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Association, the speech and the painful doubts were to end of himself.

Where I think—times almost unbearable difficulty—is when I try to examine the meaning of what I am engaged in. When we get too great in the newspaper business do we suspect people in your business do. We retreat to the ritual of old rules that we know are meaningless.

We say that we just print the objective news in a way and confirm our opinions to the editorial page. Yet we know that while this has some merit as an oversimplified slogan, it also has a strong smell of pure baloney.

If we keep wages too low in some few areas where unions still let us do it, or if we neglect decent working conditions, we cannot avoid the cost, we defend ourselves by muttering about our concern for stockholders. As though by our passion for a relatively anonymous and absent group we can justify a lack of compassion for people we spend our working days with.

If we are brutally careless about printing something, even though the charge is not against some concrete individual, we are apt to wave the abstract flag of freedom of speech in order to justify the embarrassment of a concrete apology.

And if we are pressed even harder, we may save ourselves by saying that after all there are liberal laws. And as soon as we say that we redouble our efforts to make those laws as toothless as we possibly can. And if we are pressed really quite hard, we can finally shrug our shoulders and say, "Well, after all we have to live." Then we can only hope no one will ask the ultimate question: "Why?"

I certainly have been guilty of all those stupid errors myself. And I suppose that more than a few of you have done as poorly.

What I come to are those rare occasions when I have seen some better sense of the meaning of what I am engaged in. In those moments I have realized that our problems are relatively simple and that some simple, ancient, moral precepts are often reliable business tools. In those moments I have been able to look straight at the bottom of my judgment. And finally I have been honest enough to recognize that a few—very few—great issues about which we spend our life are the ones which deserve to be considered truly complex.

We are agreed, I am sure, that the free exchange of ideas and the release of mankind from burdensome tolls are important goals in the development of civilization. But we will be very foolish people if we decide that my newspaper methods and my methods of producing energy are the only—or even the best—methods of furthering these goals.

The realization of this does not mean we have to be any the less able or the less passionately interested in our jobs. In paying attention to the broader meaning of what we are engaged in, we may be able to join our passions and our intelligence and make such a jungle, even on the part of but one individual, can represent a significant step forward on the long road toward civilization.

INDIANA YOUTH CONSERVATION CAMP

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, today the State of Indiana began a pilot project which I hope will be a model for the youth employment opportunities bill currently before the Congress. I am speaking of the Indiana Youth Conservation Camp, at Harrison State Forest, near Corydon, where 100 young men between the ages of 17 and 22 will spend the next 2 months. They are out of school and out of work. The purpose of the camp is to get them back to school or back to work. All have been carefully selected by the Indiana Employment Security Division. None are juvenile offenders.

In addition to conservation work, they will receive a minimum of 8 hours a week of education in basic subjects, such as mathematics, English, and the social sciences. Furthermore, they will work in small groups, in an attempt to make up any deficiencies which dropping out of school may have left them with.

This educational effort is of prime importance, because time and time again we see that a basic education is the bare minimum needed in order to survive in our changing employment market. With this education, plus the knowledge of what it means to put in a hard day's work, these young people will be, I hope, motivated enough to seek further employment or to return to school.

Whatever they do, the employment security division will try to help them find jobs at the end of the program.

Although the division will not guarantee jobs, I doubt that the young men will have trouble finding them, for after their training they will be more desirable as employees.

The camp was established by an executive order of Gov. Matthew E. Welsh, upon the recommendation of the Indiana Youth Conservation Corps. Besides the council and the employment security division, the following State agencies are also sponsoring the camp: the Indiana National Guard, the division of labor, the department of conservation, and the department of public construction.

The young men will receive $35 a month, and $100 at the end of the 2-month period, to help them get started on their next job—which we hope will be a permanent one.

This is the type of program that enacts the “right to work” and establishes employment opportunities bill will allow us to continue. I believe this program demonstrates the need for enactment of the bill and establishment of a Youth Conservation Corps and a Hometown Youth Corps.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. Is the morning hour over?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

AMENDMENT OF THIS MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT OF 1962

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill (S. 1716) to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on Wednesday last the Nation and the world saw the heart of the American Negro revealed in an unforgettable demonstration of unity and democracy. In a dignified, extraordinarily disciplined, and intensely patriotic manner, 200,000 Americans—from all sections of the Nation and from all levels of life—came to the conscience of their country to appeal for redress of the very real grievances of the Negro.

This march on Washington for jobs and freedom could not help but touch the conscience of every American and the conscience of Congress. This living petition was directed to the Congress, which has lagged behind the other branches of the Federal Government in insuring and protecting the right of the Negro to full citizenship.

I was impressed, Mr. President, by the large number of non-Negroes in Wednesday's march, especially by the number of religious leaders. Their presence was symbolic of the fact that the struggle to redeem the soul of a nation, plagued by 100 years of racial discrimination, is everybody's struggle.

The march demonstrated that the first amendment right of peaceful assembly and petition for redress of grievances is a living part of our political history, and that it is what the Negro community is seeking to invoke in demonstrations across the country. This march proved that the first amendment rights can be exercised without danger of violence and disturbance.

But despite the polite and orderly behavior of the crowd, and the moderation of the speakers, it was plainly evident that the demonstration was a symbol of the civil rights revolution—a revolution which we in Congress cannot ignore as we get down to the business of discussing meaningful civil rights legislation this year. The Reverend Martin Luther King summed it up when he said at the rally in the Lincoln Memorial:

"There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro has granted his citizenship rights."

The words spoken by Dr. King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, Walter Reuther, John Lewis, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Matthew Ahmee, and other leaders of the march, are important to the Nation and to Congress, and I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record excerpts from the invocation and their speeches, as published in the New York Times of Thursday, August 29, 1963; and also an editorial, published this morning, comparing the bitter fruit of the civil rights revolution with the sweet fruit of the public school system of his State, in order to avoid desegregation, rather than allow children to return to school normally, as they should, under the traditionally American circumstances.

The presence of no objection, the excerpts, invocation, and editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows: [From the New York Times, Aug. 29, 1963] MOST REV. PATRICK O'BRIEN, ARCHBISHOP OF WASHINGTON, Invocation.

"In the name of the Holy Ghost, amen. Our Father, who are in heaven, we who are assembled here in a spirit of peace and
in good faith dedicate ourselves and our hope to the fullness of Your blessing upon those who have gathered with us today, and upon all men and women of good will to labor together for the cause of justice and equality. We ask that this blessing because we are convinced that in honoring all those who have gone before their people to a land we have to 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 herals 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 are asking for those men and women who in sincerity and honesty have been leaders in the struggle for justice and humanity. 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, brotherhood, and religious faith that are the heritage of democracy, will prevail in our land.

Finally, we ask that You condescend to Your service all in this crusade who are dedicated to the principles of the Constitution of the United States. May we be sensitive to our duties toward others as we are to our rights. May we move forward unashamed, unrepentant, to deal 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.

Amem.

REV. DR. EUGENE CARSON BLAINE, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

I wish that I were able to speak for all Protestant, Anglo-Saxon, 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 community 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 more than 20 years the National Council of Churches and most of its constituent organizations have said all the right things about civil rights. Indeed, Americans have long since clearly called for "a nonsegregated church in a nonsegregated society." But as of August 28, 1963, we have achieved 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 Bill of Rights, the United States of America still faces a racial crisis.