

September 3

Association, the speech and the painful doubts were to and of himself.)

Where I get in difficulty—at times almost unbearable difficulty—is when I try to examine the meaning of what I am engaged in.

When these difficulties get too great we in the newspaper business do what I suspect people in your business do. We retreat to the ritual of reciting old rules that we know are meaningless.

We say that we just print the objective news in our news columns and confine our opinions to the editorial page. Yet we know that while this has some merit as an oversimplified slogan of good intentions, it also has a strong smell of pure baloney.

If we keep wages too low in some few areas where unions still let us do it, or if we neglect decent working amenities as long as we can avoid the cost, we defend ourselves by muttering about our concern for stockholders. As though by announcing compassion for a relatively anonymous and absent group we can justify a lack of compassion for people we spend our working days with.

If we are brutally careless about printing something that maligns the character of some concrete individual, we are apt to wave the abstract flag of freedom of speech in order to avoid the embarrassment of a concrete apology.

If we are pressed even harder, we may salve our consciences by saying that after all there are libel laws. And as soon as we say that we redouble our efforts to make those laws as toothless as we possibly can.

And if we are pressed really quite hard, we can finally shrug our shoulders and say, "Well, after all we have to live." Then we can only hope no one will ask the ultimate question: "Why?"

I certainly have been guilty of all those stupid actions—and a great many more stupid. And I suppose that more than a few of you have done as poorly.

What I prefer to recall are those rare occasions when I have had some better sense of the meaning of what I am engaged in. In those moments I have realized that our problems are relatively simple and that some simple, ancient, moral precepts are often reliable business tools. In those moments I have been able to keep in mind that it really doesn't matter whether I am kept in my job. In those moments I have been able to look straight at the frailty of my judgment. And finally I have been honest enough to recognize that a few—a very few—great issues about the meaning of life are the only issues which deserve to be considered truly complex.

We are agreed, I am sure, that the free exchange of ideas and the release of mankind from burdensome toil are important goals in the development of civilization. But we will be very foolish people if we decide that my newspaper methods and your methods of producing energy are the only—or even the best—methods of furthering these goals.

The realization of this does not mean we have to be any the less able or the less passionately interested in our jobs. Instead, by paying attention to the broader meaning of what we are engaged in, we may be able to join our passion to our intelligence. And such a juncture, even on the part of but one individual, can represent a significant step forward on the long road toward civilization.

#### INDIANA YOUTH CONSERVATION CAMP

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, today the State of Indiana began a pilot project which I hope will be a model for the youth employment opportunities bill currently before the Congress. I am speaking of the Indiana Youth Conservation Camp, at Harrison State Forest,

near Corydon, where 100 young men between the ages of 17 and 22 will spend the next 2 months. They are out of school and out of work. The purpose of the camp is to get them back to school or back to work. All have been carefully selected by the Indiana Employment Security Division. None are juvenile offenders.

In addition to conservation work, they will receive a minimum of 8 hours a week of education in basic subjects, such as mathematics, English, and the social sciences. Furthermore, they will work in small groups, in an attempt to make up any deficiencies which dropping out of school may have left them with.

This educational effort is of prime importance, because time and time again we see that a basic education is the bare minimum needed in order to survive in our changing employment market. With this education, plus the knowledge of what it means to put in a hard day's work, these young people will be, I hope, motivated either to seek further employment or to return to school.

Whatever they do, the employment security division will try to help them find jobs at the end of the program.

Although the division will not guarantee jobs, I doubt that the young men will have trouble finding them, for after their training they will be more desirable as employees.

The camp was established by an executive order of Gov. Matthew E. Welsh, upon the recommendation of the Indiana Youth Council.

Besides the council and the employment security division, the following State agencies are also sponsoring the camp: the Indiana National Guard, the division of labor, the department of conservation, and the department of public construction.

The young men will receive \$25 a month, and \$100 at the end of the 2-month period, to help them get started on their next job—which we hope will be a permanent one.

This is the type of program that enactment of the youth employment opportunities bill will allow us to continue. I believe this program demonstrates the established need for enactment of the bill and establishment of a Youth Conservation Corps and a Hometown Youth Corps.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. Is the morning hour over?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

#### AMENDMENT OF THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT OF 1962

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill (S. 1716) to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

#### MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on Wednesday last the Nation and the world

saw the heart of the American Negro revealed in an unforgettable demonstration of unity and democracy. In a dignified, extraordinarily disciplined, and intensely patriotic manner, 200,000 Americans—from all sections of the Nation and from all levels of life—came to the Capital of their country to appeal for redress of the very real grievances of the Negro.

This march on Washington for jobs and freedom could not help but touch the conscience of every American and, I hope the conscience of Congress. This living petition was directed to the Congress, which has lagged behind the other branches of the Federal Government in insuring and protecting the right of the Negro to full citizenship.

I was impressed, Mr. President, by the large number of non-Negroes in Wednesday's march, especially by the number of religious leaders. Their presence was symbolic of the fact that the struggle to redeem the soul of a nation, plagued by 100 years of racial discrimination, is everybody's struggle.

The march demonstrated that the first amendment right of peaceable assembly and petition for redress of grievances is a living part of our political history. This is what the Negro community is seeking to invoke in demonstrations across the country. This march proved that the first amendment rights can be exercised without danger of violence and disturbance.

But despite the polite and orderly behavior of the crowd, and the moderation of the speakers, it was plainly evident that this demonstration was a symbol of the civil rights revolution—a revolution which we in Congress cannot ignore as we get down to the business of discussing meaningful civil rights legislation this year. The Reverend Martin Luther King summed it up when he said at the rally in the Lincoln Memorial:

There will be neither rest nor tranquillity in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights.

The words spoken by Dr. King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, Walter Reuther, John Lewis, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Mathew Ahmann, and other leaders of the march, are important to the Nation and to Congress, and I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD excerpts from the invocation and their speeches, as published in the New York Times of Thursday, August 29, 1963; and also an editorial, published this morning, comparing the bitter fruit of Governor Wallace's efforts to close the public school system of his State, in order to avoid desegregation, rather than allow children to return to school normally, as they should, under the traditionally American circumstances.

There being no objection, the excerpts, invocation, and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows: [From the New York Times, Aug. 29, 1963] MOST REV. PATRICK O'BOYLE, ARCHEBISHOP OF WASHINGTON, INVOCATION

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, amen.

Our Father, who art in heaven, we who are assembled here in a spirit of peace and

in good faith dedicate ourselves and our hopes to You. We ask the fullness of Your blessing upon those who have gathered with us today, and upon all men and women of good will to whom the cause of justice and equality is sacred. We ask this blessing because we are convinced that in honoring all Your children, we show forth in our lives the love that You have given us.

Bless this Nation and all its people. May the warmth of Your love replace the coldness that springs from prejudice and bitterness. Send in our midst the Holy Spirit to open the eyes of all to the great truth that all men are equal in Your sight. Let us understand that simple justice demands that the rights of all be honored by every man.

Give strength and wisdom to our President and Vice President. Enlighten and guide the Congress of these United States. May our judges in every court be heralds of justice and equity. Let just laws be administered without discrimination. See to it, we implore, that no man be so powerful as to be above the law, or so weak as to be deprived of its full protection.

We ask special blessing for those men and women who in sincerity and honesty have been leaders in the struggle for justice and harmony among races. As Moses of old, they have gone before their people to a land of promise. Let that promise quickly become a reality, so that the ideals of freedom, blessed alike by our religious faith and our heritage of democracy, will prevail in our land.

Finally, we ask that You consecrate to Your service all in this crusade who are dedicated to the principles of the Constitution of these United States. May we be sensitive to our duties toward others as we demand from them our rights. May we move forward without bitterness, even when confronted with prejudice and discrimination.

May we shun violence, knowing that the meek shall inherit the earth. But may this meekness of manner be joined with courage and strength so that with Your help, O Heavenly Father, and following the teaching of Christ, Your Son, we shall now and in the days to come live together as brothers in dignity, justice, charity, and peace. Amen.

REV. DR. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

I wish indeed that I were able to speak for all Protestant, Anglican, and Orthodox Christians as I speak in behalf of full justice and freedom for all, born or living under the American flag.

But that is precisely the point. If all the members and all the ministers of the constituency I represent here today were ready to stand and march with you for jobs and freedom for the Negro community together with all the Roman Catholic Church and all of the synagogues in America, then the battle for full civil rights and dignity would be already won.

I do, however, in fact, officially represent the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches.

For many years now the National Council of Churches and most of its constituent communions have said all the right things about civil rights. Our official pronouncements for years have clearly called for "a nonsegregated church in a nonsegregated society." But as of August 28, 1963, we have achieved neither a nonsegregated church nor a nonsegregated society.

And it is partially because the churches of America have failed to put their own houses in order that 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, 175 years after the adoption of the Constitution, 173 years after the adoption of the Bill of Rights, the United States of America still faces a racial crisis.

We do not, therefore, come to this Lincoln Memorial in any arrogant spirit of moral or spiritual superiority to "set the Nation straight" or to judge or to denounce the American people in whole or in part.

Rather we come—late, late we come—in the reconciling and repentant spirit in which Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, once replied to a delegation of morally arrogant churchmen. He said, "Never say God is on our side, rather pray that we may be found on God's side."

We come in the fear of God that moved Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, whose memorial stands across the lagoon, once to say:

"Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just."

RABBI JOACHIM PRINZ, PRESIDENT OF AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

I speak to you as an American Jew.

As Americans we share the profound concern of millions of people about the shame and disgrace of inequality and injustice which make a mockery of the great American idea.

As Jews we bring to the great demonstration, in which thousands of us proudly participate, a twofold experience—one of the spirit and one of our history.

In the realm of the spirit, our fathers taught us thousands of years ago that when God created man, he created him as everybody's neighbor. Neighbor is not a geographic term. It is a moral concept. It means our collective responsibility for the preservation of man's dignity and integrity.

From our Jewish historic experience of three and a half thousand years we say:

Our ancient history began with slavery and the yearning for freedom.

During the Middle Ages my people lived for a thousand years in the ghettos of Europe.

Our modern history begins with a proclamation of emancipation.

It is for these reasons that it is not merely sympathy and compassion for the black people of America that motivates us, it is above all and beyond all such sympathies and emotions a sense of complete identification and solidarity born of our own painful historic experience.

When I was the rabbi of the Jewish community in Berlin under the Hitler regime, I learned many things. The most important thing that I learned in my life and under those tragic circumstances is that bigotry and hatred are not the most urgent problem. The most urgent, the most disgraceful, the most shameful and the most tragic problem is silence.

A great people which had created a great civilization had become a nation of silent onlookers. They remained silent in the face of hate, in the face of brutality and in the face of mass murder.

America must not become a nation of onlookers. America must not remain silent. Not merely black America, but all of America. It must speak up and act, from the President down to the humblest of us, and not for the sake of the Negro, not for the sake of the black community but for the sake of the image, the idea and the aspiration of America itself.

Our children, yours and mine in every school across the land, every morning pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States and to the republic for which it stands and then they, the children, speak fervently and innocently of this land as the land of "liberty and justice for all."

The time, I believe, has come to work together—for it is not enough to hope together, and it is not enough to pray together—to work together that this children's oath—pronounced every morning from Maine to California, from North to South—that this oath will become a glorious, unshakable reality in a morally renewed and united America.

#### A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

We are gathered here in the largest demonstration in the history of this Nation. Let the Nation and the world know the meaning of our numbers. We are not a pressure group, we are not an organization or a group of organizations, we are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom.

This revolution reverberates throughout the land touching every city, every town, every village where black men are segregated, oppressed, and exploited.

But this civil rights revolution is not confined to the Negroes; nor is it confined to civil rights. Our white allies know that they cannot be free while we are not. And we know that we have no interest in a society in which 6 million black and white people are unemployed, and millions more live in poverty.

Nor is the goal of our civil rights revolution merely the passage of civil rights legislation.

Yes, we want all public accommodations open to all citizens, but those accommodations will mean little to those who cannot afford to use them.

#### SACKS SCHOOL AID

Yes, we want a Fair Employment Practice Act, but what good will it do if profits geared to automation destroy the jobs of millions of workers, black and white?

We want integrated public schools, but that means we also want Federal aid to education, all forms of education.

Now, we know that real freedom will require many changes in the Nation's political and social philosophies and institutions. For one thing we must destroy the notion that Mrs. Murphy's property rights include the right to humiliate me because of the color of my skin.

The sanctity of private property takes second place to the sanctity of a human personality.

The months and years ahead will bring new evidence of masses in motion for freedom. The march on Washington is not the climax to our struggle but a new beginning, not only for the Negro but for all Americans, for personal freedoms and a better life.

Look for the enemies of medicare, of higher minimum wages, of social security, of Federal aid to education, and there you will find the enemy of the Negro, the coalition of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans that seek to dominate the Congress.

We must develop strength in order that we may be able to back and support the civil rights program of President Kennedy.

We here, today, are only the first wave. When we leave it will be to carry on the civil rights revolution home with us, into every nook and cranny of the land. And we shall return again, and again, to Washington in ever-growing numbers until total freedom is ours.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity.

But 100 years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we