

## THE "MARCH" -- GAINS AND LOSSES

Now that the Washington "march" has been chalked up as a gain, look for shifts in civil-rights strategy. Ahead, Negroes are expected to concentrate on solid advances in jobs, schools, politics.



WASHINGTON MARCH climaxed summer of Negro demonstrations pressing for civil rights. Expected now: new tactics.

Negro gains and losses for 1963 are now being totted up by Negro leaders. On balance, they find more weight in the gains than in the losses.

The Negro drive for this year reached its climax August 28. On that date, more than 200,000 Negroes and whites from many parts of the United States marched in Washington, D. C., in a giant demonstration "for jobs and freedom."

It was the biggest demonstration of all in a year that set a record for Negro demonstrations.

By their "march" on Washington, Negroes sought to impress Congress and the nation with the power of their cause. After their march, Negro leaders expressed confidence that they had accomplished their goal. Many whites agreed.

**Ahead: a new turn.** Now, in the period ahead, the Negro drive is expected to take a somewhat different turn—away from the streets, toward schools and Congress.

Demonstrations, the Negro leaders vow, will continue. Within 24 hours after the Washington march, plans were announced for "militant" new demonstrations in Nashville, Tenn., Atlanta, Ga., and Durham, N. C. Further demonstrations in Washington also were threatened if a filibuster against civil-rights legislation should develop.

Demonstrations, however, are not expected to continue on the big scale of the summer.

Schools are opening, taking most teen-agers off the streets. Days are becoming shorter. Nights will soon turn cool. Traditionally, mass tempers cool with the weather. Money, too, has become more of a problem for Negro leaders as costs of all the 1963 demonstrations pile up.

**Demand for action.** With the Negro drive moving into a new phase, the White House and Congress will feel mounting pressure for action on laws to speed integration and improve Negro chances for jobs, votes and housing. School boards in the North will be pressed to attack the problem of all-Negro schools in Negro neighborhoods.

Then 1964, coming into sight, will offer a new and different challenge. Negro plans for 1964 center more on politics—on local campaigns to elect members of Congress and on the national campaign to elect a President.

Looking back on the past year, Negro leaders see considerable gains won by their people—and they count the march in Washington as perhaps their greatest success.

Out of that demonstration in the capital, leaders say, came a new feeling of power and pride among American Negroes. In numbers alone, the march was impressive.

The marchers were organized and disciplined. The march was recognized in advance as a risk. There were fears of conflict. But the Negroes won their gamble. There was no violence.

Temper of the speeches was determined—but moderate. This took some doing.

John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, prepared a speech that contained such statements as:





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"We will not wait for the President, the Justice Department nor the Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands and create a source of power outside of any national structure. . . .

"We will march through the South, through the heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did."

The Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Boyle, Catholic archbishop of Washington, read that speech before it was spoken and served notice he would not deliver the invocation unless changes were made.

Mr. Lewis deleted the passages to which the archbishop objected.

About one tenth of the marchers were whites. From this, Negroes took hope of white support for their drive.

A major aim of the march was to muster congressional support for the new civil-rights legislation proposed by President John F. Kennedy.

Senator Hubert Humphrey (Dem.), of Minnesota—a backer of civil-rights legislation—summed up the opinion of most members of Congress this way:

"All this probably hasn't changed any votes on the civil-rights bill. But it's a good thing for Washington and the nation and the world."

Said the President: "The cause of 20 million Negroes has been advanced."

**Counting results.** The Washington march was the culmination of a long series of demonstrations that already had paid off in Negro gains.

This year has probably produced more desegregation in Southern communities than any other year.

Eating places long reserved for white people have been opened to Negroes. So have hotels, motels, theaters, public parks and golf courses.

Recent surveys show at least 200 communities in the South that have made some new moves toward desegregation in recent months.

More public schools are being desegregated in the South this year than in any year since 1957. At least 120 districts will be putting white and Negro children together for the first time.

Among these are Birmingham and Charleston, for the first integration in Alabama or South Carolina below the college level. It leaves Mississippi as the only State with still no mixed classes in grade or high schools.

**School sit-ins?** Despite these gains, school integration still has not moved beyond the token scale in most areas of the South.

On August 29, John Lewis announced a new kind of Negro demonstration to be used in such areas. He said:

"We will have hundreds of students walk from an all-Negro school to a white school and sit in to hasten the pace of integration."

Negroes have scored school gains in the North as well as in the South.

Chicago's school board on August 28 yielded to Negro pressure and moved to promote integration in schools in Negro neighborhoods.

New York City, a leader in promoting integration, recently adopted an "open enrollment" plan that permits Negroes to transfer to schools located in white neighborhoods.

Even in New York City, however, school authorities are resisting Negro demands for forced transfers of white pupils to schools in Negro neighborhoods.

In jobs, Negroes' biggest gains have been in the field of government.

The Federal Government has added more than 10,000 Negroes to its payrolls in the last two years.

Orders have gone out forbidding racial discrimination in hiring by private firms holding Government contracts.

Pressure from Washington is being applied to get labor unions to open their membership rolls and their apprentice programs to Negroes.





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**Biggest problem.** It is in private employment that Negroes are having the most difficulty. A big problem here is the lack of qualification by many Negroes for the jobs available in modern industry. A recent survey showed many employers looking in vain for Negroes possessing the required skills.

Now developing among Negroes is a drive for more job training.

In housing, Negroes have made a few gains. A recent presidential order bars discrimination in federally assisted housing. A few communities have enacted open-housing laws.

A major Negro effort of 1963 has been directed at getting more Negroes registered to vote in an attempt to increase their political power. Campaigns have been pushed to get more Negroes registered to vote in the South. Results to date have been disappointing to Negro leaders. This campaign is one that will be pressed with growing vigor as the 1964 elections approach.

**On the loss side.** While totting up their gains, Negroes are finding, too, some losses.

In the South, the hard core of white resistance is still unbroken. In spite of all the Negro demonstrations, the South remains largely segregated.

In the North—where Negroes already have most of the things they seek in the South—the growing Negro demands are beginning to run into a stiffening resistance by many whites.

And, all over the country, many people are tiring of mass demonstrations. A July Gallup Poll showed 6 out of 10 people believed mass demonstrations more likely to hurt than help Negroes.

With their biggest demonstration—the march in Washington—now behind them, Negro leaders are preparing a new strategy for the future.

The outlook is for continued demonstrations, but smaller ones—a greater concentration on solid advances in jobs, schools, housing and politics.

