, “he never became aware of his ignorance”. His son, Charles I, never knew or understood either England or Scotland.<sup>6</sup> This attempt of both kings to override Parliament has uncanny similarities with the way our present Scottish rulers are doing precisely the same: contemptuous of Parliament, failing to answer questions, curtailing debate on Europe, and not even presenting changes to single-mothers’ benefit to



Cabinet, a change effected *before* the promised review of the benefit system. It is, I fear, the Scottish way of government. Most sinister is the creation of the massive computer database, *Agenda*, replacing Michael Heseltine's *Cab-E-Net*. This will be operated from 10 Downing Street by the Central Strategy Unit. It "will allow ministers to have policy discussions via e-mail and avoid formal meetings minuted by civil servants" (*Daily Telegraph*, 23.1.98). What democratic checks will such an Orwellian monster permit?

Many Scots followed James to London (as Welsh had done after Henry VII). The Scots gained a reputation for being aggressive. You can see this from the way the English language changed at this time. Till then the meaning of the word 'feud' had its original Anglo-Saxon meaning of 'enmity'. In Scotland it meant 'vendetta'. James himself, in his *Basiliikon Doron* of 1597, described feuding so:

for any displeasure that they apprehend to be done against them by a neighbour, to take up plain feud against him and without respect of God, King or Commonwealth, to bang it out bravely, he and all his kin against him and all his.

This was "altogether characteristic" of sixteen-century Scots, as Prof. Smout says.<sup>7</sup> It seems to have lived on in Glasgow's and Paisley's local government. Feuding came with James's followers to England and the result was a rapid increase in duelling in the Court in London, which James did attempt, if vainly, to stop. Simultaneously, James (I quote) "most unwarrantably diverted the stream of English wealth into the channel of Scottish well-being". By 1610, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Julius Caesar, James had given individual "Scottishmen" gifts of £133,100 from the English treasury<sup>8</sup> – perhaps £875,000,000 today, and amongst a pretty small number of people. Robert Cecil, Elizabeth's and James's Chief Minister, and Sir Julius Caesar set about reining in James's liberality. They devised *The Book of Bounty*, of that same year, and because James did not recognise Parliament's power to legislate for him, they cunningly put it into the king's own mouth as *Lex Loquens*, as James called it. This Declaration limited what might be given away by the king and what subjects might and might not request. It led, in 1624, to the Monopolies Act.

I don't know how much there is in Jungian "collective consciousness" but I suspect rather a lot. It is interesting that New Labour has been, in the words of *The Independent*, 'too free with its privileges'. It would be otiose to list New Labour's expenditure on grace-and-favour residences, receptions, tennis courts, kitchens, curtains and wallpaper. Grade I and II listed buildings are expensive to keep in shape but I did have care of one for ten years and know that is not only true but that work can be done economically. Let me pick out just two

aspects. In contrast to the 36 unelected political advisers employed by the Tories, Labour has 69. I don't know if that includes the two for the equally unelected Mrs Blair. Secondly, Mrs Beckett, if she stays the course, will have run up a bill approaching £1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>m from the taxpayer for her kitchen, annual estate charges, salary, and office expenses. Maybe she is good value, though on 1 February the *Sunday Telegraph* reported that she was widely described by civil servants as lazy. Perhaps some of this cost can be recouped from the reduction of the rate of interest for Pensioners' Bonds from 7% to 6½ %. But this is small beer; irritating, but petty cash for Ministers of the Crown. The real disbursement is in the 'diverting of the stream of English wealth' – literally billions of pounds – to support Scottish, Irish, and Welsh pretensions through the Barnett formulae (not to mention huge disbursements to Europe). In passing, it has always puzzled me as a university teacher why Scottish schools are so highly praised but we have to pay for its products to spend a year more at university than English and Welsh students.

Because we are familiar with Shakespeare's tetralogies, we tend to think of England for ever adventuring abroad on military conquest, though those incursions arose directly from kings' "dual English and French nationality". In fact, in Europe the reverse is true. England has been the object of attack from Roman times to the German and Irish bombing raids of this century. Danes, Norwegians, Scots, Welsh, Irish, Spanish, French, and Germans have all attacked England. People tend to think, for example, of a single Spanish Armada of 1588, but there were several, the last in 1597. In the 1380s, in addition to repeated small-scale raids by the French on southern England, they planned large-scale invasions. One armada of 250 ships was first to escort wine from Bordeaux to Sluys and then invade England. It was intercepted in the channel by some sixty English ships under the Earl of Arundel and completely routed. Some fifty French and Flemish ships were captured, a dozen or so sunk, and, as Nigel Saul in his *Richard II* notes, wine was very cheap in England that year, between 8,000 and 9,000 tuns being taken and sold off at a fraction of its normal price, much enhancing the government's popularity (p.168). The Scots raided northern England incessantly as far south as Wakefield (hence the sheep-stealer in the medieval *Second Shepherd's Play*, performed in Wakefield, is a Scot called Mak). Their comeuppance was not at their famous disasters of Flodden (1513) and Pinkie (1547), but at a little-known incursion in 1532 when 10,000 invading Scotch were routed, with very heavy losses, by 1,800 rieviers, "Wharton's Pricker's", riding short-legged ponies and carrying eight-foot lances. A Scottish army under Leslie invaded Northumberland in 1640 and, typically, sat down and demanded money. Five thousand Scots got as far as Derby in 1745 before they turned tail. Napoleon assembled his Grand Army near Boulogne in 1804 in order to invade England. Rather prematurely

a 175-foot column celebrating his triumph was erected before he decided he had a better chance against the Austrians than the English and marched south. You can still see the column today, with its 'allée triomphale', 3km from Boulogne on the N1. When the invasion was called off, Napoleon attempted to starve us out by his Continental System – a blockade – but was defeated by Nelson. In two wars German submarines attempted to starve us.

Unlike England, Continental powers have repeatedly tried to carve out empires within Europe, intending to incorporate England. The EU, with Heinrich Hunke's *Die Europäische Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft* (The European Economic Community), a product of Hitler's Germany of 1942, lying uneasily behind it, might be thought by the suspicious to be doing something similar. England frequently tried to buy peace, from Danegeld to Elizabeth's support of Protestants in the Low Countries fighting the Spanish, to the Barnett formulae, to subventions to the European Union. These two characteristics – being the object of foreign attack and buying peace – have provided a sub-text to the history of England for 1200 years. Only the unity of England and the English language have preserved its integrity.

Captain Macmorris plaintively asked of Ireland, "What ish my nation?" Well, what is England? Is there anything peculiar about Englishness? I'd like to point to a few characteristics. As a political entity, England stems from the unification, over a thousand years ago, of what is inaccurately called the Heptarchy. The word actually means rule by seven people but is used to describe an England divided into seven kingdoms – though there were often less and sometimes more from the 6th to 10th centuries. King Alfred was instrumental in making England a cohesive whole – as well as burning cakes. There are three aspects to what he did. First he subdued the Danes and united the kingdoms; second he built a navy to protect the sea-borders; third, and most lasting, he established English as a language – Anglo Saxon. He himself translated Latin texts into a language that could be widely read and understood; he established a school of English translators at Winchester; and he ensured English was taught in schools.

The Saxon kings did not last. Harold faced a double attack. The Norwegians landed in Yorkshire and though Harold wiped them out at Stamford Bridge he had to race south to face the invading French who defeated his depleted forces in 1066. The Normans set about dividing up England between themselves as victors' spoils. French, with Latin, became the ruling languages. The Anglo-Saxon witangemeot – the Council of Wise Men – disappeared and we were eventually saddled with something with a French name, Parliament – people who talk. There is a deep cultural difference here. The navy was abandoned. It would be recreated in full force under the Tudors, only to be allowed to fall into disarray by the two Stuart kings. That led to pirates raiding

the Channel (we call them Spanish fishermen today), and the navy, out of disgust, opted to fight for Parliament against Charles in 1642.

French and Latin dominated for 300 years. Thus, the *Ancrene Riwle*, a handbook for nuns of about 1230, was written in French, Latin, and Anglo-Saxon versions. But by the second half of the 14th century a remarkable change took place. War with France led to French being regarded as “an enemy language” and it was ruled that even lawyers must plead in English in the Courts (the Statute of Pleadings, 1362), though records were still kept in Latin. In 1387, John of Trevisa stated that, “against the manner and usage of all other nations “, English schoolchildren had, since 1066, been forced “to leave their own language” and use French.<sup>9</sup> However, he said, French was being abandoned in schools and children were learning in English, so starting a long tradition of animosity towards learning French in our schools. Then came a great flowering of English literature – Gower, Langland, and Chaucer, leading up to Shakespeare 200 years later. Once it was united, England proved remarkably strong despite its relative insignificance in Europe, and its language has proved immensely powerful – far more so than French, to their chagrin. England was a single nation long before France, Spain, Italy and Germany were, and it threw off feudal rule long before the French and Spanish.

And Englishness? Would it be acceptable today for Orwell to say, I am a patriot at heart? Today one must be apologetic about being English – and even British. Stephen Bayley, onetime artistic director of the Millennium Dome, wanted no Union flags in the Dome: Orwell maintained, the truly anti-English were the English intelligentsia – so that is alive and well. Patriotism is one thing; nationalism is another. Most nationalism is virulent and English nationalism especially so. Nationalism does not have to go to the extremes of the National Front, or the football lager louts allegedly supporting England, to be reprehensible. Nevertheless being proud to be English ought not to be something to be ashamed of as is politically correct today. Pride in being English goes back over 650 years when the poet, Laurence Minot, wrote a series of poems praising English prowess and ridiculing the Scots, French and Spanish. Patriotism was the norm in Shakespeare’s day, hence the poem of Sir Richard Grenville of the *Revenge* taking on eight Spanish ships simultaneously; neither Minot nor that poem would be set for study today as they were for my degree. Bolingbroke’s ‘where’er I wander boast of this I can / Though banished, yet a true-born Englishman’ (*Richard II*, 1.3.308-11) sounds ridiculous today. Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury might still pass muster: “I have the body of a weak and feeble woman but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and a king of England, too. I think foul scorn that any Prince in Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm”, but to be read, not spoken. Harold Hobson, reviewing the RSC production of Shakespeare’s *Henry V* in 1975, wrote that



the play suffered from a great handicap, “it glories in being English.... Now to glory in being Welsh, Scotch, or Irish is permissible, even laudable. But to be proud of being English is generally regarded as bordering on indecency: it makes the delicate blush”. (In contrast, one recalls Johnson’s “patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel”).

What we now have is an apology for being English as the only politically-correct alternative to rampant nationalism of the hooligan variety. Today all must be multicultural. Nothing must be done to disturb the feelings of Asians, Africans, Caribbeans, Muslims, Scots, Sikhs, Welsh, even the other day Zoroastrians, whatever the feelings of the English. To even mention this, as I am doing, leaves me open to charges of racism. Whatever smacks of Christianity must also be jettisoned. Christmas is all candles – Hannekar, Diwali, Santa Lucia, perhaps at a pinch Christingles. We celebrate what is called Eid (though properly it should be Id ul Fitr – breaking fast after Ramadan) and Guru Nanak’s birthday – but not Christ’s. *Hafiiska Maamulaba* may appear over school doorways – it is politically correct to have a Somali greeting – but beware of saying “Happy Christmas”: play safe and pin up “Season’s Greetings” in the classroom. It is all surface, of course, but a vital heritage historical and religious is being first devalued and will then be lost. History, like religion, must be tailored for others. As the former Chief Inspector of Education for Brent, and now Director of the Runnymede Trust, Robin Richardson, argued, to speak of the Battle of Britain in our schools is inappropriate. He conceded it showed heroism and standing up to tyranny, but “it didn’t include women, or older people”, and he “wasn’t sure if Pakistanis and people of West Indian origin would feel involved”. Apart from the contempt this shows for the intelligence of most of those of other cultures who live here, or the hesitating suggestion, “Ought they not to feel involved if they are now citizens of this country?”, one must note the sheer inaccuracy of this rewriting of history to make it fit the new credo. Women weren’t involved? What were the WAAF and ATS radar operators doing? Weren’t the old being bombed? And weren’t there 3,000 Jamaican RAF servicemen? History has to be rewritten to serve an anti-English diet served up in English schools to serve a chic, phoney, pseudo, multiculturalism. It is not that we should be anything but tolerant of and gracious towards other cultures, but it is wrong that this should be at the expense of being English, just as it is wrong for Scotland and Wales to require the English to pay for their Devolution. As Chris Woodhead, Chief Inspector of Schools pointed out, this approach will lead to our society fragmenting into ever more communities and we shall “slip into a common European identity which would be grey, anonymous and non-national”. In addition, there is the deliberate fragmentation of the family, something Orwell forecast vividly in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. There are so many forces driving us apart internally that

we can do without those from outside. The alternative will be disorder – the ‘dis’, incidentally, derives from a Greek word meaning to split in twain.

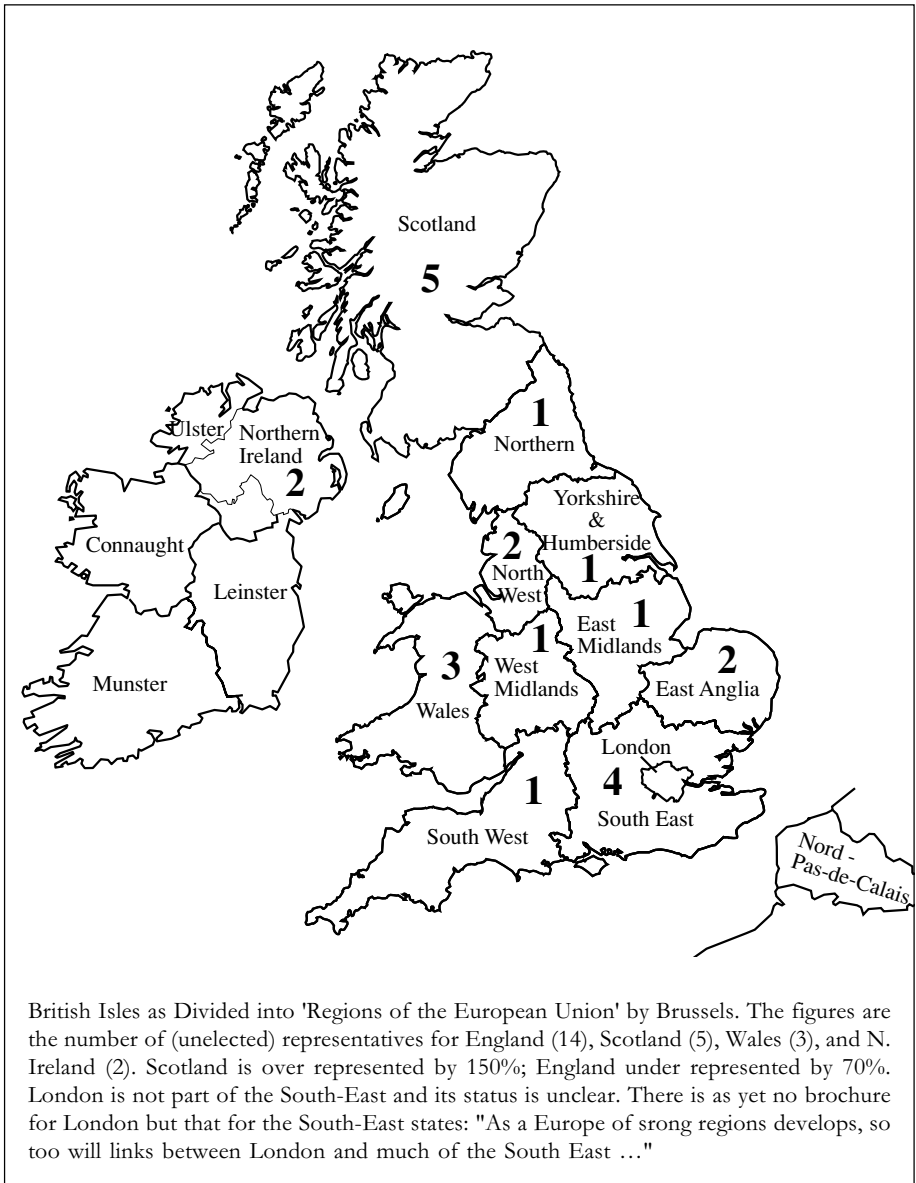
I have recently been reading the 18th-century German philosopher, Johann Herder, through the writings of Isaiah Berlin and very revealing he is in this context. One cannot spend seventeen years working on Orwell without being conscious of the significance of language, pure and unsullied, if there is to be honesty in politics and government. Herder relates language directly to the national group, not in any sense of nationalism (something he, like Orwell, abominated), but because language expresses the collective experience of the group. Through language a group’s distinctiveness is expressed. Herder pleads that we seek to be ourselves: “Let us be characteristic of our nation, language, scene”. “Every nation has its own centre of happiness, as every sphere its own centre of gravity.” If we fragment and “slip into a common European identity, grey and anonymous” we shall deny our sense of being and, as Herder would say, “our centre of happiness”. Herder, over 200 years ago, was opposed to the all-inclusiveness implied in a European Union: “Whom nature separated by language, customs, character, let no man artificially join together by chemistry”. This, he argued, is what the Romans and the Holy Roman Empire attempted, leading to “an unnatural monster, an absurd clamping together of disparate cultures”. Most tellingly, Herder maintained that “every group has a right to be happy in its own way. It is terrible arrogance to affirm that, to be happy, everyone should become European” – and Herder died in 1803. Another German, Paul Kirchhof, a judge of the German Constitutional Court, very recently maintained that “democracy can only operate when a state has an homogeneous people ... and there is not an homogeneous Europe”.<sup>10</sup> But then, is the EU to be democratic?

Now let me start to draw together the disparate threads – and they must have seemed very disparate – of my interminable discourse. I repeat, there is no reason why Wales and Scotland should not hive themselves off from the rest of this island as long as they are prepared to stand on their own financial feet, not England’s. But Devolution is a one-way street and it is money-driven. The logical conclusion is independence, especially if there is a temptation of more money from Europe (a vain hope, I believe). But what of England in the face of Scottish and Welsh Devolution? And what will Labour and Brussels do - what, indeed, are they doing? In his lecture to the European Institute at Florence, on 30 January, Mr Mandelson said he was content that Britain should lose sovereignty to Brussels, and, on the same day, the Prime Minister “came under renewed pressure from Jacques Santer ... to take Britain back into the exchange rate mechanism” (*Daily Telegraph*, 31.1.98).

Will England still have to subsidise the Welsh and Scots and Irish? If we have a Celtic Government, yes. Their Devolution, all Braveheart and Glendower

though it may purport to be, is money driven. [Wallace, incidentally, means Welshman.] One surprise of Devolution is that so few of its Scottish advocates wish to give up Westminster for Edinburgh. Less surprising will be an increase in what is already happening: competition between Scottish and Welsh Development Agencies to pick like vultures at the corpse of English industry. Both Scotland and Wales have been competing, backed with *English* money, to attract industry from Northumberland, and Wales has been tempting established factories from Cornwall. The pay-off for England is supposed to be regionalisation. This will first enable corruption on the Glasgow-Doncaster-Hull-West Wiltshire-Westminster scale to have free rein, but worse, the problems of competitive finance will prove horrendous. At the same time, another political chamber will be inserted designed to favour current political interests. England will be subdivided, as it was in the time of the 'Heptarchy', and thus seriously weakened. This, I fear, is what Brussels wants. It has already regionalised England into eight zones as an additional means of exerting its control. Each is called 'A Region of the European Union'. Intentionally or not, New Labour, Celtic dominated, with its Devolution and Regionalisation, is playing into the hands of those who, for a thousand years have tried to rule and eliminate England. There is no reason why our present government, with its eyes on Scotland, Wales, and the Continent, should have a care for England except as a milch cow.

Regionalisation is going on apace though we have not voted for it, nor have any specific plans been announced. I had great difficulty getting details about regionalisation and the so-called "frontier regions", despite inquiry of many EU offices. To my astonishment, not only did none know of the inter-regional plans, but in Bristol at least, they were hard at work planning the Labour Government's South-West Region and its Assembly. Their worry was that the region the Government had defined might not tally with the one designated by the EU. Maps of the EU's UK regions and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms are on the xeroxes. Our South-West region has already set up its Brussels office to negotiate deals directly with Brussels in competition with other English regions. As the power of the House of Commons is diminished in favour of Brussels, and financial power is passed to the Eurobank, the regions of England (and Europe), beholden to Brussels, will fight one another for money. There will be no democratic control, because the regions are represented by non-elected appointees, and the possibilities of corruption and inequity will be rife. Region will be set against region. It is the old policy: divide and conquer. The EU's biased treatment of nations subsidising their airlines does not auger well for equitable regional funding. The "Committee of the Regions" in Strasbourg, made up of 222 unelected representatives, appointed by the European Council (Treaty of Amsterdam, art. 263), has 24 members to represent the UK. The



inequalities of representation are immediately apparent: 14 English (three being from Surrey); 5 Scottish; 3 Welsh; 2 Northern Irish. Notice that not only are they unelected but that Scotland, Wales and N. Ireland are vastly disproportionately over-represented. Representation should be 20:2:1:1; England has 70% of its due representation; Scotland 150%.

But it goes much further. With difficulty I have managed to get details of the inter-regions: what Geoffrey Martin of the European Commission in England described in the *Telegraph* on 8 January when defending the EU's regionalisation policy as "frontier regions". The five I know about are:

### **Nord-Pas-de-Calais/Kent**

funded to the tune of £62,877,000 (the ecu at 66p)

### **East Sussex/Haute-Normandie/Picardy**

funded at £53,307,000

One of its tasks is to develop "cultural products in parks and gardens" – do you need an inter-region development fund for that? Association with French people is fine – but with French governments? Will lorry-drivers be paid their compensation any quicker, if at all? As Bismarck remarked after Sedan, no government is less to be trusted than a French government.<sup>11</sup>

### **Ireland and Northern Ireland**

This unites for regional development, all N. Ireland except Belfast with Cavan, Donegal, Leitrim, Louth, Monaghan, and Sligo in the south. Initially £274,485,000 under the heading PEACE, was donated as a "Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties of Ireland". It was designed, *inter alia*, to foster the "integration of the labour market ... and cross-border cooperation". This was to run from 1995–97. After the Canary Wharf bomb in 1995 a further sum of £172,929,000 became available. In total this is nearly half a billion pounds. That peace donation from Europe would have gone some way to pay for the Canary Wharf bomb damage. But what is really strange is that this money towards cross-border co-operation is being accepted by many people intransigently opposed to cross-border co-operation, on both sides of the religio-political divide.

### **East coast of Ireland with Dyfed and Gwynedd**

This is interesting because of the £94,222,000 granted, Ireland is to be the greater beneficiary. Of the total expenditure, Wales will get less than 10%. Yet

Ireland is one of only five EU countries without a budget deficit. Presumably the money is to buy votes to support Germany and France in the Commission. What West Wales badly needs is a north-south railway line or motorway, but, needless to say, nothing so useful is proposed.

The amounts donated under these heads come to just over £657,812,000, 80% of it to Ireland.

### **Saar, Lorraine, and Luxembourg.**

I have no details except that the German government has issued a postage stamp celebrating this union of Lorraine with Germany.

### **Gibraltar and Morocco.**

This is particularly strange one. Neither Gibraltar nor Morocco is a member of the EU and the part of Morocco involved was formerly Spanish Morocco. Presumably Gibraltar makes tasty meat in the Spanish sandwich. The amount donated is quite small: £1,128,000.

Recalling Henry McLeish's joining of Northumberland to Scotland, I noted with interest that these areas, with Cumbria, share the same 'development colour' on the Euromap. Perhaps ere long we shall hear that this "frontier region" has been taken up by Europe.

In the *NY Herald Tribune* on 31 May 1940, the American journalist, Dorothy Thompson, wrote from Germany: "The Germans count on political power following economic power. Territorial changes do not concern them because there will be no "France" and no "England" except as language groups, little immediate concern is felt regarding political organisations ... No nation will have control of its own financial or economic system or customs'.<sup>12</sup> For Germans here, read Heinrich Hunke and the EU. These frontier regions may be doing good by stealth but until the end of the 18th century, stealth meant stealing. Note especially Dorothy Thompson's "Political power follows economic power". As Helmut Kohl put it more recently, "The future belongs to the Germans ... when we build the house of Europe".<sup>13</sup> As Orwell wrote in 1941, "The final ruin of England could only be accomplished by an English government acting under orders from Berlin [the Bundesbank?]. But that cannot happen if England is awakened beforehand."<sup>14</sup>

I do not believe there is some evil plot aimed against England motivating EU plans; indeed, all is *intended* for the best, just as James I foolishly trying to play the peacemaker in Europe whilst neglecting the navy ensured his policy was "put to a cruel test by the outbreak of the Thirty Years War".<sup>15</sup> But the

collective unconscious of European nations with pretensions to Empire, coupled with rule of England by Scots, cause me anxiety.

I fear the elimination of England by those who have for centuries envied and hated her and the loss of its right, in Herder's words, to its own happiness. Will a Scottish-Welsh Government defend England's integrity? I am sure they do not intend England harm, but their thoughtlessness will have the same effect. I fear secondly the growth of that terrible, virulent nationalism which, when the English are roused, is especially horrible. It is not merely that the English were responsible for the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford, or the bombing of Hamburg and Dresden, or the shooting at Amritsar, and so on and on, but that they don't shed tears over those incidents. English nationalism can have a cold remorselessness. This is the hard edge to Englishness. Of course, the grieving over the death of the Princess of Wales may mean we have changed. English people weren't prone to buy flowers to throw away. But I wouldn't bank on it. The culture of England is precious but fragile. In the end it matters more than economics. Even worse, centralised management of Europe without genuine democracy will, I fear, lead to totalitarianism.

## Notes

1. *Daily Telegraph*, 17.1.98; *The Economist*, 6 September 1997, p. 29
2. G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England*, 3rd edn, 1945, p. 359.
3. Trevelyan, p. 332.
4. Trevelyan, p. 331.
5. T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People. 1560–1830*, 1972, p. 201.
6. Trevelyan, p. 383.
7. Smout, p. 96.
8. P. Davison, 'King James's Book of Bounty: From Manuscript to Print', *The Library*, March 1973, 32, quoting J. W. Gordon, *Monopolies by Patents*, 1897, p. 5.
9. Trevelyan, p. 234.
10. 'Herder and the Enlightenment' in Isaiah Berlin, *The Proper Study of Mankind*, 1997, pp. 359–435, esp. 374, 397, 403, and 415; *Daily Telegraph*, 2.1.98.
11. *Conversations with Bismarck*, collected by Heinrich von Pottinger, ed. Sidney Whitman, 1900, pp. 7–10.
12. Rodney Atkinson, *Europe's Full Circle*, 1996, 51, 92, 107–8.
13. Atkinson, p. 108
14. *Complete Works of George Orwell*, ed. P. Davison, 1998, xii, 431.
15. Trevelyan, p. 388.

## IS IT TIME FOR A SUCCESSOR TO THE RADCLIFFE REPORT?

*Christopher Meakin*

The early months of 1998 have seen noteworthy progress in the activities of the ERC. It is moving into a different era, and wants to play a much more visible role in the shaping of economic ideas. As the honeymoon of Mr Blair's Government draws to a close, and with growing doubt over the best economic policies to pursue, now seems an appropriate moment to start making waves.

The Council's Research Committee has been reconvened, comprising Chairman Damon de Laszlo, John Mills, Secretary Jim Bourlet with Christopher Meakin newly appointed as Research Secretary. A supporting research fund has been set up, and over the coming months we will be seeking to augment it. Members' help and suggestions on that will be most welcome.

The sequence of events develops from two dinner meetings last Autumn. Professor Tim Congdon's presentation to the ERC in October warned of a return to inflation and low growth in 1999. The discussion a month earlier of John Mills' paper had set out some of the radical changes necessary if that seemingly inevitable business cycle is to be eradicated.

Taken together the two meetings exposed a radical mood within the ERC, and a widely-held conviction that present-day economic management in Britain is mistaken. One repeated complaint is that constant resort to higher interest rates does more harm than good: it was not always the automatic response to adversity in the past.

Despite a widespread feeling within the ERC that Britain's manufacturing base would be helped by a better playing field, equally it is felt that voicing economic opinions is often no more than whistling in the wind. It is too easy to go around in circles agreeing with one another, while the world at large pays little or no attention. A torrent of pamphlets, alone, is unlikely to do the trick.

If the economic agenda is to make progress, it will surely do so through systematic and public review, not interminable and unfocused debate. With that in mind, the President, Lord Ezra, is seeking to revive the House of Lords Select Committee on Overseas Trade which he shaped in the 1980s. An early task for the Research team has been to prepare briefing material for the proposed enquiry, and that is planned to develop into submissions in due course.

Although the Committee's initial remit is overseas trade, this would impinge on fields of economic policy which have lain unexamined for too long. Not since 1977 has a British government sought to test thinking on the management of the economy and the financial system in a systematic way. The last such



exercise (chaired by the former Sir Harold Wilson) was unfortunately circumscribed by politicised Terms of Reference which “included the possible extension of the public sector” into the financial institutions.

This overt threat of nationalisation served to inhibit and even distort the evidence submitted to Sir Harold’s Committee. It suffered as a result and, in the event, its deliberations and suggestions were overtaken by a radical change in government in 1979. For all that, the Committee was pointing in a telling direction when it questioned the role of the financial sector. Bankers have power to do great good, or great damage to an economy.

One must go back to 1959 to find a Committee on economic policy which was free of the incubus of political subterfuge. The *Committee on the Working of the Monetary System* under Lord Radcliffe laid down reasoning and concepts which served for over a decade. Some survive still, yet the economy has changed almost out of recognition in the decades since. Fixed currency exchange rates, on which the Radcliffe edifice rested, had disappeared by the early seventies with the collapse of the postwar Bretton Woods system.

Less than a decade later Britain had abolished all forms of exchange controls as well, so that funds have been free to move in and out of Britain in immense quantities. Over the years Britain’s taxation, government finance, banking and financial industries have undergone massive change, as have the ways the population earns, spends, saves and borrows. The Radcliffe enquiry and its nebulous conclusions applied to a long-gone world, in both economic and, even more disconcertingly, political terms.

Within a timescale not of its own making, the United Kingdom faces the prospect of either participating in comprehensive European integration, or alternatively creating for itself some free-standing and potentially isolated role, a role which is just as unprecedented and currently undefined.

Clearly, one option which is no longer open is to turn back the clock to some bygone era when the United Kingdom enjoyed preferential economic links with its Commonwealth, while the countries of nearby continental Europe were separated by fully-functioning frontiers and operated individual economies.

No matter what course events take, whether as an integral part of Europe or outside it, the odds are not moving in our favour. Britain’s waning economic position makes the challenge from overseas more formidable as each year passes. Our nation’s economic future is less certain than at any time in the past fifty years. Yet we face this future with an economic arsenal which is obsolete.

Initiatives being taken by the ERC and its principal officers will, it is hoped, precipitate a fresh look at that economic arsenal.

## OBITUARY ENOCH POWELL

*Lord Biffen's address at the funeral service at St Margaret's, Westminster  
on Wednesday, February 18th*

It is appropriate that a funeral service for Enoch Powell should involve St Margaret's. Religious faith was central to the man. It was grounded on the church of England whose doctrine and historical role he embraced. His beliefs provided a bedrock of moral judgement in the compromising world of politics and religion itself provided an opportunity for yet another display of his remarkable scholarship.

On his 80th birthday Enoch was presented with a salver inscribed 'Scholar, Poet, Soldier and Parliamentarian'. To that he could have added 'family man'. Pam's warm, outgoing personality provided comfort in the stormiest of times. Whilst daughters Susan and Jennifer sustained their father with loyalty and affection. Enoch loved children and took much pleasure in his four grandchildren, Simon, Rachel, Julia and James. Home was his buttress and partly explains his resilience in a wide-ranging and somewhat turbulent public life.

Of course. Enoch is primarily remembered as a politician but he had other careers before he crossed the threshold of Westminster.

He was an outstanding classical scholar at Trinity College Cambridge. Soon after taking a Professorship in Australia, he startled his colleagues saying that he expected to leave shortly as his country would become involved in war with Germany. Alas his prediction came true and the young professor enlisted as a private soldier in the Royal Warwickshire Regiment. He achieved phenomenal promotion as a staff officer and ended the war as a brigadier. Reaching the rank of Lance Corporal, he maintained, had been the toughest step. In North Africa he was entrusted with calculating the 8th Army's rate of advance in the forthcoming battle of Alamein – a remarkable role for a man who had joined up less than three years ago. He did not meet Montgomery, but he got a message in the course of the battle 'Tell that young man' said a slightly miffed Monty 'that I am doing better than he thought I would!'

He then made the fateful decision to enter politics and the Conservative Research department and in 1950 he was elected to the House of Commons as Member for Wolverhampton South West.

At Westminster he was utterly self-contained and much preferred the calm of the Commons library to the conviviality of the Smoking Room. In the Chamber he became a compelling orator. His speeches, delivered without

notes, needed no corrections. He was a Hansard reporter's dream. He was unique in the way he could combine passion and intellect and spice it with shafts of humour which convulsed both sides of the House.

Nonetheless, his parliamentary skill did not lead to corresponding political preferment. The snakes matched the ladders. He felt obliged to resign from the treasury in 1958. Five years later he declined to serve under the premiership of Alec Home. As always it was a point of principle.

Indeed, Enoch until the mid-1960s could be represented as a romantic, but essentially an isolated politician ignoring the skills of compromise essential for high office. That was how he was viewed; but from the mid-1960s onwards he set forth views that became the message by which he will be remembered.

The Conservative defeat in 1964 gave him an opportunity to put his opinions more trenchantly. They centred on the theme of 'Freedom and Reality'. He argued that Britain, having lost an Empire, should now champion the nation as the best focus for loyalty and authority. He had no nostalgia for or illusions about Britain's supposed past industrial pre-eminence. He believed the British people and not their politicians could create their future in the realities of the market place. It was a novel doctrine giving fresh meaning to free enterprise. His argument greatly influenced me and barely 10 years later Margaret Thatcher showed what privatisation could do.

The linking of 'freedom' and 'reality' anticipated that there was a latent British national factor in politics. Denis Healey has recently described Enoch Powell as a 'nationalist'. That is true but it was an emotion of nostalgia or romanticism and certainly did not bear the stamp of racial superiority or xenophobia. In the 1960s he was still effectively a lone evangelist. But the nature of the campaign recalls the words of Disraeli 'I had to prepare the mind of the country, and to educate our party.'

This was the background to the Birmingham speech on immigration which led to his dismissal from the Shadow Cabinet. Powell believed that the prospective size and concentration of New Commonwealth immigration would lead to unacceptable tensions and violence. The speech had a profound national impact and it transformed the public perception of Enoch Powell. He was already an established national figure when, for him, the supreme issue arose of Britain and Europe.

He brought to the debate his passionate affections for national institutions and outrage that the British people were not given a proper choice. To the campaign he added a typical Powell gesture, namely continental visits so he could put his arguments in French, German and Italian – by the way just the three of the 10 or so languages, ancient and modern, which he mastered at one time or another.

The events since 1972 are well known. Enoch's principled opposition to the Rome Treaty led him to support Labour in the 1974 elections and to become Member for Down South and a dedicated champion of the Unionist cause which he had espoused four years before. His attachment to the people and the province was total. How lucky he was, he sometimes mused, to end up in the most beautiful constituency in the United Kingdom.

There could be a lighter side to Northern Ireland. Enoch planned to review a book by Richard Crossman on the flight home from Belfast. Told that security made it impossible to take hard back books on the flight he immediately ripped off the covers saying: 'It's a paperback now'.

Meanwhile the wider Europe debate continues – like 'weeds through concrete' to quote an Enoch phrase. The Powell message is central to the debate. In a sense he was a British Gaullist invoking a Europe which was a partnership of nation states. The message represents an alternative to the current and well established view that Europe needs size and the economic and monetary union that is related to the single currency.

No-one pretends that this decision, however taken, is other than momentous. It transcends economic judgement and needs great political insight. Powell long argued, some would say with keen judgement, that the logic of the Rome Treaty for better or worse, would compel centralism. That view will be argued in a debate and that argument will be illumined by his prophecy and political sacrifice. It will be the testimony of a great parliamentarian. He did not achieve power but more important he achieved influence and respect on a scale which perhaps only history will come to recognise.



## **NEW MEMBERS**

The Council, as always, needs new members so that it can continue to serve the purposes for which it was formed; meet its obligations to existing members; and extend the benefits of members to others.

Members may propose persons for membership at any time. The only requirement is that applicants should be sympathetic with the objects of the Council.

## **OBJECTS**

- i) To promote education in the science of economics with particular reference to monetary practice.
- ii) To devote sympathetic and detailed study to presentations on monetary and economic subjects submitted by members and others, reporting thereon in the light of knowledge and experience.
- iii) To explore with other bodies the fields of monetary and economic thought in order progressively to secure a maximum of common ground for purposes of public enlightenment.
- iv) To take all necessary steps to increase the interest of the general public in the objects of the Council, by making known the results of study and research.
- v) To publish reports and other documents embodying the results of study and research.
- vi) To encourage the establishment by other countries of bodies having aims similar to those of the Council, and to collaborate with such bodies to the public advantage.
- vii) To do such other things as may be incidental or conducive to the attainment of the aforesaid objects.

## BENEFITS

Members are entitled to attend, with guests, normally 6 to 8 talks and discussions a year in London, at no additional cost, with the option of dining beforehand (for which a charge is made). Members receive the journal 'Britain and Overseas' and Occasional Papers. Members may submit papers for consideration with a view to issue as Occasional Papers. The Council runs study-lectures and publishes pamphlets, for both of which a small charge is made. From time to time the Council carries out research projects.

## SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Individual members .....	£25 per year
Corporate members .....	£55 per year (for which they may send up to six nominees to meetings, and receive six copies of publications).
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Student members .....	£10 per year
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## APPLICATION

Prospective members should send application forms, supported by the proposing member or members to the Honorary Secretary. Applications are considered at each meeting of the Executive Committee.

APPLICATION FORM

To the Honorary Secretary  
Economic Research Council  
239 Shaftesbury Avenue  
LONDON WC2H 8PJ.

Date .....

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I am/We are in sympathy with the objects of the Economic Research Council and hereby apply for membership.

This application is for	Individual membership (£25 per year)
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NAME .....  
*(If Corporate membership, give name of individual to whom correspondence should be addressed)*

NAME OF ORGANISATION .....  
*(if corporate)*

ADDRESS .....  
.....  
.....

PROFESSION OR BUSINESS .....

REMITTANCE HERewith .....

SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT .....

NAME OF PROPOSER *(in block letters)* .....

SIGNATURE OF PROPOSER .....

