

THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Back to Normal

The amazing thing about our system of electioneering is that there is nothing like it in the world—and it works. When the returns of a Presidential or off-year election are all in, elation or regrets remain for some time but the conclusion then becomes inevitable that for all the gimmickry of the campaign oratory, for all the allurements offered the voters, the electorate answers with a truthful image of itself. Yet politics on a mass basis is a fitful thing in our country. The involvement of the citizens in public affairs is, to say the least, episodic. Our system of political representation is the oldest in existence, the most conservative without being static.

It is not exactly the system the Founding Fathers designed, but on the whole it has remained faithful to their conception, being still a mixture of proportionate and disproportionate representation. Should the principle of one man, one vote be carried to the election of U.S. Senators, should the Electoral College be abolished, then this country would cease being a union of states and turn into an inconceivable entity. The picture of the electorate taken regularly every two or four years is a daguerreotype. Let's hope that the era of electronics and of computers will never come to distract the citizen's mood when he exercises his sovereign right.

In the last election, as in all the preceding ones, there were regrettable instances of voters befuddled by glamor, or by weariness with virtuous men. In a number of states, most eminently in New York, the citizen was asked to exercise his franchise for a period of three minutes in the unfamiliar aloofness of the polling booth, where he was subjected to tests more complex than a college entrance examination. Yet the answer of the electorate as a whole has been unmistakably

clear: the morbid dread of the 1964 election, which led to a plebiscite for Lyndon Johnson, has been followed by the resurgence of the two-party system.

At long last, the President can have what he deserves and can work with: a loyal opposition. The men of his own party who do not like his policies, particularly the foreign ones, can continue, if they like, to snipe at the President and to undercut his authority in the rest of the world. But at least in foreign affairs Lyndon Johnson will be able to count on the advice and the co-operation of a fairly large group of Republican leaders who will offer him a relief from the acid criticism of some of the most highly placed Democrats.

Before the election, and with that mean, crucial Vietnamese war going on, radical factionalisms of the most assorted variety seemed unleashed, to judge from the newspaper headlines and the TV screens. Public attention for too long had been centered on troublemakers, black-power advocates, segregationists, Klansmen, advocates of restoration to some lost line of legitimacy. And, of course, there was the question of how far and deep the white backlash would reach.

After the election, things look more real and more familiar. American men and women were rushed through the polling booths but they have had their say. The self-appointed heroes of national life, the prophets of dire things to come, can take a little rest.

We have learned that unfortunately there is some reality in the white backlash, but it is not an overwhelming novelty to know that it is particularly strong in the state of Alabama. Far more important, the elections have shown us that the two-party system has come back in full strength. From this duality of parties our foreign enemies can derive no hope.

Senator Douglas

One result of the November elections that we cannot pass over without comment is the defeat of Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois.

Intellectual energy and uncompromising integrity have characterized his political life from the moment in 1939 when the Kelly-Nash machine surprised him by offering to back his independent—and until then completely hopeless—candidacy for Chicago's board of aldermen. "For a year," he later commented of his service as an alderman, "the votes were 49 to 1 . . . but it's interesting that though many of the things which I advocated were defeated at the time, a considerable number of them have been put into practice since."

Douglas was far less lonely during his eighteen years in the Senate, but he never hesitated to be alone when his conscience indicated an independent course, as Democratic Presidents and party whips were to discover time and again. "Independent Democrat," his designation for himself, was entirely accurate.

It was this independence that brought Douglas to lead many battles that other Senators joined later, after their popularity was more assured: civil rights, slum clearance and urban renewal, Federal regulation of the natural-gas industry, aid to education, Medicare and Medicaid. When he advocated a civil-rights bill in 1956, he was able to muster only six votes for it in the Senate—a fact that some of his erstwhile supporters in Illinois seem to have forgotten.

In contention, his graciousness and generosity were contagious. His opponent in this last race, Charles H. Percy, in the moment of his own victory, said of him, "Senator Douglas has fought the good fight. If I can serve Illinois and the nation with the same degree of selfless dedication and integ-

Take this list to your favorite television set and have a Merry Christmas all through December.



Rudolph, The Red-Nosed Reindeer
Animated musical fantasy. Sunday, Dec. 4 (5:30-6:30 pm).

The Cleveland Orchestra
Bell Telephone Hour shows how George Szell shapes the orchestra. Sunday, Dec. 4 (6:30-7:30 pm).

S. Hurok Presents
Marian Anderson, Van Cliburn, Andres Segovia, Isaac Stern and others salute the impresario, Sol Hurok. Tuesday, Dec. 6 (9:30-11 pm).

Blithe Spirit
Noel Coward's comedy starring Rosemary Harris, Dirk Bogarde and Rachel Roberts. Wednesday, Dec. 7 (7:30-9 pm).

Christ Is Born
Saga of Western Man recreates the Nativity story. Wednesday, Dec. 7 (8-9 pm). Repeated on Dec. 25 (4-5 pm).

On the FLIP Side
Stage 67: A musical look at the present and future pop music scene, starring Rick Nelson and Joanie Sommers. Wednesday, Dec. 7 (10-11 pm).

The Glass Menagerie
Tennessee Williams' drama starring Shirley Booth, Hal Holbrook, Barbara Loden and Pat Hingle. Thursday, Dec. 8 (7:30-8:30 pm).

A Charlie Brown Christmas
Charlie and his friends in the Peabody Award-winning cartoon. Sunday, Dec. 11 (7-7:30 pm).



The Hill Country: LBJ's Texas
President Johnson tours the Texas Hill Country of his childhood. Sunday, Dec. 11 (6:30-7:30 pm).

The Hidden World
National Geographic Society special explores the insect world. Tuesday, Dec. 13 (7:30-8:30 pm).

The Long Childhood of Timmy
The sensitive, intimate story of a retarded boy and his family. Tuesday, Dec. 13 (10-11 pm).

The Brave Rifles
Arthur Kennedy narrates a moving documentary on the Battle of the Bulge on Stage 67. Wednesday, Dec. 14 (10-11 pm).

Mr. Magoo's Christmas Carol
Animated version of Dickens' classic. Saturday, Dec. 17 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Christmas with Lorne Greene
Lorne Greene and the UNICEF Choir in a musical tribute to the Holiday season. Saturday, Dec. 17 (8:30-9 pm).

How The Grinch Stole Christmas
Animated musical based on the Dr. Seuss characters and narrated by Boris Karloff. Sunday, Dec. 18 (7-7:30 pm).

A Christmas Memory
Geraldine Page and Donnie Melvin star in Truman Capote's drama. Wednesday, Dec. 21 (10-11 pm).



L'Enfance du Christ
Hector Berlioz' oratorio-trilogy on the Childhood of Christ performed in pageant form by the Metropolitan Opera Company. Sunday, Dec. 25 (10-11 am).

Christmas In The Market Place
An adaptation of the French classic with choreography by Valerie Bettis. Sunday, Dec. 25 (1-2 pm).

Regularly Scheduled Programs
Monday Through Friday:
Captain Kangaroo / Today / Sunrise Semester

Tuesdays: CBS News Hour
Wednesdays: ABC Stage 67

Saturdays:
Captain Kangaroo / Sunrise Semester / The Smithsonian / Animal Secrets / Wide World of Sports / Vietnam Weekly Review / ABC Scope: The War In Vietnam

Sundays:
Lamp Unto My Feet / Look Up and Live / Directions / Bullwinkle / Camera Three / Discovery '67 / Face the Nation / Meet the Press / The Eternal Light / Issues and Answers / Wild Kingdom / College Bowl / The Frank McGee Report / Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color

Note: This is, necessarily, a partial listing. Time (EST), titles and casts of these national programs are subject to change. Please consult your station listings; check also for noteworthy local programs.

Television Information Office
745 Fifth Avenue, New York 10022

... I think I will have served well."

Let us hope that a man of these rare qualities, still young at seventy-four, will be encouraged to continue working, as he has so successfully in the past, for those "public causes that take a long time to win." Such causes exist in abundance, but there are few men like Paul Douglas in any generation.

Entering the Lists

It may be that some readers of the New York *Times* are surfeited with those full-page, finely printed ads deploring this or defending that in the name of countless signatories. Our interest never flags, however, in who is for what—and why. We will admit that things were getting pretty dull by last winter when a group of indignant citizens demanded that the administration publicly espouse positions on Vietnam that it had already publicly espoused. And it is also true that in recent months it had become increasingly easy to guess the policy pitch from the names, and vice versa.

"LIBERALS SUPPORT CHINA POLICY," the banner of one recent ad read. Its burden was the un wisdom of adopting the "Two China" position, of granting diplomatic recognition to Communist China or of seating it in the United Nations. Fair enough, as far as most of the signers were concerned, and Senator Paul Douglas was at the head of the list.

But the following day, a far more exotic collection of names appeared under another ad headed "LET US ACT TOGETHER TO BRING PEACE TO VIETNAM." The signers included a member of the Bulgarian parliament, a Congolese policeman, an advocate of the Supreme Court in Nepal, and the mayor of Mostaganem, Algeria—not to mention Enrique Lister, the Communist commander of Spanish Civil War days, who was described in the ad as "General (*Spain*)."

Who had got this extraordinary crew together? The ad itself didn't say. The appeal, it announced, had been launched to "commemorate the 12th anniversary of the 1954 Geneva Agreements," and the mes-

sage was a stern demand that the United States stop its bombing in the North, withdraw its troops from the South, and observe the Geneva accords, including the provision for "free national elections." To whom had the appeal been sent for signing? To "a limited number of representative people in various countries," the message declared.

"Representative" is not exactly the word we would have used. All the old war-horses from the World Council of Peace were there, the organizers of the ancient Stockholm Appeal, and winners of the Stalin Peace Prize, which since has been renamed. Apparently they are as durable in body as in soul. Mme. Isabelle Blume, for instance (to whose address in Brussels the ad directed that further contributions be sent), is the septuagenarian activist who is "Co-ordinating President, WCP Presidential Committee," and whose lively history includes winning the Stalin Peace Prize, election as a Socialist deputy to the Belgian Chamber of Representatives, and subsequent expulsion from the Belgian Socialist Party for Communist activities.

What are we to make of all this? Optimistic conclusions do not spring readily to mind, but with a certain amount of mental exertion it is possible to discern a ray of light. It is, after all, useful to know that a man such as Friedrich Ebert is a passionate advocate of "free national elections." He is the mayor of East Berlin.

The Rainodds-makers

We have been bothered lately by those seemingly precise weather predictions that have begun to turn up in forecasts all over the country and go something like this: "There is a forty per cent chance of precipitation." We have long deplored the trend to dress up all sorts of hunches in the language of mathematics, but the question that bothers us specifically is: If there is a forty per cent chance of precipitation, what is the forty per cent a per cent *of*? Who calculates the odds—and how?

We put the question to officialdom at the Weather Bureau recently, and we are now prepared

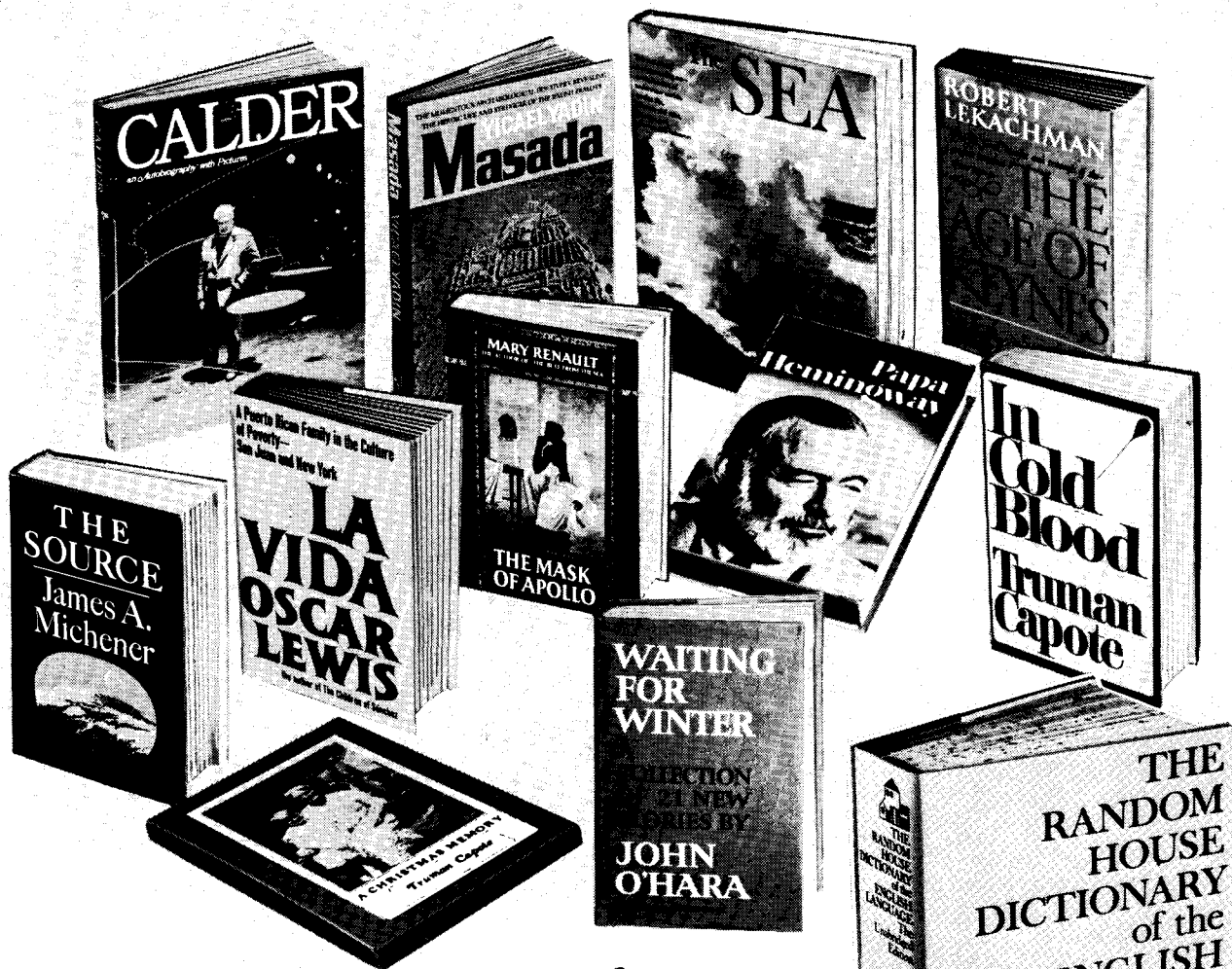
to share our insights with our readers who, we calculate, while thirty per cent grateful for this information, will probably be seventy per cent depressed by it, since our own grasp of it is ninety-one per cent nonexistent.

We had no trouble with the self-evident statements. "The use of probability," as our high-level source put it at the outset, "is designed to give an estimate of the amount of uncertainty." Fair enough—but forty per cent of *what*? It was first pointed out that forecasting cannot be one hundred per cent accurate because of variations in a given locale. "A shower will fall someplace, and yet there will be no shower at another place nearby." The problem for forecasters is how to express this in some sort of odds. When we inquired whether the forty per cent referred to that part of the area which would get wet, we were told it certainly did not.

We made a second pass at the problem: was a computer involved? Yes, a computer made a prediction on the basis of quantities of data. But the computer's prediction was then forwarded to a human forecaster in the field. The computer might prophesy rain, for example, but the man might know something the computer didn't and so would make his own calculation. We felt for a moment as if we were getting near the truth: the human forecaster made a guess in percentages about the computer's accuracy.

That, however, was not quite it. When we inquired what the forecaster's prediction about the computer's prediction *was* based upon, we were told "his professional training." It then developed that if a forecaster warned of a seventy per cent chance of rain for ten days, seven of those ten forecasts had better be followed by rain. As we tried to digest this bit of information, we were further informed, "that is not to say which seven, of course."

Weather-watchers who can make sense of the above information are welcome to it. We would advise others—depending upon whether they are planning a trip or enduring the effects of a drought—to get down on their knees and pray for the climate of their choice.



Truman Capote

A CHRISTMAS MEMORY. A beautiful gift edition of his bittersweet story about a long-ago Christmas in the deep South that he spent with his best friend—a beloved spinster cousin. \$5.00, boxed. Limited, signed edition, \$10

Oscar Lewis

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CALDER

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Mary Renault

THE MASK OF APOLLO. A masterful new novel by the author of *The King Must Die*—set in decadent Syracuse in the 4th century B.C. A Book-of-the-Month Club selection. A Pantheon book. \$5.95

James A. Michener

THE SOURCE. "Marks a new highpoint in Michener's career as a popular novelist." —JOHN BARKHAM, *Saturday Review Syndicate*. A top fiction bestseller for more than a year. \$7.95



Gift suggestions from Random House

John O'Hara

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Yigael Yadin

MASADA. An exciting archeological expedition to the ancient desert fortress where a heroic band of Jewish defenders held off the power of Rome. Over 200 photos, half in color. 7½"x10". \$12.95

THE AGE OF KEYNES

By ROBERT LEKACHMAN. "For the non-professional reader to get a good view of John Maynard Keynes and his ideas has not been easy. . . . This book will be greatly welcomed." —JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH, front page, *N.Y. Times Book Review*. \$6.00

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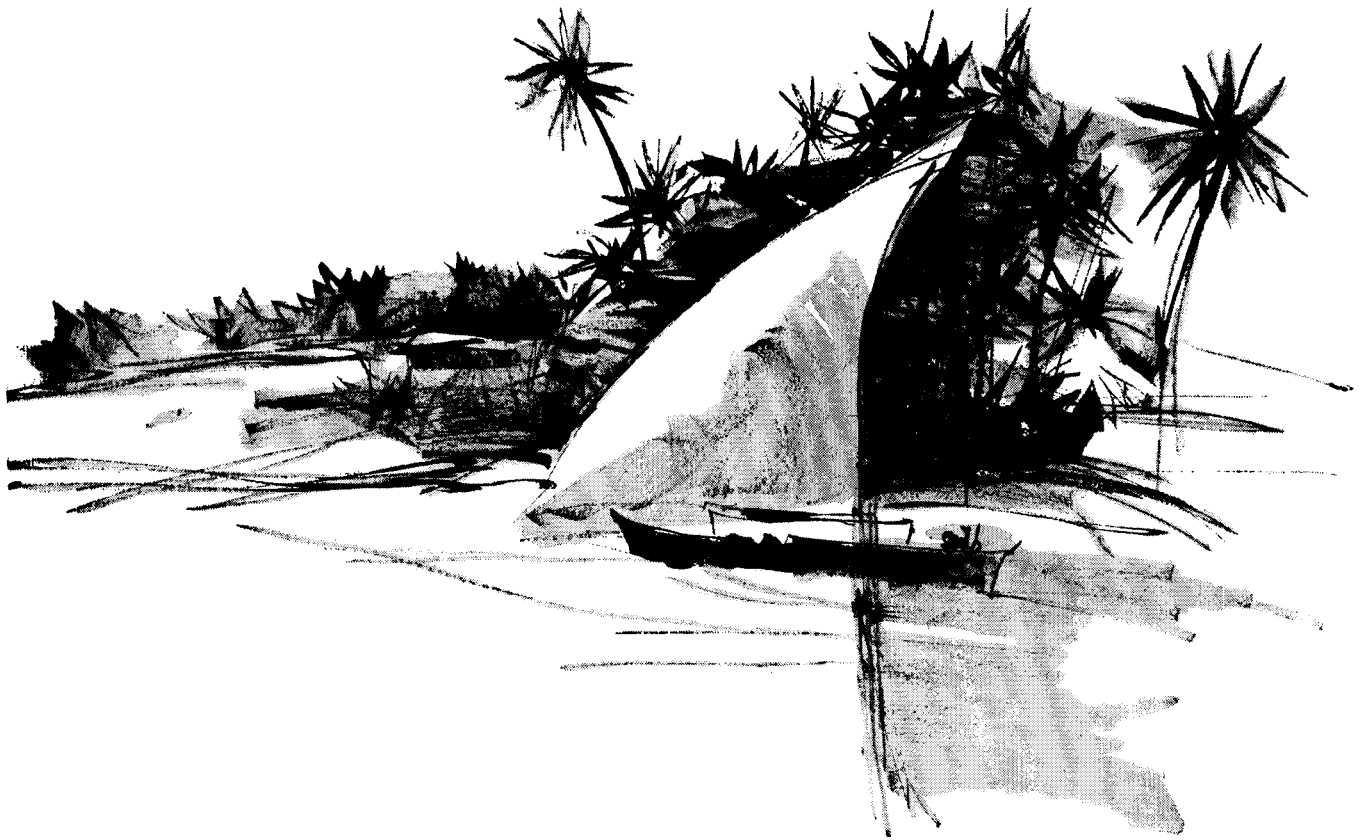
Truman Capote

IN COLD BLOOD. "The best documentary account of an American crime ever written." —F. W. DUPEE, *N.Y. Review of Books*. \$5.95

THE SEA

By ROBERT C. MILLER. A marine biologist—writing with clarity, grace, and wit—describes the teeming, mysterious life within the sea . . . its winds, currents, tides, and amazing geological formations . . . and man's immemorial relationship to it. 243 illustrations, 83 in color. 8½"x11". \$12.95 until 12/31/66; \$15 after.

Now at your bookstore **RANDOM HOUSE**



East of Suez Up for Grabs

JULIAN AMERY

CAN Britain afford to keep troops East of Suez? The debate on this question still rages at Westminster, in Whitehall, and in the City.

Let us consider it in the harsh economic terms in which it has been put. This year, Britain will spend some \$5.6 billion on defense. It is no secret that this budget is not enough to equip the armed forces adequately to meet the commitments the British government has accepted. To do the job properly, Britain would have to spend about \$840 million more a year. It was, indeed, on this issue that Naval Minister Christopher Mayhew and First Sea Lord Admiral Sir David Luce resigned.

But if, as Mayhew also pointed out, Britain were to withdraw from

all commitments outside Europe, very great savings could be made. Bases and staging posts could be closed down. The size of the forces could be cut by at least a third. Their equipment and structure could be greatly simplified. Around \$420 million of foreign exchange could be saved each year. A strategy limited to the defense of the British Isles and to membership in NATO should not cost more than \$4.2 billion a year. It might well cost less.

The economic argument for withdrawal is thus very attractive to a country facing a tough economic crisis and to a government reluctant to make further cuts in consumption or social reform. But let us look at it in greater depth.

Could Britain's vital interests be safeguarded simply by maintaining a British deterrent force and a con-

tribution to NATO? In both World Wars, Britain was brought nearest to defeat not by the German Army or Air Force but by the U-boats. The British economy is wholly dependent on the maintenance of communications with the outside world. It is quite unlike the largely self-contained economies of the United States, the Soviet Union, or even the main industrial countries of Western Europe. There can be no "Fortress Britain" in peace or in war.

HALF of all Britain consumes—food, raw materials, manufactured goods—comes from overseas. Half of all Britain makes is sold overseas. Besides this visible trade, there is a vast invisible trade: the proceeds of shipping, aviation, banking, insurance, consultancies, licenses, agencies, and above all over-