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

Where—times almost
untolerable difficulty—is when I try to ex-
tamine the meaning of what I am engaged in.

When we get too great a
difficulty in the newspaper business do we
think 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 our newspapers and condense our
opinions to the editorial page. Yet we know
that while this has some merit in an
over-simplified slogan, it also has a sing-song 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, as seems to happen, we
can avoid the cost, we defend ourselves
by muttering about our concern for stock-
holders. As though by our passion for a relatively anonymous and
absent group we can justify a lack of compas-
sion for people we spend our working days
with.

If we are brutally careless about printing
something that may hurt by the chance
of some concrete individual, we are apt to wave
the abstract flag of freedom of speech in order to
avoid the embarrassment of a con-
crete apology.

If we are pressed even harder, we may
swear our consciences by saying that after
all there are libel 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 things myself—unmeanin-
gal. I suppose that more than a
few of you have done so as well.

What I like to recall are those rare
occasions when I have had 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 keep in mind that it really
doesn't matter whether I am kept in my
job. If I have been able to look straight at the frailty of my
judgment. And finally I have been honest enough to recognize that a few—a very few—great iss-
ues about which we argue life and death are
so important that any deficiencies which dropping out
of school may have left them with.

This educational effort is of prime im-
potence, 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 work hard, to work,
these young people will

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so important that any deficiencies which dropping out
of school may have left them with.

The march demonstrated that the first
amendment right of peaceful assembly
and petition for redress of grievances is a living part of our political his-
tory. This 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 be-
havior of the crowd, and the moderation
of the speakers, it was plainly evident
that the marchers were demonstrating that 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 is granted his
citizenship rights.

The words spoken by Dr. King, A.
Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Whitney
Young, Walter Reuther, John Lewis,
rabbis Joachim Prinz, Dr. Eugene Carson
Blake, 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
Governor Wallace's defiance 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 following 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'BOYLE, ARCHBISHOP OF
WASHINGTON, INVOCATION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on
Wednesday last the Nation and the world
saw the heart of the American Negro re-
valed in an unforgettable demonstration
of unity and democracy. In a digni-
fied, extraordinary disciplined, and in-
tensely patriotic manner, 200,000 Ameri-
cans—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 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 Wednes-
day'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
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tory. This is what the Negro community
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In the name of the Father and of the Son
and of the Holy Ghost, amen.

Our Father, who are in heaven, we who
are assembled here in a spirit of peace and
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 for their failure to live up to the spirit of the Constitution, 173 years after the adoption of the Bill of Rights, the States of agreement to the flag of the United States. 

As Americans we share the profound conviction that neither prejudice nor bitterness is spurious or baseless. Send in the mill to the Holy Spirit to open the eyes of all to the great truth that all men are equal before God and men. We must understand that simple justice demands that the rights of all be honored by every man.

Giveth 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 are seeking for those men and women who in sincerity and honesty have been leaders in the struggle for justice and harmony. As Moses and Joshua, 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 love of the religious faith be that 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 and the States. We ask that you be sensitive to our duties toward others as we demand from them our rights. May we move forward without bitterness, even when we are confronted with prejudice and discrimination. May we shun violence, knowing that the very essence of our struggle is with slavery and the yearning for freedom.

During the Middle Ages my people lived for a thousand years in the shadow 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.

In Berlin, 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 has 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 liberals, 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 the 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. It is not enough to have children's oaths—pronounced every morning from Maine to California, from North to South—that they will swear to a future unshakable reality in a morally renewed and united America.