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In 1962 Harris lost a bid for the Democratic nomination for governor, but during the campaign he managed to visit every area in the state, and he made a surprisingly strong showing. This statewide exposure proved useful in 1964, when Harris defeated senatorial incumbent J. Howard Edmondson in the primary and went on to polish off his popular Republican opponent, Oklahoma football coach Bud Wilkinson, in the general election, being elected to a special 2-year term. Harris was reelected to the Senate by a sizable margin in 1966.

Most of those who have watched Harris believe he has come along so fast primarily because he works so hard. However, he has other qualities which have helped him politically—a lively sense of humor, a highly developed ability to recall facts and ideas, and a disciplined and highly inquisitive mind.

One associate recalls that he once mentioned Aristotle in a conversation with Harris: "Tell me about Aristotle, he said, and then we were off on an exhausting hour's conversation about Aristotle." After being appointed to the Senate Finance Committee, Harris invited several scholars to give him individual 2-hour tutorials on aspects of foreign trade.

From all accounts, Harris is a voracious and rapid reader. "I read *Science*, *Scientific American*, *Foreign Affairs*, and about any popular magazine you can think of. I even read the backs of cereal boxes," he notes. Harris says he averages about three books a week, but only reads "about two novels a year."

If he is ever defeated for the Senate, Harris says, he would like to spend his time "writing and teaching." He was, reportedly, pleased to have had his name suggested for the presidency of a state university in the Southwest. "I guess all politicians like to lecture," he grinned, "We really are sort of teachers, at heart."

Harris is already writing his own books. He recently finished his "personal view" of his work on the Civil Disorders Commission, which will be published in late May by Harper and Row. Staff members swear that he wrote the book himself on weekends. He is also working on two books which emanate from his subcommittee hearings, one on "health, science, and society" and another on "disadvantage and deprivation." He says that there are several other books he would like to write—one on five outstanding Senators, another on the American Indian, a third on Latin America.

SIMILARITY TO KERR

In political ability and energy, Harris has often been compared to that one-time Senate potentate from Oklahoma, the late Robert Kerr, who brought his state much-needed federal largesse through power on the Public Works and Finance Committees. Harris originally served on Public Works; when appointed to the influential Finance Committee, he had to choose whether to give up Public Works or his seat on the Government Operations Committee, together with his chairmanship of the government research subcommittee. He overruled pressure from some of his Oklahoma supporters who wanted him to keep his seat on Public Works, and kept his seat on the Government Operations Committee.

Harris says he likes his work on the government research subcommittee, and that it has greatly enhanced the "rich education" which he says he has received "at the public expense." He thinks that his subcommittee has had three main impacts in its 2 years of existence:

"First, it has greatly increased attention to the social sciences within the federal government, and has resulted in additional funds.

"Second, there has been a great change within the scientific establishment on the question of equitable distribution of R & D funds around the country. There haven't been many results, but there has been a

change in attitude. Now people recognize it as a problem. The spending of R & D funds has an educational impact and an economic one. I don't believe in dismantling existing centers of excellence but, rather, in supplementing them.

"Third, more and more people are coming to believe in a goals-oriented health policy. They're coming to that position after being reassured that such a policy will not be implemented to the detriment of basic research. A lot of people are concerned that we aren't doing better in health. This change of attitude, however, hasn't brought much change in results yet."

Recently, Harris has begun wondering whether it would not be better to have his government research subcommittee "phase out and die," to be replaced by a joint House-Senate study committee on science and technology, somewhat along the lines of the Joint Economic Committee. Harris emphasizes that he hasn't refined his thinking on these matters but has been asking himself, "Is there any way without sacrificing the values of our pluralistic scientific system, to bring more coherence into our scientific policy? We don't want the kind of scientific system the Soviet Union has, but we do need more planning, a more goals-oriented policy."

Even though Harris will be spending a portion of his time on research hearings in forthcoming months, it is apparent that his other activities, especially those on the Civil Disorders Commission, where he experienced at first hand the intense anger and hostility of an increasing portion of the residents of city ghettos, have had a much more profound effect on his recent thinking. "I feel very alarmed and depressed about conditions in this country," the usually buoyant Harris says. "What really worries me is the fragmentation of this country into black and white, rich and poor, old and young."

Harris' supporters don't believe that his participation on the civil disorders commission will do him any good politically at present in Oklahoma (which is more than 90 percent white), but Harris thinks the conclusions of the report have to be confronted whatever their immediate political consequences. "Racism is a fact of American life," he said quietly; "it is an ugly fact but we have to see it to deal with it." Even more impressive than Fred Harris' other important attributes is his capacity to face the grimmest aspects of our national life squarely while retaining the determination to do something to change that reality.

POLISH NATIONAL HOLIDAY

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, May 3 is a Polish national holiday, and everywhere citizens of Polish origin in many countries commemorate the Polish May 3 Constitution Day. I ask unanimous consent that the statement of the Polish American Congress, Inc., be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY THE POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, INC.

MAY 3—THE POLISH NATIONAL HOLIDAY

On May 3rd Poles everywhere and citizens of Polish origin in many countries celebrate a Polish national holiday—the Polish Third of May Constitution Day.

In the United States, wherever Americans of Polish descent live, in cities and towns from coast to coast, this holiday is observed with appropriate exercises throughout the month of May to pay tribute to the Polish nation and to remind fellow Americans that Poland was one of the first pioneers of liberalism in Europe.

It was on May 3rd in 1791, barely two years

after the adoption of its Constitution by the United States in 1789, that Poland without a bloody revolution or even without a disorder succeeded in reforming her public life and in eradicating her internal decline. But this great rebirth and assertion of democracy came to the Poles too late and did not forestall the third partition of Poland in 1795 by Russia, Prussia and Austria.

POLAND PIONEERED LIBERALISM IN EUROPE

The greatness of the May Third Polish Constitution consisted in the fact that it eliminated with one stroke the most fundamental weaknesses of the Polish parliamentary and social system. The Poles raised this great moment in their history to the forefront of their tradition rather than any one of their anniversaries of glorious victories or heroic revolutions.

We Americans who have been reared in the principle given us as a birthright by the founders of our great Republic, the principle of the sovereignty of the people in the state, which is the primary postulate in the 1791 Polish Constitution, can see how this truism cut off the Poles and the Polish political tradition completely from both the Germans and the Russians, who have been reared in the principle of state, and not national, sovereignty.

The light of liberalism coming from Poland was then, as it has been throughout the years that followed and even unto today, a threat to tyranny and absolutism in Russia and Germany. In 1795 Russian and Prussian soldiers were sent to Poland to partition and rape her. In 1939 Russian and Prussian soldiers met again on Polish soil, as the absolute totalitarianism systems of nazism and communism again felt the danger of true liberalism coming from Poland just as in 1791.

In the Polish Third of May Constitution this liberalism was formulated in these words:

"All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people, its end and object being the preservation and integrity of the state, the civil liberty and the good order of society, on an equal scale and on a lasting foundation."

AMERICAN AND POLISH CONSTITUTIONS SIMILARLY INSPIRED

The philosophy of government discernible throughout the Third of May Polish constitution leads one to believe that the American people and the Polish people had each drawn inspiration for their respective constitutions from the same source.

Meditation on the anniversary of May the Third deepens the faith and heightens the courage of every Pole and of every American of Polish origin. It reminds all Americans of Poland's destiny in the history of mankind, and prophesies the ultimate triumph of justice, even though Poland once more has been deprived of her independence, sovereignty and her territory by one of our former allies, Soviet Russia, with the consent of other United Nations.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, today marks the 177th anniversary of the proclamation and adoption of Poland's Constitution of 1791, one of the most liberal and progressive pieces of legislation of 18th century Europe.

That the Poles raised this great moment in their history to the forefront of their tradition rather than any one of their anniversaries of glorious victories or heroic revolutions is indicative, I think, of the high value they place on the pursuit of democratic ideals.

The Polish spirit of liberalism can be seen in the words of its May 3 Constitution:

All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people, its end

and object being the preservation and integrity of the state, the civil liberty and the good order of society, on an equal scale and on a lasting foundation.

Unfortunately, the liberal spirit expressed in this Polish Constitution presented too great a threat to the forces of tyranny and absolutism. In 1795 Russian and Prussian soldiers were sent to Poland to partition and rape her. Due to the valiant fighting of her volunteer armies, Poland regained her freedom in 1918. But again in 1939 Russian and German soldiers met on Polish soil and effected another partition of Poland, as the world was plunged into the holocaust of World War II. Poland today still struggles under the yoke of her oppressors, and the spirit of liberalism is but a dream in the hearts of the oppressed.

Mr. President, I join the 10 million Americans of Polish descent in reaffirming America's faith in the right of all people to determine the form of government under which they want to live. Let us hope that the time is near in which international justice will be meted out by mysterious forces of history and that the spirit of liberalism expressed in their May 3 Constitution will again become a living reality for the people of Poland.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, Poland's Constitution of 1791 was adopted on May 3 of that year. Today Polish Americans celebrate May 3 as their national holiday.

Although the United States Constitution and the Polish Constitution of 1791, both liberal and progressive for their day, erected the structure for national governments, the history of government under them has met with different fortunes.

The winds of change are being felt again in Poland. Thousands of Polish students are protesting against stringent Communist Party control of cultural affairs. In the past months, the Government has been forced to blame growing student demonstrations on "Zionists." It now appears that the charges of "Zionist" provocation have been a part of an internal power struggle.

Criticism of Polish leadership may result in the same type of liberalization seen in recent months in Czechoslovakia and Rumania. The growing sense of nationalism and independence within the countries of Eastern Europe can bring the conditions for a freer, more enlightened Poland.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, today, all Americans of Polish descent celebrate Polish Constitution Day, commemorating the adoption of the Polish Constitution of 1791.

This historic document was written and published at a critical period. The continental powers had annexed large sectors of Polish territory when, to save the nation, all forces in Poland united to formulate a new constitution.

Patterned after the U.S. Constitution, the Polish document was the first of its kind in Europe. A limited monarchy was established, class distinctions and privileges were removed, and religious freedom was extended.

Down through the years, the Polish Constitution of 1791 has remained a

cherished declaration of belief in human justice and free expression.

Despite almost constant encroachment by hostile powers, Poland has a long and glorious history. It has outlasted the rule of czarist, Hapsburg, and Prussian empires. I believe it will surmount the present barriers which stand in the way of realizing the basic human rights first enunciated in the 1791 Constitution.

In its time, the Polish Constitution was probably considered radical and untenable. But today, the document is honored all over the world as a landmark in the long march toward human freedom and justice.

I am proud to join my colleagues in Congress to pay tribute to Americans of Polish heritage on this significant occasion. I have faith that, in the spirit of the 1791 Constitution, the Polish people in Europe will once again be masters of their own destiny.

TRIBUTE TO A VALIANT PEOPLE

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, this is a day of great significance for people of Polish origin everywhere. May 3 marks the proclamation and adoption of Poland's Constitution of 1791, which was one of the most liberal and progressive documents of its kind in history. It was adopted barely 4 years after the United States, in 1787, had adopted its own Constitution.

The philosophy of government in the 3d of May Polish Constitution makes it evident that the American people and the Polish people had each drawn inspiration for their respective Constitutions from the same enlightened sources.

That fact no doubt had an influence on the fervor of President Roosevelt's accolade to a brave Poland besieged by enemies on every side during World War II. He called this land "the inspiration of nations."

Sadly, the Communist dictatorship in Poland abolished May 3 as the national holiday of Poland. The celebration of this day is left to Poles living abroad and their descendants.

The 1968 national holiday of the Polish people coincides with other significant events in Poland's history. This year will be the 25th anniversary of the tragic death of Gen. Wladyslaw Sikorski, free Poland's wartime leader and statesman; and the 50th anniversary of the rebirth of the Polish Republic after one and a half centuries of partition and foreign subjugation. In 1918, Poland regained her independence and freedom, due to the valiant fighting of her volunteer armies under Pilsudski and Haller, the efforts of Ignace Jan Paderewski, and the diplomatic skill of Roman Dmowski.

Unfortunately, Poland did not enjoy her independence for long. Her traditional enemies, Germany and Russia, had, within 20 years, effected another partition and plunged the world into World War II.

The hope of all of us is that Poland will again return to the Western family of nations as a free, independent, and sovereign state. The Polish national anthem declares: "Poland is not lost." We speak here today in an effort to keep that hope alive.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND A EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, beginning April 22, through May 13, conferences on human rights are being held. "Human Rights and a European Settlement" is the subject of a memorandum by the Assembly of Captive European Nations. I ask unanimous consent that this memorandum be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS—HUMAN RIGHTS AND A EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT
(Memorandum by Assembly of Captive European Nations, Mar. 5, 1968)

In these days of swift historic changes, the problem of Europe has become submerged by crises and complex issues in other parts of the world. It has, however, been the firm belief of the Assembly of Captive European Nations that a general relaxation of world tension is incumbent upon a Europe united in freedom. A Europe cleft in two would continue to generate perennial strife and contention hardly conducive to achieving the over-all objective of binding Europe's wounds and "making it whole again." It is unlikely that workable long-range solutions to the world-wide conflicts can be found and implemented until the problem of Europe finds a satisfactory solution.

Yet the quest for "normalizing" the situation in Europe is confronted with a number of endemic problems. A Europe divided and composed, side by side, of legitimate governments and of regimes ruling by force alone would know no lasting peace. Genuine stability and respect for human rights can be achieved only when all the members of the European family of nations are represented by freely elected governments which deal with one another in mutual respect and not from fear. The situation in Europe would not be "normalized" by recognizing the *Status quo*. Such a move would defeat the very object of trying to foster a valid European settlement and would inject into European developments an element of permanent uncertainty.

There are, however, currently available options, which could help stimulate change and lead to a Europe reflecting the basic needs and aspirations of all the people in the area.

A key to a Europe based on respect for human rights is self-determination. One of the major forces shaping the events of our time, self-determination allows a people to decide under what type of domestic institutions they desire to live and what alliances they wish to enter into. A country free to shape its own destiny and exercising full national sovereignty represents a component of stability on which a larger regional grouping can be built. Conversely, a nation deprived of its rights to charter its future and prisoner of an unpopular self-perpetuating system is a constant source of internal ferment and upheavals.

In ACEN's view, it is therefore deemed essential that an integrated Europe be built on and around the principle of self-determination. As self-determination is an integral part of fundamental human rights, observance of these rights would generate a climate in which the rule of law would take precedence to force and vested interests.

The year 1968, proclaimed Human Rights Year by the United Nations as well as by the President of the United States, offers fresh opportunities for helping foster fundamental human rights in East-Central Europe and thus bring closer the day when the peoples of East-Central Europe will again sit