Gentlemen's agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic concerning mutual aid in case of attack by a third party, November 27, 1934.

Protocol of mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic, March 12, 1936. Converted into treaty of friendship and mutual assistance, February 27, 1946.

Treaty of nonaggression between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, August 23, 1939, and secret protocol concerning spheres of interest in eastern Europe.

Treaty of friendship, collaboration, and mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and Rumania, February 4, 1948.

Treaty of friendship, collaboration, and mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria, March 18, 1948.

Treaty of friendship, collaboration, and mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and Finland, April 6, 1948.

Treaty of friendship, alliance, and mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic, February 14, 1950.

Treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance (Warsaw Pact), May 14, 1955. U.S.S.R., Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Rumania.

State Treaty for Austria, May 15, 1955, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, France, Austria. (Not an outright nonaggression treaty, but Austria's status guaranteed by U.S.S.R.)

Violated

(NOTE.—The nonaggression pacts with the three Baltic countries were violated by the U.S.S.R. when the latter, in June of 1940, sent each country an ultimatum demanding formation of a new government and the entrance of Soviet troops into major cities.)

Treaty of friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Tannu-Tuva, August 1926 (included reciprocal recognition of independence). U.S.S.R. later annexed.

Treaty of nonaggression between the U.S.S.R. and Lithuania, with two exchanges of notes, September 28, 1926. Extended 1931, 1934, reaffirmed by treaty of October 10, 1939.

Convention between the U.S.S.R. and Lithuania concerning the definition of aggression, with annex, July 5, 1933.

Treaty of nonaggression and neutrality between the U.S.S.R. and Latvia, March 9, 1927. Extended 1932 and 1934.

Treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Latvia on conciliation procedure, June 18, 1932.

Pact of mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and Latvia, October 5, 1939.

Treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Finland concerning nonaggression and the peaceful settlement of disputes, with protocol of signature January 21, 1932. (U.S.S.R. expelled from League of Nations for violating this treaty.) Extended 1934.

Convention between the U.S.S.R. and Finland concerning conciliation procedure, April 22, 1932.

Treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Finland concerning friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance. April 6, 1947. Extended 1955.

Treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Estonia concerning nonaggression and the peaceful settlement of disputes, May 4, 1932. Extended 1934.

Convention between the U.S.S.R. and Estonia concerning conciliation procedure, June 16, 1932.

Pact of mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and Estonia, September 28, 1939.

Treaty of nonaggression between the U.S.S.R. and Poland, with two protocols of signature, July 25, 1932. Extended 1934.

Convention between the U.S.S.R. and Poland concerning conciliation procedure, November 23, 1932.

Joint communique by the U.S.S.R. and Poland concerning diplomatic and commercial relations, November 26, 1938. Confirms 1932 nonaggression treaty.

Note from U.S.S.R. to Poland abrogating existing treaties between the U.S.S.R. and Poland, September 17, 1939. Reason: Polish Government has "ceased to exist". Followed by joint declaration of friendship and mutual aid by the U.S.S.R. and the Polish Government-in-Exile, December 4, 1941.

Treaty of nonaggression between the U.S.S.R. anad France, November 29, 1932.

Convention between the U.S.S.R. and France, concerning conciliation procedure, November 29, 1932.

Treaty of mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and France, with protocol of signature. May 2, 1935.

(NOTE.—The nonaggression pact was certainly violated in spirit through the Russo-German pact of 1939; and the mutual assistance pact was violated outright by the Russo-German pact of 1939.)

Treaty of mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia, with protocol of signature, May 16, 1935.

Treaty of friendship, mutual assistance, and postwar collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovakian Government-in-Exile, with protocol, December 12, 1943.

Treaty of friendship, mutual assistance, and postwar collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, April 11, 1945. (Denounced by the U.S.S.R. September 28, 1949; in October, Yugoslavia accused the U.S.S.R. of having broken the treaty. Most commercial treaties between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia violated by the U.S.S.R. after the break in relations.)

Treaty between the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom concerning alliance in the war against Germany and collaboration and mutual assistance after the war, May 26, 1942. Annulled by U.S.S.R. on May 7, 1955.

Treaty of alliance and mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the French Provisional Government, December 19, 1944 (annulled by U.S.S.R. May 7, 1955).

Pact of neutrality between the U.S.S.R. and Japan, April 13, 1941 (denounced by U.S.S.R. on April 5, 1945).

Treaty of friendship, collaboration, and mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and Hungary, February 18, 1948 (violated as a result of Soviet actions in Hungary in 1956).

Treaty of nonaggression between the U.S.S.R. and China, August 21, 1937.

Agreement concerning the evacuation of Soviet forces from Chinese territory after the capitulation of Japan, July 11, 1945.

Treaty of friendship and alliance between the U.S.S.R. and China, August 14, 1945 (annulled by exchange of notes of February 14, 1950 between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic. Declared null and void by Government of Republic of China on February 25, 1953—the General Assembly of the U.N. accused the U.S.S.R. of violating this treaty).

Exchange of notes between the U.S.S.R. and China concerning relations between the U.S.S.R. and China, August 14, 1945. Supplements the above treaty. Some clauses violated by the U.S.S.R.

Exchange of notes between the U.S.S.R. and China concerning Outer Mongolia, August 14, 1945 (calls for a plebiscite).

Additional agreements made about the same time (about Darien, Port Arthur, etc.), violated by the U.S.S.R. in fact or in spirit.

Exchange of telegrams between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic concerning establishment of diplomatic relations, October 1, 1949. (On same day, the U.S.S.R. informed Nationalist diplomatic representative in Moscow that U.S.S.R. considered him to represent only the province of Canton, and would break off relations. This appears to be how the U.S.S.R. rid itself of treaty obligations with Nationalist China.)

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, last Wednesday the city of Washington witnessed one of the most significant demonstrations in the history of our Republic. More than 200,000 Americans—both Negroes and whites—marched from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial. In perfect order and with great dignity and restraint, they marched to show their deep concern that equal civil rights should be accorded all American citizens, regardless of their race. This is the first task of our democracy. We should do this in order to be true to our religious faith. We should do it in order to make the 14th amendment a reality in all sections of our country.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD, in connection with my remarks, salient excerpts from the notable addresses delivered on that occasion, sketches of the 10 leaders of the march, and editorials on the march which have been published in a number of leading American newspapers.

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

[From the New York Times]

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENTS AT LINCOLN MEMORIAL, AUGUST 28, 1963

MOST REV. PATRICK O'BOYLE, ARCHBISHOP 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 of 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 year 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 approved 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."

Yes, we come to march behind and with these amazingly able leaders of the Negro Americans. We come to present ourselves this day; our souls and bodies, to be "a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is our reasonable service," in a kind of tangible and visible sacrament which alone in times like these can manifest to a troubled world the grace that is available at Communion table or high altar.

MATHEW AHMANN, CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

Who can call himself a man, say he is created by God, and at the same time take part in a system of segregation which destroys the livelihood, the citizenship, family life and the very heart of the Negro citizens of the United States?

Who can call himself a man, and take part in a system of segregation which frightens the white man into denying what he knows to be right, into denying the law of his God?

The wind of the racial revolution has finally bent the reeds of the conscience of our people. Never before has the direction we must take been so clear. Yet, many bend before the winds of justice in confusion; the balance yet lies with the silent and fearful American.

It is he who sees the direction of the future dimly before his conscience, who must act, if a wholesome integrated community of Negro and white Americans is to be built without violence and without rending this country's spirit.

The United States of America is a country which produced the Marshall plan, helped resurrect the spirit and economy of Europe with great dedication and billions of dollars. We have come to the aid of the refugees of the world.

What man can say that this great country with its democratic ideals, its vital and resilient spirit, its sophisticated resources cannot bring an end to racial discrimination at home now, and within a decade or two end the other disabilities under which, for so long, so many Negro citizens have labored.

We dedicate ourselves today to secure Federal civil rights legislation which will guarantee every man a job based on his talents and training; legislation which will do away with the myth that the ownership of a public place of business carries the moral or legal right to reject a customer because of the color of his hair or of his skin.

We dedicate ourselves to guarantee by legislation that all American citizens have integrated education and the right to vote on reaching legal age.

We dedicate ourselves today to secure a minimum wage which will guarantee economic sufficiency to all American workers, and which will guarantee a man or a woman the resources for a vital and healthy family life, unencumbered by uncertainty, and by racial discrimination. A good job for every man is a just demand, and it becomes our motto.

But, we are gathered, too, to dedicate ourselves to building a people, a nation, a world which is free of the sin of discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin; a world of the sons of God, equal in all important respects; a world dedicated to justice, and to fraternal bonds between men.

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 a 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 really 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 morale 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.

Backs 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.

We want a free democratic society dedicated to the political, economic, and social advancement of man along moral lines.

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 plain and simple fact is that until we went into the streets the Federal Government was indifferent to our demands.

All who deplore our militants, who exhort patience in the name of a false peace, are in fact supporting segregation and exploitation. They would have social peace at the expense of social and racial justice. They

are more concerned with easing racial tensions than enforcing racial democracy.

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 Dixicrats 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.

MRS. DAISY BATES, NAACP DIRECTOR

The women of this country, Mr. Randolph, pledge to you, to Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins and all of you fighting for civil liberties, that we will join hands with you as women of this country.

We will kneel-in, we will sit-in, until we can eat in any counter in the United States. We will walk until we are free, until we can walk to any school and take our children to any school in the United States. And we will sit-in and we will kneel-in and we will lie-in if necessary until every Negro in America can vote. This we pledge you, the women of America.

WALTER P. REUTHER, AUTO WORKERS PRESIDENT

For 100 years the Negro has searched for first-class citizenship. I believe that they cannot and should not wait until some distant tomorrow—they should demand freedom now. Here and now.

It is the responsibility of every American to share the impatience of the Negro Americans. And we need to join together, to march together and to work together until we've bridged the moral gap between American democracy's noble promises and its ugly practices in the field of civil rights.

There is a lot of noble talk about brotherhood and then some Americans drop the brother and keep the hood.

To me, the civil rights question is a moral question which transcends partisan politics, and this rally today should be the first step in a total effort to mobilize the moral conscience of America and to ask the people in Congress of both parties to rise above their partisan differences and enact civil rights legislation now.

Now the President—President Kennedy—has offered a comprehensive and moderate bill. That bill is the first meaningful step. It needs to be strengthened. It needs FEPC and other stronger provisions. And the job question is crucial; because we will not solve education or housing or public accommodations as long as millions of American Negroes are treated as second-class economic citizens and denied jobs.

I am for civil rights, as a matter of human decency, as a matter of common morality. But I am also for civil rights because I believe that freedom is an indivisible value. That no one can be free unto himself, and when Bull (formerly Safety Commissioner Eugene) Connor with his police dogs and firehoses destroys freedom in Birmingham he is destroying my freedom in Detroit.

This rally is not the end, it's the beginning. It's the beginning of a great moral crusade to arouse America to the unfinished work of American democracy. The Congress has to act. And after they act, we have much work to do.

ROY WILKINS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NAACP

We came to speak here to our Congress, to those men and women who speak here for us in that marble forum over yonder on the Hill.

They know, from their vantage point here, of the greatness of this whole Nation, of its reservoirs of strength, and of the sicknesses which threaten always to sap its strength and to erode, in one or another selfish and stealthy and specious fashion, the precious liberty of the individual which is the hallmark of our country among the nations of the earth.

We want employment and with it we want the pride and responsibility and self-respect that goes with equal access to jobs. Therefore we want an FEPC bill as a part of the legislative package.

Now for 9 years our parents and their children have been met with either a flat refusal or token action in school desegregation. Every added year of such treatment is a leg iron upon our men and women of 1980. The civil rights bill now under consideration in the Congress must give new powers to the Justice Department to enable it to speed the end of Jim Crow schools, South and North.

Now, my friends, all over this land, and especially in parts of the Deep South, we are beaten and kicked and maltreated and shot and killed by local and State law enforcement officers.

It is simply incomprehensible to us here today and to millions of others far from this spot that the U.S. Government, which can regulate the contents of a pill, apparently is powerless to prevent the physical abuse of citizens within its own borders.

Now, the President's proposals represent so moderate an approach that if it is weakened or eliminated, the remainder will be little more than sugar water.

Now, we expect the passage of an effective civil rights bill. We commend those Republicans in both Houses who are working for it. We salute those Democrats in both Houses who are working for it.

In fact, we even salute those from the South who want to vote for it but don't dare to do so. And we say to those people, just give us a little time, and one of these days we'll emancipate you. They'll get to the place where they can come to a civil rights rally, too.

If those who support the bill will fight for it as hard and as skillfully as the southern opposition fights against it, victory will be ours.

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

Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our Nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

There will be neither rest nor tranquillity in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our Nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

And that is something that I must say to my people who stand on the threshold which leads to the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds.

Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers as evidenced by their presence here today have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny.

Never be satisfied

There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities.

We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating "for whites only." We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and the Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote.

No; we are not satisfied and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like water and righteousness like a mighty stream.

Now, I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells.

Continue to work with the faith that honor in suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

Now, I say to you today, my friends, so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this Nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the State of Mississippi, a State sweltering with the people's injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with—with this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope.

JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CORE

(Delivered by Floyd B. McKessick, national chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality, for Mr. Farmer, who is in jail in Louisiana on charges stemming from civil rights demonstrations.)

From a soft Louisiana parish jail, I salute the march on Washington for jobs and freedom. Two hundred and thirty-two freedom fighters jailed with me in Plaquemine, La., also send their greetings.

I wanted to be with you with all my heart on this great day. My imprisoned brothers and sisters wanted to be there too. I cannot come out of jail while they are still in; for their crime was the same as mine—demanding freedom now. And most of them will not come out of jail until the charges are dropped or their sentences reversed.

I know that you will understand my absence. So we cannot be with you today in body, but we are with you in spirit. By marching on Washington your tramping feet have spoken the message—the message of our trouble in Louisiana.

You have come from all over the Nation and in one mighty voice you have spoken to the Nation. You have also spoken to the world. You have said to the world by your presence here as our successful direct action

in numberless cities has said, that in the days of thermonuclear bombs, violence is outmoded to the solution of the problems of men.

It is a truth that needs to be shouted loudly. And no one else anywhere in the world is saying it as well as the American Negro through their nonviolent direct action.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 29, 1963]

SKETCHES OF THE 10 LEADERS OF CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH ON WASHINGTON

MATHEW AHMANN

Executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Was organizer and executive secretary of the National Conference on Religion and Race in Chicago a year ago. Graduate of St. John's University in Minnesota. Author of "The New Negro" and "Race: Challenge to Religion." Married, father of four children. Thirty-one years old. Did graduate work in sociology at the University of Chicago. Was social worker for the Chicago Department of Welfare. Acted as business and circulation manager of Today magazine. Field representative of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago. Later, its assistant director and action director.

DR. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE

Chief executive officer of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. President of the National Council of Churches of Christ until 1957, now serves as vice chairman of the council's commission on religion and race. Urbane, toughminded liberal. Attended Lawrenceville School, Princeton, and Princeton Theological Seminary. Taught school in India, taught religion at Williams College and has held pulpits in Pasadena, Calif., Albany, N.Y., and New York City. Was an opponent of McCarthyism in the 1950's. Arrested in a Baltimore civil rights demonstration this summer. Fifty-six years old. Is married to the former Valina Gillespie. No children.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Founder and president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Helped direct the Negro bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala., in 1956 and the Birmingham demonstrations last May that preceded the summer's national wave of protests. Has been in jail at least 12 times. Travels 200,000 miles a year on civil rights business. Son of a clergyman, is copastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. Left Morehouse College in Atlanta in 1948 to attend Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa., where he was voted outstanding student in his class. Received Ph. D. from Boston College in 1955. Married to the former Coretta Scott. Is 34 years old. Has three children.

JOHN LEWIS

Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. At 25, youngest of civil rights leaders. Former philosophy student at Fisk University, Nashville. Graduate of American Baptist Seminary. Took part in freedom ride from Washington to Birmingham, Ala., in 1961. Beaten by white mob when riders arrived at Montgomery, Ala. Arrested 24 times in civil rights demonstrations. Was also attacked by a white during a freedom ride stop in South Carolina. Succeeded Charles McDew, becoming the third chairman of the student committee, known popularly as SNICK. Is a member of the militant Nashville group, which has provided a number of leaders to the civil rights struggle. Is unmarried.

FLOYD B. M'KISSICK

National chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality. Marching in place of CORE president, James Farmer, who chose to remain in jail in Louisiana rather than come to Washington. Joined civil rights movement at age of 12 when pickets from his home town of Asheville, N.C., demonstrated at the State capitol in Raleigh against lack of accreditation for the Negro law school at North Carolina College. Graduate of University of North Carolina Law School, where he became the first Negro to attend after winning a suit to force his admission. Largely authored the Durham plan, successful negotiating formula used in Durham and other North Carolina cities. Married to the former Evelyn Williams. Has four children.

RABBI JOACHIM PRINZ

President of the American Jewish Congress. Expelled from Germany by Adolf Eichmann in 1937, when he was rabbi of the Berlin Jewish Community. Rabbi of Temple B'nai Abraham in Newark, N.J. in 1939. A lifelong Zionist, he quit the active Zionist movement when Israel became a nation in 1948, a step that brought him much criticism. Has been in frequent civil rights controversies. Won a libel suit against a rightwing magazine that called him a Communist. Has been a U.S. citizen since 1944. Married to the former Hilde Goldschmidt. Has four children, one by adoption. Is 61 years old.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Director of the march on Washington for jobs and freedom. Founder and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Only Negro vice president of the AFL–CIO. Organizer of two previous mass movements on the Capital, including the march-on-Washington movement in 1941, the antecedent of today's march, which prompted President Franklin D. Roosevelt to establish the Fair Employment Practices Commission. Born in Crescent City, Fla., son of a preacher. Worked his way through the City College. Arrested in 1917 but soon released for opposition to entry in World War I. Is 74 and married to the former Lucille Campbell—and to the works of Shaw and Shakespeare.

WALTER P. REUTHER

President of the United Automobile Workers Union, vice president and head of the industrial union department of the AFL–CIO. An oldtimer at picketing and labor demonstrations. One of three members of the AFL–CIO executive council who strongly criticized that group's failure earlier this month to endorse today's march. Is married to the former May Wolf. Has two children. Is 55 years old. Father and grandfather were active union officials. Completed high school through night courses. Active tennis player, swimmer, and hiker. Received CIO's award for furthering fight against racial discrimination in late 1940's.

ROY WILKINS

Executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Chairman of the leadership conference on civil rights. Joined the NAACP in 1931, after resigning the managing editorship of the Kansas City Call. Served as assistant secretary, under the late Walter White. Elected to succeed White in 1955. Native of St. Louis, was graduated from University of Minnesota in 1923. Married the former Aminda Badeau in 1929. Is 62 years old. Succeeded Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in 1934 as editor of the Crisis, official organ of the NAACP. Avid reader and author in his own right. Received elementary and secondary education in St. Paul.

WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

Executive director of the National Urban League. Forty-two years old. Former dean of Atlanta University's School of Social Work. Abandoned premedical studies for social work after combat engineer duty in the Army in Europe in World War II. Joined staff of St. Paul Urban League in 1947. Became director of Omaha Urban League in 1950. Quit in 1954 to accept the Atlanta University post. Served on the President's Committee on Youth Employment and the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces. Received the Florina Lasker award in 1959 for outstanding achievement in the field of social work. Elected head of National Urban League in 1961.

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 29, 1963]

LIVING PETITION

Freedom—the sound and spirit of the word alike—reverberated yesterday across the grounds of the Washington Monument. At the end of the Mall, inside the great Memorial erected to his memory, the gaunt, grave, silent figure of the Great Emancipator sat and listened, remembering, perhaps, the words of other marchers for freedom long, long ago: "We are coming, Father Abraham, 300,000 strong." Surely Abraham Lincoln yesterday heard the voices singing "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah," demanding fulfillment at last of the promise for which he lived and died, and shouting with simple faith in themselves and in their fellow Americans: "We shall overcome. We shall overcome."

They came from every portion of America. California had a throng there under a proudly held banner of the State. There was a delegation from West Memphis, Ark. The NAACP of Evansville, Ind., turned out in strength. So did the NAACP of Shreveport, La., and of Erie, Pa., and of Pittsfield, Mass., and of an endless catalog of the towns and cities of the land.

Every kind and class of American was there. The Vermont Stone Cutters Association formed a goodly group. The Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workers of North America, the United Automobile Workers, the civil libertarians of every hue, the Protestants, Catholics and Jews, white men and black men, black women and white women, children and their parents and their grandparents, the humble and the great—all were present. America sent to that great meeting in her Capital the representatives of every one of her manifold aspects and estates.

It was part picnic, part prayer meeting, part political rally, combining the best and most moving features of each. It was a happy crowd, much more gay than grim, full of warmth and good feeling and friendliness, instinct with faith and high hope, united in a sense of brotherhood and common humanity. It was a most orderly march, not with the precision of a military parade but with the order that grows out of a clear sense of common purpose, a fixed and certain destination.

No one could view that vast sea of faces turned upward toward the Lincoln statue without an awareness of commitment and dedication. No one could hear the scourging words spoken yesterday by A. Philip Randolph and Martin Luther King and others without a sense of guilt and grief and shame. No one could hear the tones of Marian Anderson's deep and beautiful voice singing, "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands," without profound emotion and involvement.

If the words spoken yesterday were heard by Abraham Lincoln at one end of the Mall, let us hope that they were heard by the Congress of the United States at the other end. For this was something much more than a mere outlet for emotion. Dr. King was altogetehr right in saying that "Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the Nation returns to business as usual. There will be neither rest nor tranquillity in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our Nation until the bright day of justice emerges."

There is a magnificent opportunity at hand to cut out once and for all a cancer in America demeaning and degrading to all Americans. Not Negroes alone, not white libertarians alone but Americans in general marched yesterday—and must march in unity and in brotherhood tomorrow and tomorrow.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 29, 1963]

EQUALITY IS THEIR RIGHT

The huge assemblage of Negro and white citizens in Washington yesterday to demand equality in all aspects of American life embodied, in concept and in execution, the noblest tradition of our democracy. It reflected their conviction that, if enough of the people demonstrate that they care enough, no force in the United States is more powerful than an appeal to conscience and to basic morality.

They massed, 200,000 strong, at the Lincoln Memorial beside the seated figure of the President who signed the Emancipation Proclamation a century ago. Their declarations of resolve to make that freedom real—in jobs, voting rights, schools, housing, and access to places of public accommodation—echoed Lincoln's own warning: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, cannot long retain it."

From President Kennedy came assurances that most Americans have given decisive recognition to the principle that every citizen is entitled to full participation in the national community. How decisive this recognition is in Congress will be demonstrated in the action of the House and Senate on the President's omnibus civil rights bill. The marchers made it plain that they regarded the administration package as a minimal legal underpinning for equal treatment and equal opportunity. Any substantial dilution, in the words of Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, would make the bill "little more than sugar water."

The discipline maintained by the civil rights pilgrims was as impressive as their dedication. That so vast a movement could be carried out with such decorum is a tribute to the responsibility of both leaders and followers—a responsibility not always evident in other demonstrations.

It was a day of special gratification for A. Philip Randolph, the 74-year-old leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who perhaps more than any other American, has consecrated his life to the fruition of the civil rights movement. The massive dignity that has always been his armor against the walls of racial exclusion was the dominant characteristic of the crusade he led to the Capital.

Whether the march will change any votes on Capitol Hill no one can be sure. The segregationists lost no time in making it plain that they were unimpressed—that, if anything, they were more confirmed than ever in their hostility to the President's program. But for those who were uncommitted the spirit of the marchers and the depth of feeling that brought them hundreds of miles to Washington must leave a mark. The Reverend Charles Billups, captain of a busload of Alabama Negroes, may have summed it all up best.

"The only weapon we have," he declared, "is protest. This ride isn't going to be a waste of time. I think this march will be remembered indefinitely." So do we.

[From the Chicago's American, Aug. 29, 1963]

A SMILING MARCH

The great anxiety among friends of the Negroes in their struggle for full civil rights was that the march on Washington should be carried out in good order.

It did better than that—it was carried out in extreme good nature. With something like 200,000 people engaged in it, it moved in a smiling mass from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial.

The object of the march was to persuade Members of Congress to vote for the civil rights bills. Some of the Members called this "a new concept of lobbying." It was not, however, actually new. It had been tried out, unsuccessfully, by Coxey's Army 70 years ago and by the bonus marchers in 1932.

Most of the Congressmen no doubt already had their minds made up on the civil rights bill, but in any case they were on hand to meet the Negro leaders and discuss the matter with them. This was made much simpler by the fact the marchers were not scowling threats of reprisal but were friendly and confident.

The marching crowd was, naturally, mostly Negro, although thousands of white people were in it too. The marchers had poured into Washington from every part of the United States to join in the demonstration. They had come by air, by train (a couple trainloads were from Chicago), by automobile, and by bus. Their presence made it clear that the Negroes were deeply resolved to get the rights given them by the Constitution, and that countless white people were ready to help them.

The gathering of the huge crowd into an organized unit was a tremendous task, and we congratulate the planners and managers—mostly Negroes—on accomplishing it brilliantly.

A well-arranged, dignified march on Washington has been carried out at last, and it is a pleasure to give credit for it to the organizing genius of Negro leaders and to the good sense and friendly outlook of the Negro marchers.

[From the Washington Daily News, Aug. 29, 1963]

YESTERDAY'S MARCH

James Baldwin, the talented Negro writer, dealt perceptively with the problem in a brief, off-the-cuff interview during yesterday's historic march on Washington.

It is time, he said, for Americans to get over their terror of the Negro.

If it is time, and we think it is, the march should have great impact.

Clear across the land the fearful had predicted trouble. Much Washington business was closed on the ostensible theory that traffic jams thus would be limited. But another motive was fear of vast disorder. The simple fact is the Nation's Capital, aside from the assembly area, practically was deserted—as quiet and as traffic-free as on a Sunday morning.

The conduct of the great throng, estimated at more than 200,000, put those fears to shame. The marchers were orderly, well mannered, and quietly dressed.

There was no disorder.

For this, great credit is due the Metropolitan Police and police reserves, the National Guard, and other special forces pressed into service for the occasion. These men conducted themselves in a remarkably friendly, kind, and relaxed manner. It was almost as if they, themselves, had been caught up in the excitement of brotherhood. In any case, they left no doubt as to whose comfort and safety they were there to insure.

The marchers disciplined themselves. They waited patiently for their turn to cross the street, standing aside so those in the rear could see. And their speakers were both dignified and articulate.

To our mind, the spirituals of Mahalia Jackson and the inspired eloquence of the Reverend Martin Luther King most closely reflected the spirit of the throng, and the applause they evoked could be heard for blocks beyond the Lincoln Memorial. Indeed, it was heard around the world.

Reverend King termed the Negro "an exile in his own land."

When the Negro tried to cash the check of liberty written in the Declaration of Independence, he said, it came back marked "insufficient funds." But still, he said, he refused to believe the "bank of justice" is bankrupt and urged faith and trust in white citizens saying, "We cannot walk alone."

No one, of course, can walk alone, of whatever race or nationality or condition. The human family, inevitably, grows closer and closer. And as another speaker said yesterday, in a world which has created the thermonuclear bomb, malice is a suicidal urge. If the Negro's firm determination to win social progress by peaceful protest proves itself, he will have contributed immeasurably to the stability of the institutions which, in aggregate, represent civilization itself.

Close your eyes to the dark complexion of the great majority of the watchers and one heard the lesson loud and clear; then this did not seem essentially a Negro demonstration at all. It was a gathering in the authentic American tradition of trying to get ahead through barriers of class and station. The spiritual overtones were phrased in the still familiar catchwords of the American Revolution and independence.

All in all, yesterday's march was a respectful exercise of the right of the people to assemble and petition for redress of grievances. It is difficult to deny the justice of the list of eight demands to which they pledged themselves, though many may question the suggested methods of achieving them.

The judgment of those who inspired the march, and persisted against the advice of even many of their friends, was amply vindicated.

The demonstration is bound to have a favorable effect, both on Congress and the country.

[From the Evening Star, Aug. 29, 1963]

THE MARCH AND ITS MEANING

Yesterday in Washington, all in all, was a good day. The fact that such a massive demonstration could be brought off without serious mishap was in itself historic. The organizers of the demonstration, and local officials, deserve all our congratulations.

There was, not surprisingly, bitterness in the speeches. Yet the things that seemed to set the mood of the occasion—and that stick in one's mind today—were the good-natured things. The cheerful manners displayed throughout—the expectant atmosphere at the Washington Monument as each arriving group added its enthusiasm to the congregation—bobbing signs on sunlit Constitution Avenue, packed for an hour with a chanting tide of strollers—tired feet being cooled in the Reflecting Pool—all the singing—especially Mahalia Jackson, suddenly bringing the crowd to roaring life with her proud trumpet voice—the hypnotic swing of Martin Luther King's oratorical finale. And above it all the shadowy figure of Lincoln, pensive and benevolent on his marble throne.

The march, no doubt, gave Negroes new confidence in themselves and what they can accomplish; otherwise, it seems unlikely to have much effect on civil rights progress, one way or the other. Not many minds were changed—certainly not in Congress. Television watchers around the country who found themselves moved by the proceedings were not segregationists when they tuned in. Perhaps the zeal of the marchers themselves, and of other activists in the cause, may have been sharpened by the experience here. On the other hand, surveys seem to indicate a bad reaction, in presumably sympathetic urban areas, to the whole concept

of this demonstration. Whether, on balance, the effort of August 28 was worth it in a practical sense will be debated for a long time to come.

It will not have been worth it if the euphoria of the occasion leads to impossible hopes. In the day's speeches, one line recurred again and again: "We want freedom now." It is important that all concerned understand what these words legitimately mean—and what they cannot mean. They cannot mean that the Negro is going to achieve full status in our system now, no matter who wishes it. If he expects otherwise, he is doomed to cruel disappointment.

Freedom, yes—in a formal sense. The Negro is entitled to freedom from legal restraints on his citizenship rights. He is justified in insisting, with support from all Americans, that no law should inhibit his education, housing, public accommodations, access to jobs, political expression, and the like. As a matter of fact, however, he is not going to obtain even these minimum objectives immediately and everywhere. And when he has obtained them, as he must—when his Government finally treats him as an individual citizen, without regard to the color of his skin—the problem of Negroes as a group will not have been solved. Long after legal segregation is gone, economic and social segregation will remain. The only process that ultimately can lead large numbers of Negroes out of their trap of frustration is the hard, slow, cumulative process of education. It will happen, but not now. Not this year, or next year, or in this generation.

All intelligent Negro leaders know this. Though no one said it at the Lincoln Memorial yesterday, they did sing it. The anthem of this revolution is: "We Shall Overcome—Someday." That last word was put there by someone who knew the difference between truth and demagoguery.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Aug. 29, 1963]

A GREAT DAY IN AMERICAN HISTORY

The march on Washington was an inspiring example of constructive citizenship. It proved that a vast number of people can assemble in order, and dignity, for a righteous cause.

The demonstration in the Nation's Capital was in every way a credit to all its leaders, and to all its participants. They did what they planned—to speak in a mighty voice for equal rights for all. Credit also goes to the police, who conducted themselves superbly, to the administration, which gave intelligent counsel, and, we might add, to potential troublemakers who decided on restraint.

The cynic can say that the marchers didn't change a single vote in Congress. They may ask: What was accomplished?

Well, the mere fact that there was a demonstration, in such size and organized success, advanced the cause of racial equality. It was a skillful piece of propaganda, of course, but the march on Washington can't be ignored as a persuasive force. Call it pressure if you will, but it was pressure—peaceable, decent, and honorable—for what is right.

The spirit of the demonstration spoke eloquently for individual rights, and its orderliness reflected the nobility of its purpose and the dedication of its movers. We have in truth witnessed a historic day in the fight for democratic ideals.

CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE STATEMENT ON CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, a few weeks ago Mr. Edwin C. Berry, the highly respected executive director of the Chicago Urban League, presented to me a forceful and impressive statement of his views on the President's civil rights legislative proposals and other legislation in this field. Mr. Berry writes with great authority and understanding of the effects of discrimination against Negroes in public accommodations, schooling, employment, voting, and the administration of Federal programs. His statement is constructive, and deserves the attention of all Members of Congress. I hope it will be widely studied; and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

STATEMENT BY EDWIN C. BERRY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE, SATURDAY, AUGUST 3, 1963, IN THE OFFICE OF SENATOR PAUL H. DOUGLAS, CHICAGO

The administration's civil rights program is an imperative first step to help Negroes in Illinois and the Nation break down barriers which restrict their rights to equal opportunities.

The President's omnibus civil rights package represents the historic high water mark by the Federal Government in the proposal of plans and policies necessary to wipe out second-class citizenship. While it is the furthest Government has ever gone nationally toward providing the framework for civil rights solution, it nevertheless represents the irreducible minimum of legislation urgently needed for progress in human rights.

There can be no compromise on this legislation. There can be no watering it down. The alternative to passage of this legislation may well be a reign of strife and violence paralyzing our cities which could do untold and irreparable damage to our society.

In brief, the Government's program calls for:

1. Equal access for all citizens to public places such as hotels, restaurants, and theaters.

2. Empowering the Attorney General to file suits against school boards accused of racial discrimination and to provide aid for school districts that are desegregating.

3. Broadening the Federal manpower and training programs to reduce unemployment.

4. Strengthening the powers of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, headed by Vice President LYNDON JOHNSON.

5. Creation of a Federal community relations service to assist biracial committees in towns and cities to bring about orderly integration.

6. To extend the life of the Federal Civil Rights Commission.

7. To strengthen Negro voting rights by a Federal statute guaranteeing the right of any person with a sixth grade education to vote.

To begin with, I would like to point out that the Nation as a whole and all minority groups in particular will benefit if these forward steps are passed by Congress. Life will hold new meaning, dignity, and opportunity for 20 million Negroes as well as many millions of other minority group persons if the President's program is enacted. There are more than 1 million Mexican Americans, 5,500,000 Jews, 900,000 Puerto Ricans, 500,000 American Indians, and 700,000 persons of oriental descent, as well as millions of persons of the Catholic faith who frequently encounter bias and who will be benefited by the President's bills.

In addition, the implementation of civil rights legislation will provide a spur that may yet energize the sluggish pace of economic growth, reduce the welfare load, reduce expenditures for delinquency and dependency, and curtail the staggering burden of foreign aid expenditures necessitated, in part, by the resentment of colored people abroad to practices of racial discrimination in this country.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

If anything, property rights of individual businessmen will be enhanced and property values increased rather than curtailed by these civil rights proposals. In a very practical sense, the dollar value of any business which excludes certain groups from its patronage is going to be markedly less than the dollar volume of businesses which enjoy nonrestrictive sales policies. Reports from the South concerning department stores which have voluntarily desegregated indicate an early upsurge at the cash register.

The only persons who ought be denied the right to patronize public places are those who are drunken or disorderly and whose presence poses a real, rather than a fictional threat to property rights. Property values in America have been increased by the labor and toil of persons from every nation in the world and representing every faith, race and walk of life.

Recently, novelist John Howard Griffin, author of "Black Like Me" darkened his skin color and went into the South. The black Mr. Griffin was denied service at numerous restaurants and department stores. He then removed his artificial color and returned to the same places of business to find that he was served and accepted. It is ludicrous for diehard southern spokesmen to contend that Mr. Griffin, the white man, did not jeopardize property rights but that Mr. Griffin, the Negro, did. If anyone is placing the property rights of a businessman in jeopardy, it is those in business themselves who restrict their dollar volume by their failure to serve all men regardless of creed or color.

The public accommodations plank will benefit Negroes traveling through not only the South but through Northern and Western States, too. Right here in neighboring Indiana a recent civil rights survey cited in the Hammond Times states that in 16 cities customers are denied service because of their color in 22 percent of roller rinks, 23 percent of motels, 31 percent of trailer courts, 45 percent of all taverns, and 56 percent of all nursing homes, even though Indiana, like 29 other States, has a public accommodations statute.

Negroes, today, must wear an invisible mask of psychological scar tissue because of their rejection by headwaiters and motel operators and drugstore soda jerks. The Negro cannot say "I want a soda" or "I want a glass of water" but "Where can I get a drink of water?" or "Where can I get a soda?" The further south one travels in Illinois, the more frequent is the discrimination encountered in public places. As a general rule, it would seem that State investigatory commissions are too understaffed to give early attention to charges of discrimination in public places brought by Negroes. Moreover, if past performance is any kind of guide, the passage of a Federal law outlawing bias in public places will give countless fairminded and courageous businessmen throughout the Nation a rationale to take the lead in integrating their businesses. Those who presently fear to act contrary to local custom can take pride in the fact that a new national law will have been passed obliging them to open their doors to Negro Americans.

It is our conviction that the public accommodations section should be strengthened to include stringent penalties against businessmen who would deny service to Negroes. Men must be judged in the American tradition—on their merits as individuals—rather than on their ethnic or racial origins. It is the most galling injustice to see a Negro