An analysis prepared at the request of the Joint Economic Committee shows that there would be an absolute gain in the gross national product of an estimated $13 to $17 billion annually if there could be an effective utilization of Negroes on the basis of their own abilities. Furthermore, the recognition of East Germany should not, in my opinion, be the single dominant factor in our considerations. It is a pious dream, it can only be portended by the Committee on Armed Services, that the Soviet Union, East Germany, West Germany, France, Britain, the United States.

Senator Moss emphasized that we should strive now to the best of our abilities for a relaxation of tensions between ourselves and the Soviet Union, and that recognition of East Germany should not, in this case, be the single dominant factor in our considerations. He further stresses that if future unification goes with Germany "is a practical objective and not just a plaus dream, it can only be reached by negotiations, and that these negotiations must take place among the Soviet Union, East Germany, West Germany, France, Britain, and the United States."

As Senator Moss suggests, it is time that we ought to say to West Germany, or to any nation, "We are going to determine American foreign policy in the best interests of America," I congratulate Senator Moss for raising this question and wish that all our decisions in the field of foreign policy could provide affirmative answers to the same question.

This means that policies must be determined by national interests, that national interests can and must change in a changing world, that it is the national interests which must be followed and which must determine policy and that these policies in themselves are not immutable. This sound advice should certainly apply to our American policy toward Germany. We must always ask ourselves the question: Where lies our American national interest? In other words, our national interests should determine our foreign policy and not vice versa.

I regret that I was not able to be present to hear the address by the senior Senator from Oregon, but I take this opportunity to commend him particularly for his most constructive and enlightened views.

Mr. MORSSE. Few commendations have meant as much to me as the commendation just uttered by the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island. I want him to know that a considerable amount of my thinking on the German problem has been influenced by a notable speech he made earlier in this session on Germany. I feel on behalf of the Members of the Senate having most perceptive knowledge of the German question.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business for the consideration of a number of nominations which have been reported by the Committee on Armed Services.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider executive business.

ROUTINE NOMINATIONS IN THE ARMED SERVICES

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask that the nominations at the desk, reported by the Committee on Armed Services, be considered en bloc.

Without objection, the nominations will be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are confirmed en bloc; and without objection, the President will be immediately notified of the confirmation of the nominations.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The questions in on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

Mr. MANSFIELD. 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. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I am proud to announce that 16 people have traveled the thousands of miles between Utah and Washington to participate today in the march on Washington for jobs and freedom.

The arrival of this delegation from Utah is particularly meaningful, because less than 1 percent of the population of our State is Negro, and civil rights have never been a paramount problem. But Utahns have an abiding interest in the national ceremony taking place today here in Washington, and our delegation exemplifies Utah's dedication to the right of free petition, to the right of free movement, and above all, to freedom of the spirit.

During the past months, Americans have been dramatically confronted with the stark truth about discrimination and race relations in the United States. We have all been made aware of the need for immediate and meaningful action to insure the American Negro the full citizenship and equal rights to which he is entitled by virtue of the land and all natural law of "right and wrong," for the American Negro has served notice that he is no longer content merely to watch, to wait, and, to hope for these rights.
As a result, a great national debate is now taking place, in individual homes and in group meetings across the Nation, as to whether the Congress, and the American people, are in good faith, all Americans—northerners and southerners, colored and white—seek to find the solution to this most pressing problem.

In at least one respect, Mr. President, the search for this solution is an extremely difficult task. The problem of civil rights is so complex and so entangled that both the people and their representatives in the Congress are not only confused, but often are so committed by this complex of difficult issues to positions in both the political and philosophical spectrum of American life that we have been driven to the point of paralysis.

Yet, in another respect, the search for this solution is this particular issue should not be difficult. It should not be difficult, because when we cut through these complexities to the heart of the problem, we are faced with but one simple, and fundamental, question to which we can give but one answer. That question is whether we, as Americans, and as human beings, will be committed to the principles of human rights and human dignity.

Mr. President, can there be any answer to this question but "Yes"? Certainly all must recognize that what the Negro is asking of us today is neither new nor revolutionary. He asks only what those who settled this country asked, and what was achieved almost two centuries ago. He asks only that we extend to him the privileges that we extend to others. He asks only that we extend to him the privileges that we extend to others. He asks only that we extend to him the privileges that we extend to others. He asks only that we extend to him the privileges that we extend to others. He asks only that we extend to him the privileges that he, as a member of the human family, has a right to enjoy. Such discrimination is unwise and undesirable, and should be unlawful. This is the objective of the public accommodations proposal.

No responsible person is suggesting that the Negro or any other minority group be given preferential treatment in any area of American life. What we do propose, however, is that he be given an opportunity to compete on his own merits and to partake of the activities of this Nation according to his own desire. Granted the realization of equality of opportunity—in practice, as well as in theory—will be some time in coming. Despite the action which we take today, the Negro must come from far behind. Long years of discriminatory practice have placed him in a disadvantaged position, and he will often lack the skills and education required in order to take advantage of the opportunities which are opened. Nonetheless, the opportunities must be there for him. When this is the case, then the Negro, himself, must be given an opportunity to take advantage of what is available. We can open jobs on all levels to the Negro, but he must qualify himself for them.

To accomplish this and to implement the equal opportunity in which we all believe, the law and legal rights are but limited tools. To be meaningful the law must be lived. Individual citizens and private organizations must take action on their own initiative—not because they are compelled to do so, but because they wish to do so. In this regard I am particularly proud of the practices of Federal agencies in my own State of Utah. These agencies and their personnel followed equal employment practices long before the President's Committee was established. Today, a little more than 1 percent of the total Federal employees in Utah are Negro—and this, as I emphasized earlier, in a State with a Negro population of less than 1 percent.

Mr. President, as each of us alone wrestles with this problem, let him remember some of the simple and proud facts of our own history: We are a nation of immigrants. Somewhere in the history of this country, the full realization of these ideals, there have been the sting of discrimination and the pain of prejudice. We should well be able to put ourselves in the shoes of those who have been discriminated against today and view the problem from their point of view. If we keep our hearts and minds on the human side of this issue, I am confident that the right solution will be found—one in keeping with the finest traditions of this Republic.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9 A.M. FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, AND FROM THEN UNTIL TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the business of the Senate today, the Senate stand in adjournment until 9 a.m. on Friday, August 30, 1963, for a pro forma session, at which no business will be transacted; and that the Senate adjourn on August 30, 1963, to stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon, Tuesday, September 3, 1963.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AUTHORIZATION TO RECEIVE MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND TO SIGN ENROLLED BILLS DURING ADJOURNMENT OF THE SENATE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Speaker of the House be authorized to receive messages from the House of Representatives during the adjournment of the Senate, and that the Vice President or the President pro tempore be authorized to sign duly enrolled bills.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AUTHORIZATION FOR COMMITTEES TO FILE REPORTS DURING ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that committees