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**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
THE FULBRIGHT PROGRAM -- 50TH ANNIVERSARY DINNER
THE WHITE HOUSE
JUNE 5, 1996**

Acknowledgments: Mrs. (Harriet) Fulbright; the Fulbright family; Dr. Duffey; members of Congress; friends...

Welcome to the White House. I want to thank all of you for joining Hillary and me tonight at this 50th anniversary celebration of the Fulbright Program. We are all here to honor the dream and legacy of a great American. Senator Fulbright understood that world stability depended upon more than the trading of goods and services among nations. He knew that the ideal of lasting world peace could never be realized without the free and open trading of ideas, knowledge and friendships.

Those of us who understood and shared his roots in the Ozarks owe him a special debt of gratitude. His brilliance and vision said to a whole generation of us: yes, we could rise above the poverty and divisions that surrounded us and make something of our lives. Yes, there was a world out there that needed our gifts just as much as we needed to explore its treasures and mysteries. I cannot tell you what this meant to me as a young man growing up in Hope, Arkansas.

But Senator J. William Fulbright did not simply affect the lives of young Arkansans -- he became an inspiration to the world. More than anyone I have ever known, he understood that the only way to lasting peace between people from different countries and cultures is through the simple act of giving and receiving the best that each has to offer. For five decades, the Fulbright Program has stood as a proud symbol of America's fundamental commitment to that ideal. For hundreds of thousands of scholars here and around the globe, it has cemented America's mission as a nation that cares about, and is engaged in, the world community. Many of the planet's finest leaders and artists have benefitted from this special experience -- some of them are here tonight. No matter their native tongue, all of them are now known by the same proud name -- Fulbrights.

Senator Fulbright once said, "The essence of intercultural education is the acquisition of empathy -- the ability to see the world as others see it, and to allow for the possibility that others may see something we have failed to see, or may see it more accurately. The simple purpose of the exchange program...is to erode the culturally rooted mistrust that sets nations against one another. It is not a panacea, but an avenue of hope..."

As we celebrate 50 years of bipartisan support for the Fulbright Program, let us rededicate ourselves to this ideal and let us pledge to do all we can to keep the Fulbright Program alive for future generations. Thank you and God bless you all.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

May 5, 1993

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HEADLINE: Remarks at the Tribute to Senator J. William Fulbright

BODY:

Thank you very much. It's good to know that I did get a vote out of the press. [Laughter] Roger, I'm delighted to be here, and I'm so glad that you're here. I'm glad to be here with Senator and Mrs. Gore. Senator Gore, after you spoke and you said you resented the fact that Senator Fulbright was 88 and you were a mere 85 1/2 when you went over to him, I heard him say what the crowd did not. Senator Fulbright looked at him and said, "Albert, if you behave yourself, you'll make it, too." [Laughter]

I want to say that it is a deeply humbling experience for me as an American to be here with all these wonderful people. Many people in this audience have made remarkable contributions to our Nation and to the world over the last half century or so. And I thank you all, as part of the contingent of Arkansans who are here who feel very protective of Senator Fulbright and feel that in some ways he is still our own. It's a great pleasure and sense of pride for me to look out and see all of you here.

I also want to say a special word of appreciation to Harriet. You know, when Senator Fulbright announced that he and Harriet were going to be married, all the people from Arkansas started telling cradle robbing jokes. [Laughter] And I've got an 88-year-old uncle, and for kicks, he goes out once a week and drives two ladies around. One of them is 91, and one of them is 92. And I asked my uncle, I said, "You like these older ladies?" And he said, "Yes, it seems to me like they're a little more settled." [Laughter] I'm glad Bill didn't give into the temptation for being settled and instead found Harriet.

You know, somebody ought to put a little levity into this evening. Senator Pryor and Congressman Thornton are out there, and Jim Blair, who once ran one of Senator Fulbright's campaigns. Those of us who grew up in Arkansas, I have to say, had this incredible image of Senator Fulbright. First of all, if you grew up in our State and you knew anything about politics,, it was immensely gratifying after it, to see the way people sort of dumped on our State back in the forties and fifties and said we were all a bunch of back-country hayseeds, and we had a guy in the Senate who doubled the IQ of any room he entered. [Laughter] It was pretty encouraging. You know, it made us feel pretty good, like we might amount to something.

When Hillary first came to Arkansas she said, "You know, you all beat better people down here than most States elect." Unfortunately, there were two occasions when that might have applied to me. [Laughter] But anyway, Hillary finally developed this theory that the reason all of our good people went into politics is that we couldn't make an honest living in the depressed economy.

And it increased the quality of political life.

I say this to try to give you some texture. You know, a lot of people are out here in this audience tonight who worked for Senator Fulbright in his campaigns, worked for Senator Pryor, Congressman Thornton, and worked for me. And some of us have been so controversial that we are, to use the Arkansas colloquialism, we are quite a load to carry. [Laughter] And I wish I could take every one of you back tonight to Senator Fulbright's 1968 reelection campaign. I mean, I wish you could have been there. Now remember, here we are, '68: The country is embroiled in the Vietnam war, split right down the middle, except in the South where it wasn't down the middle -- more people were still for it than "agin" it. The country was torn up. There had been riots in the streets. There was great division over poverty and race. Everybody was wound tight as a drum. George Wallace was moving through the South faster than Sherman did and carried Arkansas that year. And here we are, all of us kids, trying to reelect Fulbright in this environment, right?

Now, let me give you a flavor. Senator Fulbright had an opponent in 1968 who decided to make trade an issue. Now, the distinguished Japanese Ambassador is here. You know, people write as if we're having blood fights when we have arguments over trade policy. We didn't have arguments in '68. This guy got up at a platform and held up a shoe to his opponent, and he said. "This shoe was made in Communist Romania." This is a verbatim account, right? "Communist Romania," he said. "And Bill Fulbright is letting these shoes into your country, throwing our good, God-fearing people out of work to let the Communists from Romania have the job." That's a sample of what we had to deal with. [Laughter]

So you know, we worked hard on him, and we got him to wear a checkered shirt. That picture you saw up there in a checkered shirt, that's the only time he ever came home without a necktie. [Laughter] So he's wearing this checkered shirt, you know, and we think we finally got him where he can sort of at least tolerate all this insanity that was going on there. All he had to do was kind of halfway be nice to people, and we thought he could get reelected. So, I was driving him around one day, and at the middle of all this tension we come to this little country town in southwest Arkansas, one road in, same road out. And we go into a feed store. And you remember what Lyndon Johnson used to say? If you can't look at a person in the eye and tell whether they're for you or against you, you've got no business in politics. No one could have mistaken the atmosphere in the feed store this day. [Laughter] This guy in overalls looked at Senator Fulbright and said, "I wouldn't vote for you if you were the last person on Earth." And Senator Fulbright sat down on this bale of hay or this -- it was a big sack of seed, and he said, "Well, why?" And I thought, be nice. The television cameras were on, you know. He said, "Because you're letting the Communists in. They're everywhere. Today it's Vietnam; tomorrow it will be -- they're everywhere." And he looked around, and he said, "I didn't see any when I came into town." He said, "Where are they, and what do they look like? I wouldn't recognize one." [Laughter]

Well, anyway, he got reelected anyway. I say that because, you know, in all this highfalutin talk, it's important not to forget that the American political system produced this remarkable man. And my State did, and I'm real proud of it.

Senator Fulbright always believed there were some things that he should defer

to the judgment of his constituents on, and others that he was charged with knowing more than they were and that he should do what he thought was right. And it did get him into a lot of trouble, but it helped our country get through a lot of rough times.

In addition to those things which have been mentioned and written about, I can't help noting one of the things that drew me to him as a young man, and that is that he stood up to Joe McCarthy, something that meant a lot to a lot of us. The other thing he always tried to do was to get all of us who were around him to look at the other side of an argument. I remember when I was a young man working for him in that campaign, I was driving him around, and sometimes I'd get so exasperated arguing with him because I could never win. We just argued all the time. And one day we were in a town, and I drove back out the same way I drove in. I was going to take us 100 miles in the wrong direction until he corrected me, which meant that the professor was not as absentminded as the student. [Laughter]

But all during this time, it is impossible for me to fully capture for you the impact that he had on young generation after young generation in my State, how he made us believe that education could lift us up and lift this country up, how he made us believe that our obligation was to develop our minds to the maximum of our ability and then to use it, wherever it took us. He believed in reason and argument, and he believed in the end democracy could only prevail if we knew enough and were thoughtful enough to face the truth and try to search it out. It's still a pretty good prescription for what we ought to do. He also deeply believed that the racial, religious, and ethnic differences and the political differences that divided the world so deeply during almost all of this public career were vastly less important than the common bonds of humanity which could unite us if only we could take our blinders off. He was among the first Americans to try to get us to think about the people in the Islamic world as people; among the first Americans to try to get us to understand the different and various and rich cultures of Asia, which have now produced some of the most amazing achievements in all of human history. And that is one of the reasons, I think, Mr. Ambassador, that Japan, thankfully, has become the most outstanding supporter of the Fulbright scholarship program, something for which we are all very grateful.

I close with this thought. About 4 years ago, Senator Fulbright's hometown of Fayetteville, which is the seat of the University of Arkansas where Hillary and I used to teach and where we were married, threw a big party for him and invited me as the Governor to come up and speak. And so I went up there. It was a wonderful day on the square. It was a Saturday. And afterwards the farmers market was there, and I walked around the square and talked to all the farmers. We shot the bull about Bill Fulbright and talked about his career. And then I went up to the hotel room where Senator Fulbright, believe it or not, was watching a football game. And when I walked in and sat down with him -- we watched this ball game, and this young man kicked a field goal about 2 minutes after we sat down. He looked at me, and he said, "You know something, I can't believe it's been 64 years since I did that." I say that to make my final point: It doesn't take long to live a life. He made the most of his. And I think his enduring legacy to us is trying to help us all to have a better chance to make the most of ours. Thank you very much.

Sit down: we're going to do one more thing. The job I now have, in the eyes

Public Papers of the Presidents, May 5, 1993

of my mentor, is probably not quite as good a job as being a United States Senator, mostly because I have to take all that criticism. But it does give me some prerogatives. In spite of what you may have seen or heard in the last several days, there are some things I can do without anybody agreeing to it. And tonight, for the first time as President of the United States, I intend to do one of them. And I'd like to enlist the aid of my distinguished military aide. Major Schorsch, would you please read the proclamation.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:49 p.m. at the ANA Hotel. Following the President's remarks, Senator Fulbright was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

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Danielle Bushman
OEOB 196

OFFICE OF ACADEMIC PROGRAMS



FAX COVER SHEET

USIA

Date May 30, 1996

FROM:

Name Linda ROTUNDO

Office Academic Programs

Phone (202) 619-6409

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TO:

Name Tracy LABRELQUE

Office Social Secretary

Phone _____

Fax 456-6235

Total number of pages including cover 11

Comments: Tracy - here is some Fulbright background materials for the speech writers. I will fax more concrete talking points once I get them released from here.

Thanks,
Linda

- Black tie
- Pool during toasts
- Audience: 130

1946



1996

Promoting Global Understanding

FULBRIGHT PROGRAM - HISTORY AND IMPACT

PROGRAM CONCEPTION

Senator J. William Fulbright, raised and educated in Arkansas, had never seen a major American city before he received a Rhodes Scholarship in 1925 to study in England. His three-year experience at Oxford University and his travels in Europe convinced him about the importance of seeing the world from the points of view of other peoples and nations.

This conviction would find lasting expression in 1945 when, as a freshman U.S. senator from Arkansas, he sponsored legislation establishing the exchange program which bears his name.

At that time, Fulbright saw a world devastated by World War II and awed by its newly acquired atomic power. Albert Einstein warned, "We must acquire a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive." Remembering his overseas experience, the young Senator from Arkansas reasoned that people and nations had to learn to think globally if the world were to avoid annihilation.

Fulbright believed that if large numbers of people lived and studied in other countries, "they might," he said, "develop a capacity for empathy, a distaste for killing other men, and an inclination for peace."

LEGISLATION

Senator Fulbright's legislation establishing the educational exchange program was added as an amendment to a bill about disposing of U.S. wartime properties in Europe, and passed through the Senate without debate. It was signed into law by President Truman on August 1, 1946. The program's first participants went overseas funded by war reparations and foreign loan repayments to the United States.

The final legislative underpinnings of the Fulbright academic exchange program came with the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961. Also known as the Fulbright-Hays Act (Senator Fulbright introduced it in the Senate and Representative Wayne Hays of Ohio, in the House,) this law is still the basic charter for all U.S. Government-sponsored educational and cultural exchanges. It consolidated all previous laws on the subject, retaining the principal characteristics of the program as it had developed and adding some new features.

The stated purpose of the Act summarizes well the broad goals of the Fulbright Program: "...to enable the Government of the United States to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States, and the people of other countries by means of educational and cultural exchange; to strengthen the ties which unite us with other nations by demonstrating the educational and cultural interests, developments and achievements of the people of the United States and other nations, and the contributions being made toward a peaceful and more fruitful life for people throughout the world; to promote international cooperation for educational and cultural advancement, and thus to assist in the development of friendly, sympathetic, and peaceful relations between the United States and other countries of the world."

Fulbright Program
 U.S. State Department
 Room 202
 301 4th Street, SW
 Washington, DC 20547

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 17, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

National Cathedral
Washington, DC

10:25 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Mrs. Fulbright, the children and grandchildren of Senator Fulbright, all of his family and friends here assembled, we come to celebrate and give thanks for the remarkable life of J. William Fulbright -- a life that changed our country and our world forever and for the better. In the work he did, the words he spoke and the life he lived, Bill Fulbright stood against the 20th century's most destructive forces and fought to advance its brightest hopes.

He was the heir of Jefferson in our time. He believed in the American idea, but he respected others who saw the world differently. He lived with passion tempered by reason. He loved politics, but cautioned against the arrogance of power. He cherished education as the answer to our common problems and our personal dreams. But he knew there would always be more to learn.

Time and again for 32 years as a Congressman, a Senator, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. He worked for progress and peace, often against great odds and sometimes at great personal cost; expanding opportunities for the people of his beloved Arkansas and other Americans who needed help to make the most of their lives; leading the way to found the United Nations; taking a long, lonely stand against Joseph McCarthy; expanding the reach of our culture as the driving force behind the Kennedy Center; fighting to change our course in Vietnam; reminding us that the forces of freedom would win the Cold War if we could avoid nuclear war, what he called his generation's power of veto over the next; and, of course, in a cold dawn only two weeks after Hiroshima, calling for the creation of the international exchange program that will live as his most profound legacy.

The Fulbright Scholarship Program is a perfect example of Bill Fulbright's faith -- different kinds of people learning side by side, building what he called "a capacity for empathy, a distaste for killing other men, and an inclination for peace."

Next year will be the 50th anniversary of that program. Now it includes as its alumni Nobel Prize winners, members of Congress, leaders for peace and freedom the world over; and many not so famous people who went home to live out the faith of Senator Fulbright, more than 120,000 from other countries have come here and more than 90,000 Americans have gone overseas to study, to learn and to grow. No matter what their native tongue, all of them are now known by the same name -- Fulbrights.

In a way, a lot of us here, especially those of us from Arkansas and those who worked for him in other ways over the years, are also in our own way Fulbrights. Those of us who knew and loved him, who worked for him, who learned from him, each of us have our indelible memories -- some of them serious, some of them quite funny.

I must say that I was a little reluctant to ^{accept}~~except~~ the request that I speak today because I once attended a funeral with Bill Fulbright, and I know how much distaste he had for highly formalized rituals. If he were giving me instructions, he'd say, Bill, say something nice, be brief, and try to get everybody out so they can enjoy this beautiful day.

But let me tell you that those of us who understood and shared his roots in the Ozarks; those of us who knew what his life was like as a young person growing up and playing football and becoming president of a university; those of us who understood later in life what he learned when he had the chance first to travel overseas and study in England and see the insanity that resulted from the squandering of the victory in World War I; those of us who saw firsthand the enormous anguish he felt, as I would see him early in the morning and late in the evening in the Senate Office Building, in the great struggles over the Vietnam war; those of us who saw him in his campaign in 1968, when this country was being literally torn apart, still trying to learn, trying to understand, and trying to be understood. We will never forget the debt that we owe him and the debt the country owes him.

When Mrs. Fulbright spoke last year in Germany, in recognition of the Senator's receipt of a distinguished award from the American Chamber of Commerce there, she quoted from a letter Senator Fulbright received 30 years ago. I'd like to leave it with you, so that you can remember something of what he did, and the times in which he did it.

She said, all this talk of leadership, freedom and education may seem simple, self-evident and commonplace to you now, but there was a time when it was considered radical, even dangerous. Thirty years ago, Senator Fulbright was called names I wouldn't dream of putting on paper, much less pronouncing to a respectable audience.

He got emotional letters full of praise and hate. There was one which affected him far more deeply than all the rest. And after reading it, he closed his office doors, ordered all the calls held, and wrote in longhand an answer which he did not copy. I will read you the letter:

"Dear Senator Fulbright: I have never voted for you. I have never missed a chance to belittle you. But deep inside me, there was a nagging suspicion that I have been wrong. If this world plunges headlong toward what well may be its destruction, it gets increasingly harder to hear lonely voices, such as yours, calling for common sense, human reason and the respect for the brotherhood of man. But be of good cheer, my friend, keep nipping at their heels. This old world has always nailed its prophets to trees, so don't be surprised at those who come at you with hammers and spikes. Know that those multitudes yet unborn will stand on our shoulders. And one among them will stand a little higher because he is standing on yours."

We owe a lot to Bill Fulbright -- some of us more than others. Let us all remember the life he lived and the example he set.

A few years ago, Senator Fulbright came home to Fayetteville, and we celebrated a Fulbright Day. I was then the Governor, and after the official event, we went back to his hotel room and watched the football game. And when the young player for one of the teams kicked a field goal, he looked at me and he said, you know, I used to do that over 60 years ago. I don't know what happened to all those years; they sure passed in a hurry. I think we can all say that they also passed very well.

Senator Fulbright's lesson is captured on the statue in the Fayetteville town square in these quotes: "In the beauty of these gardens, we honor the beauty of his dream -- peace among nations and free exchange of knowledge and ideas across the earth." Bill Fulbright also left us the power of his example -- always the teacher, and always the student.

Thank you, friend, and Godspeed.

FULBRIGHTERS

In its 50 years, the Fulbright Program has enabled nearly a quarter of a million people from the United States and 140 countries to live and study in another country. More than 120,000 foreign nationals have taught, studied or done research in the United States, and more than 90,000 Americans have gone overseas to do the same. A master of Pembroke College, Oxford, has called this "the largest and most significant movement of scholars across the face of the earth since the fall of Constantinople in 1453."

Many foreign Fulbrighters have returned home to become prime ministers, cabinet members, diplomats, newspaper editors, and academics. Past and present heads of government who have come to the United States on Fulbrights include Brazilian President Fernando Cardoso, Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, Italian Prime Minister Lamberto Dini, and Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu. Some Fulbright alumni, like United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, have become internationally prominent.

American Fulbrighters have included university presidents Derek Bok and Hanna Gray, economist Milton Friedman, scientist Joshua Lederberg, historian Henry Steele Commager, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, novelists John Updike and Eudora Welty, composer Aaron Copland, actor Stacy Keach, and opera singer Anna Moffo. They also have included hundreds of elementary and high school teachers who have exchanged classrooms for a year with foreign counterparts.

ADMINISTRATION AND OVERSIGHT

The Fulbright Program is administered by the United States Information Agency, the federal agency responsible for a wide range of educational exchange, information, and cultural programs abroad. The J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, composed of 12 presidentially-appointed members drawn from academic, cultural and public life, was created by Congress to establish policy guidelines for the educational exchange program.

BINATIONALISM

The Fulbright Program has become a global system of binational exchanges, each between the United States and a partner nation. Binational commissions which administer the exchange have been established in 50 of the countries where the Program operates.

Binationalism was a primary objective of Senator Fulbright. "I had not wanted this to be solely an American program," he wrote. "In each country, binational commissions were to develop the kind of program that made sense to them -- what kinds of students, or teachers and professors, should be selected, what kind of research work."

ACADEMIC MERIT

From the outset, the Fulbright Program has been truly "academic," with respect for the freedom and integrity that should characterize scholarly and intellectual discourse within and across national boundaries. The J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board pledged at its first meeting in July 1947 that "in all aspects of the program the highest standards be developed and maintained...the individuals to benefit will be of the highest caliber, persons who demonstrated outstanding scholastic and professional ability and whose personalities and characters will contribute to the furtherance of the objectives of the program."

FUNDING

The primary source of funding for the Fulbright Program is a congressional appropriation;

in 1995, \$118 million was appropriated (72 per cent of the program cost). In addition \$22 million came from 37 foreign government, \$4 million from private donations, and \$20 million in in-kind support. Foreign and American universities also provide indirect support such as tuition awards, salary supplements, housing and other benefits.

Since its creation, the Fulbright Program's cost to U.S. taxpayers has not yet exceeded the price of one battleship, a fact that Senator Fulbright delighted in pointing out.

Some of the 140 countries where the Fulbright Program operates now contribute up to half the funds needed to run their individual programs. These countries include Austria, Finland, Germany, Japan, Morocco, the Netherlands, Norway, and Spain.

The program is currently facing a substantial decrease in its Congressionally-appropriated funding.

IMPACT

The Fulbright Program has produced several generations of leaders with broadened vision in the sciences, the arts, education, literature, business, the media, and government. It also has brought about an untold amount of shared knowledge, cross fertilization and global networking in all these fields.

In a human sense, the program has touched the lives of nearly a quarter of a million Fulbrighters and, through them, and the students and colleagues they touched, brought greater understanding between the U.S. and other nations around the world. While the Fulbright Program begins on a community level, as a whole it represents a tremendously positive and far-reaching achievement in U.S. foreign policy.

In 1993, South African President Nelson Mandela received the first J. William Fulbright Prize for International Understanding, an award created to honor the spirit and career of Senator Fulbright. In receiving the prize, President Mandela spoke about how Fulbrights change the world view and direction of people who have received them: "We are thousands of miles away. Why should people in the United States of America worry about what is happening at the tip of the African continent. It is because we now have produced in this generation men and women who are not satisfied with addressing and solving the problems within the borders of their country, who regard themselves as part of humanity...men and women who have chosen the world to be the theater of their efforts."

On another continent, Augusto Alvarez Rodrich, director of *Peru Economico*, a leading Latin American business magazine, wrote recently, "The best U.S. investment in Latin America was not the Alliance for Progress, but the Fulbright scholars program."

THE FULBRIGHT LEGACY

For nearly 50 years, Senator Fulbright remained convinced of his program's worth. In 1986, he said, "The simple, basic purpose of the exchange program...is to erode the culturally rooted mistrust that sets nations against one another. Its essential aim is to encourage people in all countries, and especially their political leaders, to stop denying others the right to their own view of reality and to develop a new manner of thinking about how to avoid war rather than to wage it. The exchange program is not a panacea but an avenue of hope -- possibly our best hope and conceivably our only hope -- for the survival and further progress of humanity."

Speaking at the Feb. 17, 1995 memorial service for Senator Fulbright at the National Cathedral in Washington D.C., President Bill Clinton recounted the Senator's many contributions to the world, including "in a cold dawn only two weeks after Hiroshima, calling for the creation of the international exchange program that will live as his most profound legacy."

DRAFT

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
THE FULBRIGHT PROGRAM -- 50TH ANNIVERSARY DINNER
THE WHITE HOUSE
JUNE 5, 1996

- **Acknowledgments:** Mrs. (Harriet) Fulbright; the Fulbright family; Dr. Duffey; friends...
- Fifty years ago, in the aftermath of World War II, a man and his dream opened vast new horizons for a generation of young Americans who were hungry for greater cooperation and understanding in their world.
- Since the beginning of the Fulbright Program in 1946, more than 70,000 Americans have gone overseas to study, learn and grow; and more than 130,000 students from other countries have come here. Some of the world's finest leaders, thinkers and artists have benefitted from this special experience -- some of them are here tonight. No matter what their native tongue, all of them are now known by the same proud name -- Fulbrights.
- No one in my lifetime was more influential both personally and globally than my friend and mentor, Senator J. William Fulbright. He understood, better than anyone I have known, that the only way to lasting peace between people from different countries and cultures is through the simple act of giving and receiving the best that each has to offer.
- Senator Fulbright once said, "The essence of intercultural education is the acquisition of empathy -- the ability to see the world as others see it, and to allow for the possibility that others may see something we have failed to see, or may see it more accurately. The simple purpose of the exchange program...is to erode the culturally rooted mistrust that sets nations against one another. It is not a panacea, but an avenue of hope..."
- As we celebrate 50 years of bipartisan support for the Fulbright Program, let us rededicate ourselves to this ideal and let us pledge to do all we can to keep the Fulbright Program alive for future generations. Thank you and God bless you all.

1946



1996

Promoting Global Understanding

World Leaders on the Fulbright Program

"No one who has lived through the second half of the 20th century could possibly be blind to the enormous impact of exchange programs on the future of countries... [W]hen I was a young man, I worked for the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Fulbright. There is a scholarship program that carries his name that literally, in my judgement, has changed the whole direction of policy in country after country after country." *~ President Bill Clinton*

"I was one of a generation of students for whom there was nothing more desirable than to get a Fulbright scholarship" *~ German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, quoted in Sueddeutsche Zeitung, Munich*

"Fulbright exchange is an expansive concept founded on a global vision. A program which once promoted the solidarity of the West now sustains exchanges between the United States and over 120 nations... It expresses, it helps us to master the growing interdependence of the world." *~ Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, 1974*

"The experience in the United States clearly played a part in molding my philosophy of life, a philosophy which took me into the New Zealand Parliament for 22 years and in a way almost predestined that I would return to the United States as New Zealand's Ambassador." *~ Sir Walter Rowling, former Fulbrighter, New Zealand's former Prime Minister and Ambassador to Washington*

"Along with the Marshall Plan, the Fulbright Program is one of the really generous and imaginative things that have been done in the world since World War II." *~ Arnold Toynbee, 1971*

The Fulbright Act has been "responsible for the largest and most significant movement of scholars across the earth since the fall of Constantinople in 1453." *~ Oxford Don, Robert B. McCallum*

"I was able to work on the very frontier of a new and exciting part of economics, and India was an excellent laboratory in which to study the development process... undoubtedly my experience as a Fulbright student... was one of the highlights of my coming to maturity." *~ Andrew Brimmer in a quote while member of the Federal Reserve Board*

"There is a flickering spark in us all which, if struck at just the right age... can light the rest of our lives, elevating our ideals, deepening our tolerance, and sharpening our appetite for knowledge about the rest of the world. Educational and cultural exchanges, especially among our young, provide a perfect opportunity for this precious spark to grow, making us more sensitive and wiser international citizens through our careers." *~ President Ronald Reagan, The White House, May 1982*

1946



1996

Promoting Global Understanding

Quotes from Senator J. William Fulbright

"Our future is not in the stars but in our own minds and hearts. Creative leadership and liberal education, which in fact go together, are the first requirements for a hopeful future for humankind. Fostering these -- leadership, learning and empathy between cultures -- was and remains the purpose of the international scholarship program that I was privileged to sponsor in the U.S. Senate over forty years ago. It is a modest program with an immodest aim -- the achievement in international affairs of a regime more civilized, rational and humane than the empty system of power of the past. I believe in that possibility when I began. I still do."

- *The Price of Empire*

"International educational exchange is the most significant current project designed to continue the process of humanizing mankind to the point, we would hope, that men can learn to live in peace -- eventually even to cooperate in constructive activities rather than compete in a mindless contest of mutual destruction... We must try to expand the boundaries of human wisdom, empathy and perception, and there is no way of doing that except through education."

- *Remarks on the thirtieth anniversary of the Fulbright Program, 1976*

"Educational exchange can turn nations into people, contributing as no other form of communication can to the humanizing of international relations. Man's capacity for decent behavior seems to vary directly with his perception of others as individual humans with human motives and feelings, whereas his capacity for barbarism seems related to his perception of an adversary in abstract terms, as the embodiment, that is, of some evil design or ideology."

- *Speech to the Council for International Education Exchange, 1983*

"To continue to build more weapons, especially more exotic and unpredictable machines of war, will not build trust and confidence. The most sensible way to do that is to engage the parties in joint ventures for mutually constructive and beneficial purposes, such as trade, medical research, and development of cheaper energy sources. To formulate and negotiate agreements of this kind requires well-educated people leading or advising our government. To this purpose the Fulbright program is dedicated."

- *Remarks on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Fulbright program*

"The essence of intercultural education is the acquisition of empathy -- the ability to see the world as others see it, and to allow for the possibility that others may see something we have failed to see, or may see it more accurately. The simple purpose of the exchange program is to erode the culturally rooted mistrust that sets nations against one another. The exchange program is not a panacea but an avenue of hope..."

- *The Price of Empire*

"Man's struggle to be rational about himself, about his relationship to his own society and the other peoples and nations involves a constant search for understanding among all peoples and all cultures -- a search that can only be effective when learning is pursued on a worldwide basis."

- *Forward from The Fulbright Program: A History*

Fulbright Program
 U.S. State Dept.
 Room 202
 301 4th Street, SW
 Washington, DC 20547

"Of all the joint ventures in which we might engage, the most productive, in my view, is educational exchange. I have always had great difficulty -- since the initiation of the Fulbright scholarships in 1946 -- in trying to find the words that would persuasively explain that educational exchange is not merely one of those nice but marginal activities in which we engage in international affairs, but rather, from the standpoint of future world peace and order, probably the most important and potentially rewarding of our foreign-policy activities."

- *The Price of Empire*

"There are limitations to foreign policy. We are neither omniscient nor omnipotent, and we cannot aspire to make the world over in our image. Our proper objective is a continuing effort to limit the world struggle for power and to bring it under civilized rules. Such a program lacks the drama and romance of a global crusade. Its virtue is that it represents a realistic accommodation between our highest purposes and the limitations of human capacity. Its ultimate objective is indeed total victory, not alone for our arms in a nuclear war or for the goal of a world forcibly recast in our image, but rather for a process -- a process of civilizing international relations and of bringing them gradually under a worldwide regime of law and order and peaceful procedures for the redress of legitimate grievances."

- *From a Senate address, July 24, 1961*

"We make policy apart from the image of what our world would be like after a war -- or, as in the case of Vietnam or Nicaragua, apart from any awareness of the piles of decomposing bodies, the mutilated children, the cemeteries, and the broken lives that are always the tangible human results of any war."

- *The Price of Empire*

"The making of peace is a continuing process that must go on from day to day, for year to year, so long as our civilization shall last. Our participation in this process is not just the signing of a charter with a big red seal. It is a daily task, a positive participation in all the details and decisions which together constitute a living and growing policy."

- *From a Senate address, March 28, 1945*

"Peace is not a negative, static concept. It is not a tranquil state of felicity and blessedness. It is a positive method of adjusting the endless conflicts inherent in the nature of restless and energetic men. The institution of law based on justice and adaptable to the ever-changing life of man has been such a method in the history of mankind."

- *From a Senate address, July 23, 1945*

"Ever since the end of the Marshall Plan, when it has been a question of meeting the desperate needs of people elsewhere for economic and social programs, we have been pinch-penny in our approach. But when it has been a question of aid for the military establishments of other countries, the hand has gone deep and unhesitatingly into the pocket of the American people. We have on a grandiose scale provided peoples of the underdeveloped nations with the weapons of destructive warfare, and have been miserly in providing them weapons to wage war on their own poverty, economic ills, and internal weaknesses."

- *From a Senate address, August 6, 1958*

"Professors have an influence that is hard to identify or to measure. But I think it's there, and eventually their students, or in some cases the professors themselves, are in positions to influence government policy, which is the final pay-off. They influence the policy to find a way of conciliation and compromise rather than warfare. That's the ultimate objective. I think [the Fulbright program] is a very specific, concrete way to approach it--to DO something, as people say, about peace."

- *From a Voice of America interview on the 40th anniversary of the Fulbright program*

"The preservation of our free society in the years and decades to come will depend ultimately on whether we succeed or fail in directing the enormous power of human knowledge to the enrichment of our own lives and the shaping of a rational and civilized world order....It is the task of education, more than any other instrument of public policy, to help close the dangerous gap between the economic and technological interdependence of the people of the world and their psychological, political, and spiritual alienation." - *Prospects for the West*

"It is altogether unrealistic -- and probably undesirable as well -- to aspire toward a single, universal community of humankind with common values and common institutions.... The rapprochement of people is only possible when differences of culture and outlook are respected and appreciated rather than feared or condemned, when the common bond of human dignity is recognized as the essential bond for a peaceful world." - *From remarks upon receiving the Athina International Prize awarded by the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation, Athens, April 1989*

"When all is said and done, when the subtleties and abstractions of strategy and power have all been explained, we remain confronted with the most fundamental questions about war and peace, and why we contest the issues we do, and why we even care about them. Why, after all, is it that so much of the energy and intelligence of nations is used to make life painful, and difficult for other peoples and nations, rather than to make life better for all? Why are we willing to fight and die over ideological questions and sacrifice so much for abstractions so remote from personal satisfactions that bring fulfillment to our lives?" - *The Price of Empire*

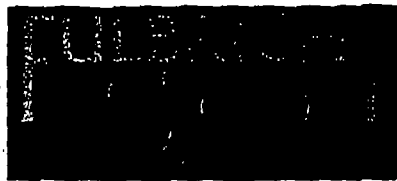
"And finally what of the writer? You have a unique responsibility to the political community of which you are a part. That responsibility arises from your talent, from your capacity to enlighten, to civilize those citizens to whose hands is entrusted the ultimate power in our society. The writer is the natural teacher of the people.

In this hurried mechanical age, the artist and intellectual are among the few who have the serenity and sense of perspective which may help us to find a way out of the fevered confusion which presently afflicts us.

Through you the political community needs to be taught how and what to laugh at, how and what to scorn or to pity; needs to be taught continuously that honor is not the same as fame or notoriety, that physical bravery is not the only form of courage. It needs to be taught the proper objects of anger or of love. It needs to be taught the nature of justice. And above all, through you, the political community needs to be taught that the capacity of the human mind has yet to be explored, that there can be new possibilities for men themselves."

- *From the National Book Award luncheon address, New York City, January 25, 1955*

1946



1996

Promoting Global Understanding

Fulbrighters on the Fulbright Program

"The Fulbright Program is not some form of aid or cultural imperialism or carrying American expertise to a foreign country (though it does that too), but it is also setting up a large body of people who have acquired not only knowledge about this foreign country to which they go, but far deeper knowledge about our own country, to return here to teach or do research."
 ~ Robin Winks, a Yale historian, Fulbrighter to New Zealand in 1952 and to Malaysia in 1962.

"These international exchange programs, especially the Fulbright, are the best and most cost-effective way to achieve two priorities: maintaining peace and security, and fostering American economic growth." ~Chicago lawyer David Russo, Fulbright to Italy in 1963.

"Fulbright means the development of special relationships with a country and its people through deep immersion over time and shoulder-to-shoulder work on important problems. Fulbright means a spirit and a vision....It means confidence, it means touching people, it means changing other people's lives and one's own." ~ Deborah Christie, a London neuropsychologist, Fulbrighter to the United States in the mid-1980's.

"A teacher can get whatever he or she wants from a Fulbright Teacher Exchange. That can be lifelong friends, or an enduring pedagogical exchange, or a new perspective on education in the United States. My assignment was to teach English. The strategy I used was to call on the enormous vitality of our nation. U.S. music, sports, history, and geography make for thrilling classes....The students had such a thirst for our culture that it made my curriculum endless."
 ~ Brian Fitzpatrick Fulbrighter to Colombia in 1992.

"We're used to, in modern life, to a number of things, products, that we identify by their brand names. That with which we blow our noses (Kleenex), that on which we copy pieces of paper (Xerox), or objects that we define by their brand names. But we (the former Fulbright Scholars) are also 'products' defined by a brand name, namely Fulbright. The product is less tangible, it's probably more difficult to specify its many virtues, we know instinctively what they are." Hanna Gray, President, University of Chicago, Fulbrighter to

"One did not have to spend many weeks in Norway to recognize that its pre-university educational system was vastly superior to that in the United States. This realization, indeed shock, catalyzed a continuing involvement in the struggle to create an educational system for young Americans that is compatible with their future responsibilities to themselves, their country, and to freedom....The Fulbright Program is many things to many fortunate people. For me, the Fulbright experience clearly shaped the broad framework of my life."
 ~ Harrison H. Schmitt, U.S. astronaut and later senator from New Mexico, Fulbrighter to Norway in 1957.

"The years in America made me feel more open... Now I don't want to speak only to my own people. I want to use the international idiom to speak to the world. And the Fulbright contributed to that importantly." ~ *Putu Widjaja, Indonesian short story writer, film-maker, and magazine editor, Fulbrighter to the United States in 1985.*

"Professionally, I've had a peek at the world from a different vantage point -- exactly what I'd hoped for. In journalism, this is extremely hard to see and invaluable after learned. This alone will carry me far in my career -- a career aimed at communicating different perspectives and promoting fuller understanding of the political and cultural 'whys' and 'why-nots' in the world." ~ *Delin Cormeny, from Overland, Kansas, Fulbrighter to Zimbabwe in 1993.*

"Words cannot adequately describe my Fulbright experience in Poland. The warmth and generosity of the Polish people...the joy and wonder of living in a new and different land, the teaching...the knowledge gained and the stimulation of creative efforts...all this and much more have made up my Fulbright year in Poland." ~ *William A. Lang, Associate Professor of Theater Arts, University of Arizona, Fulbrighter to Poland, 1994-95.*

"Personally the exchange has shown me that I can function almost anywhere. Fears of the unknown, strange, different are at a minimum level. A greater sense of adventure has been aroused. I have also discovered how "American" I am in that I enjoy the freedoms we have... This experience has made it much more evident to me that similar problems exist everywhere through the sheer fact that we are human beings and interact as human beings." ~ *Dagmar Haney, Fulbrighter to Germany, 1993-94.*

Soprano Anna Moffo, the daughter of a shoemaker from a small town in Pennsylvania, and a graduate of the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia, visited Rome on a Fulbright grant. When an Italian singer was suddenly taken ill, Moffo filled in and was an instantaneous success. Back in the United States, she became one of at least a dozen former Fulbright students who have sung at New York's Metropolitan Opera. When interviewers compliment her on her beautiful voice and outstanding singing career, she responds, "Most of all, I thank God for my Fulbright."

"I come away from my Fulbright with an even deeper commitment to the need for anyone teaching in higher education to spend time working abroad. The importance of so-doing is immeasurable in terms of international understanding. The appointment gives one an opportunity to view the world from a fresh perspective and leads one to become more sympathetic to the problems other peoples confront." ~ *George Stephen Semsel, Fulbrighter to the People's Republic of China, 1993-94*

"I visited the United States in 1969-70 and taught senior students physics and mathematics in a senior high school in southern Missouri. It helped me become a better teacher, and, for the past 10 years, principal of a large school here. The aim of the Fulbright Program -- increasing understanding between nations and strengthening their relationship -- has given me a mature view of the relationship between the United States and India. I understand the United States better, and I understand my own country better." ~ *G.K. Kapoor of New Delhi, Fulbrighter to the United States, 1969.*

February 8, 1996

H:FULBRIGHQUOTESAL.WPD

January 1995

A sampling of background items about

J. William Fulbright

Birth: Sumner, Missouri, April 9, 1905

Education: University of Arkansas, B.A., 1925; Oxford University, Oxford, England, M.A.A.B. and Rhodes Scholar, 1928; George Washington University, LL.B., 1934

Service: Faculty member, University of Arkansas Law School, 1936-1939; President, University of Arkansas, 1939-1942; Member of the United States House of Representatives, Third District of Arkansas, 1943-1945; Member of the United States Senate representing Arkansas, 1945-1975; Legal Counsel, Hogan & Hartson, Washington, D.C., 1975-present

J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT



THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTORS OF GEORGETOWN COLLEGE: TO ALL WHO SHALL VIEW THESE PRESENTS: GREETINGS AND PEACE IN THE LORD

Georgetown University today honors J. William Fulbright - whose name within his own lifetime has been inscribed in dictionaries of the English language as a common noun standing for international education. Conceived in 1945 by the newly elected senator from the state of Arkansas and enacted into law in 1946, the Fulbright scholarships stand today as the largest exchange of persons program in the history of the world. They also stand as the enduring emblem of J. William Fulbright's career - a career devoted to the advancement of world peace and understanding.

Known through much of his career as a dissenter, Senator Fulbright has had the courage to stand alone when conviction and principle required him to do so. In 1954 he cast the single vote in the United States Senate against funding the McCarthy investigating committee. In 1965 he spoke out, alone, against the Dominican intervention, and in the years that followed his was perhaps the foremost voice of reasoned dissent in opposition to the Vietnam War.

Dissent, however, is only part of the story, and that the lesser. Senator Fulbright's larger purpose has been to build, to help his country fulfill the high promise of herself in which he has never ceased to believe. If "America was promises," as the poet Archibald MacLeish wrote, then Senator Fulbright's enduring purpose was to find the practical means by which promise could be made into reality.

Accordingly, Senator Fulbright has been a pioneer in support of a world peacekeeping organization. As a freshman congressman in 1943 he secured enactment of the Fulbright resolution, which put the Congress on record in support of American membership in a postwar United Nations. Senator Fulbright remained a strong supporter of the UN idea throughout his thirty years in the Senate. When others lost faith, he retained his; if the UN seemed not to be working, he would seek for ways to make it work.

As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee - a position he held longer than any senator in American history - Senator Fulbright turned the Committee into a classroom for the nation. Always seeking for new ideas, new insights, and new approaches to the great issues of international affairs, Senator Fulbright brought before the Foreign Relations Committee not only government officials but an illustrious array of scholars, thinkers, and writers to help educate the American people on matters ranging from the nature of revolution to the psychological aspects of international relations. And in these hearings the chairman always seemed to be the most ardent student in his own classroom.

A citizen of the world and an American patriot, Senator Fulbright is no less a son of the South and of his home state of Arkansas. His empathy for nations that have suffered defeat and occupation is the empathy of a son of the South, the only region of America that has known defeat and occupation. His sympathy for the less developed nations of the world - expressed in his strong, effective support over many years of aid to developing nations through international agencies - has derived in no small part from the experience of Arkansas, until recently one of the poorest states, and now, due in no small part to the legislative efforts of Senator J. William Fulbright, one of the fastest growing and more prosperous states in the American union.

At home, as well as in international affairs, Senator Fulbright's theme has been education. An early and relentless sponsor of federal aid to education at all levels, Senator Fulbright has seen the classroom as the single most important arena for the economic advancement of his state and of the nation as well as for the elimination of racial inequality in all regions of the United States.

Such have been Senator Fulbright's aims, and the United States Senate was his forum. The great debates in which he participated, and more often than not initiated, are in the great tradition of the Senate, and have given Senator Fulbright a place among the most illustrious figures in the history of that great body.

For his many contributions to his country and his state, for the luster he lent to the United States Senate, for the wisdom and idealism of his statesmanship, for his lifelong efforts in support of world peace and understanding, and for his creative and far-sighted contributions to education both at home and abroad, the President and Directors of Georgetown University proudly and respectfully proclaim

J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
Doctor of Humane Letters, honoris causa

In testimony whereof they have issued these their formal letters patent, under their hand and the Great Seal of the University of Georgetown in the District of Columbia, this twenty-second day of November, nineteen hundred and eighty-five.

VIRGINIA M. KEELER
Secretary

TIMOTHY S. HEALY, S.J.
President

RICHARD B. SCHWARTZ
Dean

PETER P. MULLEN
Chairman, Board of Directors

OCT. 19, 1989

Dinner in Honor of

THE HONORABLE J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

7:00 p.m. Cocktails ■ Lecture Room
8:00 p.m. Dinner ■ Great Hall
9:00 p.m. Dinner Program

Welcome and Introduction of The Honorable J. William Fulbright

Presentation of Gift to Senator Fulbright

The Honorable David Pryor
United States Senator
State of Arkansas

Remarks

Dr. Samuel O. Thier
President, Institute of Medicine

Dr. Daisaku Miwa
Chairman, Research Foundation for
Opto-Science and Technology

Dr. Michio Okamoto
Japanese Council for Science and Technology
and former Fulbright Scholar

Introduction of Keynote Speaker

Dr. James D. Ebert
Vice President, National Academy of Sciences
and Director, Chesapeake Bay Institute

Keynote Address

"Challenges of International Science and Technology in the 1990s"

The Honorable D. Allan Bromley
Assistant to the President
for Science and Technology Policy

J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT was born in 1905 in Fayetteville, Arkansas. Educated in the public schools, he went on to the University of Arkansas to take a B.A. in political science in 1925. He then left Arkansas for Oxford, England, where — a Rhodes Scholar — he earned B.A. and M.A. degrees. Returning to America, he entered George Washington University Law School, graduating with distinction in 1934. After two years with the Antitrust Division of the U.S. Department of Justice, he returned to the University of Arkansas to teach law.

In 1939, when Fulbright was just thirty-four years of age, he was named president of the University. Three years later, in 1942, he was elected to the U.S. Congress and, in 1944, to the U.S. Senate. Over the next thirty years, Senator Fulbright was chairman of the influential Banking and Currency Committee (1955–1959) and the Committee on Foreign Relations (1959–1974), holding the latter position longer than any previous incumbent. He also served as a member of the Senate Finance Committee and the Joint Economic Committee.

Senator Fulbright is best known for the enlightened legislation he introduced in 1945 (revised as the 1961 Fulbright/Hays Act) sponsoring academic exchange to promote better understanding between Americans and the people of other countries. To date, the Fulbright Program has awarded over 171,000 scholarships and involved more than 120 countries.

In 1975 Senator Fulbright left government to join the Washington law firm of Hogan & Hartson. Married for more than fifty years, he has two daughters and five grandchildren.

One of America's most distinguished statesmen, Senator Fulbright is this country's acknowledged champion of education in the service of international understanding.

Fulbright Vantage

Still Keeping an Eye on 'The Bully' and the Bear

WASH. POST By Henry Mitchell 5-6-88

FULBRIGHT—it was only natural he should be called Halbright by the careless, though the insult is not heard much now. Brightness never was the problem, anyway, but clarity was; he saw too clearly the muddle of the American brain and spoke just a trifle too plainly of the nerds around him who got the nation mired in Vietnam and who have now gone on to further accomplishments of similar luster.

J. William Fulbright sits these days at a desk in the Hogan & Harston law offices, where he has been counsel to the firm of 70 partners since 1977, facing a rather large picture of the log house he used to own in Arkansas, with a gazebo out front and some fine trees and plenty of room, you would judge. He sold the place and its land, but he likes to look at the old picture.

He never intended to be a politician, let alone a senator from Arkansas and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, which, a lot of people would say, was the key institution in reversing public sentiment on the Vietnam war. There had been dissent, but it was only when the powerful Senate committee began holding critical hearings that great numbers began having second thoughts.

Now retired from politics (he was defeated by fellow Democrat Dale Bumpers in 1974), he suspects the nation ought to start having second thoughts about a few other things, including Israel, Central America, Lebanon, Grenada and the arrogance of American power in general. Indeed one of his books is called "The Arrogance of Power."

"I don't approve of the use of force in Lebanon or, for that matter, Grenada. For a big country to send troops to areas of no real great interest to this country is a bad thing; it's like the role of a big bully.

"In Lebanon we accomplished nothing except lose some fine Marines and we looked foolish. The Lebanon venture was ill-conceived, because the trouble there is simply part of the ongoing argument between Arabs and Jews, and that argument will only be settled by intense negotiation, which is where all the emphasis should be.

"In Israel Begin created a terrible attitude, and now the expansionist moves of settling the West Bank are going to make it that much harder. Any number of thoughtful Jews are distressed; they disapprove, but hesitate to criticize. They don't want to be thought opposed to Israel. And now, anything less than open adulation will bring you the charge of anti-Semitism, as I very well know.

"What's going on in Israel now is against their interest, against both their interests [the Arabs'] and against ours.

Fulbright does not get excited as he speaks, but draws along in a rich deep tone. He can voice withering criticism without heating up, speeding up or raising the pitch. Quite apart from his dark blue suit, white shirt, blue tie, careful grooming, intelligent face and non-stupid smile, his voice has made it impossible for him to mesmerize millions or draw to himself the crowd that seeks frantically for some new savior. He is, in fact, a gentleman.

His parents came from rural Missouri and he grew up in rural northwestern Arkansas. His father, Jay Fulbright, was a farmer who moved from Sumner, Mo., to Fayetteville, Ark., in 1906, when the future senator was a baby. There the father prospered. He died in 1923, leaving interests in a lumber business, farms, a newspaper and other properties.

Still, in a small town such properties do not spell vast wealth, and the senator's mother, Roberta Waugh Fulbright, had her work cut out managing with six children.

"A genius," Fulbright says of her. Along with everything else she wrote a newspaper column, "As I See It," for the Fayetteville newspaper, a column Fulbright is reminded of by some he reads in Washington.

At the University of Arkansas he played football, which rewarded him with a bum knee that gives him some trouble, but then football helped him win a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford. And in Congress, when some of his constituents waxed wroth at his fierce opposition to Sen. Joe McCarthy, or when Fulbright criticized popular policies, the fact that he played good ball in school did a little to temper the outrage.

He became president of the university, the youngest college president in America, and before long had a falling out with the governor. He ran for the House and won in 1942. (Earlier he got his law degree with distinction from George Washington University, and was for a year an instructor in law there, before returning to Arkansas.)

"Another thing—" Fulbright said, for he proceeds a little bit in the manner of the Psalms, recapitulating and advancing a step, "they handed out 8,000 medals for Grenada or whatever it was. What a silly childish thing. Some of them went to guys sitting around the Pentagon. There's something rather degrading about it. Now, when a real hero gets a medal, it's been cheapened, it doesn't mean a thing."

He is well aware there is less likelihood the nation will turn to a parliamentary system than there is for the moon to turn scarlet, but he likes

before anybody can stop him. A parliamentary system, with its vote of no confidence, can keep any president from getting too big for his breeches and Fulbright likes it. He has pointed out that a parliamentary system would have ensured the prompt dumping of President Nixon without trauma to the country at large.

He also deplores the present system as an "invitation to amateurs to compete for the highest office in the land" and such is his faith in legislators he would prefer a system in which they chose the president.

He supposes a man cannot help being deeply influenced by the work he has done for most of his life, and says President Reagan is of course influenced by his Hollywood years.

"He goes on television and it's hard for people to remember he's reading a script, playing a part, and of course as an actor he's good at it."

Fulbright now lives quietly—does anyone live loudly?—in the Kalorama section of the capital with his wife, Betty (Elizabeth Kremer Williams of Philadelphia), who has been ill. On chilly spring mornings they sit downstairs together by the fire and talk. Their two daughters, Elizabeth and Roberta, are married to academicians.

Sometimes he wonders if it would have been better to stay in Arkansas as university president. Life can be pleasant there, "and I'd be a richer man today."

He ponders for a second, perhaps wondering if it would be agreeable to adopt a suffering-servant stance, but smiles instead and goes forward:

"Growing up innocent from the backwoods, I used to believe all the government says. It took me years to notice otherwise, and to see they do it all the time.

"We are easily misled. Americans naturally want to believe the president."

He speaks of the Korean Air Lines incident in which the Soviet Union shot down an unarmed plane flying far off course. Fulbright says that after the president rallied the nation, a good many of his facts turned out not to be facts. But the most depressing thing, Fulbright suspected, was that hardly anybody failed to applaud the president's handling of it.

It's the drift toward an "evil empire" view of the world, us against them, that bothers Fulbright. He speaks of the First World War and the shock it produced, that civilized



J. William Fulbright; by John McDonnell—The Washington Post

in the world to stop it. Fulbright says it's no wonder that when people reflected on this, they decided there had to be a better way, and that communism was one of the ways some tried, at the price of wiping out much personal freedom, and dissenting lives.

Still, as he sees it, and thinks anybody else is bound to see it, Russia is a superpower and that the first consideration, beside which all else is secondary, is that the two superpowers avoid pushing their differences to the point of war.

"I remember Khrushchev appeared at the Foreign Relations Committee. In effect he said there's no reason we should not get along if you treat us seriously as a great na-

tion. I say why can't we face the fact that Russia exists and we can't change it. It's like this mole on my face. I don't like it but I accept it."

One of his chief objections to American policy supporting Israel is that it affects a more important thing—American relations with the Soviet Union. As he sees it, the Soviets have moved to the Arab side largely to counter American influence resulting from its close ties with Israel.

"The Israeli lobby is the most powerful in Congress. Israel would not exist except for American aid over the years, but they may pursue policies contrary to our own interest.

been called anti-Semitic. Well, Christ."

A pause. The senator is thinking of the number of people he has made mad over the years and (almost certainly) thinking what the hell if he did:

"I'm beyond redemption anyway."



Fulbright often walks from his Connecticut Avenue office to the Metropolitan Club for lunch. He watches out for evil things like rich food (formerly you could spot him at parties by going straight to the crab legs, which he had a passion for) and most doctors would be proud of him since he is pretty abstemious in diet. Still, he sometimes smokes a cigarette afterwards. A man ought to remember he was born part devil, even if he was born Baptist-clean.

"When you get down to it," he continues, "what the hell are we fighting with the Russians about? The main thing is we can't get our thinking straight enough to form a sensible foreign policy. We're still afflicted with the idea the Russians are intractable, you can't trust them and so on.

"I hate this business that we preach so much that the Russians are monsters that soon everybody seems to think they really are. By contrast there was détente—Nixon started it in 1972—and that was the right approach, to start on joint ventures we could both agree on.

"Think of self-fulfilling prophecies. You believe you are inevitable

have innocent people without any experience."

He turns to the Japanese, whom he admires:

"We think you win by fighting, by competition. They believe in consensus and the pressure of peers. They don't go in for winning or losing, they believe in agreeing.

"What was significant in Presi-

dent Nixon's approach to Russia was the joint ventures, however small, whether with Russia or China—pollution control or space, cooperative action was the thing, and this is what builds confidence between nations.

"A great authority said of his work with teen-agers that the thing was to get them working together. They became friends and the rest followed."

The senator, you could easily guess, was leading up to the Fulbright program of exchange students, but was not quite ready for the major launch and returned to his own political career and two things that have plagued him.

"First, I should have been more alert at the time" the Senate passed the Tonkin Gulf resolution giving the president virtually free rein. Two senators, Wayne Morse (I-Ore.) and Ernest Gruening (D-Alaska), alone opposed the resolution and Fulbright wishes with all his heart he'd made it a party of three.

"Not that it would have made the slightest difference in the course of affairs, but I'd feel better about myself."

He grew up in a region where blacks are fewer than 1 percent of the population, far different from other parts of Arkansas where they greatly outnumber whites.

In the Senate he dragged his feet or opposed civil rights legislation. Fulbright's position was not an exalted one—he felt it was better for him to survive in the Senate, and his fondness for looking straight at facts whether he liked them or not reminded him he could not conceivably remain as senator from Arkansas if he pressed for civil rights for blacks.

The experience of Rep. Brooks Hayes (D-Ark.) sobered many Southern legislators. When President Eisenhower threatened to send troops to Little Rock to ensure integration of public schools, Hayes proposed that Gov. Orval Faubus go to Washington to discuss this with the president. The mere suggestion of compromise or accommodation ensured the end of Hayes' political career.

visions. In 1944 he proposed reconstruction of schools ruined in the war, leading to the U.N. Economic and Social Council.

Soon after taking his Senate seat (he won election in 1944) he introduced his resolution on international freedom of the press.

In 1946 the Fulbright Scholarship program was begun, through an act of Congress allowing surplus war property abroad to be sold to pay for an exchange of students between the United States and other countries.

He was the only senator to vote against funding the Operations Committee of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) and later, when he thought the Senate's censure of McCarthy was not strong enough, he offered an amendment of six specific charges.

The respected journalist Arthur Krock once wrote that Fulbright was more favorably known in more countries than any legislator in many decades, and Walter Lippmann once observed that nobody else was "so powerful, so wise, and if there were any question of removing him from public life, it would be a national calamity."

But the press has not always idolized him, nor he the press:

"We take very seriously a trial like [John] Hinckley's [who shot President Reagan] though I'm not sure what the significance of Hinckley is to the national welfare. But enormous space, whole pages, were given to him. Nothing like that is devoted to foreign affairs. That reflects what the judgment of the public interest is. The public is thought to be uninterested in serious political questions. A man like Jerry Falwell can stir up hatred against the foreign devil—a sign of immaturity in the populace as a whole."

That observation was made a few months ago. He supposes the press, like the legislature and the presidency, reflects the thought of the average citizen and much of the time Fulbright thinks it atrocious. He also thinks it could be changed, and he has always marveled that those who have had every advantage (he does not single out the press) do so little to advance the nation's welfare and risk so little, in the way of popularity, in leadership toward sanity.

He considers Vietnam, Lebanon, Grenada and so on, and sees the enthusiasm of virtually every citizen for actions that seem to him not merely stupid and jingoistic, and not even merely morally wrong, but potentially ruinous to American security.

He is aware many well-placed

his Fulbright Program of sending Americans abroad to study and bringing foreigners here. Funded largely by American taxpayers, there are nevertheless 24 foreign governments that chip in, and 140,000 students have lived abroad for a time. Sometimes these students think Fulbright is a rich man who paid for it all himself, as one of Fulbright's cousins did:

"I just can't understand Bill doing it. He's so tight."

If he visits Japan (where 14 university presidents are former Fulbright scholars, along with members of the Diet and the Supreme Court), he is revered. A newspaper with circulation several times that of The Washington Post devoted 16 pages to him and the Fulbright project. Recently 100 Japanese came here on a sentimental journey to visit their old Fulbright alma maters, and to thank Fulbright.

A business leader, chairman of Johnson Wax Japan, said after the war he felt he had no future, no chance of advanced education. He won a Fulbright scholarship and the world opened up. Now the Japanese alumni of the program are raising millions, through personal gifts, benefit golf tournaments and so forth, to swell the coffers for American students to come to Japan.

Fulbright thinks that if the program can continue another 40 years, without disastrous war, the cumulative effect may be greater than anyone thinks.

Some will argue that the perversity, romantic nonsense and blissful unawareness of reality among Americans will make it impossible for any program of any kind to have substantial effects on American policies, which will (they argue) go from one folly to another in the hands of one

demagogue or another until the ultimate ruin. Fulbright, however, remembers how the nation turned fully around on Vietnam, from the days every critic was called a "nervous Nelly" to the day Lyndon Johnson knew his career was at a flat dead end. As the senator said recently (for he occasionally sounds off even out of office):

"Even if it turns out, as it may, that man's capacity is not great enough to eliminate the danger of nuclear war, to feed an overcrowded world and to elevate the human majority from the degradation of poverty, it is better for us not to know in advance that we are going to fail.

"Our own human nature does not allow us to give up the game in advance, to reconcile ourselves to hopelessness or to death in nuclear war.

the rest of it.

"The ones who believe in spending all this for the symbols of international power say they are realists and call me romantic. It is exactly

the other way around. They are the romantics and I am the realist here."

He said in a recent talk:

"Power and pride are not cheaply bought. Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States has yet become a paradise of prosperity and happiness. But both feel obliged to expend additional vast sums on matching each other's ever-growing stockpiles of weapons . . . This, we are told, is political realism.

"The Romans were able to glory for a time in their domination of the world and to swell with pride . . . but eventually their empire decayed and fell apart.

"The British were able for a few decades to survey an empire over which the sun never set, but that did not make Liverpool a beautiful place to live in, nor did it make the children of Welsh coal miners healthy and strong. On the contrary, it consumed resources that might have gone for these purposes. And then—after all—the sun *did* set."

He does not say a nation can forget self-respect in the world or allow its citizens to be run over roughshod by others.

"But dignity has nothing to do with domination, nor is self-respect the same thing as arrogance. A nation can take pride in its accomplishments without taking on a missionary role in the world . . .

"Which is the greater legacy any generation of leaders can bequeath, a temporary primacy consisting of the ability to push other people around, or a well-run society of cities without violence or slums, of productive

farms and of education and opportunity for all citizens?"

To ask it is to answer it.

It drives him almost bats to be thought singular. In the back of his cheerfully smiling, politely spoken, blue-eyed 79-year-old head he is sure the country will come round to him; that is, to his view, for he never cared much for personal adulation. He is himself a country boy, played ball and worked in the lumber yards and a bottling plant and all the rest of it, and there is nothing that he can see that sets him apart from what is sometimes called the "Common Man." The common man had no trouble doing an about face on Vietnam and Lyndon Johnson. And Fulbright, the optimist, does not think he is all that far from the com-

Today, we honor a Rhodes Scholar, a teacher, lawyer, university President, Congressman and Senator who served longer as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee than anyone in history; his enduring legacy includes the flagship program for international exchange that carries his name. He led the Senate to approval of several historic arms reduction treaties, he helped commit Congress to the establishment of the United Nations, and he played a critical role in the creation of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

On the square in Senator Fulbright's hometown is a tranquil flower garden in which stands a bust inscribed in tribute to the town's favorite son. It reads:

"J. William Fulbright, a Fayetteville son,
President of the University of Arkansas,
and United States Senator from 1945-1974,
planted seeds of peace which grew
into the United Nations,
the Fulbright Exchange Program,
the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty,
and the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

In the beauty of these gardens,
we honor the beauty of his dream . . .
peace among nations
and the free exchange of knowledge and ideas
across the earth."

The United States honors this man of peace and principle who has help make
this world a better place to live.

From the President of the United States

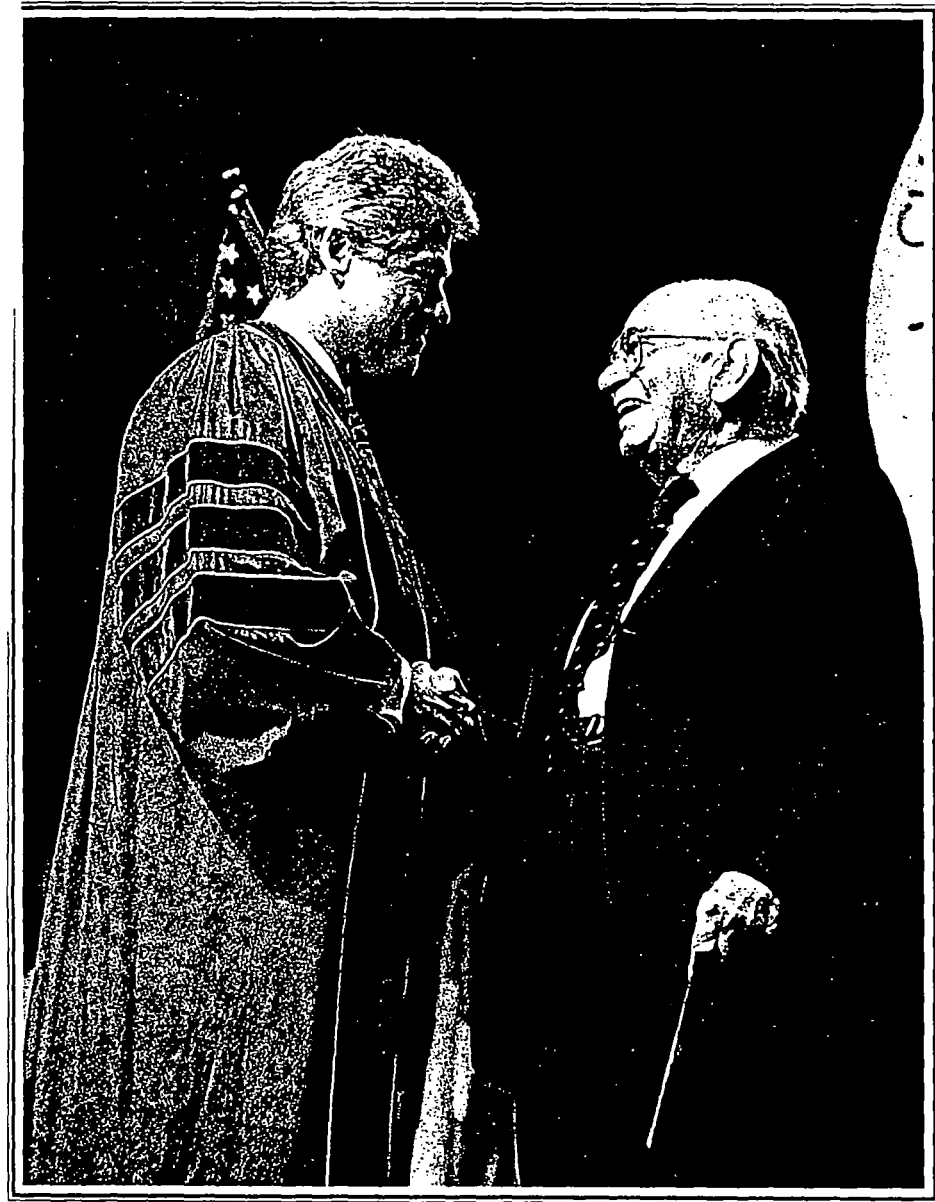
I am extremely delighted to honor Senator Fulbright on his 88th birthday. I have admired his patriotism and service to our nation since I was a young intern in his office. The valuable lessons Senator Fulbright taught me have profoundly affected my understanding of government and international relations, and for that I am eternally grateful.

Senator Fulbright has long understood that nations must engage in meaningful dialogue in order to avoid the isolationism that can tear the world fabric apart. As a freshman Congressman, he secured the enactment of the resolution that committed the House of Representatives to support the creation of the United Nations. Later, as a newly elected senator, he conceived the student exchange program that today provides many young men and women with the skills and education they need to contribute to global prosperity. This program provides a valuable medium for learning the processes of international relations and for developing new ways to improve relations among nations of the world.

As a critic who sought and found solutions for the things he criticized, he dissented when his conscience and his judgment required him to do so. Walter Lippmann recognized the Senator's contributions by declaring, "There is no one else who is so powerful, and also so wise; and if there were any question of removing him from public life, it would be a national calamity." Senator Fulbright has long been known as a patriot and a realist. He has never been one to waste time and energy cursing the darkness; he is far too busy seeking and finding lamps to be lit.

Happy Birthday and thank you.

Bill Clinton



President William J. Clinton and Senator J. William Fulbright at The American University Centennial Convocation.

Bill Fulbright: Patriot and Realist

Whatever the assessment by historians and biographers of Senator Fulbright's contribution, there is no doubt whatever that, in his own view, the exchange program that bears his illustrious name was the single most important achievement of his thirty-two years in public life. That program, begun so modestly and initiated almost surreptitiously in 1946 as a convenient means of disposing of surplus foreign assets after World War II, now stands as the largest exchange of persons program in the history of the world. Now, after 47 years — years in which some 80,000 American students and scholars have studied and lectured abroad while more than 100,000 foreign scholars have come to the United States — there are signs that in some degree Senator Fulbright's great vision is beginning to be realized. The world is still beset with regional strife, poverty, and environmental degradation. But the simple, basic purpose of the exchange as Senator Fulbright has defined it — “to erode the culturally rooted mistrust that sets nations against one another” — no longer seems quite the utopian dream of the worst years of the cold war.

Senator Fulbright is often thought of as a dissenter — and he surely was that. He dissented from the excesses of the cold war — from the Bay of Pigs in 1961 to the Dominican intervention of 1965, the long, divisive involvement of the United States in Vietnam, and the long and ruinous arms race with the Soviet Union. And in all of these dissents, costly though they were to him both politically and personally, he never flinched from his own responsibility as a senator and as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee — the responsibility, as he himself defined it, to offer the best advice he could on matters both foreign and domestic, a responsibility that took precedence over personal political advantage and even party loyalty. The discharge of this legislator's duty was not always welcomed by presidents and Senate colleagues, some of whom directed memorably colorful epithets at the junior senator from Arkansas. But through all the uproar and fireworks Bill Fulbright equably persisted, pointing out, as he did in *The Arrogance of Power*, that when your country falls short of its own promise and capacity, “then approbation is a disservice and dissent the higher patriotism.”

Dissent, however, was not Mr. Fulbright's favorite activity, nor was it his primary occupation. Besides the exchange program, he gave useful service to the nation by securing the adoption of the Fulbright resolution of 1943 under which the Congress committed itself to support the creation of the United Nations; by hard and often thankless work year in and year out in shaping and reshaping the foreign assistance program; by leading the Senate to approval of the nuclear test ban treaty of 1963, the nuclear nonproliferation treaty of 1968, the ABM and SALT I agreements of 1972; and by his ceaseless efforts in support of federal aid to education. Under Senator Fulbright's leadership the Foreign Relations Committee became a forum in which some of the nation's leading scholars and thinkers were called in to advance ideas on issues ranging from Soviet-American détente to the Middle East, the history of American relations with China, the nature and patterns of revolution, the psychological aspects of foreign policy, the condition of American society and the impact of that condition on the nation's foreign relations, and still, on the prospects of international organization, of realizing, as he put it, “the age old dream of beating swords into plowshares.”

For all these contributions — and for the wit and wisdom with which he advanced them — we honor Senator Fulbright on his 88th birthday. Most of all — if there is a “most of all” among so many lifetime achievements — we thank the senator for the educational adventure he made possible for so many — the exchange program whose multiplier effect, as Senator Fulbright has written, “carries the possibility — the only real possibility — of changing our manner of thinking about the world, and therefore of changing the world.”



The Fulbright Program

The Fulbright Association

Often called the flagship for international educational exchange, the Fulbright Program was created by legislation introduced in 1945 by Senator J. William Fulbright and signed into law in 1946. The legislation sought to promote mutual understanding between the people of the U.S. and the people of other nations.

The first executive agreement authorizing educational exchange under the Fulbright Act was concluded in 1947 with China. Derk Bodde, a Sinologist from the University of Pennsylvania, soon became the first U.S. scholar to receive a Fulbright award. Within six months exchange agreements were adopted with Burma, the Philippines, and Greece.

Approximately 4,800 Fulbright grants are awarded annually to U.S. students, teachers, and scholars for study, teaching, lecturing, and research in more than 130 countries around the world and to foreign nationals to engage in similar activities in the U.S.

Since 1949 approximately 94,000 Fulbright grants have been awarded to U.S. students, teachers, and scholars, including grants from both the United States Information Agency and the Department of Education. Some individuals receive more than one Fulbright award. The total number of U.S. awards represents an estimated 78,000 alumni. Since 1949 approximately 123,000 Fulbright grants have gone to foreign nationals. The worldwide network of Fulbright alumni will soon reach 200,000 people.

250,000

The U.S. Congress appropriates Fulbright Program funds — \$111 million in fiscal year 1992. Last year 39 foreign governments also allocated funds to the program. Host institutions in the U.S. and abroad support the program through in-kind contributions — for example, housing and airline tickets — and salary continuations, stipend supplements, and tuition waivers. Foundations, corporations, and alumni around the world also make donations.

A distinctive feature of the Fulbright Program is its use of binational commissions in countries which have entered into exchange agreements with the U.S. There are 48 active Fulbright binational commissions. These bodies are composed equally of distinguished national educators and cultural leaders and of Americans from the U.S. embassy and resident American community.



President John F. Kennedy and Senator Fulbright greeting Fulbright scholars in the White House Rose garden.

The Fulbright Association is the private, nonprofit membership organization of Fulbright Program alumni and friends. Senator J. William Fulbright serves as its honorary chairman. The Association works to insure the availability of the Fulbright Program for future generations of students, teachers, and scholars. Association chapters throughout the United States offer hospitality and enrichment programs for visiting Fulbrighters from nearly 130 countries to increase mutual understanding. The Association promotes cooperation among the nearly 200,000 Fulbright Program alumni worldwide, working with Fulbright associations in 43 other countries to foster cooperation in solving global problems.

Created by alumni in February 1977, the Fulbright Association supports and promotes the Fulbright and other programs of international educational and cultural exchange through the efforts of its dedicated volunteers around the country and those of its professional staff at the national office in Washington, D.C. Thirty-three chapters, organized and run by volunteers, offer Fulbrighters opportunities to “give something back” to the program and to stay in contact with each other and current Fulbright grantees. The Association also provides public service opportunities to Fulbrighters through task forces on Eastern and Central Europe and the former Soviet Union and on AIDS.

In October 1993 the Fulbright Association will award the J. William Fulbright Prize for International Understanding to honor the Fulbright Program and the vision and creativity of its founder.

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2521# U.S. NEWSWIRE GENERAL DIRECTORY
ext of President's Remarks in Tribute to Sen. Fulbright
To: National Desk
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202-456-2100

WASHINGTON, May 7 /U.S. Newswire/ -- The following is a transcript of President Clinton's remarks during this week's tribute to Sen. J. William Fulbright.

ANA Hotel
Washington, D.C.
May 6
9:49 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. It's good to know that I did get a vote out of the press. (Laughter.) Roger, I'm delighted to be here, and I'm so glad that you're here. I'm glad to be here with Senator and Mrs. Gore.

Senator Gore, after you spoke and you said you resented the fact that Senator Fulbright was 88 and you were a mere 85 and half, when you went over to him I heard him say what the crowd did not -- Senator Fulbright looked at him and said, "Albert, if you behave yourself, you'll make it, too." (Laughter.)

I want to say that it is a deeply humbling experience for me as an American to be here with all these wonderful people. Many people in this audience have made remarkable contributions to our nation and to the world over the last half century or so. And I thank you all, as part of the contingent of Arkansans who are here, who feel very protective of Senator Fulbright and feel that in some ways he is still our own. It's a great pleasure and sense of pride for me to look out and see all of you here. (Applause.)

I also want to say a special word of appreciation to Harriet. You know, when Senator Fulbright announced that he and Harriet were going to be married, all the people from Arkansas started telling cradle robbing jokes. (Laughter.) And I've got an 88-year-old uncle, and for kicks, he goes out once a week and drives two ladies around -- one of them is 91 and one of them is 92. And I asked my uncle -- I said, "You like these older ladies?" And he said,

"Yes, it seems to me like they're a little more settled." (Laughter.) I just am -- I'm glad Bill didn't give into the temptation for being settled and instead found Harriet. (Applause.)

You know, somebody ought to put a little levity into this evening. Senator Pryor and Congressman Thornton are out there, and Jim Blair, who once ran one of Senator Fulbright's campaigns. And those of us who grew up in Arkansas, I have to say, had this incredible image of Senator Fulbright. First of all, if you grew up in our state and you knew anything about politics, it was immensely gratifying after it, to see the way people sort of dumped on our state back in the '40s and '50s and said we were all a bunch of back-country hayseeds. And we had a guy in the Senate who doubled the IQ of any room he entered. (Laughter.) It was pretty encouraging. You know, it made us feel pretty good like we might amount to something. (Applause.)

When Hillary first came to Arkansas she said, "You know, you all beat better people down here than most states elect." (Laughter.) And then she -- (applause) -- unfortunately, there were two occasions when that might have applied to me. (Laughter.) But, anyway, she finally developed -- Hillary finally developed this theory that the reason all of our good people went into politics is that we couldn't make an honest living in the depressed economy and it increased the quality of political life.

I say this to try to give you some texture. You know, a lot of people are out here in this audience tonight who worked for Senator Fulbright in his campaigns, worked for Senator Pryor, Congressman Thornton, and worked for me. And some of us have been so controversial that we are, to use the Arkansas colloquialism, we are quite a load to carry. (Laughter.)

And I wish I could take every one of you back tonight to Senator Fulbright's 1968 reelection campaign. I mean, I wish you could have been there. Now, remember, here we are '68. The country is embroiled in the Vietnam War, split right down the middle, except in the south where it wasn't down the middle -- more people were still for it than "agin" it. The country was torn up. There had been riots in the streets. There was great division over poverty and race. Everybody was wound tight as a drum. George Wallace was moving through the south faster than Sherman did. (Laughter.) And carried Arkansas that year. And here we are, all of us kids, trying to reelect Fulbright in this environment, right?

Now, let me give you a flavor. Senator Fulbright had an opponent in 1968 who decided to make trade an issue. Now, the distinguished Japanese Ambassador is here. You know, people are write as if we're having bloody fights when we have arguments over trade policy. We didn't have arguments in '68. This guy got up at a platform and held up a shoe to his opponent and he said, "This shoe was made in communist Romania." (Laughter.) This is a verbatim account, right? "Communist Romania," he said. "And Bill Fulbright

is letting these shoes into your country." (Laughter and applause.) "Throwing our good God-fearing people out of work to let the communist from Romania have the job." That's a sample of what we had to deal with. (Laughter.)

So, you know, we worked hard on him and we got him to wear a checkered shirt -- that picture you saw up there in a checkered shirt. That's the only time he ever came home without a necktie. (Laughter and applause.) So he's wearing this checkered shirt, you know. And we think we finally got him where he can sort of at least tolerate all this insanity that was going on there. All he had to do was kind of halfway be nice to people and we thought he could get reelected.

So one day we come to the -- I was driving him around one day. And we -- at the middle of all this tension we come to this little country town in southwest Arkansas, one road in, same road out. (Laughter.) And we go into a feed store. And you remember what Lyndon Johnson used to say? If you can't look at a person in the eye and tell whether they're for you or against you, you've got no business in politics. (Laughter.) No one could have mistaken the atmosphere in the feed store this day. (Laughter.)

This guy in overalls looked at Senator Fulbright and said, "I wouldn't vote for you if you were the last person on earth." And Senator Fulbright sat down on this bale of hay or this -- it was a big sack of seed, and he said, "Well, why?" And I thought, be nice. The television cameras were on, you know. He said, "Because you're letting the communists in. They're everywhere. Today it's Vietnam, tomorrow it will be -- they're everywhere." And he looked around and he said, "I didn't see any when I came into town." (Laughter.) He said, "Where are they and what do they look like? I wouldn't recognize one." (Laughter.)

Well, anyway, he got reelected anyway. (Laughter.) I say that because, you know, in all this highfalutin talk it's important not to forget that the American political system produced this remarkable man. And my state did, and I'm real proud of it. (Applause.)

Senator Fulbright always believed there were some things that he should defer to the judgment of his constituents on, and others that he was charged with knowing more than they were and that he should do what he thought was right. And it did get him into a lot of trouble, but it helped our country get through a lot of rough times.

In addition to those things which have been mentioned and written about, I can't help noting one of the things that drew me to him as a young man, and that is that he stood up to Joe McCarthy, something that meant a lot to a lot of us. (Applause.)

The other thing he always tried to do was to get all of us that were around him to look at the other side of an argument. And he would -- I remember when I was a young man working for him in that campaign, I was driving him around and sometimes I get so exasperated arguing with him because I could never win. We just argued all the time. And one day we were in a town and I drove back out the same way I drove in. I was going to take us a 100 miles in the wrong direction until he corrected me, which meant that the professor was not as absent-minded as the student. (Laughter.)

But all during this time, it is impossible for me to fully capture for you the impact that he had on young generation after young generation in my state. How he made us believe that education could lift us up and lift this country up. How he made us believe that our obligation was to develop our minds to the maximum of our ability and then to use it -- wherever it took us. He believed in reason and argument, and he believed in the end democracy could only prevail if we knew enough and were thoughtful enough to face the truth and try to search it out. It's still a pretty good prescription for what we ought to do.

He also deeply believed that the racial, religious and ethnic differences and the political differences that divided the world so deeply during almost all of his public career were vastly less important than the common bonds of humanity which could unite us if only we could take our blinders off.

He was among the first Americans to try to get us to think about the people in Russia as people. He was among the first Americans to try to get us to see people in the Islamic world as people. Among the first Americans to try to get us to understand the different and various and rich cultures of Asia, which have now produced some of the most amazing achievements in all of human history. And that is one of the reasons, I think, Mr. Ambassador, that Japan, thankfully, has become the most outstanding supporter of the Fulbright Scholarship Program, something for which we are all very grateful. (Applause.)

I close with this thought. About four years ago, Senator Fulbright's hometown of Fayetteville, which is the seat of the University of Arkansas -- (applause) -- where Hillary and I used to teach and where we were married -- threw a big party for him and invited me as the Governor to come up and speak. And so I went up there. It was a wonderful day on the square. It was a Saturday. And afterwards the farmer's market was there and I walked around the square and talked to all the farmers. We shot the bull about Bill Fulbright and talked about his career. And then I went up to the hotel room where Senator Fulbright -- believe it or not -- was watching a football game.

And when I walked in and sat down with him -- we watched this ball game and this young man kicked a field goal about two

minutes after we sat down. He looked at me and he said, "You know something -- I can't believe it's been 64 years since I did that."
(Laughter.)

I say that to make my final point. It doesn't take long to live a life. He made the most of his. And I think his enduring legacy to us is trying to help us all to have a better chance to make the most of ours. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

Sit down, we're going to do one more thing. (Laughter.) The job I now have, in the eyes of my mentor, is probably not quite as good a job as being a United States senator. Mostly because I have to take all that criticism. But it does give me some prerogatives. In spite of what you may have seen or heard in the last several days, there are some things I can do without anybody agreeing to it. (Laughter and applause.) And tonight, for the first time as President of the United States, I intend to do one of them. And I'd like to enlist the aid of my distinguished military aide, Major Schorsch -- would you please read the proclamation.

(The proclamation awarding the Presidential Medal of Freedom Award to Senator Fulbright is read.) (Applause.)

END 10:05 P.M. EDT

FACTS ABOUT THE FULBRIGHT PROGRAM

- o The Fulbright Program, which will celebrate its 50th anniversary in 1996, was established in 1946 under legislation introduced by Senator J. William Fulbright. In 1961, the Fulbright/Hays Act updated and expanded the original legislation.
- o The purpose of the Fulbright Program is to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries through educational exchange.
- o Nearly 5,000 Fulbright grants are awarded each year for U.S. students, teachers, professors and professionals to study, teach, lecture and conduct research abroad, and for foreign nationals to do likewise in the U.S.
- o The J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, which consists of twelve Presidentially-appointed members, supervises the Program, provides policy guidance and makes final selection of all grantees.
- o The Fulbright Program is administered in the United States by the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) through a number of cooperating agencies, the principal of which are the Institute of International Education and the Council for International Exchange of Scholars. In addition, a small portion of the Program is administered by the Department of Education. Overseas, the Program is administered in 49 countries by a Binational Commission, and in the remaining countries by USIA overseas staff.
- o The total cost of the Fulbright Program for academic year 1993-94 was about \$167 million. Approximately 72% (\$121 million) came from Congressional appropriations to USIA and to the Department of Education. In addition, foreign governments contributed approximately \$22 million, and \$24 million came from donations, endowments and in-kind support from the private sector. The cost to the American taxpayer since the Program began 48 years ago is \$1.67 billion.
- o Nearly 200,000 Fulbright alumni, many in positions of authority and prestige, can be found in over 140 countries throughout the world. Examples include U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali, U.S. Poet Laureate Rita Dove, Peruvian Minister of Education Alberto Varilla, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Geza Jeszenszky, Romanian Minister of Finance Florin Georgescu, and Librarian of Congress James Billington.

The 'Dr. Leo M. Goodman Award' Ceremony
of the
American Chamber of Commerce in Germany
Munich, Germany
29 April 1994

HARRIET FULBRIGHT:

Ambassador Holbrook, Mr. Kiep, Mr. Irwin, distinguished ladies and gentlemen. It is an honor and a pleasure to be here before you on this happy occasion. My husband, as you may know, has always had a special regard for Germany. His ancestors sailed from here during the early part of last century as the Volbrechts and settled in the United States as the Fulbrights, either because an immigration official couldn't spell or because they felt they needed a name more easily understood in their new country. He has therefore followed events here with particular interest and has marvelled over what has happened within the last five years.

No one was more surprised than he by the fall of the Berlin Wall four years ago. That he did not expect during his lifetime, and we both hope that he lives for many more years. He was even more pleased, but no longer surprised to witness Germany's rapid reunification and the sincere effort to treat both the Eastern and Western sectors fairly and with sensitivity. It has furthermore not escaped his attention that Germany has assumed a position of leadership in the formation of the European Economic Community and the discussions on the Monetary Union. He has also applauded her role as the biggest financial supporter in the effort to transform the Russian economy from a communist into a capitalist system. Within the last half century Germany has risen from the ashes of an unspeakable war to become a responsible and humane member of the European community, and Senator Fulbright is prouder than ever of his heritage. He truly regrets that he cannot travel these days but wanted me to assure you that he is here with you in spirit and urged me to convey his gratitude and his greetings.

I have thought a good deal about my message to you today and what I might say to compensate for the absence of the man you are honoring with the Dr. Goodman Award. It finally occurred to me that you might enjoy hearing some of his thoughts in his own words and stories of his life which give you a sense of who J. William Fulbright really is, and what is in his character that propelled him to create such an extraordinary legacy of accomplishments.

Bill Fulbright was always and still is a practical, energetic and unassuming person, one who likes to get things done without worrying about the credit or the ceremony. Pomposity or posturing has never been in his nature. At one point in the early 1960's on a trip to Costa Rica with President Kennedy and a group of his colleagues, there was a good deal of confusion over who should travel to town in which limousine, and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was inadvertently left behind at the airport. I am sure that there were vehicles with drivers which could have taken him had he put up enough of a fuss, and I strongly suspect that there were airport telephones which he could have used to demand another vehicle from the American Embassy, but no, he quietly asked for directions and walked the four miles to San Juan. It was exceedingly hot and dusty, but in about an hour he

entered the U.S. Embassy where he found the pile of baggage belonging to his party. Missing, however, was his briefcase. "Oh," said a young Foreign Service officer when asked about it, "I locked the briefcase with your confidential papers in the top secret safe." "Top secret?" For the first time Fulbright raised his voice. "You locked up my tooth brush and shaving kit?!?"

Now practical and unassuming does not mean ordinary; the word *ordinary* does not in fact fit here at all. He was a man in search of unusual ideas, always trying to push beyond the commonplace, the accepted practice, the habits or traditions of the day. It was a trait he honed to a fine art, first as a professor of law and later as President of the University of Arkansas. Despite its potential for danger, he continued the practice as a Senator. One foreign relations committee staff member remembers that during his first week on the job he picked up the phone and was startled to hear the chairman on the other end demand, "Have you got any ideas?" The poor man was completely tongue-tied until he finally came to understand that new ideas was exactly what his chairman wanted – new, outrageous, untried, unthinkable ideas. In 1964 Senator Fulbright put it this way:

We must dare to think "unthinkable" thoughts. We must learn to explore all the options and possibilities that confront us in a complex and rapidly changing world. We must learn to welcome and not to fear the voices of dissent. We must dare to think about "unthinkable things" because when things become unthinkable, thinking stops and action becomes mindless. (Senate speech, March 27 1964)

This constant stream of "unthinkable thoughts" which he both elicited from colleagues and generated on his own were by no means tossed out to the public hastily or without considerable thought. Fulbright has always had strong feelings about the duties of elected representatives, about what it really means to be a leader in a democracy. It was his opinion that while the people should be heard, the elected leader should use the judgement, knowledge and experience gained from being in a position of leadership to create or influence policy as he or she deems best, regardless of popular opinion. After listening to all sides, a leader should use persuasion to enlighten and educate constituents rather than remain silent or camouflage differing opinions – something he considered a complete abdication of responsibility. His compulsion to think independently often created controversy, never more than when he began to speak out publicly against President Johnson's actions in Vietnam. This I think was one of the most difficult periods in his public life, and some have commented that the very light in his eyes dimmed. But even then in that bleak and hostile environment, he felt compelled to give voice to what he thought was right, no matter what the consequences. Much later he wrote:

Today our elected representatives and the "communications" experts they employ, study and analyze public attitudes by sophisticated new polling techniques. But their purpose has little to do with leadership, still less with education in any area of our national life. Their purpose seems to consist

largely in discovering what people want and feel and dislike, and then in associating themselves with those feelings. They seek to discover which issues can be safely emphasized and which are more prudently avoided. This is the opposite of leadership; it is followership, elevated to a science, for the purpose of self-advancement. (from *The Price of Empire*)

Fulbright felt that leadership, on the other hand, requires the ability to find the ways and means to open the eyes of the populace and expand its horizons – the ability to elevate the whole community's critical thinking skills and sense of responsibility so as to feel comfortable with and flourish under that which is the great universal golden ring to societies around the globe: namely, freedom, which he described this way:

If ever a universal victory for democratic values comes within reach, it will come, I believe, not through acts of foreign policy, and certainly not through military policy, but rather through the magnetism of freedom itself. The prospects for freedom depend ultimately on how it is practiced in free societies. (from *Prospects for the West*)

Senator Fulbright went on to say whenever he could that in order to ensure prosperity for all members of a free country, those who live in a democracy must be educated. In fact education ran through the heart of whatever he said and did. His speeches he wrote himself on yellow pads in pencil, full of lines through each fuzzy phrase. He worked them over until he was satisfied that every sentence was not only perfectly understandable but devoid of hyperbole. They were meant to clarify and persuade; in other words to educate – to educate audiences around the world as well as constituents. His most famous piece of legislation has extended an educational experience beyond national borders for over 200,000 scholars from every part of the earth. It was based on the powerful persuasion of his own firsthand experience as a Rhodes scholar and was created, as most of you know, out of a sense of urgency right after the end of World War II – an urgency derived from the certain knowledge that the invention of the atomic bomb spelled the end of the human race should there be another world war. This international education exchange program which bears his name has in its almost *fifty years* of existence cost less than *two days* of our defense program at the present time. Despite the relatively minuscule financial outlay, it is recognized as one of the strongest forces for peace on the planet. As he put it:

Education is a slow-moving but powerful force. It may not be fast enough or strong enough to save us from catastrophe, but it is the strongest force available.

The success of the Fulbright Program is clear. If imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, Fulbright should be enormously flattered by the rapidly increasing number of international exchange programs which have since then sprung up like mushrooms after a spring rain. What also begs for attention is the need in both our countries for a public education system which fosters life-long learning and a sense of community. It is becoming ever clearer that we have a great challenge in our immediate future. Fulbright often said that democracy can

only flourish under a thoughtful, responsible and educated citizenry; and he is not referring to the stuffing of students with information and statistics which they spit back during multiple choice tests. He is talking about teaching through *all* our intelligences so that lifelong learning becomes a universal habit; about honing higher critical thinking skills with which to analyze and evaluate both professional problems and government policy so as to become better voters; about the encouragement of creative thought to focus on and find solutions for such massive problems as environmental pollution and global economic policy; and about leading our young into active participation in community affairs so that it becomes a natural activity during adulthood. He is talking about an interdisciplinary education which must be enjoyed by all children, rich and poor, urban and rural. He is talking about the type of education that needs to spread throughout the world if we are to reach above and beyond mere survival as a goal for the human race.

All this talk of leadership, freedom and education may seem simple, self evident, and commonplace to you now, but there was a time when it was considered radical – even dangerous. Thirty years ago Senator Fulbright was called names I wouldn't dream of putting on paper, much less pronouncing before a respectable audience. Emotional letters, full of praise and hate, streamed steadily into his Senate office, some of it painful to him. There was one letter, however, which affected him far more deeply than the rest. After reading it, he closed his office doors, ordered all calls held, and wrote in long hand an answer which he did not copy. I will read it to you:

Dear Senator Fulbright:

I have never voted for you. I have never missed a chance to belittle you. But, deep inside me there is a nagging suspicion that I have been wrong.

As this world plunges headlong toward what may well be its own destruction, it gets increasingly harder to hear lonely voices such as yours calling for common sense, human reason and a respect for the brotherhood of man.

But, be of good cheer, my friend. Keep nipping at their heels. This old world has always nailed its prophets to trees, so don't be surprised at those who come at you with hammers and spikes.

Know that those multitudes yet unborn will stand on our shoulders. And one among them will stand a little higher because he is standing on yours.

So this is, as best as I can describe him, the man you have chosen to honor: unassuming, ever searching and thoughtful, concerned about the nature of freedom and leadership, obsessed with expanding educational opportunities around the globe, unafraid of criticism. I hope that I have reminded you of what he stands for and why you have honored him so. I hope that you find yourselves even prouder of your choice today and are willing to help carry on his work.

Colman McCarthy
Fulbright:
Still
Searching for
Alternatives

"I shouldn't try to give a lecture today in my condition," said the Arkansas politician, although he had just spoken for 10 minutes with eloquence and wit. As for his "condition," it was nothing noticed, except maybe that he didn't bound up to the podium; only walked.

At 86, J. William Fulbright, out of the Senate since 1974 after 29 years of service there and one term in the House, has slowed only a half-pace physically and not at all intellectually. A few days ago, when much of the country was looking at another Arkansas politician having down-home mud slung at him, Fulbright was being honored for his lifelong zeal for both international peace and global education.

Anyone whose spirits have been cast low by the miasmic state of current politics can look at Fulbright's life and ideals, and be revived. Some monumental figures do rise from time to time. They make our disenchantment with politics akin to a lingering cold, not a fatal illness.

The former senator, who lives in Washington on a street near Rock Creek Park, was honored with the Corita Kent Peace Award, presented by officials of the Immaculate Heart College Center of Los Angeles who came east for the ceremony. Fulbright hadn't planned to speak, but the warmth of those honoring him brought forth a few thoughts. He recalled the origins of the scholars program named after him and funded by Congress in 1946. Some 35 other countries now contribute to it. Eighty-nine thousand U.S. scholars have studied abroad, and 118,000 international students have come to U.S. schools. In 46 years of opening minds, the scholarships have cost about \$1.3 billion, equal to the Pentagon budget for a day and a half.

The philosophy of the program, Fulbright said, was always to offer alternatives to military force. Referring to the closeness of the Senate vote before the invasion of Iraq, he argued, "Many people recognized that we shouldn't [go to war] for the reason that we should follow a system in which you don't resort to force to get your own way, that you have to resort to negotiations. That's the rational way. . . . There's an alternative that you can take."

In his Senate years, and especially when he chaired the foreign relations committee, Fulbright often led the search party for alternatives. If obstacles were in the way, he learned eventually who put them there. During the Vietnam War, that was Lyndon Johnson. Seven years after voting for the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution, Fulbright said he was lied to: "The fault of the Congress, including this speaker, was in believing the president of the United States, in having too much confidence in a man and in neglecting to insist upon the full exercise of the constitutional powers of Congress."

With stunning prescience, much of what Fulbright was saying 20 years ago reads as if it were taken off this morning's front page.

This could apply to Bill Clinton, who worked in Fulbright's office in the mid-1970s: "What I do deplore, and with all possible emphasis, is the shift of the attack [by the news media] from policies to personalities; from matters of tangible consequence to the nation as a whole to matters of personal morality of uncertain relevance to the national interest." (1974)

This about the S&Ls: "We're going to have the worst of both worlds if we're going to start bailing people out of mismanaged private enterprise. It is utterly inexcusable for the government to rescue private investors who took a risk in the first place." (1970)

On the pack in New Hampshire: "Now our leaders are asking for sacrifice, but their trumpet blows so feebly as to leave one in doubt that they expect or really want it. Fearing political retaliation if they ask for real austerity, they ask for no more than token self-denial. They are asking the least of people, and that, to their dismay, is what they are getting." (1975)

And this on the Middle East and Israeli intransigence: "Israel, I am convinced, can and should survive as a peaceful, prosperous society—but within the essential borders of 1967. . . . That much we owe them, but no more. We do not owe them our support of their continued occupation of Arab lands. . . . The Palestinian people have as much right to a homeland as do the Jewish people." (1974)

Fulbright, blessed with physical longevity, now turns out to have had also the gift of speaking long-lasting truths. What he said 20 and 25 years ago is as sound today as the scholars program he launched in the 1940s. And just as needed.

The Honorable J. W. Fulbright
Hogan & Hartson
555 - 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

6-26-91

Dear Senator:

Last Wednesday, Senate Ethics Committee Special Counsel Bob Bennett, who investigated the Keating Five, spoke to the Exchequer Club of Washington on the subject of ethics standards for public officials.

In his search for what public conduct should be all about, Bennett said that the most important statement he has found to capture the essence of the matter is something you said in 1951, and he then read your statement, which is quoted in the enclosed letter from Bennett. It occurs to me that Bennett's opinion of the current relevance of your view is significant, and I wanted to share this with you.

Warm regards,

Dear Mr. Lambert:

I enjoyed meeting you yesterday. You asked me for the citation for the following remark by former Senator Fulbright:

One of the most disturbing aspects of this problem of moral conduct is the revelation that among so many influential people, morality has become identical with legality. We are certainly in a tragic plight if the accepted standard by which we measure the integrity of a man in public life is that he keeps within the letter of the law.

This quotation comes from a 1951 speech by Senator Fulbright on the Senate floor entitled "The Moral Deterioration of American Democracy." The speech can be found in Volume 97 of the Congressional Record at pages 2904-06. The particular paragraph I quoted is on page 2905.

Sincerely,



Robert S. Bennett

Reflections of a Conservative Optimist

THE PRICE OF EMPIRE

By J. William Fulbright with Seth P. Tillman.
243 pp. New York:
Pantheon Books. \$17.95.

By Gaddis Smith

THERE have been more politically powerful United States senators in this century, but none more intellectually distinguished or historically interesting than J. William Fulbright. After one term in the House of Representatives, he served from 1945 to 1974 as Senator from Arkansas and was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee between 1959 and 1974. He converted that sometimes passive committee into a restless center of skepticism and critical inquiry irritating to Presidents but of profound benefit to the nation. Mr. Fulbright, who is 83 years old, will also be remembered and honored for the program of international scholarships that he introduced and that bears his name.

The essays in "The Price of Empire," written with his longtime aide Seth P. Tillman, now a research professor of diplomacy at Georgetown University, are a distillation of Mr. Fulbright's critical reflections on American behavior in the world. Many of his arguments are familiar, but by no means stale: the imperative for fresh thinking about nuclear weapons, the moral and pragmatic folly of most interventions into the affairs of other nations (Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and American intervention in Vietnam being comparably reprehensible), the arrogance of believing that the American way is best for all, the dangers of a militarized economy and culture, the inordinate power of the Israeli lobby over United States policy in the Middle East. One of the author's reiterated laments is fortunately outdated. During most of the period since 1945, many Americans have had an obsessive fear and hatred of Russians. But no longer, thanks in large measure to Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

Mr. Fulbright's historical significance lies in the evolution of his thinking — from an articulate supporter of American imperial activism during the cold war to an influential critic after 1965. This book deals entirely with his role and ideas as critic. One wishes for more detailed comment on his other positions: on the Truman Doctrine of 1947, the decision in 1950 to develop the hydrogen bomb, the Korean War, the so-called missile gap of 1960. But his early views are a matter of public record and are documented in the enormous archive of his papers that he gave to the University of Arkansas. That archive is not the least of his contributions to American history.

Mr. Fulbright has never been a radical; he does not attribute American conduct to racism, the class structure or the domination of corporate power. He is a conservative optimist, arguing that American mistakes are the result of poor thinking and inadequate political institutions. Like Woodrow Wilson, whom he greatly admires, Mr. Fulbright has a tendency to look to constitutions as panaceas. The longest and most provocative essay in the book is a call for the United States to abandon its Constitution, based on the principle of separation of powers, in favor of the parliamentary system in which the chief executive and the cabinet are simultaneously members of the legislature. He claims that the Constitution has produced delay, impasse, even paralysis in our leaders' dealing with the nation's most serious problems. Furthermore, the system yields Presidential candidates and Presidents without appropriate experience and of dubious quality. And Presidents once elected cannot be removed without disrupting the nation's political life.

The author deplors the fact that the Constitution is held in such superstitious reverence that serious criticism is taboo. And now he is more direct in his attack

Gaddis Smith has taught the history of American foreign policy at Yale University since 1961.



J. William Fulbright, center, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, with Senators Everett Dirksen (left) and Lyndon B. Johnson, Washington, 1960.

than he could have been while he was in office. He deserves to be taken seriously. Political scientists, constitutional lawyers, historians and politicians might, for example, collaborate on some what-if case studies of past crises: the confrontations with Germany and Japan in 1939-41, the Korean War, the 1965 American invasion of the Dominican Republic (the event that, even more than the Vietnam War, pushed Mr. Fulbright into dissent), current United States policy toward Central America. What evidence is there that the outcomes of such crises would have been different had the United States been operating under a parliamentary system? On the domestic side, would a parliamentary system have improved on the New Deal, or could it effectively confront today's deficit, poverty, racial inequality, environmental degradation? And how well did the British

system respond to the crisis of 1914, the rise of Hitler, the 1956 Suez affair, Northern Ireland in recent years?

Mr. Fulbright says that under a parliamentary system he "might well" have accepted appointment as Secretary of State had President John F. Kennedy made the offer. He would have retained his Senate seat and thus would not have been forced to leave Government when his tenure as Secretary of State was over. Noting his own independent temperament, he writes: "If you really wish to be independent and make your own judgments about everything important, it is difficult to be a good team player — because a team has different criteria for making judgments about an issue." But is not cabinet government under a parliamentary system even more a team process than the system of checks and balances? Would not Mr. Fulbright and others like him be disqualified by temperament from high positions in such a system? And as a backbencher, not on the Government's team, could he have dissented as effectively as he did as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee?

Vietnam: 'That Awful Mess'

WASHINGTON
"If I am remembered, I suppose it will be as a dissenter." Such is the self-judgment rendered by J. William Fulbright in the very first sentence of "The Price of Empire." But the former Democratic Senator made a different guess at lunch the other day, suggesting that he might be remembered, among other things, for the first Congressional resolution after World War II proposing what became the United Nations, for the Fulbright scholarships and for the legislation that made Washington's Kennedy Center possible.

Not for his opposition to the Vietnam War? "Naw," he said, twang intact a half-century after he left Fayetteville, Ark., "people don't want to remember anything about that awful mess."

Defeated for re-election in 1974, Mr. Fulbright still goes most days to the office he maintains at one of Washington's blue-ribbon law firms, Hogan & Hartson. He still manages a few nights a month out on the town, where his courtly manners and his charm, if not always his forthright exposition of his views, have long made him a prized guest at Georgetown's dinner tables.

And despite a slight stroke not long ago, which left the right side of his body a little weak, he still talks well and listens hard. He said that he found it "almost impossible to accept the fact that I'm an old man."

R. W. APPLE JR.

UNDER a parliamentary system there would be no popular vote for President (or Prime Minister). The nation's leader would be selected by the political party in power from among veteran members of parliament. Leaders would probably be people with decades of experience. Elections would be shorter and would focus on local candidates. As Mr. Fulbright argues, the idiosyncrasy of early Presidential primaries and caucuses might well disappear. But at what cost? Certainly the pool of leaders would be severely restricted. The chance of anyone who was not a veteran member of parliament becoming the head of government would be almost nil.

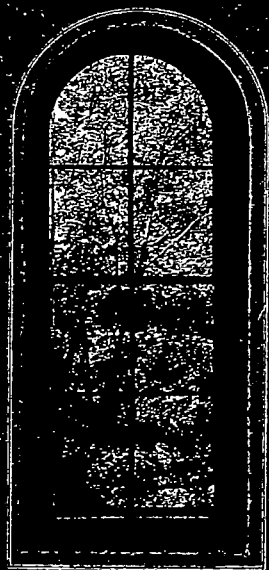
Mr. Fulbright implies that he would favor a single legislature — just as the House of Commons is, in effect, England's sole legislature. But an American Government with only a single legislature, presumably with constituencies based on population, would fundamentally alter the relationship of the states to the Federal Government in ways that require extensive study. No one would say that our Government is a model of perfection. Huge problems are not being handled well, and many are being ignored. Mr. Fulbright may be right that a new constitution would make a positive difference — or he may be wrong. The question deserves serious and sustained debate. It should not be dismissed or relegated to cocktail party speculation, and "The Price of Empire" will help to insure that it won't be. □

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
THE FULBRIGHT PROGRAM -- 50TH ANNIVERSARY DINNER
THE WHITE HOUSE
JUNE 5, 1996

- **Acknowledgments:** Mrs. (Harriet) Fulbright; the Fulbright family; Dr. Duffey; friends...
- Fifty years ago, in the aftermath of World War II, a man and his dream opened vast new horizons for a generation of young Americans who were hungry for greater cooperation and understanding in their world.
- Since the beginning of the Fulbright Program in 1946, more than 70,000 Americans have gone overseas to study, learn and grow; and more than 130,000 students from other countries have come here. Some of the world's finest leaders, thinkers and artists have benefitted from this special experience -- some of them are here tonight. No matter what their native tongue, all of them are now known by the same proud name -- Fulbrights.
- No one in my lifetime was more influential both personally and globally than my friend and mentor, Senator J. William Fulbright. He understood, better than anyone I have known, that the only way to lasting peace between people from different countries and cultures is through the simple act of giving and receiving the best that each has to offer.
- Senator Fulbright once said, "The essence of intercultural education is the acquisition of empathy -- the ability to see the world as others see it, and to allow for the possibility that others may see something we have failed to see, or may see it more accurately. The simple purpose of the exchange program...is to erode the culturally rooted mistrust that sets nations against one another. It is not a panacea, but an avenue of hope..."
- As we celebrate 50 years of bipartisan support for the Fulbright Program, let us rededicate ourselves to this ideal and let us pledge to do all we can to keep the Fulbright Program alive for future generations. Thank you and God bless you all.

① You're here because you have participated -
but you can't imagine - poor state - small town -
J. W. Fulbright - ideas, brilliance, workhard

② You can achieve greatest -
has meant to scholars here & world - cemented
for generations America's mission - to be engaged in
+ book - values lessons from his life & program



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