

The intervention in the Dominican Republic has been even more openly criticized in the United States, while the Latin American reaction has been understandably hostile. Senator Pulbright, the influential chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the most astute analyst in the American Establishment, has openly attacked the intervention. His sentiments are shared by most liberals within and outside of the government. The Administration has yet to defend itself on the issue, and it has constantly refused to allow foreign relations to be openly debated.

It would seem that President Johnson simply has very little understanding of foreign affairs, and that he prefers to concern himself with domes-

tic policy, where he is able to wield almost overwhelming power. His over-simplified views of foreign affairs and the impossibility of internal discussion and criticism gives many Americans cause for alarm about future trends in foreign relations. When issues such as Vietnam are discussed, the Administration's "facts" simply do not agree with those of independent observers, and meaningful debate is precluded. And of late, the Administration has refused to publically discuss the issues at all.

Living with the Texan

What, then, of the future? President Johnson is firmly in the saddle and most of Texas seems to be moving to Washington. It is likely that the President will be able to continue his

strong influence over the Congress, and increase his ability to manipulate the legislative branch and the administrative agencies to do his bidding. The President is clearly popular with the people, although he is not the sort of leader who arouses the kind of devotion which John F Kennedy did. The prospects for a shift in foreign relations seems quite remote, with the Administration becoming "harder" in its views rather than more moderate. The American "cult of the personality" seems to be here to stay at least for the next three years, and probably for the next seven. The American people, and the rest of the world, will have to live within the Texan in the White House.

—Philip G Altbach

## Are the British Racists?

Taya Zinkin

THE first time I became aware that there is such a thing as colour was when I stayed in a seaside resort hotel in France. There was a commotion in the hotel. For days all the grown-ups talked about nothing else but the extraordinary way in which the British behave. The commotion was sufficiently great for me to remember it though I was barely 6 years old. A British Colonel and his family who had booked rooms for the season protested on arrival because there was a coloured family, probably from French Africa, staying in the hotel. The Manager told the Colonel that if he did not like it he could go elsewhere, that the hotel had no intention of getting rid of the coloured family. The Manager had been so shocked by the Briton that he told everybody about it. Colour bars in France were, and I am glad to say, still are, unheard of.

The British by contrast are racists. A trip to Brazil is illuminating about race relations in the United States. Had the French or the Portuguese or the Spanish colonised the USA, instead of it being the British, there would be no Watts, no segregation, no race riots. North America would be like Brazil, without colour consciousness. Indeed, I remember an American friend saying at the height of the Alabama riots, "We white Americans are what the British made us, and we then proceeded to make the negroes what they are because of

what the British made us. Look at Canada, even their Indians are treated differently from ours, that is because of the French tradition".

### Working Class: Worst Racists

The British are racists; and the worst racists of them all are the British members of the working class. This was again reiterated by Desmond Donnelly, the Labour M P, when he warned a club in Exeter University of the "fundamental deep-rooted prejudice of the conservative working man" Donnelly said that very often it is the communist factory shop steward who does not allow the employment of coloured people. He went on to complain that the Government White Paper on Immigration was an insult to Commonwealth immigrants because of the ceiling of 8,500 allowed in every year when there is no ceiling on other immigrants — he must have had Ireland and the continent in mind. The Immigration Act has caused much heart-burn amongst some liberal minded Labour and Liberal MPs because it is a really racist Act which gives wide powers of deportation without redress to a special tribunal, and because it discriminates between blacks and whites, and because it lowers the age of dependents. The Tories were far more liberal than Labour since they are not so dependent for support upon foremen and shop-stewards of the kind Donnelly had in mind.

Racism takes many forms: some of them however are due, not to the evil in man, but to his environment. Thus the mothers of a school in Birmingham have petitioned the local authorities to move their children out of the school to turn it into a reception centre for immigrants. Their reason was not colour prejudice but common sense. There are over 80 per cent coloured children in that school. The mothers did not object to so many children being coloured but to their scant knowledge of English. Their own children were being kept behind; a matter of the greatest importance when at the ripe old age of 11 a child's career is set according to how that child does at the Eleven Plus. The Headmistress of that school had been pressing for a long time for extra teaching staff in order to get over the initial difficulty the immigrant children have in following the classes.

Speaking of racism on the BBC, Robert Gardiner who is the Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, and the first coloured man to deliver the Reith Lectures, said some very interesting things. He pointed out that it is natural for people to feel more at ease with their people and to believe that their own people are superior. When colour comes in the way of underlining the difference it becomes easier still to be racist, especially when peo-

ple have been conditioned to be so. For example nobody is anti-Eskimo; the Eskimos are too remote and too few to excite anything but curiosity. Racists often take cover under the difference in cultural behaviour, etc, to explain why they consider themselves better than others; but this is merely an alibi. German Jews and American negroes are culturally German and American. This did not stop Nazism or segregation. As Gardiner saidly points out "A negro remains a negro first". In England racism applies to all non-white Commonwealth immigrants; Indians and Pakistanis are often lumped together with Africans, if they do not belong to the professional classes or are not students, but are bus drivers or shop assistants or unskilled factory labourers. There is a threshold beyond which colour prejudice creeps into industry and business. Thus if in the department of a business there are two or three coloured (African or Asian) clerks nobody minds; but at a certain stage if about half the staff of that department is coloured then it becomes impossible to recruit white people for it; indeed the whites in it will ask to be transferred because it has become infra dig for them to work in what has become a coloured department. The Personnel Director of a big organisation therefore explained to me that it seems in the interest of the immigrants themselves to disperse, not only as far as housing, but in jobs too.

A brave and honest attempt is being made amongst politicians to evolve an election code for the burning issue of immigration. Whether this code will be adhered to is to be seen; in India even Congress agents sometimes distribute toddy before elections. The projected code has seven points.

Point I: moderate language should be used when talking of immigrants. Point II: there should be no general critical statements about immigrants. Point III; candidates who have to criticise immigrants must do so constructively. Point IV: candidates should discourage divisions in local communities. Point V; candidates must accept responsibility for statements made by their agents and canvassers. Point VI: candidates will be held responsible for the views of those who support them. Point VII: copies of election literature mentioning immigration must be given to the press on the date of issue.

The way to hell is paved with good intentions. I have no doubt that with the best goodwill in the world, when it comes to winning a marginal constituency, underhand exploitation of racism will be resorted to to win these last critical extra votes.

Watching the development of ticism in Britain as I have been doing for the past 5 years I cannot but help feel worried. The problem is going to be very acute as soon as a lot of youngsters, children of immigrants, who have been educated in Britain and have grown to expect British standards of living and opportunity come into the labour market. Their expectation will be higher than those of their white counterparts. Many a white dock-worker or factory-worker is quite happy, unless the child is exceptionally bright, for his son or daughter to follow in parental footsteps.

This, however, is not true for most Commonwealth immigrants. They emigrated not only because the pay was better than in their native place but because they hoped for a better life for their children. They did what the British and the Continentals did when

they migrated to the United States: they ran after a better life. Like these European immigrants to America they are content to do menial jobs so long as the door of equal opportunity is open to their children. In Britain there is no prejudice against Commonwealth nurses and doctors; but there is a terrific prejudice against most other white collared jobs. One reason is that potential employers are afraid that if they hired a coloured person existing staff will resent it; another handicap is the prospect of having to promote a coloured person over a white one, a problem every bit as tricky in the employers' mind as employing women in positions where they have to be in charge of men.

As with everything else it is the first step which counts. If the first coloured employee fits in well, then more will follow. But if too many follow, then the whites will opt 'out. From the very start the coloured people are damned if they do and daranded if they don't. Wow British society will meet the challenge which has ahead is anybody's guess. So far the future is not bright.

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