of these few portions of the Communist "Mein Kampf."

Very truly yours,

DICK MCDONALD.

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the great march on Washington is now behind us. The blisters on the feet of the marchers are probably well healed by now; the news commentators are finding joy in speculating about the effect on Congress of the march; and I recently read that you can now buy lapel pins that state that "I was there."

Mr. President, the march may be history, but the thoughts of this great event continue to live on. The perseverance with which the marchers came to Washington, the good will and dignity they showed upon arrival are still in the minds of all who witnessed the occasion. Never before in the history of mankind has there been such a gathering.

I was particularly proud of the large delegations from my State of New Jersey. I met some of these groups when they arrived here at Union Station. I was greatly impressed by the great conviction with which they came to Washington. Many of my fellow citizens gave up a day of wages and paid for the trip to Washington in order to participate in the events. These people pride themselves on being Americans and ask only that they be given the rights guaranteed them by the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. President, I think the Senate should be aware of the grassroots support behind this great civil rights movement. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent to have a number of articles from various New Jersey papers printed in the RECORD. These articles represent a sampling of the opinions found in all the papers of the State and I think are worthy of note. Some deal with the private citizen's views and others are the thoughts of the editorial boards. I ask that the articles be placed in the following order:

From the August 30 Trentonian of Trenton, an editorial entitled, "An Impressive Performance," "Weary But Proud," an article from the Newark Evening News of August 29, the article entitled "Dignity, Spirit Impressed Marchers from Plainfield," from the August 29 Plainfield Courier-News, from the September 6 issue of the Jewish News of Newark, an interview with Dr. Joachim Prinz entitled, "It Was in the Best Tradition of America," from the September 5 Advocate, the Newark Archdiocese paper, an editorial entitled, "The March on Washington," "Nation's Conscience," an editorial from the Paterson Morning Call of September 4, "The March Has Just Begun," an editorial from the Bergen Record of August 30, and finally, from the Asbury Park Sunday Press of September 1, the editorial entitled, "The Civil Rights Battle Will Be Over When Good Citizens, Who Outnumber Bigots, Rise Up and Show Their Power."

There being no objection, the articles and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Trentonian, Trenton, N.J., Aug. 30, 1963]

AN IMPRESSIVE PERFORMANCE

The great "March on Washington" is over; and the apprehensions of those who feared that such a massive demonstration of discontent could not remain peaceful have been proven groundless.

The most impressive thing about the march was its dignity and restraint. Even friends of the Negroes' cause had been apprehensive; and the Government took many precautions, which—unnecessary as they proved to be—were nevertheless well advised.

But the complete absence of anything resembling "mob psychology," in a throng of more than 200,000 persons, is remarkable. It cannot help but have an immense impact upon the country as a whole. It is difficult for even the most thoughtless to persist in a casual contempt for a people capable of such an exercise of dignity and self-discipline. And we must bear in mind that this was in no way a "select" group, but comprised of persons from all social levels and walks of life.

The direct effect upon Congress, we have been told by those on the scene, was slight. Senate majority whip HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, certainly no foe to the civil rights cause, opined that "it probably hasn't changed any votes on the civil rights bill."

Nevertheless, it has had its effect upon the country; and that, we must assume, will eventually be reflected in the Congress. And—what may well be more important—it cannot fail to have an effect upon personal attitudes of the citizenry. The Negroes have gained not only sympathy for their cause as a group, but respect for themselves as individuals.

WEARY BUT PROUD

(By Douglas Eldridge)

Negroes and whites flocking wearily back to New Jersey from the march on Washington agreed last night that part of their historic mission has already been accomplished—and splendidly so.

Their dusty shoes kicked off and their placards rolled up, many of the 600 northern New Jersey residents aboard the northbound "Newark Freedom Train" expressed a common belief that the day's events had made a profound impact on their own hearts and wills—and a common hope that it would make an equally profound impact on their friends and enemies throughout the land.

Between their sporadic naps and their increasingly hoarse choruses of "We Shall Overcome," the special train's passengers—black and white, young and old, high and low—again and again made these claims in appraising the unprecedented outpouring:

The march served notice on white America that the Negro cannot accept his lot any longer, and that he can seek to change it with vigor—and order—of awesome proportions. It gave to the Nation an unmistakable awareness of the depth and breadth of the civil rights revolution.

At the same time, the march showed to Negro America that its voice can be heard—and that its voice can be swollen significantly by many concerned whites. The demonstration gave to the Negro a new pride, and a new determination to combat injustices locally as well as nationally.

While those aboard the train last night spoke with varying eloquence on these points, and on the amazement at the size and smoothness of the great protest, many had to grope for words to describe the might and the beauty they had found in it.

"It was so glorious," exclaimed Mrs. Inez Jennings, a Newark teacher of beauty culture. "Words will never describe it—but I know, because I feel it." A friend, Mrs. Bertha Gibson, a Newark housewife, chimed in: "I'd come back next week if I had to, and next time I'd bring my children."

"All I can say is, I was very proud," observed Harvey Oliver, 19, a Rutgers University freshman who hopes to become an English teacher. "Some persons may have gone to Washington just for the ride," he said, "but if a person is human, it had to make an impression on him." He suggested that the march would do much to end apathy and disunity among Negroes.

Another student from Newark, Othello Jones, 20, a prelaw sophomore at Howard University, commented quietly: "I was really inspired. It makes you feel that someone else cares about the Negro."

"It was wonderful to see so many of my people turn out," asserted another beautician, Mrs. Shirley Hayes of Newark. "It shows that the Negro does care." Echoing her view was a Newark truck driver, Ernest Ward, who said the demonstration "proved our determination and our willingness to continue the fight."

To Adelbert Brown of East Orange, vice president of the Newark branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the march symbolized the unity and the order that the civil rights movement has achieved. At the same time, he continued, the demonstration provided "the shot in the arm this movement really needs. Up till now, in many cases, it's just been words."

Raymond Padgett, a Newark lather, said the demonstration had helped give the drive for civil rights a momentum that could not be halted. "This was the first time that the Negro ever did anything really big," he commented. "It touched a lot of people." And Dr. Eustace L. Blake, pastor of St. James A.M.E. church, said: "This was a march on the conscience of America."

Many of the returning marchers emphasized the interracial nature of yesterday's outpouring. "This was the most orderly demonstration of complete brotherhood that I have ever seen," declared Rev. George R. Hardy, Jr., of North Orange Baptist Church.

In a similar vein, C. B. Freeman, a Newark electronics technician, insisted that "what moved me the most was that this was being supported not only by Negroes, but also by our white brothers." And Louis S. Pitts, a member of the Newark Human Rights Commission, said he was most impressed by "the merging of the races."

The same point was underscored by a white minister, Rev. Sharon Scholten, of Bradley Gardens Community Church, Somerville. "What was most important," he declared, "was the total harmony in an integrated group in a southern city."

However, one of the Negro members, Richard Currey, of Union, an aviation plant assembler, said he was disappointed that whites were not a vast majority of the demonstrators, as they are of the population. "I think this showed this is not a Negro problem; it's an American problem," he said. "But the turnout should have been 90 percent white."

Rev. Homer J. Tucker, Negro pastor of Newark's integrated Mt. Zion Baptist Church, said the march had "showed whites they could work with Negroes, and enjoy it." On the other hand, he added, "nothing can give more encouragement to the Negro than to see white men making sacrifices for this." The march gave Negroes a unique opportunity, he said, "to prove to white folks and to the world what we can do."

But, Mr. Tucker warned, the Negro may be driven to abandon his traditional restraint

if the same kind of inetrracial cooperation cannot be achieved in local affairs.

Mack Ivory of Jersey City, an Internal Revenue Service clerk, said the demonstration proved persons of all races can be rallied "when humanity is threatened with a loss of dignity." He conceded that some people may have gone to Washington because it was a comparatively safe and easy way to support civil rights, but he insisted the march "made a few of them a little more resolute."

Others emphasized the basic seriousness of nearly all the demonstrators. "They weren't sightseers," said Jerome Wilson, a Newark Housing Authority relocation worker. "These were dedicated people," added Leonard Wilkinson, of East Orange, a postal employee. "They came here for a purpose, not just for a day's outing."

Several of the marchers said they were encouraged to try to awaken their friends and fellow workers. "I'd rather see them caring, even if it's against us," said Mrs. Juanita Spain, of Newark, an insurance company clerk.

"I'll take this back to my shop," said Mrs. Johnnie Johnson, of Newark, an official of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Some of those returning from the trek said they had gained their own new insights into the problem. "It made me realize for the first time the need for our people to stick together and do something about this situation," asserted Mrs. Geraldine Smith, of Newark, another IRS employee. Asked if she felt a little more pride in her race last night than yesterday morning, she replied without hesitation: "Yes, I feel much prouder."

But perhaps the most significant statement of what the march had done came from Mr. Tucker. As the train sped through the gathering darkness toward Newark, the minister said that his experience yesterday had "thrilled me almost into a new sense of the person.

"I don't feel alone or left out any more," he said slowly. "Now I feel almost like a person * * * like an American."

[From the Plainfield (N.J.) Courier News, Aug. 29, 1963]

DIGNITY, SPIRIT IMPRESSED MARCHERS FROM PLAINFIELD

(By Marty Robins)

"The most glorious experience in my life," Mrs. Rosalyn W. Fueller sighed. "There was such unity, no trouble, and no disturbance."

Mrs. Fuller was typical of the 150 weary, but smiling, Plainfielders who arrived late last night at Shiloh Baptist Church from the historic march on Washington for jobs and freedom yesterday.

All agreed the march would accomplish its goals.

The church-sponsored bus returned shortly before 11 p.m. An hour later the two NAACP buses arrived with their elated marchers.

Most Plainfield marchers joined Kenneth Jones in calling the demonstration "very dignified" and "very quiet." All were glad that the march had gone peacefully.

"There was tremendous spirit," a man carrying the march's message related. "It showed Plainfield what it must do."

Sixteen-year-old Patricia Ruggles said the speech by the Reverend Martin Luther King, who was acknowledged at the Lincoln Memorial as "the spiritual leader of America," was the highlight of the day.

"After he spoke everybody stood up and hollered," the teenager said. "On the way back to the bus you could still see the tears in many people's eyes,"

The Reverend Frank Allen, local NAACP president, said the march "showed the Nation that Negro citizens are in earnest in their nationwide campaign for freedom and jobs.

"It only impressed me more deeply than before that the movement will succeed."

The Reverend Allen was highly impressed at the number of demonstrators, which Washington police estimated at more than 200,000.

If many were tired from the ride, none complained of severe hardships.

"It was a little crowded and a little warm," Mary Smith said. "But it was just fine."

There were no reports of ill health or injuries in the Plainfield bus loads. No one missed a meal.

Many were impressed with the considerable representation and organization of labor unions at the march.

"Wherever you looked you saw autoworkers, steelworkers, or garmentworkers," Pat Ruggles recalled.

What was the highlight of the day? Many, of course, preferred the Reverend King's speech. Others thought that Mahalia Jackson, the noted gospel singer, was responsible for rousing the throng. Walter Reuther's speech drew praise. Still others thought the march was best.

But two women, Mrs. Polly Chichester, of Washington, D.C., and her sister, Mrs. Aston L. Thompson, Jr., of 726 East Front Street, Plainfield, said it was dignity—the dignity of both races marching together that touched them most.

"The singing brought tears to my eyes," Mrs. Thompson said.

"It was," said the two white women, "one of the most magnificent days of our lives."

[From the Newark (N.J.) Jewish News, Sept. 6, 1963]

IT WAS IN THE BEST TRADITION OF AMERICA

(Following is the text of an exclusive, tape-recorded interview with Dr. Joachim Prinz, rabbi of Temple B'nai Abraham, Newark, and president of the American Jewish Congress. Dr. Prinz was 1 of 10 national leaders of the August 28 civil rights demonstration in Washington.

This interview, obtained the day after the ceremonies in Washington, was conducted by Arnold Harris, executive secretary of the Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Community Council of Essex County.)

Question. You have attended rallies before, here and even in Nazi Germany. What to you are the important differences in what you saw before and what you saw in Washington?

Answer. If you have a crowd of 210,000 people and you live in a totalitarian state, you make use of these people and the people become your objects. You whip them into some sort of frenzy and there develops very easily a mass hysteria of 210,000 people.

That could have been done yesterday. It wasn't done at all. It was a very American meeting. It was very typical of America and in the best tradition of America because there was nobody who tried to use, and therefore abuse, the people.

There was a spirit not merely of dedication but also of festivity. It was the happiest mass meeting I ever attended in my life. The happiness of the people, to me at least, consisted of the fact that they were very happy to express the best that is in America and the best that is in human beings.

That expressed itself in their orderliness—the fact that there were no riots, no incidents, the fact that everybody behaved like a gentleman and a lady. There was no pushing whatsoever; there was no incident where someone wanted to take the seat or standing place of somebody else—of 210,000 people—many of them simple people.

The second thing was that suddenly people lost the sense of color. It didn't matter any more to men whether somebody was black or white. The mingling of the races, that is, the desegregation, was a very organic, a very natural thing.

There was altogether nothing artificial about the meeting in the speeches, songs, entertainment. Nothing was cheap. It was on a very high level artistically as well as intellectually, and what came through was that we were dealing with a problem not merely of legislation and of political maneuvering or of trying to exert pressure of the legislature. What came through was that behind all that was a moral issue.

PROPHETIC RELIGION

It had in the broadest sense a kind of religious fervor which was not denominational. It was a 20th century religion. It did not have the humbug or the superficiality of ritual religion. It was suddenly prophetic religion. It said "do I—that is, religion—do I have to say something to the people which makes sense in the 20th century?"

And it was a great reaffirmation of the dignity of man, and so I say it was not an exciting, but a stirring meeting. Anybody who cares, anybody who had any feeling, who had anything left in his soul that could not be expressed in superficial terms felt that.

The religious fervor was an attempt to translate everything we said and prayed and preached about into the reality of the America of 1963.

Question. What to you yesterday was the most stirring element in the experience of yesterday's march?

Answer. Everything that happened there was, to me, stirring. It stirred me when the people sang together, when I, as one of the 10 chairmen, walked ahead of the group and they began to sing the song of freedom—that I must tell you was a moment of shattering experience.

I had never before seen a mass of people sing with so much earnest determination, and it was suddenly a service, a religious service done on the streets with nearly a quarter of a million people.

THE PEOPLE LED

And then we began to realize that we were not leading the people, but the people were leading us. The beauty of the thing was that it was not a managed meeting; it was the natural and enthusiastic response on the part of the people to that which the leaders said to them.

What they said to them was what the people themselves felt. They articulated that which was on the minds and in the hearts of 210,000 people.

Among the 210,000 people, 30 percent of them, at least, were white people. The best of America was there, in person, and the best of America, also, in spirit.

We began to realize that the Negro, although he has his own culture which he brought from Africa, is so totally American and so totally and genuinely and organically American that the Black Muslims had not the faintest chance in this whole thing.

They looked ridiculous. You know they tried to influence people—they staged some sort of a slight demonstration in front of the hotel that looked and sounded ridiculous, because these people who came there demanded their rights not merely as human beings but also as Americans, and everybody responded to that.

Question. You spoke a moment ago, Dr. Prinz, about the political objectives. How do you feel about the reaction of the Congressmen and Senators to the appearance of the mass of people in Washington? You were 1 of the 10 leaders who called upon some of the Congressmen and Senators, some who oppose the civil rights legislation and some who favor it.

Answer. The 10 of us went to see the majority leader, Mr. MANSFIELD, and we went to see the minority leader, Mr. DIRKSEN, and we saw Mr. MCCORMACK, Speaker of the House. We were suddenly transplanted into a completely different atmosphere because these people were far removed from what I called the fervor.

These people were politicians who had political axes to grind, who had to preserve and protect the party interests. The man who impressed us most was the one who had no formal education, and never went to high school, Mr. McCORMACK.

MOST ENCOURAGING

He began the discussion by stating that to him politics must be governed and motivated by his conscience. This was the most encouraging of the three meetings, because he thought there was no doubt in his mind that he could get legislation through the House, that there are enough votes to get it through the House.

This was encouraging because, in addition to the excitement and fervor there are some cold political facts to consider. These are people who count noses and votes. DIRKSEN who, as you know, is not completely sold on the bill has, however, assured the President, as he told us, that he would "buy" seven of the eight points of the legislation. He would not accept the public accommodations part of it. Besides, we stressed the point that the legislation would not make sense without FEPC. The trouble with that is that the President had separated the two because he thought that he could get legislation through more efficiently and more rapidly by not adding FEPC. I am hopeful that as a result of our discussion with the President his viewpoint may change.

Question. Can you tell us something about your discussion with the President? This took place much later, didn't it, after the events at Lincoln Memorial?

Answer. Yes. We came to the White House at 5 o'clock. There was a careful check to see that no one but the 10 chairmen went into the White House. We were greeted by an enthusiastic group of people who apparently knew when we would go to the White House and we were applauded wildly by all the people as we got out of our cars. The President was in a marvelously relaxed mood although this was a very tough day for him—the rail strike, you know.

But that is the way I have seen him now four times in the White House and this is the way the man operates. He is always relaxed and unbelievably well informed.

ASKED FOR FOOD

We came there, and since we hadn't eaten all day we asked for food and it was immediately provided and served in the manner in which you get food at the White House.

I don't think I am at liberty to report on our discussion with the President other than sayi: g that the President had watched the proceedings on television almost constantly and commented on some of the speeches, including mine.

Question. What did he say about your speech?

Answer. He was apparently not unhappy about it. He was very happy about the fact that the meeting took place in such an orderly and dignified fashion and I asked him if he thought this would make an impression upon Congress because, as you know, many Members of the Senate and the House had attended the meeting on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

He said he had no doubt that this had made a tremendous impression because nobody thought it possible. Everybody had predicted that we would not get more than 60,000 or 70,000 people. He said, pointing to the Vice President who sat next to me, that after all, both of them knew how tough it was to get crowds, and the fact that we got 210,000 people was an enormous achievement.

He then read to us the statement which he intended to publish, and which was then issued, and which I think is a very good statement. I know that the President is wholeheartedly in back of the bill.

EXAMPLE OF JEWS

The President made a very interesting comment. He said to the Negro civil rights leaders that they should follow the example of the Jewish people who had made education the central issue of their existence and that the Negro community should know that the road to jobs and the road to playing the role in the American community which the Negro ought to play is via education.

We discussed that and the difficulties of that, because it is not an easy matter for a Negro living in a slum district to get the same education that a middle-class person living comfortably gets.

My impression is that the President was guardedly optimistic. I emphasize guardedly because he is not a naive politician. He is a man who is politically astute and therefore to him it was important that many things be done in order to get the kind of vote in the Senate and the House which will guarantee passage of the bill.

Question. Rabbi Prinz, you are a leader in Essex County and in the Nation. Do you have any suggestions or comments about the role that the Jewish laity should be playing or ought to play in the next months or year or two with respect to the entire problem of civil rights in America?

Answer. I think that we must play an important role if we do not want to forfeit our role as an important factor in American life. I am not talking about our parochial role. If we want to play a role in American life we must understand that we are engaged in a social revolution, albeit a quiet and nonviolent revolution, and that because of our tradition and history we must play that role.

I said in my speech that we have two things to bring to this great debate—which is so much more than a debate—in America.

One thing is the fact that after all it is the Jewish people who created the revolutionary concept of man, man with his potential and with his dignity. We have always emphasized that Adam, the first man, was created from earth that was brought, according to Jewish legend, from every corner of the world.

HUMAN POTENTIAL

So that we know he was not distinguished by color; he was distinguished by his human potential, by the ability to distinguish between right and wrong. Now, I realize that American Jews are not always aware of this tradition.

But if we want Judaism to survive in earnest, we cannot remain silent on this issue. As a matter of fact, the religious and lay leaders of American Jewry have made that quite plain.

The second thing which has been often overlooked, but which I emphasize, is that we ourselves have a history parallel to the history of the Negro. We started with slavery. We freed ourselves. We lived in ghettos.

We were freed by a proclamation of emancipation. It did not work. It took a very long time before it became a reality. It is still short of that because there is still discrimination against Jews in jobs and in housing. It took the lives of 6 million people. I didn't say that because I thought it was too strong and I didn't want to bring that into the public debate there.

But we must say it to ourselves. The death of the 6 million Jews under the Hitler regime is a cruel and gruesome and bloody witness of the failure of Jewish emancipation. So there was a time when Jews lived in segregated places and went to segregated schools.

It is also overlooked that Hitler introduced into Jewish life segregated Jewish schools, that Jewish children were not allowed to attend public schools. So, if anybody can understand the situation of the Negro emphatically and sympathetically, it is the Jew.

CAN RELIVE HISTORY

In the history of the Negro and the plight of the Negro and the fight of the Negro we can relive the history of the Jewish people. Therefore the Jews must be in it; they must not be out of it. All of this might sound like a lot of phraseology which can be said from the pulpit but I am in favor of translating that into the reality of the grassroots.

Question. Talk then, if you will, about the grassroots in South Orange and in Montclair and in Newark, and all over America—what do you see that the Jewish community needs to do, in the light of its history and its future, right here in Essex County?

Answer. I think, as they say, that charity begins at home. So does the fight for civil rights begin in the home community. Here in our own community we have a tremendous problem and I am afraid the Jewish community, although it participated in this battle on the local scene through some of its leadership group, has not reached its own grassroots, its own people.

I think that the rabbis of this community and of all communities ought to participate much more actively as a group and as individuals.

They have a tremendous job of educating their own people from the pulpit and in their personal contacts, to their responsibilities in the community. That cannot be done merely by demonstrations.

It must be done by making the powers that be in government and in the field of education to understand that we will not stand for segregation in schools and we will be adamant in our demand for desegration in housing as well, and for an opportunity for the Negro to get jobs.

LIBERTY PLUS GROCERIES

In this field the Jews can play an important role because they have jobs to give. Somebody once defined democracy as liberty plus groceries. It is very easy to talk about liberty and many beautiful sermons can be delivered and nice poems can be written.

But nobody can take liberty into a bakery shop and buy a loaf of bread with it. We need groceries. We need the opportunity for the Negro to work. If he has a job he will have decent housing and if he has decent housing he will have decent schools.

So that we are dealing here with a package, with an entity, with a whole thing the parts of which cannot be separated.

Fair employment means also full employment. Good jobs for Negroes will mean a solution of their social problems because if enough money is earned by the head of the family and the members of the family they can establish for themselves the kind of life in decent neighborhoods which will enable them to become an integral part of the community.

In all of that, in housing, in industry and in shops and in offices over which Jews have their own control we can play that kind of a quiet role. The time for shouting is over and the time for quiet and constructive work has begun.

[From the Advocate, Sept. 3, 1963]

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

August 28, 1963, will long be remembered by freedom-loving Americans. History books will mark it as the date when the conscience of the country was finally aroused to the fact that, while "all men are created equal," not all have been given equal opportunities.

The 200,000 Negro and white marchers declared in a dignified, inspiring manner that a forceful beginning for equal rights has been made from which there is no turning back.

Whether Congressmen were impressed—impressed enough to vote for the President's civil rights bill—is not so important. What is, is the impression made on the millions

of voting Americans whose voices will bear more weight in the Halls of Congress than the marching feet of the 200,000.

No one expected the die-hard segregationists to change their minds, and they didn't. Their sentiments were expressed in a statement by Senator LONG of Louisiana who ridiculed the march as unnecessary. Unnecessary, he said, missing the point, because the Negro in the United States is treated better and is more free than he is any place in the world. Someone should have reminded the Senator that the Negro is demonstrating for the same treatment the Senator expects and for the same freedom he enjoys in this country.

In one way, however, we do agree with Senator LONG—such demonstrations should not be necessary. The march did portray to the world the image of a country unable to legislate equal rights without the intimidation of a mass demonstration.

However, history has shown that often a just cause must first gain attention before it receives approval and support, especially from the prejudiced. As an attention-gainer we prefer a bloodless march to a bloody revolution.

[From the Paterson (N.J.) Morning Call, Sept. 4, 1963]

NATION'S CONSCIENCE

It has been widely supposed that the march on Washington had the central purpose of influencing Congress to approve civil rights legislation. As a corollary, the judgment has been that the success or failure of the march depends on how many votes it changes on Capitol Hill.

The march's immediate impact on Congress is of secondary importance. This does not mean that the ceremonies were unimpressive; legislators are always impressed by the sight of massed constituents, and the dignity and eloquence of this concerted petition for rights long denied cannot have failed to have an effect. But it is a fair guess that most Members of Congress already have well defined views on basic civil rights questions, and that these views were little changed by the assemblage.

Far greater importance must be attached to the general public reaction throughout the country. This biggest of all popular demonstrations in Washington was intensively covered by the press, radio and television. Millions of Americans were distant witnesses; millions of others read detailed accounts of what transpired.

What did they see and hear, what did they read about? Not the actions of a trampling mob whipped up by rabble-rousers, as some had feared. Not outbreaks of violence, not a rush on Capitol Hill to subject Congress to shouts and pressure. What occurred in Washington was a deeply sincere, dignified, restrained and well behaved crowd of some 200,000 American citizens appealing to the conscience of their fellow citizens everywhere in the land.

The effect of that appeal remains to be seen. The chances seem good that Americans in great number will respond favorably. This, in the end, may have a decisive effect on the kind of civil rights legislation Congress enacts.

[From the Bergen (N.J.) Evening Record, Aug. 30, 1963]

THE MARCH HAS JUST BEGUN

Perhaps, as most people say, the most impressive event in the massive civil rights march in Washington was the dignity and orderliness of the occasion. Perhaps it was.

But this was not the most important event of the day. The significance to be attached to the day was the march itself, the expression of 20 million people to be free from the shame and humiliation and poverty they have suffered with a patience that finally has been exhausted.

The march was an outpouring of the longings people in every age have known and felt. It was spiritual in tone, calling up the pleadings of Moses to set his people free, reminding all men that the human spirit will never be shackled or chained or imprisoned, telling us that this Nation will not endure half slave and half free.

Congress had better understand this. It had better not mistake nonviolence for meekness, orderliness for submission, dignity for false pride.

Segregationists in the Capital—the diehards who represent some of our Southern States and rightwing Republicans—said they were not impressed or swayed by the march. This is tragic. Their song is tired and off-key and outdated. Congress has no more urgent business before it than passage of the civil rights bill. It is the absolute minimum, and any watering down of the public accommodations section will be a setback for man everywhere, man already free and man marching forward on the rugged road to emancipation and equality. It will be a disastrous day for the United States if these Senators and Representatives block or alter this bill.

Appropriate this day are the words of Abraham Lincoln, to whose memorial the 200,000 marched:

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds."

These words ring down through a hundred years of struggle and pain, but today there is hope that they will have meaning, that a new dawn will find Negro and white living in one nation, equal in the eyes of all men.

It isn't too much to hope for.

[From the Asbury Park (N.J.) Sunday Press, Sept. 1, 1963]

CIVIL RIGHTS BATTLE WILL BE OVER WHEN GOOD CITIZENS, WHO OUTNUMBER BIGOTS, RISE UP AND SHOW THEIR POWER

Now that the freedom march on Washington is over, it is time to assess its impact upon the cause of civil rights or, to be specific, upon the civil rights bill now pending in Congress.

There can be no doubt but that the march was the largest, best organized and most orderly ever to journey to Washington. It evoked nothing but praise from one end of the Nation to the other. Even in the Southland brave voices were raised to applaud the conduct of the marchers.

Whatever effect the march had upon congressional opinion will be determined by how effectively the Nation's favorable reaction to the march is communicated to individual Representatives and Senators. Except in the case of a few obstinate legislators whose mental processes have hardened beyond recovery, the Members of Congress strive to follow the wishes of their constituents. It is good politics to do so if one wishes to remain at a legislative post from which, it has been said, few die and none resign. As James Reston, distinguished Washington correspondent, observes, some of the legislators either won't read or can't, but they all want to be reelected.

This theme was touched upon by speakers who addressed the marchers at the Lincoln Memorial. A leading Protestant clergyman, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, accurately declared that if all the communicants of the churches he represented, and all the communicants of the Roman Catholic Church, and all the members of the Nation's Jewish synagogues would stand up for justice for the Negro people, the battle for civil rights and dignity would be quickly won. Another speaker, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, who witnessed events leading to the ascendancy of Hitler in Germany, advanced the basic truth that bigotry and hatred are not the immediate problem confronting the Nation. The "shameful and tragic problem is silence."

If all the people who pay lip-service to any cause, in this case justice for the Negro, were to stand up and be counted the battle, as Dr. Blake says, would be quickly won. It is the great mass of silent advocates, not the noisy opponents, who are responsible for the defeat of many just causes. These are the good people whose sterile convictions produce inaction. They are that vast majority of citizens who, left to themselves, would take a stand for decency but who are afraid to be different. They do not dare stand alone, a virtue given high priority by the holy men of old. They go with the crowd reluctantly as do many other members of the crowd, mistaking mass silence for approval of a crowd's verdict which, actually, is only the verdict of a demagogic leader. These human sheep are led to a course of action by being convinced that they stand alone. These are the people who made up the cruel mob in Mark Twain's "Mysterious Stranger." They stoned to death a kindly old woman accused of being a witch. Each one who threw a stone did so only for fear his companions would think him in league with witches if he restrained himself.

This need to stand up and be counted confronts the United States today. The need affects every level of government. Every municipality from village to metropolis would have better government if people of competence and capability would speak up along with the demagogs. A majority of the citizens of the United States recognize the justice of the Negro cause. But while they sit back and fail to make their sentiments known the Faubuses, the Barnetts, the Wallaces, and the George Lincoln Rockwells pour out their vitriol. And so brazen do these apostles of bigotry become that they scare more rational citizens into silence.

When will the civil rights issue be settled? Only when decent citizens stand up and show to the world that they far outnumber the racists who, by their vehemence, give the impression that they speak for the Nation.

REPORT AND REVIEW MEETINGS WITH FARMERS

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, Secretary Freeman is undertaking a series of 13 report and review meetings with farmers and other rural citizens across the Nation.

The first of these meetings was held last Sunday at Worthington, Minn. In his address Secretary Freeman summarized some of the problems and achievements of the Department. His remarks reflect the conscientious effort made by Secretary Freeman to administer and develop the farm program. I ask unanimous consent that his address, together with a statement outlining the purposes of these meetings, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE ORVILLE L. FREEMAN, "REPORT AND REVIEW" FARMER MEETING, WORTHINGTON JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, WORTHINGTON, MINN., SEPTEMBER 8, 1963

As Secretary of Agriculture I have learned a number of things that I did not anticipate when I went to Washington.

First, and most important, I have found the distance from my desk to your farm cannot be described adequately by measuring it in miles.