

causes not dedicated primarily to civil rights or to the welfare of our country.

"We ask each and every one in attendance in Washington or in spiritual attendance back home to place the cause above all else.

"Do not permit a few irresponsible people to hang a new problem around our necks as we return home. Let's do what we came to do—place the national human rights problem squarely on the doorstep of the national Congress and of the Federal Government.

"Let's win at Washington."

Mathew Ahmann, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, vice-chairman of the Commission on Race Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America; James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress; A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council; Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, AFL-CIO, and chairman, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League.

In addition, the march has been endorsed by major religious, fraternal, labor and civil rights organizations. A full list, too long to include here, will be published.

WHAT WE DEMAND¹

1. Comprehensive and effective civil rights legislation from the present Congress—without compromise or filibuster—to guarantee all Americans access to all public accommodations, decent housing, adequate and integrated education, and the right to vote.
2. Withholding of Federal funds from all programs in which discrimination exists.
3. Desegregation of all school districts in 1963.
4. Enforcement of the 14th amendment—reducing congressional representation of States where citizens are disfranchised.
5. A new Executive order banning discrimination in all housing supported by Federal funds.
6. Authority for the Attorney General to institute injunctive suits when any constitutional right is violated.
7. A massive Federal program to train and place all unemployed workers—Negro and white—on meaningful and dignified jobs at decent wages.
8. A national minimum wage act that will give all Americans a decent standard of living. (Government surveys show that anything less than \$2 an hour fails to do this.)
9. A broadened Fair Labor Standards Act to include all areas of employment which are presently excluded.
10. A Federal Fair Employment Practices Act barring discrimination by Federal, State, and municipal governments, and by employers, contractors, employment agencies, and trade unions.

Mr. MORSE. In closing, let me say that the symbolism, the significance, and the meaning of this great historic program which was held this afternoon at

¹ Support of the march does not necessarily indicate endorsement of every demand listed. Some organizations have not had an opportunity to take an official position on all of the demands advocated here.

the site of Lincoln's shrine, place a serious responsibility upon this session of Congress.

The significance of this program this afternoon cannot be laughed off. It cannot be brushed aside. We politicians must come to grips with it. We must come to grips with those in our midst who indicate that they are ready to use whatever parliamentary weapons are available to them to deny the delivery of the Constitution of the United States to the Negroes of America.

The senior Senator from Oregon repeats the call to duty on the part of those who believe in the civil rights program, believe in delivering civil liberties to the Negroes of America, believe that the time has come to deliver the Constitution of the United States to the Negroes of America, to make it perfectly clear that we will stay here not only until January 1, but that we will continue in session as long as is necessary to pass the legislation that will carry out the demands which the Negroes of America are entitled to have fulfilled.

I renew the position I took several weeks ago, when I said to my leadership that if, as, and when the filibuster against the President's civil rights program starts on the floor of the Senate, so far as the senior Senator from Oregon is concerned, there should not be any recess. I am not moved by the argument that the program as outlined may impose some hardships on our colleagues in the Senate. We will protect any colleagues who cannot suffer any of the hardships that may be involved in breaking the filibuster.

Mr. President, come with me and look at the sufferings and hardships that the white people of America, by their failure to deliver the Constitution of the United States to the colored people during the past long 100 years, have imposed upon the colored masses of America. Do not talk to me about hardships suffered by politicians. It is about time they suffered some hardships. If they do not want to suffer some hardships in order to carry out the trust of their office, which they swore to do when they raised their hands at the desk and took their oaths to uphold the Constitution of the United States; if the job is too tough for them; let them resign and get out of the Senate.

There is much at stake in this historic battle. Time is wasting. We do not have much time. Speaker after speaker this afternoon did not hesitate to use the ugly word and say that a revolution is on in America—a revolution for constitutional rights—a peaceful revolution. But we never know the ultimate course of revolutions, if people who are revolting believe their rights are constantly faced with one setback after another.

I shall continue to pray that this revolution may be resolved quickly, to remove the danger of any threat to the Republic, and that it may be done within our constitutional processes of government by law. But that is up to us, the politicians. We shall have much to answer for if we start to water down, to duck and hedge, weave, and equivocate, in respect to the rightful demands of the

colored people of America, expressed again in the shadows of Lincoln's shrine this afternoon, at the great, historic meeting that was held there.

I make these comments now because now is the time for constitutionalists in the Senate to stand up and be counted. Now is the time to make the issue perfectly clear to Senators who, in all sincerity, but with great misguided judgment, try to argue that the Negroes of America should not receive now the constitutional guarantees which have been denied them these long 100 years.

To the American people, I say, in closing: Every one of you has responsibilities of citizenship. You must stand up and be counted as to whether you are going to sustain the foundations of this Republic, or whether, for selfish reasons, or out of prejudice and bigotry, or for any other reasons, you will support a denial of constitutional rights to the Negroes of America. Let me say to you, my fellow citizens, that unless you make clear to your elected politicians that you want the Constitution delivered to the Negroes now, the image of the United States throughout the world, in all our foreign policy relations, will soon develop into the ugly image of hypocrisy. Already, in too many places in the world, the United States is looked upon as the most hypocritical nation in the world because of our failure to practice our professions of freedom and constitutional guarantees.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I listened with keen attention and interest to the eloquent remarks of the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], concerning the demonstration—all day—here in the Nation's Capital, in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

Early this morning it was my privilege to meet with the representatives of the United Church, a Congregational church group, which met at one of the fine churches in this community. There were several hundred delegates or representatives of the Congregational denomination. I was very much moved by what took place in that church, and I was very much impressed by the caliber of the people in attendance. Later on, I was privileged to meet with representatives and delegates from Minnesota that joined in the march on Washington for jobs and freedom. I believe there were about 100 or more Minnesota delegates here in the Nation's Capital for the massive demonstration.

This afternoon, I attended the activities and ceremonies at the Lincoln Memorial. I wish I were an artist, Mr. President, because the scene I witnessed was beautiful. It was an experience that will live in my memory as long as I live.

I wish to associate myself with splendid and moving remarks of the Senator from Oregon; and for a few moments I should like to interpret for the Senate the meaning of this meeting as I saw it.

First of all let me say that in Washington during the past few weeks there were many who expressed worry and concern because of the possibility of disorder or violence in the Nation's Capital, due to the large number of people who were coming here from all over the United States.

Tonight the American people have been reassured, not by words but by deeds. There was no violence; no disorder.

We have seen self-discipline, good manners, orderly procedure, and respect for law and order. All those great qualities of the American character were exemplified today.

I was in favor of the demonstration, and I said so in the Senate. I was not for it because I thought it would change overnight the attitudes of some Members of Congress; but I was for it because the people wanted it, and because I believe in constitutional guarantees.

A few minutes ago the Senator from Oregon referred to the oath he took, as a Senator, to uphold the Constitution. I, too, took that oath, Mr. President; and at all times I will uphold the Constitution to the best of my ability. That great document contains the guarantee of the right of petition, the guarantee of the right to assemble peacefully, the guarantee of the right to speak, the guarantee of freedom of the press, the guarantee of freedom of religion, and, in a sense, a guarantee of freedom of thought and freedom of conscience. Today, all these freedoms were brought into being—into living reality—all of them took on added light. This afternoon the Constitution became a living document, not merely a legal instrument, setting out the procedures and institutions of government. Today it became a living document in the hearts, the minds, and the souls of millions of Americans.

I was delighted and honored to be a part of the meeting today. Many Members of Congress went to the Lincoln Memorial and joined with the more than 200,000 good citizens of the United States who gathered in the beautiful area between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument. Our fellow citizens gathered to speak up for freedom. That was the purpose of the meeting. Songs of America were sung. Songs of our religious faiths were sung, and the assembled thousands were addressed by leaders who spoke up for democracy and freedom.

Mr. President, that great gathering took place on what amounted to a huge stage.

During the day, many newspaper reporters asked me, "Senator, do you think this demonstration will influence Congress?" "Senator, what do you think of the demonstration? What is your evaluation of it?"

First, Mr. President, let me say this was a demonstration by thousands of our citizens of good conduct, orderly

procedure, respect for law and order, self-respect, and self-discipline. It was also a demonstration that when Americans are faced with difficult problems, they still have faith and a sense of good humor. There were more smiles on the faces of those who today participated in that demonstration, yes, many more smiles than you will ever see behind the Iron Curtain. Not long ago I was privileged to be a member of the Senate delegation which went to Moscow. Although I found there people who were hard at work, and dedicated to their country and to their system—people who are strong and healthy, one thing seemed to be lacking—the happiness of the soul which is revealed by a smile on the countenance. A smile is an expression of the soul and of the spirit.

I venture to say that today millions of Americans saw on the television the panorama of healthy, enthusiastic, vigorous Americans who conducted themselves with honor and dignity and possessed a sense of self-reliance and good humor.

It was a wonderful demonstration. Prior to it, when I was asked about the demonstration, I said in the Senate, "It will be a blessed event." Mr. President, it is, and it was. It was good for the city of Washington, D.C.; it was good for the Nation; it was good for the entire world; and it was good for the United States of America throughout the world.

At the demonstration I saw Americans who were dedicated to the principles of individual liberty, political freedom, and the Constitution of the United States. I saw there an integrated audience. It has been said that one picture is worth 10,000 words. Today, millions of the American people saw, by television, people of various races, creeds, and nationalities standing together, singing together, speaking together, walking together, playing together, and working together in the Nation's Capital. Let no one tell me it is necessary to have segregation.

More good things took place in Washington, D.C. this afternoon than in many a year. People joined together, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. A moment ago I said that the scene was like a huge stage, and the 200,000 people present, including the speakers and other participants, were in a sense actors upon the stage.

Every newspaper in America—indeed, almost every newspaper in the world—was represented today. Books, magazines, periodicals, radio and television were represented. There was full coverage. What a tribute to free speech and a free press. What a tribute to our democracy. People in our great country were demonstrating and petitioning their Government in their Capital City, and the great free press of America—the news media of America—carried the whole story to the whole world. The USIA was there to take the story to every country in the world as it is, and not doctored or censored, but as it is and as it was. It was marvelous.

Yes. The participants were like actors in a mighty drama. Who was the audience, and where was the audience? Not

here. The audience was back in every village, town, hamlet, city, and farm home in America—185 million people—because this great drama went out to the people this afternoon. I venture to say that there was more mass education on the issues of social justice and human rights in America today than in all the history of our Republic.

We often talk about the power of television, the press, and the written and spoken word. Today we witnessed it. Millions of people, for the first time in their lives, were brought face to face with the cruel realities of social injustice, as revealed by one witness after another, as in a mighty court of public opinion. Millions of people heard for the first time the full meaning of bigotry and discrimination. They also heard the message of opportunity and equality. Millions of people heard about the President's civil rights program and about other features of proposed civil rights legislation. They heard about it from people who not only spoke about it, but those whose very lives are involved in it.

I shall never forget what an old preacher friend of mine once told me: "HUBERT, you will never know what it is to grieve until you have suffered. You will never know pain until you have experienced it. You will never know injustice until you have been the victim of it."

Those who can best portray the ugliness and the tragedy of inequality, injustice, and inhumanity are the ones who have experienced it. People were on the platform today who had been thrown in jail only because they asked to be given the full privileges of American citizenship. People were speaking today who had been beaten by police and whose only crime was that they wanted to vote. They wanted the protections of the Constitution. But today there was no bitterness. I never heard one word of bitterness.

It was wonderful to note the sense of understanding, the compassion, and the charity of those who spoke and participated. What a tribute to our country. What a tribute to the Judaic-Christian faith of our country. What a tribute to the ethical and moral standards that we have inherited. This afternoon every American has a right to be proud. Yes, every American ought to reexamine his conscience, too, as to what he has been doing to his fellow man.

Let it be crystal clear that when any man is denied freedom, it thereby diminishes the freedom of all.

Freedom is indivisible. Liberty is indivisible. Whenever freedom is denied one, it is denied in part to all. As the poet said: "There is a tide in the affairs of men."

Indeed, that time is here when we are going to achieve the fulfillment of the promise of the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation. I am happy that I am alive in 1963. What a wonderful time to be alive.

I have often thought what a historic moment it must have been in January 1863, when the great Abraham Lincoln proclaimed the end of slavery, set free

millions of the slaves. But what a great privilege it is to live in 1963—the space age, the atom age, the age of human rights. This is the age of excitement. It is the age of achievement. Consider what we have been able to do in recent years in the fields of science, medicine, good living, industry, and technology. Contemplate what we are going to do, in the field of human relations. We must do it. It is inevitable.

Mr. President, sometimes I pity those who stand in the way, because what we see is like the relentless force of nature itself. Man cannot overcome nature nor can he overcome literally the strength of the spirit.

There is a mighty force at work in the world. It is the force of justice, and it is expressing itself in a Nation committed to justice. What our Nation needs to give to the world is not a big bomb, as we have been told in recent hearings. The Soviet Union can make a bomb as big as we can, and has made a bigger one. The Communists can produce arms, weapons, missiles. But they are having a hard time producing justice, because it is not in their system, and they are having a difficult time giving reality and meaning to what we, for lack of a better phrase, call love or compassion, and understanding. This is what we have to offer to the world. We have a great heritage of social justice and, like the wonderful great prophet of social justice of the Old Testament, Amos, who is too seldom quoted and too seldom read, said in those moving words:

Let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.

And justice will roll over this earth like a mighty river if we give it the headwaters. Those headwaters must be in the United States of America. That is what I think was going on today.

Mr. President, I have been asked the following question: Will the Congress be moved by today's demonstration. That is a question for each Member of Congress to determine. Members of Congress will be either moved to do what is right in this body or they may be moved out of this body.

They will hear from the people. I am not at all sure that this particular demonstration as such will have an immediate direct effect upon the Congress. Most of the Members of Congress who were present at the demonstration today were already for the civil rights program. Members of Congress that have been opposed to it were not there. But we have representative government. The message went out to every home and every family in America today. And the people will speak up.

Mr. President, I wish to thank the television networks, the independent radio and television stations, the newspapers of America, all the radio stations, and the news media of America. I wish to thank them—yes, generously thank them—for what they did today in public information. They really performed a fine public service.

Mr. President, the Congress will be affected by what happened here today. It will be affected because the people back

home will talk to Members of the Congress, and either the Congress will listen or some Members will be brought home never to return.

It seems to me that one has a very difficult case to prove when he tries to prove that segregation is constitutional.

One surely cannot prove that it is morally right. One surely cannot prove that it is politically right. One can say that it is convenient, or that some desire it, or that it has existed and we want to keep it, but one cannot justify it morally, ethically, politically—and I do not think one can justify it even economically.

So today we really and truly witnessed a marvelous event. Every segment of our society was present; labor, business, the professions—the young and the old, those of different races, creeds, and nationalities.

And the great spiritual leaders were there. Was it not a wonderful thing to have a meeting highlighted by prayer, by music, by a plea for unity, by a plea for social justice, by a plea for respect for law and order? Was it not wonderful?

Imagine what could happen in America as a result of the injustices which have been perpetrated upon some. Imagine what could happen if the Communist or the demagog were able to get hold of a movement such as this. But they will not get hold of it. Do Senators know why? It is because the great spiritual leaders of America and men like A. Philip Randolph—from labor and from business, who have practiced fair employment practices in industry for many years, have spoken up in the best tradition of this country. They have taken on social responsibility. When free men take on social responsibility and take up the cause of social justice the demagog does not have a chance.

So I rejoice at what has happened. I predict that it will influence the Congress.

I join with the Senator from Oregon in saying that we shall be in session until we pass that legislation, whatever may be the cost and whatever may need to be done to have it accomplished. We dare not walk away from this challenge.

I hope that the Congress will become as excited about the abuses of freedom within America as Members do about what happens behind the Iron Curtain. I wish there were as many speeches made on this floor about abuses and the denial of freedom within America as are made about Cuba and Castro.

Let us clean our own house. Let us come to the world with clean hands, with clean hearts, with clean consciences.

Mr. President, the trouble is that we prefer to lecture and to condemn the Khrushchevs and the Castros rather than to face up to our own iniquity, to face up to our own evil, and our own shortcomings.

No Senator can justify illiteracy in this country. No Senator can justify discrimination and bigotry. No man can justify the denial of equal justice under the law.

Oh, the fact that it happens one may be able to become accustomed to, but

one cannot justify it before God, a court, or within his own conscience.

At the conclusion of today's meeting there was a pledge read by A. Philip Randolph, and those present took the pledge—and they meant it. I shall put it in the Record. It says:

Standing before the Lincoln Memorial on the 28th of August, in the centennial year of emancipation, I affirm my complete personal commitment to the struggle for jobs and freedom for all Americans.

To fulfill that commitment, I pledge that I will not relax until victory is won.

I pledge that I will join and support all actions undertaken in good faith in accord with the time-honored democratic tradition of nonviolent protest, of peaceful assembly and petition, and of redress through the courts and the legislative process.

I pledge to carry the message of the march to my friends and neighbors back home and to arouse them to an equal commitment and an equal effort. I will march and I will write letters. I will demonstrate and I will vote. I will work to make sure that my voice and those of my brothers ring clear and determined from every corner of our land.

I pledge my heart and my mind and my body, unequivocally and without regard to personal sacrifice, to the achievement of social peace through social justice.

Mr. President, I take that pledge here in the Senate. I think it is a pledge for every American. How wonderful and fortunate it is that we have a leader who can stand before a multitude and ask people to take a pledge of democratic processes—a pledge to work through the courts, to work through the legislative process, to vote, to hold nonviolent demonstrations.

It is a pledge to law and order. It is a pledge to work with one's neighbors. It is a pledge to education.

Mr. President, to some areas of the world people take pledges to commit injustice, to destroy, to engage in subversion and to practice deceit.

There were people who came to Washington, who stood in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial, facing out to that monument of purity and simplicity, the Washington Monument—people by the thousands—who came to take what kind of a pledge? A pledge to be good Americans. A pledge to work through the processes of free government. A pledge to work through community action. A pledge of loyalty to our country and the Constitution.

Let no man criticize this group. They have come away from their demonstration with a badge of honor. I feel about 2 feet taller today because of what I witnessed my fellow Americans do. I join in saluting and commending them. I hope they will all return safely to their homes. When they get there, I hope they will be inspired with the message they have heard today, and that they will insist the Congress respond to the will and voice of the people.

I am confident that voice will be heard loud and clear.

RECESS SUBJECT TO CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I am happy to announce that the motion to