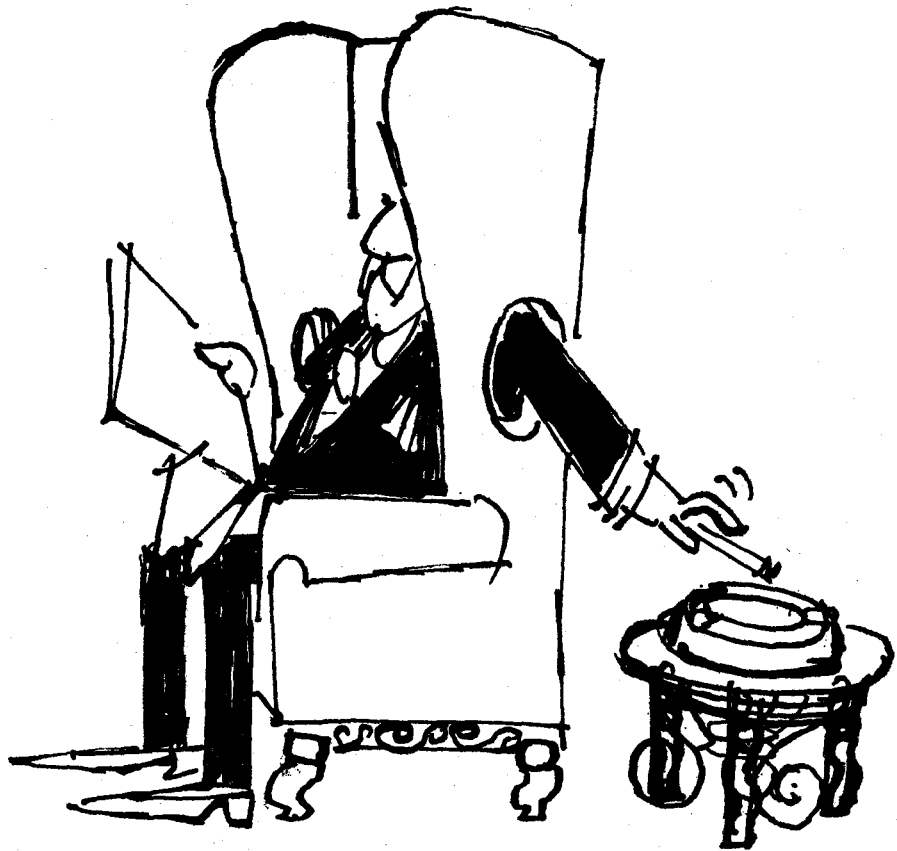


other words, where private financing could do the job just as well or better. Similarly, the Truman health services plan carried governmental involvement in medical and hospital services far beyond what was necessary to deal with those specific areas, such as old age, where the job apparently could not be done by private insurance.

A good example of the Lincoln formula applied to this specific problem is the Javits bill on hospital and medical care for the aged. His bill is based upon a study and recommendations by a private nonpartisan group of citizens, under the chairmanship of Arthur Flemming, former Republican Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, including another former Republican Secretary of HEW, Marion Folsom, a former Republican Under Secretary of Labor, and a number of distinguished representatives of the medical profession, insurance, and other interested groups. The distinctive feature of the bill is that, following the Lincoln formula, it clearly assigns not only the governmental position of the task—Social Security provision of hospital and other institutional costs for the aged—but also the task of the private sector: provision for the remainder of the job, including surgical and general medical costs, through a consortium of private insurers authorized by law and aided by special tax, antitrust, and other legislative adjustments. Because of this feature, the bill effectively answers the principal argument against previous bills—that is, the argument that the provision of Social Security hospital benefits is only an entering wedge, to be followed by complete governmental takeover of medical, surgical, and other insurance for retired persons. Since the Javits bill, once and for all, through legislation earmarks the entire field exclusive of hospital and institutional benefits for the private sector, there is no further unclaimed territory to be occupied by future federal encroachment. This piece of legislation, because it deals with one of the potentially most important issues of 1964, is something that any Republican candidate could proudly hold forth as a complete and not merely piecemeal approach to the health needs of retired persons.

Finally, in addition to such matters of principle as these and their concrete expression in sound action proposals, the Republicans have an intangible but enormous possible advantage in their opportunity to convince the American people that they are better qualified to be entrusted with the Presidency as a matter of sheer competence in government. This factor has been operative in Great Britain for a long time and helps to account for the fact that the Conservative Party seems to be in office



most of the time in a country living under policies that strike Americans as anything but conservative. Americans are far too inclined to judge Presidents by some sort of box score on their success in driving legislative programs through Congress. This tends to obscure the most direct Presidential responsibility, which is to carry on the international relations and executive operations of the United States. In the international function, the responsibility is entirely the President's, except at a few points where ratification or legislation is needed. If this job is badly done, the President can-

not shift the blame to Congress—as he can always try to do if Congress blocks his legislative program. The same can be said about the President's primary responsibility for administering the vast executive branch of government, with its multifarious operating agencies.

A reputation as the party that can be depended upon to carry on these crucial international relations and wide-ranging governmental operations at home with the highest standards of competence and rectitude can be an important if not decisive element in the 1964 Presidential campaign.

## Your Literary I. Q.

Conducted by John T. Winterich

### CAREER WOMEN REMINISCE

American women who have pursued a variety of callings have frequently set down accounts of their careers for the delectation of their fellow-citizens of both sexes. The group below has been assembled by Helen Nitzsche of Maquoketa, Iowa, who asks you to assign the right autobiographies to the right autobiographers. Identifications are made on page 41.

- |                       |                                     |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Lilly Daché        | ( ) <i>My Lord, What a Morning!</i> |
| 2. Hedda Hopper       | ( ) <i>Talking through My Hats</i>  |
| 3. Janet Scudder      | ( ) <i>Glow of Candlelight</i>      |
| 4. Mary Richmond      | ( ) <i>From Under My Hat</i>        |
| 5. Mary Sullivan      | ( ) <i>Unending Journey</i>         |
| 6. Theresa Helburn    | ( ) <i>Modeling My Life</i>         |
| 7. Patricia Murphy    | ( ) <i>My Crystal Ball</i>          |
| 8. Marion Anderson    | ( ) <i>A Wayward Quest</i>          |
| 9. Elizabeth Wallace  | ( ) <i>My Double Life</i>           |
| 10. Elisabeth Marbury | ( ) <i>The Long View</i>            |

# Richmond's Quiet Revolution

By VIRGINIUS DABNEY, *editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch.*

**R**ICHMOND, the ancient capital of the Confederacy, has given striking evidence that legal, non-violent methods are the most effective, lasting way for the Negroes of the United States to win rights and opportunities long denied them.

Steady pressure in the courts and other firm yet peaceful means have won for the colored citizens of Richmond a whole series of victories, the majority of them well in advance of the recent rash of mob demonstrations.

Since Richmond is not given to tooting its own horn—certain prevailing impressions to the contrary notwithstanding—the rest of the country is not aware of what has been accomplished in building better racial attitudes in that supposed citadel of conservatism.

The liberal *Washington Post* devoted almost a full page on July 29, 1962, to an article by a staff reporter, Robert A. Baker, bearing the eight-column headline "Richmond Quietly Leads Way in Race Relations." Baker stated, after an exhaustive survey of the subject, that "the progress . . . made in desegregation and non-discrimination in Richmond is one of the exciting racial stories in the South."

He went on to declare that "the city has adopted a fair employment policy in municipal jobs unique in the South," and that "perhaps nowhere else in the country, certainly nowhere else in the South, do Negroes use their vote with more sophistication."

As a result of these and other advances achieved in Richmond without uproar or fanfare, race relations there are far more amicable than they are in other places on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line. The race hatreds, the bitter tensions that exist in so many other cities are nowhere to be seen.

How did this come about? Is there a magic formula that Richmond has been able to use in adjusting more readily to the new dispensation?

There is hardly a magic formula, but for one thing, Richmond has always had satisfactory race relations. Down the years, there has been good feeling and a minimum of roughneck interracial behavior on both sides. And, given the relative cordiality that has generally prevailed and the greater degree of

communication, the city's white leaders were a bit earlier than some in realizing that the times called for greater opportunities and better treatment for colored citizens. They saw, too, that certain court decisions had been handed down, that others were on the way, and that the best long-term results would be obtained if a few reasonable concessions were made voluntarily, rather than under compulsion.

A second major reason for the quiet progress that has taken place is to be found in the fact that no doubt has ever existed that law and order would be preserved in Richmond. The city's exceptionally able and levelheaded police leadership has given both whites and Negroes to understand that the legal rights of everyone would be protected but that, at the same time, everyone would have to obey the law. When Negro pickets have gone into action peaceably in front of department stores and motion picture theaters in recent years, they have been protected by the police from possible molestation by white hoodlums, as long as they complied with city ordinances.

Another factor in Richmond's calm interracial situation is the large number of Negro voters. Use of the ballot by colored citizens has been uninhibited for decades. For several years there have been voting precincts whose officials are all white, others whose officials are both white and colored, and still others that are staffed by all-colored personnel.

**S**OME 14,000 Negro citizens are qualified to vote in Richmond today, or about one-third as many as the qualified whites. A Negro drive is under way to raise the figure to 20,000, or almost half the white total. In proportion to the number in both races who have met the franchise requirements, the Negroes vote more regularly than the whites. Already they hold the balance of power in city elections, and for some time they have been responsible for putting several members of the all-white nine-man Council into office. In the voting last November, they played a major role in the election of the first two Republicans chosen for the Virginia Legislature from Richmond since Reconstruction.

The Negroes of Richmond appear to feel, and rightly, that the potency they

are able to wield through the ballot box will stand them in much greater stead for the future than sending mobs into the streets.

Significant, too, is the fact that Richmond's white "power structure" is decidedly forward-looking and realistically aware that we are living in changing times. Whereas the view is held in certain quarters that an atavistic stuffiness and propensity for gazing on past glories prevails in this historic city, whose streets have been trod by George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall and Robert E. Lee, the facts are otherwise. Richmond's eyes are on the present and future.

**I**T would not, however, be accurate to suggest that the leading bankers and businessmen, industrialists and professional men of Virginia's capital city welcome every aspect of the new era of race relations. By and large, they are strongly opposed to wholesale integration of the races. At the same time, they have come to realize that certain changes are overdue. Furthermore, they believe in compliance with court orders, when all appeals from such orders have been exhausted. These leading citizens have helped notably to direct local race relations into orderly and constructive channels.

A white banker was chairman of the biracial commission that played an important part in working out a solution when the two principal department stores were picketed several years ago. Another white banker and a colored banker are co-chairmen of the biracial commission that has succeeded the earlier one. The first of the two commissions went out of existence when the department store crisis was surmounted.

The sane and reasonable character of Richmond's Negro leadership is another vital factor in putting the city in the interracial van among Southern centers of population. The faculty and students of Virginia Union University, a Negro institution, have been influential in this regard, as have a number of prominent colored business and professional men. Richmond has long been recognized as one of the country's chief centers of Negro business, and substantial banking and insurance companies have their principal offices in the city. The orderly picketing in Richmond can be attributed in part to the leadership of the older heads in the colored community, as well as to the relative moderation of the colored undergraduates.

Top members of the Negro community are heading the newly formed Richmond Improvement Coordinating Council. This apparently unique organization seeks wider opportunities for colored men and women, while stress-