

he has ever done to the Communist conspiracy here or abroad." He cosponsored the censure resolution that was the beginning of the end of McCarthy.

In 1960 President Kennedy wanted Fulbright as his Secretary of State, but was dissuaded from asking him to serve. Much later Fulbright said he was "not temperamentally asuited" to administer "somebody else's policy—or one I disagreed with." Another reason is that it would have removed him from the Senate that he loved.

He opposed the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and tried vainly to talk President Kennedy out of proceeding with it.

As Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Fulbright led the floor-fight for the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution because President Johnson asked him to, promising him that its effects would be limited and not open-ended. This began Johnson's tragic adventure in Indochina. Soon after, Fulbright realized he had been lied to about what really happened in the Gulf of Tonkin, he had the courage and the manhood to confess that he had been wrong in supporting it. He then convened the so-called, Fulbright Hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, summoning Dean Rusk and Robert McNamara and all the great war-hawks to educate the American public via television. He began his courageous seven-year crusade against the Vietnam War.

When a colleague asked him if the Senate had the power to enact certain legislation, Fulbright replied, "We have the power to do any dawn fool thing we want, and we always seem to do it."

Apropos of Vietnam and our tragic experience there, he liked to quote Kipling:

The end of the fight is a tombstone white
with the name of the late deceased,
And the epitaph drear: "A fool lies here
who tried to hustle the East".

He was one of the first to warn that Americans were being taxed to pay for being propagandized by what he called "The Pentagon Propaganda Machine."

He had the wisdom to see that in all political systems there is a tendency for public servants to metamorphose into public masters, surfeited with unchecked power and privilege and increasingly overpaid to misgovern. He knew that even free peoples can be led to death and maiming because they do not realize that all wars are against their interests. The tragedy of his life is his discovery that wars, once started, tend to become inundating forces of nature, inexorable and beyond the control of any of the participants.

He was a tory by birth and breeding, a capitalist by background, conviction and instinct. He used to say, "I believe that capitalism is, by and large, the best system to bring the highest standard of living to the most people. If, however, a country wants to try socialism or some other system, then they should by all means be permitted to. But I do not believe that we have the moral right, and certainly not the capacity, to prevent their going their own way."

He was a conservative. He believed as the Founding Fathers did that governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed. He believed in the limitation of executive powers, in checks and balances and in the separation of governmental powers. Constitutionally he was a strict constructionist.

He was a liberal, resonating to the principles of the American Revolution and the inherent right of all peoples to change their governments. His liberalism was in the original sense of the word, derived from the word liberty, in being broad-minded, undogmatic,

tolerant—which is what all true conservatives should aspire to be.

He was one of the early champions of the wise investment of American aid to rebuild and strengthen a war-ravaged Europe. Later, he was one of the early opponents of the extravagant support of unpopular and repressive dictatorships abroad—enriching Asian countries merely because they professed to be anti-communist. He fought against the transfer of hundreds of billions of U.S. dollars to the Far East, enriching Asian nations merely because they professed to be anti-communist. He was a reluctant witness to America's rapid decline from being the biggest creditor nation on earth to become the biggest debtor nation—what he called "a crippled giant."

Usually courteous to the point of courtliness—especially to the humble—he was sometimes professorial, even condescending to his peers—especially the pompous. Only with difficulty did he suffer fools. He had contempt for politicians and their "communications" experts—with government by poll. "Their purpose seems to consist largely in discovering what people want and feel and dislike," he said, "and then associating themselves with those feelings. * * * This is the opposite of leadership, it is followship, elevated to a science, for the purpose of self-advancement. Even formal policy speeches are determined by the polls. The policy statements that emerge have little to do with the national interest."

He lived through most of a terrible and turbulent century. In the vastness of time, his nine decades of life were but a narrow valley between the peaks of two eternities. And yet, what a bountiful valley it was.

Sir Christopher Wren's epitaph in London—in the St. Paul's Cathedral he designed—is *Si monumentum requiris circumspice*—"If you would seek his monument, look around you."

The same epitaph is appropriate for Bill Fulbright.

The United Nations.
The Fulbright scholarships.
The anti-war years during the maelstrom of Vietnam.

The scores of legislative accomplishments.
The wise world-view he sustained throughout his long lifetime.

"Our future is not in the stars," he used to say, "but in our own minds and hearts."

In a sense, his most lasting monument is invisible. It is the thousands of names that are not engraved on The Wall of the Vietnam Memorial in Washington—all the names that are not there because once, long ago, he led the fight against an unwinnable war he knew was contrary to the interests of his country. He was one of the first to diagnose the dangers of the arrogance of unchecked executive power, the price of pride and hubris. He had the common sense to oppose old myths, the vision to appreciate new realities, and a keen feel for the great lesson of history—that the price of empire is always too high.

If half the Congress were composed of Bill Fulbrights, legislative functioning might be extremely difficult. But unless America continues to produce two or three in every generation, America democracy as we know it might indeed perish.

We have lost a great national treasure—perhaps a nonrenewable resource.

Sic transit.

To whom it may concern:

Mr. Clyde E. Pettit, Jr. is well known to me. He is a lawyer and television producer from a prominent family in my state. He is President of KYMA-TV and Vice President of Sun Communications.

Mr. Pettit was on the United States Senate staff during the years I was U.S. Senator

from Arkansas and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He was Special Assistant to the late Senator Carl Hayden, then the President of the U.S. Senate.

Mr. Pettit went to Vietnam as a foreign correspondent and made many distinguished radio broadcasts in 1965 and 1966. He was one of the very first Americans to predict that the United States could not prevail in that tragic undertaking. He wrote a long and prescient letter to me from Saigon that was a substantial influence upon my long opposition to America's adventure in Indochina. Later he wrote the book, "The Experts"—the definitive chronicle of the Vietnam War. He has had a consistent vision of our proper role in foreign affairs and a continuing concern for U.S. involvement in Asia and the Middle East.

He believes, incidentally, that since more than fifteen years have elapsed since the end of hostilities, it is time for diplomatic, cultural and commercial relations to be re-established. I agree.

Any courtesies extended to him will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

J.W. FULBRIGHT.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is now closed.

BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair does apologize to the Senator from West Virginia. Under the previous order, the Senate was to resume consideration of House Joint Resolution 1 at 12:30. We will now do that. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1) proposing a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The Senate resumed consideration of the joint resolution.

Pending:

(1) Feinstein amendment No. 274, in the nature of a substitute.

(2) Feingold amendment No. 291, to provide that receipts and outlays of the Tennessee Valley Authority shall not be counted as receipts or outlays for purposes of this article.

(3) Graham amendment No. 259, to strike the limitation on debt held by the public.

(4) Graham amendment No. 298, to clarify the application of the public debt limit with respect to redemptions from the Social Security Trust Funds.

(5) Kennedy amendment No. 267, to provide that the balanced budget constitutional amendment does not authorize the President to impound lawfully appropriated funds or impose taxes, duties, or fees.

(6) Bumpers modified motion to refer H.J. Res. 1 to the Committee on the Budget with instructions.

(7) Nunn amendment No. 299, to permit waiver of the amendment during an economic emergency.

(8) Nunn amendment No. 300, to limit judicial review.

(9) Levin amendment No. 273, to require Congress to pass legislation specifying the means for implementing and enforcing a balanced budget before the balanced budget amendment is submitted to the States for ratification.