

Adenauer of Germany a note. It's been largely a waste of time. Now, late in the day, we're starting to act. It would seem about time.

We may lose some of our markets over there anyway. European farmers are fast gaining some of the efficiencies we've achieved in this country. If they can out-do us in a fair race, power to them. But if they're going to do it by walling us out we'll have to consider our own walls. Trade can't be a one-way street.

It would be too bad to get into a tariff-rising contest with the EEC. Both sides would lose. But if one wants to play the game this way the other will be forced to. That ought to be made clear, right now and with no pussy-footing around.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, this afternoon I attended the program at the Lincoln Memorial conducted by the leaders in charge of the march on Washington for jobs and freedom. It was the most moving and inspiring experience in my life in connection with any matter involving public affairs.

I rise to congratulate and compliment and commend the dedicated American citizens who rendered such a noble service in directing and conducting that program.

Of the many that could be mentioned, I particularly want to pay tribute and extend my congratulations to Mr. A. Philip Randolph, director of the march on Washington for jobs and freedom.

I commend Mr. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who made an eloquent and brilliant speech in the program, who courageously outlined the legislative responsibilities that lie ahead for the Congress and for the American people.

I congratulate Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

I am sure that those who were present or saw the program on television must agree with me, by an overwhelming majority, that Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., made a plea this afternoon that will go down in the history of American oratory and will inspire fellow Americans for years to come. That speech set forth not only his dreams about which he spoke so eloquently, but also the dreams of all patriotic Americans who want to save this Republic, for this Republic cannot long endure if we continue to deny to the people of America the guarantees of the Republic.

To me the moving program this afternoon set forth more clearly, eloquently, and unanswerably than anything which has happened in America in recent times the point that some of us, in our feeble way, have been trying to make in the Senate for many years.

The program spelled out in irrefutable proof the fact that we have never delivered to the colored people of America, since the Emancipation Proclamation, the Constitution of the United States. Time and again tens of thousands of fellow citizens whose skins are black raised their voices to the heavens this afternoon in a plea for deliverance from the economic bondage in which the white

man still holds them, for deliverance of the Constitution and its guarantees to them.

No group of politicians in Congress, in Alabama, in Mississippi, in Georgia, or in any other Southern State, or in any Northern State, can answer the plea that went up at Lincoln's Memorial this afternoon, that in our time, immediately, we deliver the Constitution of the United States to the colored people of America, and guarantee them, through enforcement, the rights set out in the Constitution.

I congratulate and commend not only those already mentioned in these remarks, but also every other participant in that program this afternoon. In my judgment they kindled a great fire of enthusiasm for freedom for the Negroes of America, which is destined to sweep this country from coast to coast.

I ask unanimous consent that the printed program of the march on Washington for jobs and freedom, August 28, 1963, which was presented most fittingly in the shadow of the great memorial which has been built to the Emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, be printed in the Record as a part of my remarks.

It is fitting that this program was held at unquestionably the greatest shrine in the United States. If we have a national shrine, temporal in nature, it is the Lincoln Memorial. Although it has been said by some that too many people overlook the fact that Lincoln is dead, the inalienable principles of human rights for which Lincoln stood must never die in this Republic; nor must they continue to be denied to the Negroes of America. It was particularly fitting that the historic program should be held at Lincoln's shrine.

I ask unanimous consent that there also be printed in my remarks the statement by the heads of the 10 organizations calling for discipline in connection with the Washington march of August 28, 1963, signed by a group of patriotic and dedicated fellow American citizens.

I also ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record at this point a list of the 10 demands of the leaders and the participants in the march on Washington for jobs and freedom, which constitute 10 commandments to the politicians of America to take the necessary steps to bring about the deliverance of the Constitution and its guarantees to the colored people of America.

There being no objection, the program, the statement, and the demands were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM: AUGUST 28, 1963 LINCOLN MEMORIAL PROGRAM

1. The national anthem, led by Marlan Anderson.
2. Invocation, the Very Reverend Patrick O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington.
3. Opening remarks, A. Philip Randolph, director March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.
4. Remarks, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, stated clerk, United Presbyterian Church of the United States of America; vice chairman, Commission on Race Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America.

5. Tribute to Negro Women Fighters for Freedom, Daisy Bates, Diane Nash Bevel, Mrs. Medgar Evers, Mrs. Herbert Lee, Rosa Parks, and Gloria Richardson.

6. Remarks, John Lewis, national chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

7. Remarks, Walter Reuther, president, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, AFL-CIO; chairman, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO.

8. Remarks, James Farmer, national director, Congress of Racial Equality.

9. Selection, Eva Jessye, choir.

10. Prayer, Rabbi Uri Miller, president, Synagogue Council of America.

11. Remarks, Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director, National Urban League.

12. Remarks, Mathew Ahmann, executive director, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

13. Remarks, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

14. Selection, Miss Mahalla Jackson.

15. Remarks, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president, American Jewish Congress.

16. Remarks, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

17. The Pledge, A. Philip Randolph.

18. Benediction, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College.

Statement by the heads of the 10 organizations calling for discipline in connection with the Washington march of August 28, 1963

"The Washington March of August 28 is more than just a demonstration.

"It was conceived as an outpouring of the deep feeling of millions of white and colored American citizens that the time has come for the Government of the United States of America, and particularly for the Congress of that Government, to grant and guarantee complete equality in citizenship to the Negro minority of our population.

"As such, the Washington march is a living petition—in the flesh—of the scores of thousands of citizens of both races who will be present from all parts of our country.

"It will be orderly, but not subservient. It will be proud, but not arrogant. It will be nonviolent, but not timid. It will be unified in purposes and behavior, not splintered into groups and individual competitors. It will be outspoken, but not raucous.

"It will have the dignity befitting a demonstration in behalf of the human rights of 20 millions of people, with the eye and the judgment of the world focused upon Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963.

"In a neighborhood dispute there may be stunts, rough words and even hot insults; but when a whole people speaks to its government, the dialog and the action must be on a level reflecting the worth of that people and the responsibility of that government.

"We, the undersigned, who see the Washington march as wrapping up the dreams, hopes, ambitions, tears, and prayers of millions who have lived for this day, call upon the members, followers, and wellwishers of our several organizations to make the March a disciplined and purposeful demonstration.

"We call upon them all, black and white, to resist provocations to disorder and to violence.

"We ask them to remember that evil persons are determined to smear this march and to discredit the cause of equality by deliberate efforts to stir disorder.

"We call for self-discipline, so that no one in our own ranks, however enthusiastic, shall be the spark for disorder.

"We call for resistance to the efforts of those who, while not enemies of the march as such, might seek to use it to advance

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. Philip 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—with-out 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 \$3 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 response 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.