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

We ask that some dedicated people to hang a new problem around our necks as we return home. Let’s do what we came to do—a human right—demands squarely on the doorstep of the national Congress and of the Federal Government.

"March on 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. Philip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council; Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, America Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, 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 DEMAND
1. Comprehensive and effective civil rights legislation from 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 affirmative 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. MOREE. In closing, let me say that the symbolism, the significance, and the meaning of this great historic program which was held this afternoon at

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 people 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 necessary to pass the legislation that will carry out the demands which the Negroes of America are entitled to have fulfilled.

I renew this call the cause it took several weeks ago, when I said to my leadership that if, as, and when the filibuster against the President’s civil rights program succeeds in the Senate, I would resign as a member of the Senate, so far as the senior Senator from Oregon is concerned, there should not be any recession. 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 they 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 Negroes 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 program, 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 going on 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 restored quickly, to remove the danger of any threat to the Republic, and that it may be done within our constitutional processes of government by bringing all of 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 here yesterday 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 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 Senator 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 urge my fellow citizens, that unless you make clear to your elected politicians that you want the Constitution delivered to the Negroes of America, 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 call of the Senate is now in order.

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 appreciation earlier to the eloquent remarks of the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Moss], 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 Senate 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 the several days and weeks that have passed 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. 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 of the United States. In a democracy that great document contains the guarantee of the right of petition, the guarantee of the right to assemble peacefully, 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 that 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 will. When I saw 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, 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 face.

It was a wonderful demonstration. Prior to it, when I was asked about the demonstration the other day, Senator, "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 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, walking together, playing together, and working together in the Nation's Capitol. 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 the creed or national origin. A moment ago I said that the scene was like a huge stage, and the 200,000 people present, including 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 our country. What a tribute to the Judeo-Christian faith of our country. What a tribute to the ethics 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
we are the 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. 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 big bomb can go off only 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 in the system, and we 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 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 the 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. Members of Congress are, I think, as divided as the Constitution, and the 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 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 reproof that this government. The message went out to every home and every family in America today. And the people will speak.

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, 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 declare 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. What 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 and the rule of law. 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 demagogue were able to get hold of a movement such as this. But they will not get hold of it. Do Senators know why they have become the great spittoon, the great spittoon of 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 causes of social justice the demagogue 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. It needs to be done to have it accomplished. We dare not walk away from this challenge.

I hope that the Congress will become as concerned 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 forward in a full and open hands, with clean hearts, with clean conscience.

Mr. President, the trouble is that we prefer to lecture and to condemn the Khruishchevs and the Castrots 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, to some areas of the world people take pledges to commit injustice, to destroy, to engage in subversion and to promote defeat.

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 one inspired by Lincoln March Monday, how many 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