Opposition to consideration of the so-called Civil Rights Bill

Strom Thurmond

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Mr. President, this is a sad day in the history of the United States. Every American who believes in the Constitution upon which this Federal Government was established should be sorrowful.

The Founding Fathers believed they had fought the battles of freedom and won when they ordained the Constitution and, quickly thereafter, the Bill of Rights. They did not anticipate that 181 years after they declared their independence from Great Britain that the Congress which they helped to create when freedom was won, would be considering the imposition of laws to usurp the freedom of the people. They did not visualize the possibility that within our own Federal Government, created by specific delegation of powers from the separate States, there would be attempts such as this to take from the people precious rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Yes, Mr. President, this is indeed a day of sorrow when we have to urge in the United States Senate that our colleagues give consideration to the rightful division of powers established in the Constitution. The efforts which we have witnessed this year in the Congress to impose obnoxious and unnecessary laws upon the citizens of this nation have brought about division in domestic affairs when our efforts should be devoted to bringing about unity in the building of a strong national defense to protect the free world.

Every citizen of this Nation should be concerned with this combined effort by a part of the Executive Branch and many members of Congress to force through the Congress this so-called civil rights bill.

Today the objective in trying to pass this legislation is to force upon the South, by use of craftily designed laws, the acceptance of racial integration. Do not be deceived by the statements that the main purpose of this bill is to protect the voting rights of Negro citizens.

The real purpose is to arm the federal courts with a vicious weapon to enforce race mixing.

Today the purveyors of this legislation may believe it will fit their objective so well that it could not harm them and their adherents in future years. But the sharpness of a knife does not control the direction in which it cuts.

I am convinced that such a bill, if enacted into law, would eventually be applied in many ways which its authors and advocates would consider just as undesirable as I consider it now in its original intent.

What is being attempted here by the advocates of this bill, at the urging of the Justice Department, is a step in a long stairway of Supreme Court decisions, each of which has descended further away from the lofty principles of the Constitution. Therefore, what the people face is the question of whether they want Congress to assist the Supreme Court further down the stairway which leads away from the Constitution.

My view and the view of millions of citizens is that the Congress should reverse the direction that has been taken by the Court in recent years instead of following meekly at the heels of the Third Branch of the Government.

There are pending in the committees of the Senate a number of bills which should be taken up to protect the Nation from the many decisions of the Court which have so adversely affected the welfare of the people. Embodied in these bills are the vital parts of law which should be considered if we want to protect the best interests of the people.

I predicted a few moments ago that the enactment of this so-called civil rights bill would bring results not anticipated by its present advocates. The more recent decisions of the Supreme Court
have already brought cries for relief from some of them who applauded the unfounded decision in the school segregation cases.

The Solicitors General of two administrations presented amicus curiae briefs to the Court urging that segregation in the public schools be declared illegal. The basis on which the Court rendered its decision in Brown v. Board of Education was based entirely on sociological and psychological opinions. The grounds upon which this case was based are less substantial than its decision in the Jencks case, which opened up the FBI files.

But now the Attorney General, who directs the actions of the Solicitor General, comes to the Senate crying for speedy enactment of a law to protect the FBI files.

That is a good illustration of what should be expected in the future as the result of passing any bill of the nature of the so-called civil rights measure sent to us by the House. The judicial knife is cutting in a different direction now than when it was carving out the decision in the school cases. The legislative knife also changes directions, and the wounds of the unexpected cut can be worst of all.

The American people have been the victims of a highly successful propaganda campaign. When the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and like organizations, first failed to get what they wanted from the Congress, they went to the Courts. Their campaign there was successful.

As success began to reward the efforts of the NAACP in the Court, culminating in the school cases decision, officials of both national political parties rushed to take their places at the head of the civil rights parade.

The bill which the House has sent to the Senate is now the focal point of efforts by both parties to force political ammunition through Congress. I do not believe I would be mistaken in suggesting that some mention of the efforts being made to pass this bill will be made during the congressional elections next year. Doubtless there will be statements as to who tried hardest to secure passage.

Propaganda and pressure are the explanation of the fact that a bill like this one is being considered at all.

Propaganda turned the Court from the Constitution to sociology, and pressure has brought the Senate to the point it has reached with this bill.

There is an inseparable relationship between the recent decisions of the Court, beginning with the school cases, and the efforts to pass this bill through the Senate. In both instances, there is a departure from the fundamental principles of the Constitution. In both instances there are usurpations, or attempted usurpations of authority not constitutionally held by the Court of by the Congress. Let us go back for a few minutes and discuss some of the basic provisions of the Constitution.

The Constitution provides in Article I, Section 1, that: "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."

In view of recent developments in our judicial system, I feel it appropriate to read this section of the Constitution again as you and I have read and re-read it many times in the past. I hope that members of the federal judiciary will read it and re-read it again in the future.

Section 8 of Article I enumerates the powers of the Congress.

Section 9 of Article I spells out specific prohibitions and limitations on the powers of the Congress.
Section 10 of Article I defines limitations on the power of the States and, further, specifies additional limitations which require approval of the Congress prior to action by the States.

But even the clarity of these provisions did not satisfy the people when the Constitution was being drafted and when it was finally ratified by the nine requisite States to become effective in 1789. Several States ratified only after long debate and the adoption of the recommendations that a Bill of Rights be added to make some of the provisions clearer.

A total of 124 amendments were proposed by the States for inclusion in the Bill of Rights. Seventeen amendments were accepted by the House, two of which later were rejected by the Senate. The remaining 15 were reduced to 12 before final approval by the Congress. The States rejected two of the proposals and thereby the Bill of Rights was distilled down to the original 10 amendments.

The first eight amendments listed certain rights specifically retained by the people. The Ninth stated that the "enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

And the Tenth Amendment declared:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Although the Tenth Amendment did not give additional power to the States, or delegate less to the Federal Government, it did make clear the intent of the people to reserve all powers not specifically delegated to the Federal Government.

This same Constitution and the same Bill of Rights which spelled out the legislative power of the Congress -- and made clear that no legislative power was held by the Court -- also provided for the protection of personal rights of the people. I shall subsequently discuss the point at greater length, but I want to mention briefly now the particular point that a person's right to jury trial is specified in the Constitution and in the Bill of Rights.

Before Congress approves the usurpation of any right held by the people individually, it should recall an instance when the President attempted to assume the power rightfully held only by the Congress.

On April 8, 1952, President Truman issued an executive order directing the Secretary of Commerce to seize and operate most of the steel mills of the country. He stated that his purpose was to avoid a nation-wide strike of steel workers during the Korean War.

He issued the seizure order "by virtue of authority vested in him by the Constitution and laws of the United States, and as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States..."

In a six to three opinion the Supreme Court upheld an injunction of the district court restraining the seizure. Justice Black wrote the majority opinion in which he pointed out that no statute expressly authorized or implied authorization for the President to seize the steel mills; that in its consideration of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, the Congress refused to authorize government seizure of property as a means of preventing work stoppages and settling labor disputes. He also declared that the power sought to be exercised was the law-making power, which the Constitution vests in the Congress alone. Further, he pointed out that such previous actions by the Chief Executive did not thereby divest the Congress of its exclusive law-making authority.

Thus the Supreme Court was quick to repel this attempt by a Chief Executive to exercise authority not vested in him by the Constitution or by statute.
But the Court's memory was short indeed when it considered the school segregation cases. The Court itself usurped the power of the States by its decision of May 17, 1954, and its decree of May 31, 1955. I cite this case because of the essential bearing it has on the so-called civil rights bill and because it illustrates, once again, a similar pattern between the actions of the Court and this proposed action of the Congress.

Just as the Court seized the reserved authority of the States by hearing the school cases, so is the Congress now meddling into the affairs of the States. There was already legal grounds for operation of the schools as each State desired, not only in the South but North, East and West as well. There is also ample legal protection for voters and for the civil rights of all citizens already on the statute books of the States and the Federal Government.

Since the laws of the States, and existing federal laws, already adequately protect the civil rights of every person, the advocates of this bill should admit their objective. The truth is they want to go beyond the harsh decision of the Court in the school cases. That decision did not require integration of the races. What the advocates of this bill attempt to accomplish is to force integration.

For a more complete understanding of the situation, let us briefly examine the events subsequent to the Court's 1954 decision.

On May 31, 1955, the school cases were remanded to the district courts, leaving to them the setting of time for compliance. The case which arose in Clarendon County, South Carolina, was heard in Columbia before a three-judge federal court.

In his opening remarks at the hearing on July 15, 1955, Chief Judge John J. Parker said:

"...It is important that we point out exactly what the Supreme Court has decided and what it has not decided in this case. It has not decided that the federal courts are to take over or regulate the public schools of the States. It has not decided that the States must mix persons of different races in the schools or must require them to attend schools or must deprive them of the right of choosing the schools they attend. What it has decided, and all that it has decided, is that a State may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains. This, under the decision of the Supreme Court, the State may not do directly or indirectly but, if the schools which it maintains are open to children of all races, no violation of the Constitution is involved even though the children of different races voluntarily attend different schools, as they attend different churches."

Judge Parker's words point clearly to a means of continued segregation on a voluntary basis. Were it not for the agitators who have no regard either for the Constitution or for the best interests of a majority of both races, I believe voluntary segregation would work satisfactorily.

Permit me to quote Judge Parker further:

"Nothing in the Constitution or the decision of the Supreme Court takes away from the people freedom to choose the schools they attend. The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination. It does not forbid such segregation as occurs as the result of voluntary action. It merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation. The Fourteenth Amendment is a limitation upon the exercise of power by the State or State agencies, not a limitation upon the freedom of individuals."

Two points in Judge Parker's application of the Supreme Court decision need to be emphasized. First, the decision of the Court "does not require integration," and, second, it is "not a limitation on the freedom of individuals."
Because this is true, the ardent proponents of forced racial integration are now attempting to bring about their objective through the enactment of this obnoxious bill. Having gained one unconstitutional objective through the Court, they now want to seize another through the Congress.

But in the South the people have been living under the rules set down by Judge Parker. They have stood firmly on their right of personal freedom to choose their associates and to maintain segregation of the races for the best interests of both white and Negro citizens.

Now, as in the past, there is a concentration of the Negro population in certain states. Where the concentration is greater in proportion to the total population of a State, the problem is greater. You will note from the following statistics that the States where the concentration is greatest are the States where the resistance to integration is greatest.

The national average of Negro population in relation to total population is 10 per cent. But every one of the Deep South States where there is absolute resistance to integration has a Negro population ranging from almost 22 per cent in Florida to more than 45 per cent in Mississippi. South Carolina has 38.8 per cent, Louisiana 32.8 per cent, Alabama 32 per cent, Georgia 30.8 per cent, North Carolina 25.7 per cent, and Virginia 22.1 per cent Negro population.

No state outside the South has as much as 8 per cent of its population made up of Negroes. In fact, 13 States have less than one per cent Negro population.

These facts should create some understanding of our problem. Also they should provide a basis for persons from other sections of the country to consider how their views may change in the future. It is well-established by the reports of the Bureau of the Census that the trend of the Negro population is to States outside the South. Although the Negro population of the South continues to increase, it is increasing vastly more in the States which heretofore have not had a sufficient percentage of them, in relation to total population, to recognize the problems which beset the Southern States.

However, in the large cities outside the South where there has been a great concentration of Negro population, a great many of our problems have been recognized.

I might say here that even the most biased observer who has been through the slums of these cities -- including the Nation's Capital -- has viewed scenes far worse than can be found in the South. Living conditions of a Negro family in the poorest house of the rural South are not as undesirable as the squalor of slum dwellings in the cities.

Economic conditions -- like the condition of our schools -- have not followed race alone. Financial income of farm families of both the white and Negro races has never been as high as the income of families living in the cities and larger towns. This same principle applied to the condition of our schools. In the rich school districts of the cities where there was a great deal of taxable property, the schools for both races were good, even prior to the expanded State school building program in South Carolina. In the poorer districts, usually in the rural areas, both white and Negro schools were less adequate in years past.

The same is generally true of churches and store buildings and many other structures when compared on the basis of rural against city. In fact there are extrinsic differences in every individual and they cannot be made the same by any decree of the Supreme Court or by any act of Congress.

But let me return to the question of how efforts to force integration on the South will be taken.
In Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia there has not been and there is no intention that there shall be integration of the races in the public schools. Advocates of this so-called civil rights bill who believe they can use the weapons in it to force integration should read the newspaper and magazine accounts of the situation. Unanimously they point out the quiet but determined resistance against integration.

I want to read to you an Associated Press dispatch which was published in the newspapers on May 12. This article describes the situation in some detail. The headline, as it appeared in the Charleston News and Courier, was "School Segregation Holds Despite Court Decision."

The following quotation is from this article:

"Three years after the 1954 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court outlawing public school segregation, the nearly six million white and Negro children in eight Deep South states still are attending racially separated schools.

"There has been no break in the traditional pattern of segregation on the secondary public school level in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia."

In addition to these eight States, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas, have all passed resolutions of nullification, interposition or protest against the Court decision. Arkansas enacted two such resolutions.

All of the eight States where the concentration of the Negro population is greatest have taken steps to insure that integration shall not be forced upon them. Here is a summary of their actions as cited by The Associated Press story:

"Alabama, where violence flared over admission of a Negro to the University of Alabama and in the Montgomery bus segregation situation, has a "freedom of choice" act under which parents can elect whether to send their children to segregated or integrated schools.

"Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia have set up constitutional and statutory authority to close schools which are forced to integrate and use public funds to pay educational grants for pupils to attend private segregated schools.

"Virginia also has adopted a massive resistance program which includes pupil and teacher assignment laws and acts to discourage lawsuits on segregation.

"Florida, where the State Supreme Court order for immediate admission of a Negro to the state university, set up a public school assignment law and increased the governor's police powers.

"Louisiana, by constitutional amendment, requires segregated schools under the state's police power, and authorizes the State Board of Education to withhold approval of any schools which do not comply.

"Mississippi, which is endeavoring to equalize white and Negro school facilities by constitutional amendment, has authorized the Legislature to abolish public schools. The state also has passed various laws designed to maintain segregation and discourage litigation.

"The constitutional requirement of free public schools was repealed by South Carolina two years before the Supreme Court decision, and since then the state has enacted a law denying state funds to any school which is forced to integrate."

Just two weeks before the Associated Press article appeared, the Washington Post had published a series of articles by Alfred Friendly after he had made a tour of the Southern States. His
reports also made clear the absolute determination of the people to prevent integration of the races.

One of the series of articles by Mr. Friendly was entitled, "Not in This Generation."

I want to quote a part of the first article he wrote. This is the very beginning:

"Segregationists in the Deep South have won the first round against racial intermixture in the public schools.

"In the almost three years since the Supreme Court handed down its historic decision banning segregation by race in the public schools, the South -- the reference here and throughout is to the Deep South States -- has prevented a single instance of compliance.

"More important than this fact, and more important than the state laws and legal procedures which few segregation leaders pretend will be sustained by the Courts -- the South has built a strong set of obstacles blocking the road to future integration..."

The article went on to cite some of the effective ways in which the South has prepared to prevent integration of the races, as well as to show that much progress which had been made in race relations has now been halted by the attempt of integrationists to force racial mixing upon the South.

Further on Mr. Friendly stated that "...large-scale integration of all Southern elementary and high schools seems to almost all observers, Northern or Southern, as out of the question in the immediate future.

"A regional gospel has been established that any Federal attempt to force integration will be met by closing down the public school system. The farther South you go, the slighter is the action that is deemed to be 'forced integration.'"

I know that what these articles had to say on these points were correct. If the Washington Post writer had been able to find evidences of the people of the South being ready to accept integration of the races, I am sure he would have reported them. The policy of the newspaper is that of urging integration. I do not believe it sent Mr. Friendly to the South to look for resistance, but when he reported what he really found, there was no choice except to state that the people were telling anybody who wanted to hear that "it can't be done."

In a survey of the situation only recently, the Saturday Evening Post sent a reporter named John Bartlow Martin "to travel through the South for as long as necessary and report the facts about integration, as he found them."

When Mr. Martin had completed his survey, he wrote a series of articles under the general title of "The Deep South Says Never." The title is significant because it states the feeling of the people of South Carolina accurately. I do not believe Mr. Martin erred in his estimate of the views and intentions of the people.

In his article which appeared in the June 22 issue of the Post, Mr. Martin reported on his visit to Summerton, the little town in Clarendon County, South Carolina, where the school case arose which went to the Supreme Court. The county's population is 71 per cent Negro. The ratio in the schools is tremendously greater. There are now 2,360 Negro pupils and 312 white pupils in the Summerton district -- or about eight to one.

This is what the article said about the condition of the schools:

"In 1951, when the state began a schoolbuilding program, in part because of the Summerton suit, District No. 1 abandoned the small rural Negro schools, built larger new ones, and today operates only three Negro schools and one white. The white school is in Summerton; it contains 312 pupils in elementary and high school.
The Negro school in Summerton, Scott's Branch, contains 721 Negro elementary pupils and 337 high school pupils. The two Negro schools out in the country are St. Paul's Elementary, with 728 pupils, and Spring Hill Elementary, with 574. Since 1951 the district has spent $92,000 in capital investment on the white school and ten times as much -- $938,000 -- on the Negro schools. "The Negro school buildings today are newer than the white and are at least as good."

Further on the article recites what happened among the people of Summerton after the Supreme Court's decision in 1954. These are the words of Mr. Martin:

"One evening not long after the Supreme Court decision, the white citizens of Summerton met to see what we were going to do. They met in the abandoned grammar school, an ancient stone building, some 200 of them, 'most of the white people in the school district.' W. B. Davis, Jr., a tall, handsome, black-haired young landowner, spoke strongly in favor of closing the schools forthwith. Indeed, money already was being raised to operate a private school for white children. But Charles N. Plowden, town banker, large landowner, lawyer, former influential member of the General Assembly, a keen, square-built, forceful man, argued that delay, not defiance, was the proper tactic, for time was on their side: 'Let them make us close, If the court orders us to integrate, we'll close.'"

When the beginning of the school session came in the fall of 1955, the white people were determined to prevent integration and determined to do so without trouble. There was no trouble, but previously friendly relations between the races became strained and there was little communication between them.

Later that year, a group of white citizens invited a representative group of Negro citizens to a meeting to discuss the situation. Here again are the words of the Saturday Evening Post article:

"Plowden recalls, 'I told them they can make us close the schools, but they can't make us mix. I told them they've got more to lose than we have. We've got twelve white teachers; they've got sixty. They'd all be out of work. They've got twenty-seven bus drivers. They'd be out of work. There wouldn't be any school for their children, but there would be for ours.'"

The Negroes of Summerton, in spite of the efforts of the outside agitators, did not ask that the schools be integrated. They are operating today according to the pattern of segregation which permits the children of both races to secure an education, but which prevents the intermixing of the races.

I do not want to give the impression that I am attempting to convey to you the views either of the Saturday Evening Post or of its writer. However, the words of Mr. Martin are clear and explicit on the point I am making, that efforts to bring about integration will not be accepted in South Carolina.

The following selected portions of the article illustrate my point. First, a quotation from the Post on what would happen if the Court were to order integration.

"That the whites would close the school if ordered by the court to commence desegregation there can be no doubt. Only because the court set no deadline was the school board able to keep the schools open. The board had told the three-judge court it would have a study made of the subject. A white strategist has said, 'Some didn't even want to study it. They were afraid it might make integration look possible in five hundred years, and that's too soon for them.' The study was not begun by the end of 1956, a year and a half after it was promised to the court, though preliminary talks had been held with a sociologist. Plowden said awhile back, 'We're studying it -- and it's going to take a good long time to study.'"

If force should be attempted by the Court, in an effort to bring about integration of the schools, the people would then
"view the closing of the schools as a regrettable necessity," according to the Post writer. Near the end of the article, he used what to me is a most significant paragraph to sum up the situation, part of which I shall quote.

"Although things are calm on the surface in Summerton, there is a deep inner tension felt by everyone. They pretend that nothing has been changed, but actually nothing will ever be the same, for the relations between the races will never be the same, and that relationship affects all of life..."

Mr. President, I wish it were not so, but I would not be truthful if I did not say that I believe Mr. Martin is entirely correct in saying that the relations between the races can never be the same again in South Carolina.

Certainly, relations cannot be the same until the agitation resulting from the Court decision ends and until the Congress adopts a reasonable view of the matter. As long as the propaganda and pressure campaign continues to force integration of the races upon the South, there can never be a revival of the former frank and friendly relationship which existed for generations between the white and Negro races.

My people in South Carolina sought to avoid any disruption of the harmony which has existed for generations between the white and the Negro races. The effort by outside agitators to end segregation in the public schools has made it difficult to sustain the long-time harmony.

Except for the troublemakers, I believe our people of both races in South Carolina would have continued to progress harmoniously together. Educational progress in South Carolina has been marked by the construction of more than $200 million worth of fine school buildings in the past 5 years, providing true equality, not only for white and Negro pupils, but also for urban and rural communities.

In the South Carolina school district where the segregation case was instigated, the Negro schools are better than the schools for white children.

While South Carolinians of both races are interested in the education of their children, the agitators who traveled a thousand miles to foment trouble are interested in something else. They are interested in integration, not education.

They may as well recognize that they cannot accomplish racial mixing by a "force bill" enacted by the Congress any more than they could force integration through the "judicial legislation" of the Supreme Court.

What the Saturday Evening Post has reported from Summerton, is indicative of the firm resolve of the people of the South that they shall not bear the political cross of integration.

I hope the voices that are being raised on behalf of our people will not be voices crying in a wilderness of politics where only the strong will prevail.

In other countries tyranny has taken the forms of fascism, communism, and autocracy. I do not want to see it foisted on the American people under the alias of "civil rights."

Real civil rights and so-called civil rights should not be confused. Everybody favors human rights. But it is a fraud on the American people to pretend that human rights can long endure without constitutional restraint on the power of government.

The rightful power of the Federal Government should not be confused with power longed-for by those who would destroy the sovereignty of the States.
There have been a number of instances of attempted and actual usurpation of power by the Federal Government, which this pending bill would attempt to legalize, expand, and extend.

I have already discussed the most notorious illustration of usurpation -- the 1954 school segregation decision. Since that time there have been several decisions by the Court which I think have waked up people all over the country, who previously paid little attention, or cared little, what the result might be in the school segregation cases.

There is no necessity of going into the details of the Supreme Court decisions to which I refer. Let me simply mention them and I am sure you will need no further explanation. Among others were the Nelson case in Pennsylvania, the Slochower case in New York, the Girard College case, and the Watkins case.

In each there was a question of usurpation of power by the Court in issuing decrees which were more legislative than they were judicial in nature. Each such instance tends more and more to increase the power of the central government.

The best illustration of attempted usurpation of the rights of the States by the Congress is the effort now going on in this Senate to enact this so-called civil rights bill. The real effect of enacting this bill would be to deprive citizens of rights guaranteed in the Constitution.

Wherever a person lives in this country, whatever political faith he holds, whatever he believes in connection with any matter of interest, he has one firm basis for knowing his rights. Those rights are enumerated in the Constitution, and particularly in the Bill of Rights. I believe in that document. I believe that it means exactly what it says, no more and no less.

If American citizens cannot believe in the Constitution, and know that it means exactly what it says, no more and no less, then there is no assurance that our representative form of government will continue in this country.

In his Farewell Address, Washington declared:

"The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution, or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield."

Jefferson, in his first Inaugural Address, said:

"The support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies."

Coming down to our own day and generation, it is peculiarly appropriate to remember the eloquent statement by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who gave this forceful warning:

"...to bring about government by oligarchy masquerading as democracy, it is fundamentally essential that practically all authority and control be centralized in our National Government. The individual sovereignty of our states must first be destroyed, except in minor matters of legislation. We
are safe from the danger of any such departure from the principles on which this country was founded just so long as the individual home rule of the States is scrupulously preserved and fought for whenever it seems in danger."

I believe that people all over the country are beginning to realize that steps should be taken to preserve the constitutional guarantees which are being infringed upon in many ways.

I believe we should also take steps to regain for the States some of the powers previously lost in unwarranted assaults on the States by the Federal Government.

The administration of laws relating to civil rights is being carried out much more intelligently at the local levels of government than they could ever possibly be administered by edicts handed down from Washington or by injunctions enforced at the point of bayonets. State officials and county officials know the people and know the problems of those people. Most officials of the Federal Government know much less about local problems than do the public officials in the States and in the counties.

Jefferson once observed:

"When all government, domestic and foreign, in little as in great things, shall be drawn to Washington as the center of all power, it will render powerless the checks provided of one government on another, and will become as venal and oppressive as the government from which we separated."

Jackson, as President, took the most drastic action in the whole of American history to uphold State sovereignty. When the federal courts held that they had jurisdiction of a private lawsuit against a sovereign State without its consent, Jackson refused to enforce the decision. On the contrary, he brought about the adoption of the Eleventh Amendment to re-declare State sovereignty, which the Founding Fathers thought had already been protected in the Bill of Rights.

If this nation, the nation to which the world is looking for leadership, abandons the principles of government that have given us the capacity to lead; if we jettison the compass that has guided us to the port of greatness; then we are headed for the rocks of tyranny and the persecution and cruelties of a supreme central government.

This should not be a sectional or regional matter. Devotion to the Constitution should be as important to the people of Arizona as it is to the people of Alabama; as important to the people of Montana as it is to the people of Mississippi, as important to the people of New York as it is to the people of North Carolina, as important to people yet unborn as to you and me today.

Our American way of constitutional government, and its guarantees of liberty and the right of local government, is a heritage worth fighting for. Our men marched beneath the burning sun in Africa; swam ashore at Salerno; stormed the rocky beach at Normandy; planted the Stars and Stripes on the highest peak of Iwo Jima; and fought again for freedom from Pusan to the Yalu River in barren Korea to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States.

If this so-called civil rights bill should be approved, then we must anticipate that the Federal Government, having usurped the authority of local government, will send federal detectives snooping throughout the land.

If there are constitutional proposals here which any of the States wish to enact, I have no objection to that. Every State has the right to deal with any matter which has not been specifically delegated to the Federal Government in the Constitution.
On the other hand, I am firmly opposed to the enactment by Congress of laws in fields where the Congress has no authority, or in fields where there is no necessity for action by the Congress.

From my observations, I have gained the strong feeling that most of the States are performing their police duties well. I believe that the individual States are looking after their own problems in the field of civil rights better than any enactment of this Congress could provide for, and better than any commission appointed by the Chief Executive could do.

What could be accomplished by a federal law embodying provisions which are already on the statute books of the States that cannot be accomplished by the state laws? I fail to see that any benefit could come from the enactment of federal laws duplicating state statutes which guarantee the rights of citizens. Certainly the enactment of still other laws not approved by the States could result only in greater unrest than has been created by the recent decisions of the federal courts.

The truth is very much as Mr. Dooley, the writer-philosopher, stated it many years ago, that the Supreme Court follows the election returns. If he were alive today, I believe Mr. Dooley would note also that the election returns follow the Supreme Court.

I would like to comment specifically on some of the proposals in the bill on which consideration is asked. First, on the proposal for the establishment of a Commission on Civil Rights.

There is absolutely no reason for the establishment of such a commission. The Congress and its Committees can perform all of the investigative functions which would come within the sphere of constitutional authority. The States can do the same in matters reserved to them.

Furthermore, there is no justification for an investigation in the field of civil rights.

Among the powers of the proposed Commission are several to which I would call attention. It would have the power of subpoena for witnesses, meaning that citizens could be summoned away from their homes to answer the questions of a federal bureaucrat on matters which are rightfully controlled by the States.

If a citizen objected to testifying in executive session, as the Commission would be authorized to meet, he would be subject to being forced to do so by a court order. Otherwise, he could be held in contempt.

The political nature of the Commission, and the entire bill as well, is rather bluntly pointed up by two of its provisions. One provides that the Commission "may accept and utilize services of voluntary and uncompensated personnel" in the work of the Commission. Another provision authorizes the Commission, or a subcommittee, "at least one of whom shall be of each major political party," to hold hearings.

The bill provides further that "not more than three of the members shall at any time be of the same political party."

The only persons who would be willing to serve voluntarily and uncompensated in such work as that planned by the proponents of this Commission would be partisans seeking to impose their sociological and psychological theories on others. They would be the fanatics who sought harsher measures to accomplish their purpose of forcing the mixing of the races. Doubtless the Commission could secure more than enough such volunteers to carry on its work from the ranks of the NAACP, the ADA and organizations of such ilk.

Although there are some agencies of the Federal Government which are constituted by laws requiring membership from the two major political parties, there should be no necessity for such a requirement in the proposed Commission — unless its reason for being is political.
My view is there could be no other cause for such a Commission except the cause of politics.

Part II of the bill would provide for an additional Assistant Attorney General. I have searched the testimony given by the Attorney General before the Committees of the Congress with regard to this proposal, and I have found no valid reason why an additional Assistant Attorney General is needed in the Justice Department.

I can understand how an additional Assistant Attorney General might be needed if the Congress were to enact Part III of the so-called civil rights bill.

If the Justice Department is permitted to go into the various States to stir up and agitate persons to seek injunctions against their neighbors, then the Attorney General might need another assistant.

In fact the Justice Department could stir up its own trouble, if this bill should be approved, because it would no longer be required that a party in interest sign a complaint in the civil actions contemplated. The Justice Department could instigate its own civil cases on behalf of a person who might even object to such action.

Certainly the Justice Department would need not only another Assistant Attorney General, if this bill should be approved, but also the assistance of the military forces, the use of which also is contemplated under this bill.

But, Mr. President, in the words of homey philosophy which I have heard all of my life: You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink.

You can legislate and you can decree, but you can never make the people of the South give up their personal freedom, even by the use of force.

Part III would empower the federal district courts to take original jurisdiction in suits or injunctions started under this bill. This would by-pass the administrative remedies established under State laws and circumvent the authority of the State courts.

The most vicious device in this part of the bill is the design to deny citizens the right to trial by jury by entering a civil action against persons who should be prosecuted on a criminal charge, if they have committed any violation of the laws which protect the civil rights of every citizen. This provision of the bill would establish power for the Justice Department to secure injunctions to restrain persons the department believed to be "about to engage in any acts or practices" in violation of civil rights statutes. How anybody could determine what might be in the mind and heart of a person is beyond my comprehension. In simple terms this provision appears to mean that completely innocent persons could be brought before a federal judge and jailed without a jury trial for contempt of an order issued by the judge.

I shall later discuss the principle of trial by jury at some length, but at the moment I want to point out the extreme power which would be granted to the Attorney General by enactment of this part of the bill.

He could dispatch his agents throughout the land. They would have the authority to meddle with private business, police elections of the States, intervene in what should be private lawsuits, and breed litigation generally. They would keep our people in a constant state of apprehension and harassment. Liberty perishes quickly under such government, as we have seen it perish in foreign nations.

Congress, as the directly elected representatives of the people, should be the last to give any hearing to measures to
deprive the people of their freedom. But, if this proposal to provide the Attorney General with tyrannical power should be taken up and enacted, the people will truly be deprived of rights long held dear.

The by-passing of State administrative agencies and the courts of the States is another matter we should consider most seriously. This could easily be the first step toward eventual elimination of the courts of the States. If they were to be by-passed in civil rights cases, they could also be by-passed in other types of cases.

I do not believe the Congress has -- or should want -- the power to strip our State courts of authority and vest total power in the federal judiciary.

Every step along the road toward greater centralization of government is a step away from the constitutional principles upon which this Nation was founded.

We must not forget the words of Lord Acton that:

"Power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely."

Thus the more power placed in the Justice Department, the greater likelihood there will be that justice will be abused instead of served.

Now let me proceed to Part IV of the bill. Although the bill has been advertised by its advocates as a "right to vote" measure, the need for legislation on this subject is so unnecessary as to make that claim ridiculous.

I have had a search made of the laws of all the 48 States and the right to vote is protected in each one.

In South Carolina, my own state, the Constitution specifies in Article III, Section 5, that the General Assembly shall provide by law for crimes against the election laws and, further, for right of appeal to the State Supreme Court for any person denied registration.

The South Carolina election statute spells out the right of appeal to the State Supreme Court. It also requires a special session of the Court if no session is scheduled between the time of an appeal and the next election.

Article II, Section 15 of South Carolina's Constitution, provides that no power, civil or military, shall at any time prevent the free exercise of the right of suffrage in the State.

In pursuance of the Constitutional provisions, the South Carolina General Assembly has passed laws to punish anyone who shall threaten, mistreat or abuse any voter with a view to control or intimidate him in the free exercise of his right of suffrage. Anyone who violates any of the provisions in regard to general, special or primary elections, is subject to a fine and/or imprisonment.

In this proposed federal bill to "protect the right to vote," a person could be prosecuted or an injunction obtained against him based on surmise as to what he might be about to do. This is the same perverted use of the civil court injunction as in Part III of the bill, designed for the purpose of denying trial by jury to persons charged with having engaged in such an act or those whom a federal official accuses of being "about to" violate the voting laws.

We have heard many claims that this provision is needed because some persons are prevented from voting by other persons. But I do not know of a single case having arisen in South Carolina in which a potential voter charged that he had been deprived of his right to cast his ballot. Had such an instance taken place,
I am sure that the person making the charge would have been given justice in the courts of South Carolina.

The Federal Government has no monopoly in the administration of justice.

Both white and Negro citizens who meet the requirements of South Carolina's voting laws exercise their franchise freely. Our requirements are not stringent. The payment of a poll tax is not a prerequisite to voting. It is simple to meet the requirements of registration because re-registration is necessary only once in 10 years.

Proof that Negroes vote in substantial numbers in South Carolina -- if proof is desired -- can be found in an article which was published in a Columbia, S. C., newspaper following the general election in 1952.

The November 8, 1952, issue of The Lighthouse and Informer, a newspaper published by and for Negroes carried an analysis of the election in South Carolina. A story which appeared on page one read as follows:

"...There was no doubting that South Carolina's Negro voters were the only reason the State managed to return to the Democratic column.

"Late figures Wednesday afternoon gave Governor Adlai Stevenson 165,000 votes and General Dwight D. Eisenhower 154,000. Some 9,000 other votes were cast for the Republican Party for General Eisenhower but cannot be added to the 154,000 cast by South Carolinians for Eisenhower.

"The more than 330,000 votes counted in 1,426 of the State's 1,563 precincts represented the largest cast in the State since Reconstruction days.

"Estimates placed the Negro votes at between 60,000 and 80,000 who actually voted..."

Those are the words of the newspaper, not mine. I have no doubt that the Negro vote in the 1952 general election and the one in 1956 was heavy in South Carolina. The reports which came to me indicated a large turnout.

A dispatch of the United Press from Columbia, on November 6, 1952, fully supported the claim of The Lighthouse and Informer as to the impact of Negro voting in South Carolina. It said in part: "Stevenson won South Carolina by less than 12,000 votes and the Negro electorate held the balance of power in the State..."

I think it is significant that even though, as the newspaper article said, the vote in 1952 was the largest cast since Reconstruction, that the Negroes claimed up to 80,000 votes -- a fourth of the total. Certainly this is clear evidence that a new federal law is not needed to guarantee anybody the right to vote in South Carolina.

Mr. President, I oppose absolutely the consideration of this bill, H. R. 6127. It is completely unnecessary and in many respects unconstitutional in its objectives. The people of the United States should not be deceived.

No explanation can alter the fact that it is specifically designed as a "force bill." The result of its enactment would be to deprive the people of rights guaranteed in the Constitution and in the Bill of Rights, not to strengthen the rights of the individual.

The infringement of rights would be accomplished by denying the right of trial by jury to persons charged with violating -- or being about to violate -- the provisions of the bill by failure to comply with an order or injunction issued pursuant to
the bill. A person accused of contempt under such circumstances should be guaranteed a jury trial in a criminal proceeding. But the advocates of this bill propose to destroy the constitutional guarantee of trial by jury through the expedient of a corrupted use of injunctions issued by federal judges.

Mr. President, there is no question as to the power of a court to punish a contempt committed in the presence of the court or so near thereto as to obstruct justice. Such authority must be vested in the courts to maintain respect for the administration of justice. From earliest times, the common-law courts have had the power to punish contempts done in their presence.

The contempt procedure was gradually refined, and a difference arose between principles which apply on abusing a process server and libelling a court. In his review of The King v. Almon, Arthur Undershill states that Hale in his Pleas of the Crown cites an instance "...of a man attached by bill to answer to the King and a party for an assault committed on the plaintiff when he came to prosecute a suit in the King's Bench...and attachment by bill to bring the defendant before the court where the question was tried in the ordinary course of law...It would seem that in early times contemptuous conduct on the service of process was punished after conviction by a jury and not by summary procedure."

Even in instances of contempts being committed in the face of the court, there is some evidence that the accused was accorded the right to trial by jury.

Holdsworth, in his History of the English Law, states that Littleton and Selden justified the use of summary process when contempt was committed before the court on the basis that "the very view of the court is a conviction in law."

However, he went on to state that:

"...All through the medieval period and long afterwards, the courts, though they might attach persons who were guilty of contempts of court, could not punish them summarily. Unless they confessed their guilt, they must be regularly indicted and convicted."

John Charles Fox, in an article in the Law Quarterly in 1909 entitled, "The Summary Process to Punish Contempt," expressed the view that the common-law courts followed a custom "perhaps down to the eighteenth century" of never summarily punishing contempts committed out of the presence of the court.

Contempt procedures established in courts of equity developed somewhat differently because of the impersonal nature of the Chancery in England. There were two main grounds on which a person might find himself in prison for contempt, according to The English Legal System by Radcliffe and Cross. They were neglecting a subpoena and failure to comply with a court order, such as to do some act, to pay money into court, or execute some document, etc.

Contempt procedures were brought into the processes of the common-law courts, after first having been established in the Chancery. Holdsworth cites two factors which contributed to this development.

He points out that, after the abolition of the Star Chamber and the jurisdiction of the Council in England in 1641, the King's Bench assumed this jurisdiction, and with it authority from the preceding bodies to punish contempts. At the same time, there began a gradual enlargement of the power of the court to convict and punish summarily without an indictment or the verdict of a jury.

Yet, Fox, in his article on the King v. Almon, asserted that he could not find an instance of a proceeding for contempt.
other than by indictment, information or action at law earlier than 1720. King v. Almon is considered the fountainhead case for the concept in England that contempts are triable without a jury.

Actually, the judgement in this case was never officially handed down. Still more important is the fact that, although the case was heard in 1765 -- just 10 years before America broke away from England -- the case did not become precedent in England until 1844, more than a half century after the United States Constitution had been adopted.

In the light of the historical background cited, it is significant that our Constitution and Bill of Rights, spelled out their guarantees of trial by jury in spite of the English custom. Knowing of the summary proceedings of the Star Chamber, and the courts which assumed the jurisdiction of the Star Chamber, we can be sure the Founding Fathers intended to protect their descendants from similar maltreatment. Unfortunately, they could not anticipate the crafty purpose of this bill and specifically exclude its provisions from enactment.

When Congress enacted the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932, it specified that, "in all cases arising under this Act in which persons shall be charged with contempt of a court," the persons so charged would have the right to trial by jury. Since the Norris-LaGuardia Act dealt with the powers of federal courts to issue injunctions in labor dispute cases, the effect of the act was to guarantee trial by jury when a person was charged with contempt of an injunction growing out of a labor dispute.

Section 11 of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, which contained this protection, was repealed in 1948 and superseded by what is now Title 18, Section 3692 of the United States Code.

This section reads as follows:

"In all cases of contempt arising under the laws of the United States governing the issuance of injunctions or restraining orders in any case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, the accused shall enjoy the right of a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the contempt shall have been committed."

Under the present federal law, other citizens do not have the same protection as labor under the statutes. Title 18, Section 401 of the Code gives the federal courts power to punish at their discretion, not only contempts in the presence of the courts and contempts of court officers, but also:

"Disobedience or resistance to its lawful writ, process, order, rule, decree, or command."

Note carefully that what this means is one segment of our people has already been extended the statutory protection of jury trial in contempt cases, while all other citizens are excluded and are subject to the summary action of the federal courts.

Recall, if you will, that under the provisions of Parts III and IV of the bill pending on the Senate Calendar, the Attorney General is authorized to "institute for the United States, or in the name of the United States" civil action "or other proper proceeding" in so-called civil rights cases and voting cases. One of the purposes of this provision is to use it in conjunction with Section 3691 of Title 18 of the Code.

Section 3691 combined with the provisions of the proposed bill would constitute another method of denying the right of trial by jury in the actions contemplated by the Attorney General. This section provides that the right of trial by jury shall not apply in contempt cases when the action is "brought or prosecuted in the name of, or on behalf of, the United States."
Mr. President, I am sure that few American citizens realize that such existing provisions of the laws have infringed on their constitutional right to trial by jury. I am sure also that few have fully realized, as yet, that the combination of existing laws with the provisions of the so-called civil rights bill would further limit jury trials.

Under our laws, a person charged with the most heinous crime is entitled to trial by jury. Surely there is not a majority of this Senate who would deny the same right to a citizen charged with violating an injunction.

The validity of injunctions is subject to dispute and I cannot see any reasonable grounds for the claim to be made that justice would be best served by the denial of trial by jury in contempts arising out of injunctive proceedings.

The people of this country believe in constitutional government. I believe they want it strengthened instead of weakened.

I believe that a majority of the people of this Nation strongly support the provision of the law providing for trial by jury in contempt cases arising out of labor disputes. Certainly they would also support the extension of this provision so as not to discriminate against persons charged with contempt in cases other than labor disputes, and to provide for trial by jury to everybody.

The Senior Senator from Illinois, who strongly advocates the consideration and passage of H. R. 6127, the so-called civil rights bill, was just as strong an advocate in 1932 of protecting persons from contempt action in labor dispute cases.

In a book entitled, The Coming of a New Party, published in 1932 and dedicated to Norman Thomas, the Senator decried contempt actions without trial by jury in labor cases.

On page 42 of the book, he wrote:

"This weighting of the scales against labor manifests itself in myriad ways. According to the present status of labor law not only can an employer require a worker, as a condition of receiving or keeping employment, to sign a 'yellow-dog' contract whereby the latter agrees neither to join a union nor to talk with those who may seek to induce him to join, but any statute prohibiting such a contract is treated as unconstitutional. In the opinion of our courts such laws violate the Fourteenth Amendment by limiting the power of an employer to fix the terms upon which the employment of a worker will be acceptable to him. Nor is this all. The employer is then permitted to obtain an injunction restraining the unions from approaching the workers who have signed such a contract and from attempting to organize them. If they try to do so, they are liable for contempt of court and their officials can accordingly be sentenced to jail, without a jury trial, by the judge who issued the original order."

Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Illinois will apply the same eloquence to a plea on behalf of all our citizens. His words, "sentenced to jail, without a jury trial, by the judge who issued the original order," are just as important today as when he wrote them 25 years ago. The principle involved is the same. Situations may change, but principles remain immutable. Time does not alter the moral law.

During recent years, all of us have heard much of the difficulty of clearing court dockets and of the congestion of the dockets because of this difficulty. On May 9 of this year, Justice Brennan of the Supreme Court addressed the Mountain and Plain Regional Meeting of the American Bar Association in Denver, Colorado, and discussed this point of calendar congestion.

I believe some of his remarks will be of interest as we seek more light on the subject of trial by jury. These are the words of Justice Brennan:

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"Another nostrum is that, because jury trials take more
time than trials before a judge without a jury, the easy
answer to calendar congestion if to get rid of jury trials in
automobile accident cases..."

"...The success of our British brothers in abolishing jury
trials should not mislead us. American tradition has given
the right to trial by jury a special place in public esteem
that causes Americans generally to speak out in wrath at any
suggestion to deprive them of it...One has only to remember that
it is still true in many States that so highly is the jury
function prized, that judges are forbidden to comment on the
evidence and even to instruct the jury except as the parties
request instructions. The jury is a symbol to Americans that
they are bosses of their government. They pay the price, and
willingly, of the imperfections, inefficiencies and, if you
please, greater expense of jury trials because they put such
store upon the jury system as a guaranty of their liberties..."

Surely the Congress which is elected directly by the people,
and so close to them, realizes the validity and the strength of
the theme propounded by Justice Brennan on behalf of jury trial.

Remove its protection and you have made liberty less secure.
Little by little freedom will dwindle away, if we fail to be
vigilant.

In the decision of June 10 in Reid V. Covert, the Supreme
Court itself made certain comments on the matter of trial by
jury. Although the case under consideration was not similar to
those which might arise under the provisions of the so-called civil
rights bill, yet certain comments of the Court should be of interest.

The opinion included the following:

"Trial by jury in a court of law and in accordance with
traditional modes of procedure after an indictment by grand jury
has served and remains one of our most vital barriers to
governmental arbitrariness. These elemental procedural safe-
guards were imbedded in our Constitution to secure their
inviolateness and sanctity against the passing demands of expedi-
diency or convenience."

And further:

"If...the Government can no longer satisfactorily operate
within the bounds laid down by the Constitution, that instrument
can be amended by the method which it prescribes. But we have
no authority to read exceptions into it which are not there."

Mr. President, no wiser words have been spoken by the Court
in several years. Expediency or convenience should never be the
reason for the enactment of a new law by the Congress. The
actions of expediency are most often the actions of regret.

Wisely, too, the Court warns against trying to amend the
Constitution except "by the method which it prescribes," a rule
I wish the Court itself had followed more faithfully. Neverthe-
less, the fact that this principle has not always been adhered to
in the past in no way alters its validity.

If the proponents of this so-called civil rights bill want
to deny the right of trial by jury to American citizens, they should
proclaim their true objective and seek to remove this guaranty
from the Constitution. Then the people of this Nation should not
be misled, as some have been, to think this bill would give
birth to a "right to vote" for anybody -- a right already held
by those it purports to help.

On March 27 the Senior Senator from Mississippi introduced
a bill, on which I joined him as a co-sponsor, to insure the
right of trial by jury for persons charged with contempt of court.

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This bill would simply provide the same protection to every citizen as that now held by persons charged with contempt in labor disputes.

If the purpose of the so-called civil rights bill were really to give greater protection to individual citizens, as is claimed, then why have the sponsors refused to include the additional protection of the right of trial by jury? I believe the answer to that question is obvious.

The sponsors find it hard to reconcile themselves to modifying this force bill with any protective element.

To me it is strange that some of those who could support the enactment of laws to protect persons engaged in labor disputes cannot find it in their hearts to extend the same sympathy and protection to other Americans.

Even an amendment to guarantee the right of trial by jury would never make this so-called civil rights measure remotely acceptable to me, but it is not necessary to pass this bill to end the present discrimination in the matter of jury trials. The Judiciary Committee could quickly report the separate bill on jury trial in contempt cases, if there is a great desire in this Senate today to enact a real civil rights bill which is within the constitutional power of the Congress.

Mr. President, I regret there appears to be little interest in protecting the right of trial by jury. This was a right so precious to our forefathers that they wrote three provisions into the Constitution and the Bill of Rights embodying the principle.

I have tried here today to express the views, not only of myself, but of the people I represent. I have tried to explain to you some of the reasons for our customs and traditions which are different from those of other States.

Also, I have tried to convey to you the convictions of my people and the determination which possesses their very souls. They have not been confused by the provisions of this so-called civil rights bill, which I hope will not be forced up for consideration. The people of my State fully realize the terrible authority with which this bill would endow the Attorney General, the District Attorneys, the federal marshals, and the federal courts.

My people do not intend to submit meekly to what they know to be unnecessary and unconstitutional. They are fearful that freedom will vanish and liberty perish when such power is vested in the officials of a government distant from them and remote in its understanding of their problems.

Profound human emotions are bound up in this entire matter. Traditions, customs and mores cannot be resolved by political agitation, by court fiat, or by force of law.

Urgency of action will not attain the results sought by the sponsors of this legislation. Understanding should replace urgency in this matter.

Mr. President, the worst argument that can be used in favor of this bill is that the end will justify the means. Already the unusual application of a Senate rule has been applied to have the bill placed on the calendar of the Senate, instead of being referred to a Committee. Doubtless other similar short-cuts are being contemplated by the sponsors.

But, while they know the means they intend to use in seeking passage of the bill, the sponsors have no conception of what the end will be if they should be successful in their efforts. I hope, Mr. President, we shall never have to face the evil day of reaping the harvest from the seeds of H. R. 6127, or any of its counterparts.

Mr. President, I urge against the further consideration of this bill. I urge against bringing upon the people of this Nation the results which would be sure to ensue.

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THE END