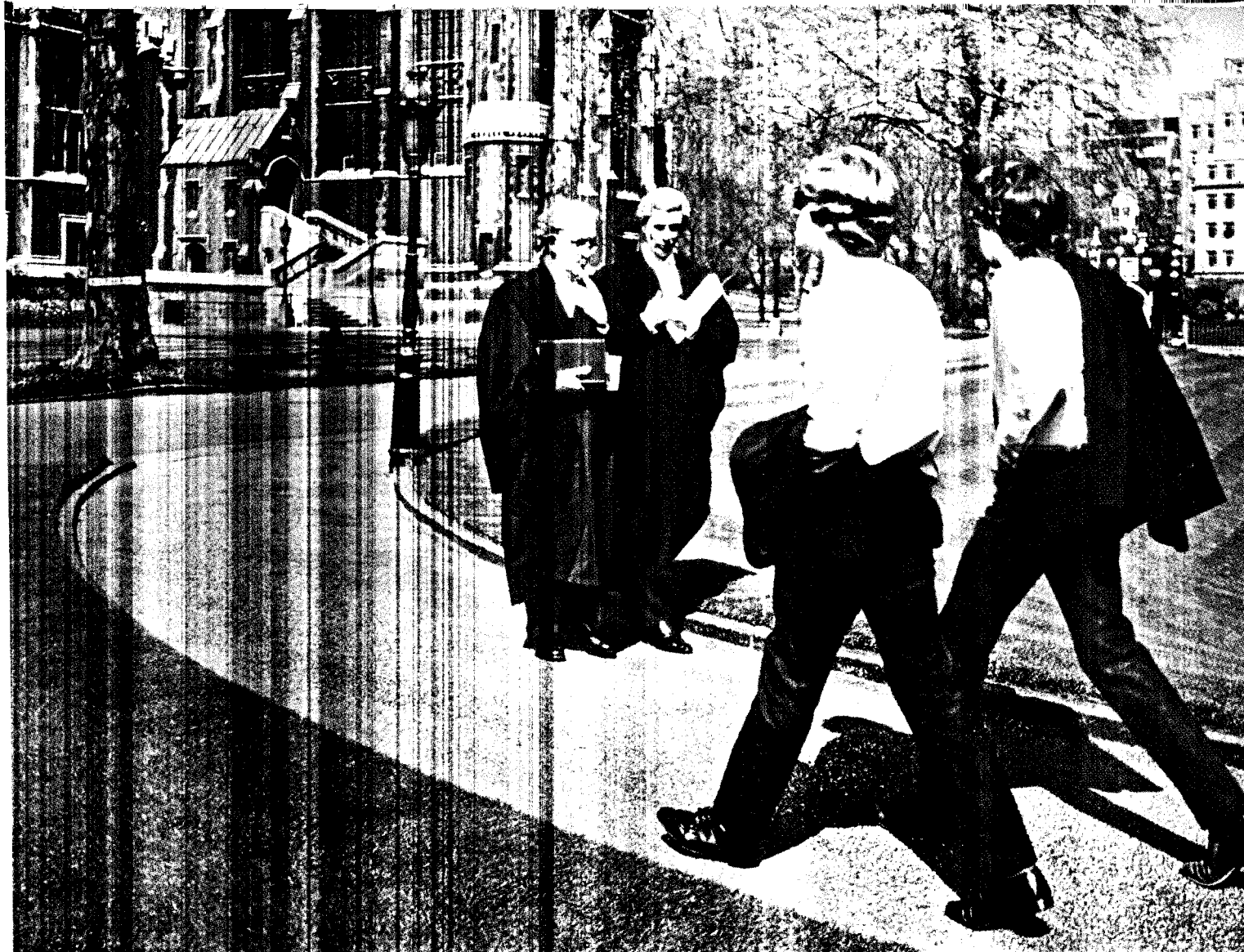




By Fernando Krahn



Not just for longhairs

Come to Britain—ancient & mod

If our legal bigwigs look stuffy to you, British law may surprise you.

"Live and let swing," seems to be the motto. So gambling clubs are legal in Britain. And off-track betting, too. (Bookmakers are called "Turf Accountants." You'll see their offices everywhere.)

Odd that the laws that allow all this were made in some of Britain's most time-hallowed halls.

This picture, for instance, shows New Square, which was new in the 17th century. (Just out of the picture is the Old Hall, built the year that Columbus sailed for America.)

Around the corner is Dickens' Old Curiosity Shop, where bits and pieces of all time lie jumbled together.

All of Britain, in fact, seems a sort of Old Curiosity Shop, with a New Curiosity Boutique attached. Legal

bigwigs, pop singers flipping *their* wigs, the armor that made history, the gear that makes fashion. For here, all the centuries live at once, the old as lively as the new.

Start to plan your trip now. See a travel agent. Or send the coupon for a free 52-page picture guide, "Vacations in Britain," and see what you've been missing.

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This doctor wants to make
all the latest medical knowledge available
to every doctor everywhere.

What's he doing at IBM?

Doctors are swamped. There are more patients knocking on the door than ever before. On top of this, new advances in medicine continue to pile more homework on the already overworked M.D.

Keeping up is a serious problem.

It's a problem IBM's Dr. Frederick J. Moore is trying to help solve at a quiet laboratory in rural New York State. He is experimenting with an idea he calls a Clinical Decision Support System.

Roughly, here's how it would operate. The latest information about ailments and their remedies would be stored in a central computer. Your doctor's office, even hospital rooms, would be wired into the computer. Using a portable terminal no bigger than a briefcase with a keyboard and display screen, the doctor could get the information he wanted by simply plugging into the circuit.

With the latest in medicine at the doctor's fingertips, combined with his judgment and experience, he could make his diagnosis in the shortest possible time.

Doctors have a difficult time keeping in mind everything they must consider. There's so much to know today. And it's true in every field. IBM's business is to help solve this problem—give you the facts you need in time for decision.



Youthful chef for the outdoor set now cooks up some answers for GM's Frigidaire



Dawn was breaking over Buckeye Lake in the summer of 1920. Over a campfire the tantalizing aroma of breakfast was in the air. And breakfast was the responsibility of young Lawrence Howdyshell, top cook in the troop.

It was at Buckeye Lake that "Howdy" developed his talent for cooking that paid off in later years when he became a range and oven-

tester at the Frigidaire Division of General Motors in Dayton, Ohio.

Now, "Howdy" bakes cakes and broils steaks—he cooks both fast and slow, with heats high and low, to test the performance of Frigidaire ovens and ranges. "Howdy" is one of the housewife's representatives at the factory, searching for anything that might cause complaints in the kitchen.

He started with Frigidaire in 1931 as an inspector of refrigerators, but for the past 13 years has devoted full time to testing ranges.

"Howdy" and men like him play an important part in the development of Frigidaire ranges. We're glad he's cooking for Frigidaire. His experiments in the test kitchens can make any housewife a better cook.

General Motors is people making better things for you.



called, after its symbol, the Black Panther Party). Their defeat, and the defeat of other Negroes in counties with Negro majorities, pointed as much to the difficulty of welding the various elements in the Negro communities into a race-related political unit as to the pervasiveness of white domination.

The Vote That Swings

There were, of course, some notably successful Negro candidacies in the Black Belt, a crescent of black soil that lies across the South's mid-section from Virginia to Texas and which was the heart of the old slave-owning plantation country, as well as in other counties where the Negro population is heavy. In Macon County, Alabama, a thirty-two-year-old former postal worker, Lucius Amerson, defeated two white candidates to become the first Negro sheriff in the South. (Negro victories in Macon County, home of Tuskegee Institute, were not new. A coalition of Negroes and whites had won out in earlier elections against the concept of an all-Negro slate.) In Mississippi, a Negro was elected to the school board of rural Jefferson County—the first to win a county office since Reconstruction. In Georgia, Negroes were elected as county commissioners in three rural counties. And Negro officeholders in the South now number eleven legislators in Georgia (an increase of one), six in Tennessee (an increase of five), and three in Texas (the first in this century).

More important, however, is the demonstration that Negro votes can influence the course of the states themselves, and their representation in Washington. In South Carolina, where the Voter Education Project estimated that a hundred thousand Negroes voted overwhelmingly Democratic, Ernest F. Hollings, who is moderate to liberal by South Carolina standards, defeated his Republican opponent by fifteen thousand votes for a Senate seat. Governor Robert E. McNair, who has a similar political position, won re-election by seventy-one thousand votes; Negro votes most likely accounted for more than that margin. Thus, in a state that voted for Barry Goldwater for President in 1964, the new strength of the Negro vote became the de-

termining factor in establishing the tone of the state's leadership for the immediate future.

A long-time opponent of Negro registration, the *News and Courier* of Charleston, attributed the election results to Negroes being "herded to the polls by bosses." It urged Negroes "not to permit themselves to be crammed into a Democratic bag." They should, it suggested, invite both parties to seek their votes.

The *News and Courier's* imputation of blind Democratic loyalty to Negro voters seems as farfetched as many other of its warnings about Negro voting over the years. In most places in the South, Negro political leaders had already sought to establish a swing vote. Last November, Negroes withheld support from two Southern Democratic candidates for governor because of their racist positions. In Arkansas, Republican Winthrop Rockefeller won by about forty-five thousand votes; of the between eighty and ninety thousand Negroes who voted, about ninety per cent voted for him. In Georgia, an analysis by the Voter Education Project concluded, about half of the Negroes who voted chose the right-wing Republican candidate, Howard H. Callaway, in preference to the out-and-out segregationist Lester Maddox, and about half wrote in the name of liberal former Governor Ellis Arnall. In Alabama, the empty choice between Mrs. Lurleen Wallace and Republican James D. Martin in the governor's race discouraged many Negroes from voting at all. In Tennessee, Republican Howard Baker appealed to Negroes for support in his race against Frank Clement for the Senate, and he succeeded in splitting away a substantial part of Clement's Negro support.

All of this establishes that Southern Negroes are not now wedded to either party. In fact, it is for this very reason that they now may have

a powerful impact in constituencies where they are not a majority. And inasmuch as they are moored to neither party, the establishment of the two-party system undoubtedly will work ultimately to their advantage.

The Goldwater phenomenon in the South now seems, even more than it did in 1964, to have added little to the development of the two-party system. Though Senator Goldwater won a majority of the white votes in nine or ten Southern states, he carried only five; Negro votes prevented him from winning the others. He carried no Southern states in which at least forty-five per cent of eligible Negroes were registered but carried all of those where less than that percentage was registered. Perhaps Tennessee is a model of the future. There, 71.7 per cent of the age-eligible Negroes are on the rolls, a normal percentage for the nation as a whole. In the Tennessee primary and general elections of 1966, race was not an overt issue, and candidates of all persuasions vied openly for Negro votes. The real issues, which historically in the South have been economic and cultural, were allowed to come into the light a little.

Help from Washington

Obviously much of the effectiveness of the new freedom given by voting-rights legislation depends on enforcement from Washington. So far, the record has been spotty. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 eliminated qualification tests, including literacy tests, in states or counties that used them as of November 1, 1964, and had less than fifty per cent of the people registered or voting. It also provided that Federal examiners might be sent into any such states and accept applications to register; it made obstruction of registration and voting a Federal offense. A year after the law went into effect in August, 1965, only one action had been brought under the criminal provisions, plus four injunction suits.

Federal examiners have concentrated on processing Negro voter applications. To date, they have been sent for this purpose into forty-two counties. None of them have been sent, however, into Georgia or



Virginia or the North Carolina counties that come under the law. Neither Virginia nor Georgia has yet achieved fifty per cent of potential Negro registration, and both have areas considered difficult for Negro registration.

There has been general and steady criticism among Southern Negro leaders of the fact that relatively few counties have had Federal examiners. "The results of the 1966 elections plainly indicate the strength and influence of the Negro vote in the South," said Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., director of the Voter Education Project. "Yet this strength is far from what it ought to be. Only about half of the Negroes of voting age are registered in the South, whereas seventy per cent of the white adults are registered to vote. This is a gap that must be closed if Negroes are to have a fair share of the voice in Southern politics. . . . the registration increases of the past year demonstrate the need for more Federal examiners."

THIS NEED is borne out by the fact that the three states that have had the greatest increase in Negro voter registration since the law went into effect—Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana—received most of the examiners. Mississippi Negro registration increased from seven per cent of potential in November, 1964, to 32.9 per cent by the summer of 1966. Where examiners were absent, the increase was small, as in Georgia, which increased from 43.8 per cent to only 47.2 per cent during the same period. To be sure, part of the difficulty in Georgia and the other states as they near registration of fifty per cent of eligible Negroes is that of encouraging the apathetic holdouts to make the effort, but the lack of examiners is surely a factor. A study last spring by the Voter Education Project showed that Federal examiners rank ahead of organized drives in getting registration results.

The greater part of voter registration has been and is still being done by local organizations. The role of the civil-rights groups has been to encourage local affiliates, or, as in the 1962-1964 work of SNCC and CORE, to send workers into the toughest areas to encourage registration and development of local



organizations. Terrorism and economic intimidation continue in many parts of the South. The defeat of the jury-reform amendment and specific prohibitions against terrorism in the 1966 civil-rights bill was a major disappointment to Negroes. Apathy as well as fear feeds on such failures.

The wonder is that there is as much faith left as there seems to be. Despite gloominess among the sophisticated and the blandishments of black power, the work of registration and the development of conventional political organization go on. In the headiest days of the movement's progress, faith in the power of the vote had an ecstatic quality. The entry of the movement into traditional politics has brought a more resilient and realistic kind of faith that stands up to the knowledge that getting the vote will not change everything overnight.

Hard-Learned Lessons

All along, the most acute observers have said that the great strength of the Negro movement in the South was basically not political but moral, and that Negroes are not likely to emerge possessed of better or worse political skills than whites. What they have acquired is a deep understanding of a pervasive moral dilemma of the nation, and their chief political stands have been to insist that some things (such as the Bill of Rights) cannot be compromised.

One thing that has been changing rapidly and very much for the better is the working political relationship

between the Negroes and white moderates and liberals in the South. Traditionally, such whites have had a peculiar political style; because they were such a tiny minority, it amounted to seeking progressive ends without letting the racist majorities know what they were up to. Rather than risk increasing racial tensions, they usually avoided strong stands on direct issues. Negroes ended this subterfuge by taking their own strong stand. Now their numbers as voters and potential voters offer white liberals the opportunity to join in the development of political power.

Perhaps the hardest lesson these Negro Southerners have yet to teach others is that some principles are worth losing for, in the hope that eventually they will prevail. There are indications that the lesson is being learned; possibly, for instance, in the refusal of Congressman Charles Weltner of Georgia to run for reelection because it meant backing Lester Maddox, and in the overt bid of Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers for Negro support in his race for governor against the Wallaces.

The hopeful aspects of the Southern political situation, indeed, are not to be counted in the victories and defeats during the first year of fuller Negro voting strength. They are to be found in the fact that in 1966, Negroes and whites were moving toward a working political opposition to the forces of racism in every Southern state. This was not true ten years ago, or even two.

Malaysia

After Confrontation

DENIS WARNER

KUALA LUMPUR
“WELCOME, Mr. President, to the Land of Natural Rubber,” read a sign stretching across the highway outside the Kuala Lumpur airport the day President Johnson arrived here last fall. A thousand words could scarcely have said more. Without ado, the President was plunged into the heart of the Malaysian matter: its need for stable prices for natural rubber and its fears about excessive reliance on synthetics by the United States. In view of the still fragile nature of the Malaysian economy and its dependence on world prices for tin as well as rubber, the fears are justified. Since the beginning of 1966, the price of rubber has dropped from about twenty-three cents to twenty-one cents a pound and tin has gone from \$233 to \$203 a picul (133.3 pounds)—enough to cause anxiety in a country with only two eggs in its economic basket and both of them subject to rough handling in the fluctuating international commodities market.

As the President could see for himself when he drove into the clean, prosperous, and rapidly expanding capital, no one could accuse Malaysia of having failed to tend its garden. The roads are good. The trains run on time. In fact, the entire Malay Peninsula has an air of prosperity and progress that is rivaled nowhere in Southeast Asia. It is in the interests of both Malaysia and the United States to keep it that way. Close on the heels of the President came Eugene Black, his adviser on Southeast Asian economic and social affairs. No sooner did he arrive than he all but promised U.S. aid in port development, road construction, and education. Without doubt, this is simply the fore-runner of more aid to come.

A Knot in the Old Tie

Eighteen months ago Malaysia was an area of exclusively British pa-

tronage. London and Kuala Lumpur were not merely allies in resisting Indonesian attempts to crush Malaysia; British investment and aid, both military and economic, made for the closest of post-colonial relationships. Since then, that relationship has undergone some subtle changes and others not so subtle.

The feud between Malaysia and its former state of Singapore has spilled over to include Britain, and there are deep Malay suspicions that the British Foreign Office prefers the aggressive socialism of Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew to the conservatism of Malaysia's Tengku Abdul Rahman. Britain's refusal last year to provide \$216 million in military grants and its reluctance to continue to help economically until Malaysia and Singapore come to economic terms were regarded in Kuala Lumpur as unwarranted and unfriendly pressures. The people here find it difficult to believe that Britain is genuinely concerned to see a common defense agreement worked out between Singapore and Malaysia and to help Singapore find an outlet for the industrial skills of its now circumscribed and dangerously expanding Chinese population.

Indeed, though the British appear to have had the best of motives, they have gone about things in the worst possible way. “Anglo-Malaysia relations are not proving that aid-with-strings is wrong so much as they are underlining the old Afro-Asian story that badly chosen strings, which fail to take account of local susceptibilities, are likely to be counter-productive and to create the instability that aid is meant to prevent,” wrote the influential *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

To Kuala Lumpur, Britain also looks like an agent provocateur in the politically troubled East Malaysian state of Sarawak. Britons working in the government there have been unceremoniously bundled out,

and a British diplomat in Sarawak's capital of Kuching was accused of interfering in Malaysia's domestic affairs.

The disenchantment with Britain has not resulted in any official turning away from the West in general. On the contrary, the Johnson visit and the accompanying hopes of new economic aid have broadened Kuala Lumpur's horizons. It has become more aware than ever of the U.S. role in Southeast Asia. Vietnam used to seem remote, divorced from the problems besetting Malaysia, and therefore of no great concern. Today the Vietnam war is recognized to be of vital importance to the security of Malaysia itself.

A government White Paper published in Kuala Lumpur a few days before President Johnson's visit was notable not merely for its warning that the Malayan Communist Party had again become a threat but also for its acknowledgment of the importance of the U.S. role in Vietnam. “South Vietnam is the testing ground for Mao Tse-tung's theories of ‘people's war’ and ‘wars of national liberation,’ and victory for the Vietcong will vindicate Peking's advocacy of aggression and revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin America,” declared Dr. Ismail, the Minister of Home Affairs and Justice, in a foreword to the White Paper. “It is the gallant struggle of the South Vietnamese people and their government, helped by the American military presence in South Vietnam, which stands heroically in the way of Peking's evil aspirations.”

Parts Against the Whole

No Malaysian troops are in Vietnam and probably none will be sent there, but the Malaysian political commitment has not escaped Peking's attention. It will certainly be a factor as the young Federation faces the tests ahead of it, including those stemming from Malaysia's incautious expulsion of Singapore from the Federation in August, 1965. Economic and regional problems have been exacerbated by the separation. This is true also of the much more inflammable problems of race and language.

In its original form, Malaysia was neatly contrived to balance the races and the regions. Sabah and Sarawak,