

THE "MARCH"—GAINS AND LOSSES

"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.

