

# Editorial Page

## Making Haste Slowly

Some who speak out on the racial issue use the words "tokenism" and "gradualism" as if they were synonyms. They are not. The consequence of their misuse could be considerable misunderstanding.

The dictionary defines token as something which serves as a "mere sign or sample of the real thing." Tokenism obviously describes a policy or practice limited to token moves.

On the other hand, gradualism is defined as the "doctrine of proceeding by gradual degrees" toward a particular end.

Tokenism plainly can be quite static, a single gesture or two. Gradualism unmistakably implies steady, fluid movement.

A good many militant white and Negro advocates of desegregation are saying things like: "The gradualism of token effort is not good enough." The conflict in terms is self-evident.

It is a risky misuse, for most of history is written in gradual steps. Evolution in society is the rule. Revolution, explosive or otherwise, is the rare exception.

Gradual change is going on all the time, the pace varying according to many circumstances. Revolution is likely only when change is impeded severely for a long, long time.

Sometimes, when developing roadblocks are suddenly removed, the pace of change may be greatly speeded for a while in a kind of "catchup" effort. That may be as close to

a "peaceful revolution" as we ever observe. But to argue against gradualism as a general proposition is to contest against the natural processes of an orderly society.

There is hardly anything more horrible in modern industrial history than the now discarded practice of child labor. Yet it took many decades of painful effort to get laws on the books here and in Europe banning it. The story is the same in countless realms of endeavor through the long course of history.

Tokenism is something else. Any development which qualifies as mere sign or symbol can serve, it seems clear, to provide the look but not the substance of change. It is at once a first and final step.

In whatever field, tokenism is never satisfying except to those who do not want change. Against tokenism the same pressures that beat against total resistance are felt.

Since gradualism is pleasing neither to the total resisters nor to the militant "changers," it hardly offers "happy" solutions. But through its processes most of the world's work gets done.

This strange, fumbling, halting kind of movement keeps society in a curious yet effective equilibrium. It is the only good cement we have in a world that otherwise would be ripped apart by its conflicts.

No responsible leader should deplore gradualism except in the direst extremity of social stagnation. That we do not have in 1963.

## An Illusion Of Apathy

(The Christian Science Monitor)

Apathy? Complacency? Is this the mood of most Americans today? It must be so because the news commentators say it is. On the surface at least this is a moment of relative calm, which means economic curves that trend upward and cold war issues that lie coiled and sleepy in the summer sun.

But what lies under the surface?

There is an unprecedented concern about the slow growth rate of the American economy, and both parties are ready to take extraordinary steps through new tax legislation to spur it. A new and courageous approach to Europe's dynamic Common Market is at work. The United States will go out and compete and not retire behind its hedgerows.

In the South of the United States there is not a whiff of apathy to be found. The great global revolt of the colored races against arbitrary white suppression has rolled up out of Asia and Africa onto the American scene. It is collapsing the timetable of social change for the American Negro.

On the international scene Mr. Khrushchev has been making the most of the Beard-Ed One — why? Because conquest by force was stopped at Berlin and Cuba and elsewhere, and Fidel is his only exhibit for the

theory of peaceful conquest that he is defending against the Chinese.

Elsewhere it is the ring of the builder's hammer that is chiefly heard in the developing world. Even the basic struggle to bring the population rate under control is now, for the first time, a subject of almost universal effort and concern.

It is only an illusion of apathy that stills the barometer. It is a momentary balance of huge, turbulent forces. It exists because broad, constructive policies are at work in today's society holding the more violent forms of explosion in check.

We would like to remind people of the genuinely terrible years when a weak world yielded continually before Hitler, and to recall the wild, uncontrolled economic swings of the twenties and thirties, and to suggest that today's apathy be put in context. As a society we have shortfalls, many of them. We ought to be working harder at them. But this apathy, if that's what it seems to be, is also earned. It rests on an already enormous effort to keep the ugly side of human life under restraint and to free men so they can cope with society and with themselves. We are not doing so badly.



### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q — What traditional ruler of Ethiopia is mentioned in the Bible?

A — It is a legend that the royal Abyssinian line comes from a son who was born to King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

Q — Is it true that Abraham Lincoln wrote the Gettysburg Address on the back of an envelope during his train trip to Gettysburg?

A — This is a myth. It was written in the White House.

Q — How did the orangutan get its name?

A — Orangutan is Malay for "wild man of the woods."

Q — The tail of which monkey is most highly developed for grasping?

A — The spider monkey.

### STRICTLY PERSONAL



By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

A recent issue of the "Saturday Review" devoted a special section to "The Education of Women," with articles by a number of male and female educators, including the director of the American Association of University Women.

I don't care at this point to become involved in the general philosophical questions of how much education women should have, what kind, and what opportunities should be opened to her after special training. It would take a book, not merely an essay, to explore these subjects.

What has perplexed me for a long time, however, is the relative fewness of professional women in American life, as compared

with many European societies, where opportunities would seem to be more restricted.

A statistical profile in the magazine, for instance, showed that we have only 6 per cent of female doctors in this country — some 16,000 out of a total of 260,000. Yet, educationally, women receive 38 per cent of all bachelors' and first professional degrees, 31 per cent of all masters' degrees, and even 11 per cent of all doctors' degrees. (Female lawyers are even scarcer, comprising only 2 1/2 per cent, some 6,000 out of a total of 236,000 qualified attorneys in the United States.)

In Canada, which is roughly similar to us in economic and social composition, there are twice as many female doctors in ratio to male doctors — 12 per cent of the total. And in some European countries — Russia especially — the percentage is again doubled to 25 per cent. One out of every four Russian physicians is a woman.

There is, as everyone knows, a drastic shortage of doctors in the United States. Reporting recently in the "American Journal of Public Health," Dr. Martin Cherkasky, director of New York City's celebrated Montefiore Hospital, observed that: "One of our most critical problems is the doctor shortage. Unless this is solved, no real progress can be made. We need twice as many new medical schools as we have, for unless doctors are available in ample supply all of our medical care hopes are in jeopardy."

As far as male students are concerned, there are some staggering personal financial obstacles to becoming a doctor. It is likely that only Federal support of medical students will be able to maintain an adequate supply. Yet if more female college students were encouraged to enter medicine — and, most of all, if they felt that a rightful place would be made for them — this shortage might be eased considerably.

There is no reason that a woman should be relegated to the role of a nurse. Especially with so many second rate male doctors around.

### THE GLOBAL VIEW . . . Chinese Love Bloom Has Capitalist Tinge



By LEON DENNEN

Newspaper Enterprise Analyst NEW YORK (NEA)—Even in Red China love blooms in the spring. But romance, alas, caused only heartache to young Hsiao Li who married her man without the blessing of the Communist party.

"It was a case of love at first sight," said an angry editorial in Mao Tse-tung's journal, Women of China. Hsiao Li married the young man in a hurry only to discover that he was "capitalist-minded."

Should Hsiao Li, a devoted comrade of the Communist Party, continue to lavish her love on a man addicted to the "capitalist way of life?" asked the editors of "Women of China."

According to Mao Tse-tung's latest dictum, it seems, physical love is a capitalist impulse—just another imperialist invention to enslave the proletariat—unless, of course, it is sanctioned by the Red party. Thus, "political incompatibility" discovered even after the act of matrimony can get comrades of both sexes into real trouble unless the marriage is dissolved at once.

The editors of Women of China, in their advice to loveless and romantically inclined Reds, denounced Hsiao Li's "rash act" as an "abuse of the right to marry." In the interest of Communist virtue, they said she must leave her spouse or be guilty of violating the "sacred rights" bestowed upon her by the Communist Party. They asked:

"Should a class-conscious woman talk about love with a bad element and even cohabit with him?"

"How could she be such a fool as to fall in love with a man without first investigating his political background?"

In a subsequent issue of "Women of China" a number of obviously inspired "letters to the editor" showed complete lack of sympathy with the young wife.

One letter from an irate female comrade said: "Hsiao Li's mistake is due primarily to the fact that she completely ignored the very important class angle in choosing a husband. That is why she continues to live with him even after discovering that he is a bad soul."

Another letter accused Hsiao Li of following Confucius' advice that "since the grain has already been cooked into rice" she might as well enjoy it.

But Red China's Marxist-Leninist rulers take a dim view of such a capitalist attitude. They warned Hsiao Li that by remaining loyal to the bonds of matrimony she was abusing "too blindly and too freely" the party-given right to marry. They urged her to "cut all physical and social relations with her husband and draw a demarcation line between him and herself."

Will Hsiao Li heed their warning and leave her husband? Even in Red China, it seems, love of the sexes—capitalist or Red—is stronger than love of Mao Tse-tung and of the Communist party line.

Hsiao Li is apparently deeply in love with her capitalist-minded husband. Despite threats and humiliation she still lived with him at the time the last batch of abusive letters against her were printed.

### IN WASHINGTON . . .



## Unions Hold Negroes Back

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

In Jackson, Miss., Ruby Hurley, a speaker for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told a mass rally of Negroes: "The two most effective weapons we have are the back and the ballot. Some people say we should use a third means—the bullet, but we are not ready for that yet."

Twenty-four hours later, a bullet had ended the life of Medgar Evers, a Jackson Negro leader, who was ambushed outside his house after an NAACP meeting. These two events are evidence of what is happening to America today. Two extremes are at war—and by a kind of political Greenham's law—they are corrupting the moderates who seek to bring equality of opportunity to the Negro without trespassing on the rights of the majority.

Now violence has entered the scene and with it has come fear. The two combined make an explosive mixture, for men motivated by them cease to reason—in fact cease to do what is best for themselves. It is lamentable that in addressing himself to the wrongs worked against the Negro throughout the nation, the President did not also offer some cautionary advice to those who are determined to tear apart the fabric of law and orderly procedure.

If civil rights legislation is needed, then it cannot be enacted under the threat by Negro leaders of mass civil disobedience in the cities and rioting outside and inside the Capitol. Congressmen today are talking of calling out the troops if the 150,000 Negroes mentioned by their leaders descend on Washington and attempt to force passage of the kind of legislation they want.

It would be ironic to debate civil rights behind a wall of bayonets. It is perhaps sad that Negro leaders chose to use the dramatic issue of school integration as the focus of their major campaign. For if every school and college in the 50 states were to lower the color bar and admit all qualified Negroes, it would be at least three decades or more before this had any real effect on the living standards of the American Negro. A handful of elite Negroes in the colleges would do little to improve the social pattern of Negro living.

The rise must be on a far broader base, and it must open for Negroes the economic doors which many American labor unions have slammed shut. For years, Herbert Hill, an NAACP official, has by his writings and speeches shown that the worst discrimination—and the most crippling—has been in the economic sphere. There are unions in the building trades and in transportation which do not admit Negroes to their apprenticeship programs or to membership. Therefore, Negroes are confined to the most vulnerable of all work categories, the unskilled labor force.

In the early years of the second Eisenhower Administration, the President's Committee on Government Contracts chairman, Vice President Richard Nixon, sought desperately to bring down discrimination in hiring by building trades unions doing federal construction in Washington and by such contractors as Matthew McCloskey, then treasurer of the Democratic National Committee. Mr. McCloskey argued convincingly that he would be glad to comply but that his hands were tied by the unions.

AFL-CIO President George Meany, a member of the President's Committee, refused to take any action against discriminatory unions in his federation and expressed himself with some anger on the subject to those who brought up the subject. Through the vice chairman, Secretary of Labor James Mitchell—who always scratched when Mr. Meany itched—action to bring work to Negroes in federal building was blocked. The NAACP, fearful of embarrassing the labor movement, preferred to cry out against Mr. Nixon, whose energetic efforts against discrimination were tarped by the Meany-Mitchell axis. This was a golden opportunity missed because politics came first.

Once the Negro has been given the means to rise above the uncertainty and ill-paying unskilled labor category, his economic situation will improve. He will be able to keep his children in school and afford a higher education which, if won today, would be prohibitively expensive. The other civil rights would follow. In fact, had the NAACP and other Negro groups stressed this aspect in the years since the Supreme Court's desegregation decision, a substantial advance would have been made by now—and today's riots would be unnecessary and unthinkable.

The past is, of course, past. But as the summer grows hotter—and as passions grow more inflamed—the tendency will be to brush aside new alternatives which can succeed without embroiling this country in civil turmoil. A wrong that is followed by another wrong simply creates a third wrong. This is something to consider before it is too late.



### EDSON IN WASHINGTON . . .

## Civil Rights Adds To Congress' Log Jam

By PETER EDSON  
Washington Correspondent  
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.  
WASHINGTON (NEA) — For the President to send a major civil rights message to Congress this late in the session is to pile a new burden on an already overloaded Senate and House.

It will take the rest of this year and much of the next session to dig out from under the existing load before it's time to elect a new Congress in the fall of 1964. Developments in race relations during the past few months, however, give additional civil rights legislation a new number one priority. There is every likelihood that this program will run into delay. Another Senate filibuster is a possibility, tying up action on other most legislation.

There are over 120 civil rights bills in the congressional hopper right now. This indicates not only the diversity of opinion on what ought to be done, but the amount of interest in the subject. The main bills are the administration program, a separate proposal by House Judiciary Committee chairman Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y., and two measures introduced by Senate and House Republicans. Boiling all these ideas into one act that Senate and House can agree on will take some doing.

Nobody has a complete answer to race relations and no single piece of legislation is going to solve the situation. A piecemeal approach is possible, with a voting rights bill coming first and other measures later. Before the civil rights issue became critical, passage of a tax cut bill had the number one priority. A new tax law of some kind is considered certain to pass. Whether it will look anything like the President's recommendations is doubtful, but it may include some minor reforms.

Up to June 1 the President had signed only 35 new public laws this year. Only three are considered important. They were extension of the draft act, raising the national debt limit and the feed grain act. The equal pay for women legis-

lation passed by both houses in May had just been signed by the President.

Some of the other acts of Congress this year are good deeds like conferring American citizenship on Winston Churchill and incorporating the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation. But most are government housekeeping operations like redefining the boundaries of Big Hole National Monument or trickytrack like designating National Harmony and Actors' Equity weeks.

Separately, the House has passed a 10-year, \$967 million aid program for medical education and a pay increase for the armed services. The Senate has passed a three-year, \$750 million mass transit bill, the wilderness bill, Youth Conservation Corps bill and a 10-year matching grant bill for construction of mental health centers.

Still in committee are the entire package of aid to education proposals, medical care for the aged, National Service Corps, whatever farm legislation can be decided on and the foreign aid program. While a foreign aid program of some kind has to be passed this year, the outlook is that many of the others will have to ride over till next year.

In addition, individual congressmen have introduced 10,000 other bills, 99 per cent of which will die. This isn't much of a record for five months. Assuming that Congress is willing to work till the end of summer, it is now past mid-point in the session. Congress has a way of untangling itself at the end of a session and cramming through a lot of bills nobody expected to pass. It could happen again.

But with a legislative log jam building higher and higher every session because Congress is given more and more complex problems to deal with, the movement for reform and reorganization of Congress so it can operate more efficiently is getting no place.

The outlook is that this, too, will have to wait till next session for action.



### WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

## Costs Skyrocket For New House Building

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Anonymous Congressmen last week demonstrated once again that charity begins at home.

By an overwhelming non-rollick vote, they rejected an amendment that would prohibit swimming pools in the third House Office Building now under construction.

Rising from a deep pit off Independence Avenue, the spartan little building will cost taxpayers \$131 million, or \$30 million more than the world's largest office building, the Pentagon.

It is the brainchild of George Stewart, whose official title is Architect of the Capitol. He is a former Delaware Congressman described by Sen. Paul Douglas as "the most expensive, most wasteful architect whom we could possibly engage."

Stewart disclosed in 1959 that the building would cost \$94 million. This seemed a fantastic figure, especially when compared with the cost of the First House Office Building (\$4.8 million) and the Second (\$7.3 million).

It soon turned out the figure of \$94 million was misleading. Left out of Stewart's estimate was \$8 million for architectural and engineering fees, the cost of buying, clearing and grading the site, and miscellaneous other items.

The latest estimate is \$111.5 million, which pays for at least one swimming pool and gymnasium. Congressmen now have a gym, supervised by a "sports recreation leader" who is paid more than \$7,000 a year.

The prime contractor for the building is McCloskey and Company of Philadelphia. This is the same firm that constructed a federal hospital in Boston. Shortly after its completion in 1953, the Army Corps of Engineers learned there had been defects in its construction; that damage had already occurred and would get progressively worse unless repairs and corrections were made.

Subsequently the Corps of Engineers estimated the repairs and corrections would cost \$4 million. Congressman H. R. Gross, Iowa Republican, urged the government to try to recover the sum from the builders.

Gross points out that McCloskey and Company is the family firm of Matthew McCloskey, a former Finance Chairman of the Democratic National Committee who now serves as Ambassador to Ireland.

Congressmen discovered two weeks ago that they will have no

way to get from their private offices to their staff offices in the new building. Slight slip-up, conceded Stewart.

He proposed new doors be cut in 169 suites at a cost of \$169,000. The doors will be two feet wide, which prompted Representative Gross to observe that "some members of this House are going to have a hard time getting through."

The new building is equipped with sink pipes, but no sinks. In every office, Congressman Tom Steed asked why a member needs his own sink. "There is, after all, one in the bathroom right across the hall," he said.

Note: Testimony before the House Appropriations Committee revealed that taxpayers foot the bill (\$23,000 a year) to supply Congressmen and their wives with floral arrangements.

Philip Roof, executive assistant to Architect Stewart, disclosed that the members and their wives are supplied bouquets and potted plants free by the Botanical Garden at an annual cost to the Treasury of \$25,000. When it runs out of flowers, the Botanical Garden buys them from commercial florists at the taxpayer's expense.

## Almanac

By United Press International

Today is Wednesday, June 19, the 170th day of 1963 with 195 to follow.

The moon is approaching its next phase.

The morning star is Venus.

The evening star is Mars.

Those born today include Lou Gehrig, one of the greatest players in American baseball history, in 1903.

On this day in history:

In 1846, the first baseball game between organized teams took place in Hoboken, N.J.

In 1912, the U.S. government adopted the eight-hour work day for all its employees.

In 1936, the German boxer Max Schmeling knocked out Joe Louis in the 12th round at Yankee Stadium in New York City.

In 1953, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed at Sing Sing Prison for giving secret information to the Soviet Union.

A thought for the day—The English dramatist, William Shakespeare said: "If love be blind, love cannot hit the mark."

### BERRY'S WORLD



"I always adore having a June wedding!"