Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, ours must be a nation where no one should be forgotten, where the young have faith and the aged have hope, and where all must stand equal before the law and protected in all their civil liberties.

Before this session of the Congress adjourns, we shall be engaged in a great debate which I hope will lead to legislation. What you are doing or to first-class citizenship for all Americans.

There just cannot be any compromise on civil rights. There is nothing immoderate, arbitrary, or dictatorial in providing a comprehensive civil rights law.

For too long, 20 million Americans have been denied the basic rights our forefathers envisioned when they conceived the Constitution of the United States. It is left for us now to guarantee those rights to all citizens the right to public accommodations equally, and to be eligible for employment without discrimination. These rights have been affirmed in the courts as belonging to all Americans, not to almost all.

No greater domestic issue faces our country today than the problem of guaranteeing first-class citizenship for all Americans. Racial problems are, in reality, moral problems and not political issues. We should have no sympathy whatever for those who believe that the best the Congress could do for Negro rights is to give them a license to fight for their God-given rights while Representatives and Senators remain idle by the roadside to see if they can win these rights. The Federal Government must not remain neutral or be a mere enabler. Too often, those who speak out for States rights fail to lift their voices on behalf of their civil rights. We, who are Senators of the United States, must exercise our responsibility to the Constitution and to millions of Americans who have heretofore been treated as second-class citizens.

Mr. President, I fervently hope that the Congress will stay in session and continue in session as long as necessary to pass the civil rights legislation which will be before us shortly. After the issues have been fully and fairly debated and after all Senators have been given an opportunity to express their views, I would vote in favor of cloture. In the event that a cloture petition fails to win the necessary votes it be prepared to remain in session as long a time as it takes to enact this legislation into law.

The argument has been made that a prolonged attempt to break a filibuster will cause serious hardship to some of our colleagues. The magnitude of the problem at hand does not justify this excuse for abandoning the fight for meaningful civil rights legislation or for accepting amendments which would make the bill nothing more than a half-hearted gesture. We who favor the President's proposal to protect all our colleagues who for various reasons cannot suffer the hardships that will be involved in breaking a possible filibuster.

Frankly, we Senators of the United States have no right to speak of hardships when we look at the suffering and humiliation endured by our Negro citizens due to failure to deliver to them the full blessings of liberty provided by the Constitution of the United States to all citizens. To speak of hardships for Senators in breaking a filibuster when millions of citizens are denied the right to vote, the opportunity for decent employment, the right to education for their children, the right to use public accommodations equally, is to make a mockery of the legislative process.

We of the United States of America have carried the torch of liberty higher and more proudly than have the citizens of any other nation in all history. On the other hand, we have shamefully tolerated social and economic segregation of 20 million of our fellow Americans. These two traditions are mutually exclusive and cannot coexist. One hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln warned "those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, cannot long retain it."

If our democracy is to survive, discrimination because of race or color must be eliminated. The breathtaking pace of modern life no longer permits slow, leisurely adjustments to reality. Time is wasting. We daily hear the struggle of our Negro citizens for full equality referred to as a revolution, a peaceful revolution. However, the ultimate course of revolutions is always uncertain if people who are revolting are faced with repeated setbacks and no redress for their legitimate grievances. This revolution must be resolved peacefully and without unreasonable delay. We in the Congress have the duty to act—act justly.

Lipservice is not leadership. Pious evasions do not solve problems but merely perpetuate them. To temporize is to encourage defiance of the law and contempt of authority.

We do not seek to establish new rights. We seek only to preserve old rights—rights as old as mankind itself. I have guided, constituents who fear that the received letters from uninformd, or misinformed President's civil rights proposals will in some way infringe on their own liberties or way of life. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is nothing in these pending legislative proposals which will deliver to our Negro citizens rights or privileges which they do not already enjoy in the State of Ohio and have enjoyed in our State for years. I am proud of this fact, as all Ohioans should be. These legislative proposals extend these rights to all Americans regardless of the States in which they live or in which they travel.

This legislation will not, by itself, abolish injustice. That must come through the growing understanding and good will of the people. However, it will at last extend the assurances of our Constitution, our Declaration of Independence, and our laws of freedom to all Americans. It will be a step forward on the long path toward mutual tolerance and understanding.

In this regard, Mr. President, we must also keep in mind that—we and I refer to the white citizens of America—are not in reality giving anything. In assuring these rights to our fellow Americans we are only reasserting them to ourselves. Civil rights are for all of us. It is for our sense of decency, for our conscience, and for human dignity—our own and our neighbors. Those who for selfish reasons or out of prejudice and bigotry or for any other reasons are standing in the way of constitutional rights for the Negroes of America are, in a sense, to be pitied. They are trying to hold back the tide of human progress, to halt the relentless force of the strength of the human spirit. It is a hopeless cause and a pitiful waste of human effort.

We, a Nation committed to justice. We cannot continue to deny to 20 million of our own citizens what we offer to the world. We in the Senate who are here to resolve the issue must be prepared to achieve the fulfillment of the promises of the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation before this session of the Congress is permitted to adjourn.

The August 28 March on Washington

Mr. BIEBLE. Mr. President, August 28 should not be permitted to slip into history without the city of Washington, its leaders, and its residents taking the bow they so properly deserve as gracious hosts.

Two hundred thousand Americans from all sections of this land participated last Wednesday in one of the greatest single demonstrations in this country's history. This great Capital City could not have acquitted itself more admirably and proper note should, and must, be taken of that fact.

For several months, the leaders of this city and those in suburban communities, spent many hours in planning plans to permit a large number of Americans to come to their Capital City and seek,
by orderly demonstration, a redress of their grievances as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. Certainly, the detailed and thoughtful planning permitted this great demonstration to go forward in perfect order and with great dignity.

August 28 has now come and gone and the city of Washington has shown by publicizing its best foot forward that it has lived up to a reputation as the greatest capital city of the greatest nation in the world.

Singing out those who deserve praise, the individual citizen of the Washington area deserves the greatest as each lived up to the responsibility of welcoming Americans to their capital. Individually, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia government are to be commended and possibly the greatest accolade belongs to Maj. Robert V. Murray, Chief of the Metropolitan Police Department and the commander of all control units. Through his caution, yet firm and understanding, approach the many details of his planning fell into proper place. Chief Murray, down through his many fine years as the commanding officer of one of the finest—if not the finest—metropolitan police forces in the country, has been schooled in handling unusual situations. Actually, unusual situations are not new to the Washington police department and Chief Murray’s officers showed outstanding training. In many ways, the life of a policeman in Washington may well be more difficult than one in any other American city. It is here that they must have the patience, tact, and courtesy mingled with effective forcefulness to do their jobs. It is here that small problems can be telescoped into incidents of far-reaching impact.

Great credit also must go to Mr. Luke Moore, U.S. marshal for the District of Columbia; and to the chiefs of police and officers of all the suburban communities, for their cooperation and invaluable praise. Praise must also go to the Washington firemen who were called out on this day, August 28, the day it was.

Mr. President, the influence of business on our national economy and our American society is immense and dynamic. Today, more than ever before, the role of businessman should be understood and respected.

President Kennedy has expressed such understanding and respect in a special article published in Nation’s Business, an article titled “What Business Can Do for America.” This brief article is an effective summary of the contributions America’s business community can make to meet such major challenges as unemployment, the need for new tax policies, the balance-of-payments problem, the patterns of prices and—yes—civil rights.

I urge all of my colleagues to read the President’s article. And I commend the magazine Nation’s Business for publishing it. For the development of effective national policy in a free society, we need much more contact between businessmen and the Government.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article “What Business Can Do for America” by President Kennedy, published in the September issue of Nation’s Business, be inserted in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

WHAT BUSINESS CAN DO FOR AMERICA
(By President John F. Kennedy)
(The President writes directly to Nation’s Business readers on taxes, price policies, world trade, investment, economic growth, and civil rights.)

Members of the business community play a vital role in maintaining and building the strength of the American economy—in converting its great potential into higher standards of living and free world leadership. It is to this community—guided by the free play of market forces but responsive to the national interest—where new thoughts on what business can do, and what government and business can do together, to achieve these common aims:

Getting our economy back to maximum operation,
Spedding our rate of growth,
Improving our competitive position in world markets,
Avoiding inflation, and
Equilizing opportunity for all.

These are the aims all of us share. Each group in our economy has a responsibility to take actions to help achieve them—and in so doing to help America and help themselves.

TAXES
Although the present expansion, now in its 30th month, has reversed the postwar trend of ever-shorter expansions and more frequent recessions, and has generated solid gains—a 13-percent growth in retail output, a 21-percent rise in industrial production, a 13-percent rise in personal incomes, a 30-percent rise in new plant and equipment unemployments and idle capacity remain far too high.

Too many of our plants stand idle, too much of our work force is unemployed, too many of our potential sales are not made and, thus, the country’s economic strength lies fallow.

This administration has proposed tax action that would advance our economy, that would turn potential into actual sales, that would move workers from employment agencies to their jobs, that would keep machines working full time, that would expand and larger orders for raw materials and equipment.

The drag of inadequate markets has slowed our economic growth in recent years. This drag will not fall away simply because we wish it to. To remove the weight of what you and I know is a burdensome tax system born of war and inflation. The tax program I have recommended can lighten the drag on growth. Through its impact on consumer markets and sales and through its stimulus to after-tax profits, it would set the stage for the more positive response that is crucial to the future growth of business and the country.

This action—tax reduction and reform—would spur output and investment. It reflects a conscious decision to stimulate the economy chiefly through private rather than public channels, to give American business the opportunity, and the responsibility, of meeting the needs of the American economy and its citizens.

Government is not interested in making a larger share of the decisions on where to spend but it is interested in the climate through tax reduction and reform for more investment spending by business and more buying by individuals after tax revision is enacted, it can be made more effective as you revise your investment and other plans upward, in accordance with the improved profit and demand picture.

But tax revision has not yet been enacted. You can help even today in creating a stronger America by supporting the tax revision program. There exists no magic tax policy that will fully satisfy everyone and every interest—yet prompt and effective relief and reform will benefit us all. If we quarrel over every sentence, the book will never be written. This full support of the business community for prompt and appropriate tax action is urgently needed. The common interest in an overall program of tax reduction and reform must transcend the particular interest of individual groups.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS
Our balance-of-payments position has been a source of continuing cause for concern, but we have made progress. But the times demand even greater progress and even greater efforts. The government has undertaken and strengthened the dollar and to promote the interests of U.S. business around the world.

In our tax and monetary policies, in our international monetary arrangements, in our rigorous dollar-conserving measures in aid and defense, and in our export credit and expansion programs—buttressed by the strong new measures announced in July—we are making a major effort to bring the U.S. balance of payments into equilibrium. But again, there is a role that only you can play.

The Trade Expansion Act and the forthcoming tariff negotiations with the European Economic Community and other nations are opening a new era of U.S. international business opportunity. The time has come to seize these opportunities, to realize the potentials that lie in foreign markets.

Although many producers have responded quickly and successfully to the growing challenges of foreign competition, too far from being a nation of exporters, U.S. firms can meet the test of the world market successfully if they search out their opportunities aggressively.

I urge you—and the prospect for new products urges you to participate in your own export efforts. Your active personal support for the White House Conference on Export Expansion to be held September 17 and 18.