

but to the elderly, the sick including those isolated by HIV or AIDS, and those suffering hardship through alcohol or drug dependency or who are in prison. Although I think of myself as trying to keep up with this subject, I must say I was struck by the sheer scale of the effort which has been detailed in recent reports published under the auspices of the Federation of Irish Societies. These show a level of concern and understanding which finds practical expression every day through these agencies and gives true depth to the meaning of the word cherish.

When I was a student, away from home, and homesick for my family and my friends and my country, I walked out one evening and happened to go into a Boston newsagent's shop. There, just at the back of the news stand, almost to my disbelief, was "The Western People." I will never forget the joy with which I bought it and took it back with me and found, of course, that the river Moy was still there and the Cathedral was still standing. I remember the hunger with which I read the news from home. I know that story has a thousand versions. But I also know it has a single meaning. Part of cherishing must be communication. The journey which an Irish newspaper once made to any point outside Ireland was circumscribed by the limits of human travel. In fact, it replicated the slow human journey through ports and on ships and airplanes. Now that journey can be transformed, through modern on-line communications, into one of almost instantaneous arrival.

We are at the centre of an adventure in human information and communication greater than any other since the invention of the printing press. We will see our lives changed by that. We still have time to influence the process and I am glad to see that we in Ireland are doing this. In some cases this may merely involve drawing attention to what already exists. The entire Radio 1 service of RTE is now transmitted live over most of Europe on the Astra satellite. In North America we have a presence through the Galaxy satellite. There are several internet providers in Ireland and bulletin boards with community database throughout the island. The magic of E-mail surmounts time and distance and cost. And the splendid and relatively recent technology of the World Wide Web means that local energies and powerful opportunities of access are being made available on the information highway.

The shadow of departure will never be lifted. The grief of seeing a child or other family member leave Ireland will always remain sharp and the absence will never be easy to bear. But we can make their lives easier if we use this new technology to bring the news from home. As a people, we are proud of our story-telling, our literature, our theatre, our ability to improvise with words. And there is a temptation to think that we put that at risk if we espouse these new forms of communications. In fact we can profoundly enrich the method of contact by the means of expression, and we can and should—as a people who have a painful historic experience of silence and absence—welcome and use the noise, the excitement, the speed of contact and the sheer exuberance of these new forms.

This is the second time I have addressed the two Houses of the Oireachtas as provided under the Constitution. I welcome the opportunity it has given me to highlight this important issue at a very relevant moment for us all. The men and women of our diaspora represent not simply a series of departures and losses. They remain, even while absent, a precious reflection of our own growth and change, a precious reminder of the many strands of identity which compose our story. They have come, either now or in the past,

from Derry and Dublin and Cork and Belfast. They know the names of our townlands and villages. They remember our landscape or they have heard of it. They look at us anxiously to include them in our sense of ourselves and not to forget their contribution while we make our own. The debate about how to best engage their contribution with our own has many aspects and offers opportunities for new structures and increased contact.

If I have been able to add something to this process of reflection and to encourage a more practical expression of the concerns we share about our sense of ourselves at home and abroad then I am grateful to have had your attention here today. Finally, I know this Oireachtas will agree with me that the truest way of cherishing our diaspora is to offer them, at all times, the reality of this island as a place of peace where the many diverse traditions in which so many of them have their origins, their memories, their hopes are bound together in tolerance and understanding.

TRIBUTE TO LINDA WARD- WILLIAMS

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to a dedicated servant of the people of the United States. Linda Ward-Williams, who has an outstanding record of public service, was tragically killed in an auto accident February 7, 1995, near the family home of Fishtail, MT. She is survived by her husband, Burt, and her parents, Thomas and Ethel Ward of Hysham, MT. Burt Williams is currently with the Bureau of Land Management.

According to the Billings Gazette,

Linda was definitely an individual. She was born June 12, 1947, the daughter of Tom and Ethel Ward, and attended schools in Hysham, Billings and Missoula in Montana, culminating in a master's degree in anthropology at the University of Colorado, working toward a Ph.D.

Linda started professional life as an Old World archaeologist and worked on projects in Israel and Western Europe. She gave up the allure of the Old World and settled into Western U.S. archaeology when she married her husband in 1971.

Linda as an archaeologist, started her career with the Bureau of Land Management in 1978. She moved to the Bureau of Reclamation in 1979. She began her work as a forest ranger for the U.S. Forest Service in 1987 and was elevated to district ranger at the Beartooth Ranger District, Red Lodge, MT, in 1989.

Federal land managers have the most challenging positions of all the public service jobs in the West. They are constantly being challenged by resource managers and users, special interest groups, and folks who know very little about natural resource management but think they do, especially the great renewable resources found on our Nation's national forests. She met those challenges with intelligence and judgment. I did not always agree with her but she gave the full measure of thought before every decision.

The State of Montana has lost a friend, the Nation has lost a dedicated public servant. In the great tradition of those who are tied to the land in this

country, there will be those who will follow in her footsteps with the same degree of dedication. That is how it should be and how she would have it.

A TRIBUTE TO SENATOR J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. President, a constituent of mine, Clyde Edwin Pettit, was a member of the staff of the late Senator J. William Fulbright. Mr. Pettit went to Vietnam as a foreign correspondent and made many distinguished radio broadcasts from there in 1965 and 1966. He was one of the very first Americans to predict that the United States would not prevail in that tragic undertaking. He wrote what Senator Fulbright called a long and prescient letter * * * from Saigon that was a substantial influence upon my long opposition to America's adventure in Indochina. Mr. Pettit has written a moving and eloquent tribute to Senator Fulbright.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the eulogy to which I have referred and a letter of introduction Senator Fulbright wrote regarding Clyde Pettit be inserted in the RECORD.

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

BILL FULBRIGHT—AN APPRECIATION

Senator J. William Fulbright is dead. He was, in every sense, an American original.

A small-town boy, who was both a scholar and triple-threat halfback on the Razorback football team at the University of Arkansas, he became, almost by chance, a Rhodes scholar in England.

Later, while a law professor, he became president of the University of Arkansas—the youngest college president in the country.

He backed into politics almost accidentally, running for the House of Representatives and winning.

In Congress in 1943 he revived the concept of the League of Nations, but a more effective one. This was the Fulbright Resolution pledging U.S. membership for a future United Nations. Arkansas made Fulbright a Democrat. Europe made him an internationalist.

After his Rhodes scholarship experience, he wanted other young men and women to have the educational opportunities he had. In 1945 he had a unique idea: the world was awash with surplus war materiel. The secretary of state could dispose of assets outside the U.S. in return for foreign credits. Since none of the countries involved had dollars to pay for the materiel, why not exchange it for credits and use them for an educational exchange program? The idea became the internationally celebrated Fulbright Act. Since that time, approximately 220,000 young scholarship students have traversed the globe—the greatest cross-pollination of learning in the history of the world.

Few remember that he cast the single vote in the Senate in 1954 against funding Senator Joe McCarthy's witchhunting subcommittee. McCarthy called Fulbright a communist sympathizer, referring to him as "Senator Halfbright." Fulbright: "I can only say that his manner and his methods were offensive to me. I thought him to be a demagogue and a ruthless boor." He said McCarthy had "done more harm to the United States than

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 circumspecte*—"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.