

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION  
FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE

**Board of Directors**

CHAUNCEY D. LEAKE, *Retiring President, Chairman*  
THOMAS PARK, *President*  
PAUL M. GROSS, *President Elect*  
HARRISON BROWN DON K. PRICE  
HENRY EYRING ALFRED S. ROMER  
H. BENTLEY GLASS WILLIAM W. RUBEN  
MARGARET MEAD ALAN T. WATERMAN  
PAUL A. SCHERER, *Treasurer*  
DAEL WOLFLE, *Executive Officer*

**Editorial Board**

KONRAD B. KRAUSKOPF H. BURR STEINBACH  
EDWIN M. LERNER WILLIAM L. STRAUS, JR.  
PHILIP M. MORSE EDWARD L. TATUM

**Editorial Staff**

DAEL WOLFLE HANS NUSSBAUM  
*Publisher Business Manager*

GRAHAM DUSHANE  
*Editor*

JOSEPH TURNER ROBERT V. ORMES  
*Associate Editor Managing Editor*

ELLEN E. MURPHY, *Assistant Editor*

NANCY TEIMOURIAN, *Assistant to the Editor*  
*News:* HOWARD MARGOLIS, BETHSABE ASENJO  
*Book Reviews:* SARAH S. DEES

*Editorial Assistants:* NANCY S. HAMILTON, EDGAR  
C. RICH, BARBARA SUTHERLAND, CONRAD YUNG-  
KWAI

*Staff Assistants:* PATRICIA D. PADDOCK, LOIS W.  
WOODWORTH

**Advertising Staff**

EARL J. SCHERAGO, *Director*

BERNICE SCHWARTZ, *Production Manager*

*Sales:* RICHARD L. CHARLES (New York, N.Y.,  
PE 6-1858); C. RICHARD CALLIS (Old Bridge, N.J.,  
CL 4-3680); HERBERT BURKLUND (Chicago, Ill.,  
DE 7-4973); DILLENBECK-GALLAVAN (Los Angeles,  
Calif., DU 5-3991)

SCIENCE, now combined with THE SCIENTIFIC MONTHLY, is published each Friday by the American Association for the Advancement of Science at National Publishing Company, Washington, D.C. SCIENCE is indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*.

**Editorial correspondence** should be addressed to SCIENCE, 1515 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington 5, D.C. Manuscripts should be typed with double spacing and submitted in duplicate. The AAAS assumes no responsibility for the safety of manuscripts or for the opinions expressed by contributors. For detailed suggestions on the preparation of manuscripts, see *Science* 125, 16 (4 Jan. 1957).

**Advertising correspondence** should be addressed to SCIENCE, Room 740, 11 West 42 St., New York 36, N.Y.

**Change of address notification** should be sent to 1515 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington 5, D.C., 4 weeks in advance. If possible, furnish an address label from a recent issue. Give both old and new addresses, including zone numbers, if any.

**Annual subscriptions:** \$8.50; foreign postage, \$1.50; Canadian postage, 75¢. Single copies, 35¢. Cable address: Advancesci, Washington.

Copyright © 1961 by the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

## Equal but Separate

President Kennedy's program of federal aid to education, including a bill granting almost \$2.3 billion to the states over three years for public school construction or teachers' salaries or both, poses the problem of how many good things the Administration can do at one time. Were the bill to include a provision barring funds from schools practicing racial discrimination, federal aid to education could be used to help enforce the Supreme Court's desegregation decree of 1955. But the bill must first get through Congress, and since such a provision would effectively kill the bill, it has not been included. The number of good things that can be done at one time is limited, but the Administration's course of action does make a little work for its conscience and for the consciences of all persons who advocate both federal aid to education and racial integration.

One of the bitter truths about education is that opportunities are not equal for all students. Difference in level of income is a familiar source of inequality. Parents with the necessary money have the option of sending their children to private schools. They also have the option of choosing one public school over another by the simple expedient of moving to the school district served by the better school. At the college level, the student simply by attendance receives a special kind of subsidy, since tuition even at private colleges generally does not cover full costs to the institution. These examples of inequality in opportunity resulting from differences in income are not offered as an argument that we must accordingly suffer inequalities to result from differences in race, but simply as a reminder that we live in an imperfect world.

In an imperfect world, of course, the way to get things done is to force one's opponents to accept something about which they are unenthusiastic as the price for something about which they feel strongly. This procedure is sound enough, and it would be nice if federal aid to education could be made to carry a civil rights burden. Unfortunately, pragmatism cuts both ways, and in the present case it is those who favor both federal aid and integration who face an unpleasant choice. They must choose between no federal aid or federal aid with some of it going to segregated schools. The reason is simply that the liberal Southerners in Congress, whose votes the Administration needs, dislike civil rights more than they favor federal aid to education. In fact, an amendment barring assistance to segregated schools, to be introduced while the conservative Southerners tactfully wait outside, is one of the tactics to defeat the bill promised by its opponents.

The deficiencies in education in the United States are serious in the extreme. In the matter of public school construction alone, the U.S. Office of Education puts the need at around 140,000 new classrooms, with no expectation that the property tax, the present mainstay of school financing, can even begin to meet this need. In the alternatives of no federal aid or federal aid with some of it going to racially segregated schools, the choice must be for the first alternative. Desegregation in this context is a side issue. To say this, however, is not to deny that the issue of civil rights is equally important, but simply to recognize that it must be dealt with separately. And balm for governmental and private consciences is available in the form of a more vigorous pursuit of desegregation by other means.—J.T.