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. I am moved with any matter involving public affairs.

I rise to congratulate and commend, and commend the dedicated and courageous 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 for the opening orator, or those who must agree with me, by an overwhelming majority, that Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., addressed the 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 seeks 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 dealt fairly with the colored people of America, since the Emancipation Proclamation and the Constitution of the United States. Time and again tens of thousands of fellow citizens have 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 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 has been 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 this speech.

It is fitting that this program was held at unquestionably the greatest shrine in the United States. If we have a national shrine, a national shrine, 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 good 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, and the demands 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 purpose and behavior, not splintered into independent and competing organs.

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

"In a neighborhood dispute there may be stunts, rough words and even hot insults; but when a whole people speaks to its government, the dialogue 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 well-wishers of our several organizations to make the March a disciplined and purposeful demonstration.

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

"We ask them to remember that evil persons are determined to smear 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..."
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 and on our side 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 this problem 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. I look several weeks ago, when I said to my leadership that if, as, and when the filibuster against the President's civil rights program starts in 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 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 109 years, have imposed upon the colored masses of America. Do not talk to me of episodes 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 your 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 they do not want to suffer 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 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 speeded up, 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 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 insist on the constitutional guarantees which have been denied them these long 109 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 ask my fellow citizens, that unless you make clear to your elected politicians that you want the Constitution delivered to the Negroes of America, let me ask my fellow citizens that you must make it perfectly clear to your elected politicians that you want the Constitution delivered to the Negroes of America, 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 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. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The chair calls the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum 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 and eloquent closing statement 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 representative congregations 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 ceremony around the John 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.