

that is beyond reproach. America needs its Flag unblemished, representing more than any person or any partisan interest, but this extraordinary nation. The Flag, and the freedom for which it stands, has a unique ability to unite us as Americans. Whatever our disagreements, we are united in our respect for the Flag. We are in need of healing. We should not allow the healing and unifying power of the Flag to become a source of divisiveness.

The protection that the people seek for the Flag does not threaten the sacred rights afforded by the First Amendment. I sincerely doubt that the Framers intended the First Amendment of the Constitution to prevent state legislatures and Congress from protecting the Flag of the nation for which they shed their blood. At the time of the Supreme Court's decision, the tradition of protecting the Flag was too firmly established to suggest that such laws are inconsistent with our constitutional traditions. Many of the state laws were based on the Uniform Flag Act of 1917. No one at that time, or for 70 years afterwards, felt that these laws ran afoul of the First Amendment. Indeed, the Supreme Court itself upheld a Nebraska statute preventing commercial use of the Flag in 1907 in *Halter versus Nebraska*. As the Chief Justice stated in his dissent, "I cannot agree that the First Amendment invalidates the Act of Congress, and the laws of 48 of the 50 States which make criminal the public burning of the flag."

Nor do I accept the notion that amending the Constitution to overrule the Supreme Court's decisions in the specific context of desecration of the Flag will somehow undermine the First Amendment as it is applied in other contexts. This amendment does not create a slippery slope which will lead to the erosion of Americans' right to free speech. The Flag is wholly unique. It has not rightful counterpart. An amendment protecting the Flag from desecration will provide no aid or comfort in any future campaigns to restrict speech. Moreover, an amendment banning the desecration of the Flag does not limit the content of any true speech. As Justice Stevens noted in his dissent in *Johnson versus Texas*, "[t]he concept of 'desecration' does not turn on the substance of the message the actor intends to convey, but rather on whether those who view the act will take serious offense." Likewise, the act of desecrating the Flag does not have any content in and of itself. The act takes meaning and expresses conduct only in the context of the true speech which accompanies the act. And that speech remains unregulated. As the Chief Justice noted, "flag burning is the equivalent of an inarticulate grunt or roar that, it seems fair to say, is most likely to be indulged in not to express any particular idea, but to antagonize others."

In sum, there is no principal or fear that should stand as an obstacle to our

protection of the Flag. Unfortunately, at no other time in history has our country so needed such a symbol of sacrifice, honor, unity and freedom. It is my earnest hope that by amending the Constitution to prohibit its desecration, this body will protect the heritage, sacrifice, ideals, freedom and honor that the Flag uniquely represents.

#### ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 168

At the request of Mr. MOYNIHAN, the name of the Senator from New York (Mr. SCHUMER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 168, a bill for the relief of Thomas J. Sansone, Jr.

S. 329

At the request of Mr. ROBB, the name of the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. COCHRAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 329, a bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to extend eligibility for hospital care and medical services under chapter 17 of that title to veterans who have been awarded the Purple Heart, and for other purposes.

S. 346

At the request of Mrs. HUTCHISON, the name of the Senator from Iowa (Mr. GRASSLEY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 346, a bill to amend title XIX of the Social Security Act to prohibit the recoupment of funds recovered by States from one or more tobacco manufacturers.

S. 348

At the request of Ms. SNOWE, the name of the Senator from Virginia (Mr. ROBB) was added as a cosponsor of S. 348, a bill to authorize and facilitate a program to enhance training, research and development, energy conservation and efficiency, and consumer education in the oilheat industry for the benefit of oilheat consumers and the public, and for other purposes.

S. 355

At the request of Mr. MOYNIHAN, the name of the Senator from California (Mrs. BOXER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 355, a bill to amend title 13, United States Code, to eliminate the provision that prevents sampling from being used in determining the population for purposes of the apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the several States.

S. 376

At the request of Mr. BURNS, the names of the Senator from Texas (Mrs. HUTCHISON), the Senator from Oregon (Mr. WYDEN), and the Senator from Maryland (Ms. MIKULSKI) were added as cosponsors of S. 376, a bill to amend the Communications Satellite Act of 1962 to promote competition and privatization in satellite communications, and for other purposes.

S. 391

At the request of Mr. KERREY, the name of the Senator from Georgia (Mr. CLELAND) was added as a cosponsor of S. 391, a bill to provide for payments to

children's hospitals that operate graduate medical education programs.

S. 396

At the request of Mr. HUTCHINSON, the names of the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. LOTT) and the Senator from Maine (Ms. COLLINS) were added as cosponsors of S. 396, a bill to provide dollars to the classroom.

S. 429

At the request of Mr. DURBIN, the name of the Senator from California (Mrs. BOXER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 429, a bill to designate the legal public holiday of "Washington's Birthday" as "Presidents' Day" in honor of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Franklin Roosevelt and in recognition of the importance of the institution of the Presidency and the contributions that Presidents have made to the development of our Nation and the principles of freedom and democracy.

S. 443

At the request of Mr. LAUTENBERG, the name of the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. REED) was added as a cosponsor of S. 443, a bill to regulate the sale of firearms at gun shows.

S. 459

At the request of Mr. BREAUX, the names of the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. THOMAS) and the Senator from California (Mrs. BOXER) were added as cosponsors of S. 459, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to increase the State ceiling on private activity bonds.

S. 482

At the request of Mr. ABRAHAM, the name of the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. HUTCHINSON) was added as a cosponsor of S. 482, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to repeal the increase in the tax on the social security benefits.

S. 502

At the request of Mr. ASHCROFT, the name of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. ALLARD) was added as a cosponsor of S. 502, a bill to protect social security.

S. 522

At the request of Mr. LAUTENBERG, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KERRY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 522, a bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to improve the quality of beaches and coastal recreation water, and for other purposes.

S. 529

At the request of Mr. ROBERTS, the name of the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CRAPO) was added as a cosponsor of S. 529, a bill to amend the Federal Crop Insurance Act to improve crop insurance coverage, to make structural changes to the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation and the Risk Management Agency, and for other purposes.

S. 531

At the request of Mr. ABRAHAM, the names of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. LAUTENBERG) and the Senator

from Mississippi (Mr. COCHRAN) were added as cosponsors of S. 531, a bill to authorize the President to award a gold medal on behalf of the Congress to Rosa Parks in recognition of her contributions to the Nation.

S. 541

At the request of Mr. MURKOWSKI, the name of the Senator from Iowa (Mr. GRASSLEY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 541, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to make certain changes related to payments for graduate medical education under the medicare program.

S. 562

At the request of Mr. HARKIN, the name of the Senator from Nevada (Mr. REID) was added as a cosponsor of S. 562, a bill to provide for a comprehensive, coordinated effort to combat methamphetamine abuse, and for other purposes.

S. 595

At the request of Mr. DOMENICI, the name of the Senator from Texas (Mrs. HUTCHISON) was added as a cosponsor of S. 595, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to establish a graduated response to shrinking domestic oil and gas production and surging foreign oil imports, and for other purposes.

S. 609

At the request of Mr. MURKOWSKI, the name of the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. GRAMS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 609, a bill to amend the Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act of 1994 to prevent the abuse of inhalants through programs under the Act, and for other purposes.

S. 622

At the request of Mr. KENNEDY, the name of the Senator from California (Mrs. FEINSTEIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 622, a bill to enhance Federal enforcement of hate crimes, and for other purposes.

S. 630

At the request of Mr. BURNS, the name of the Senator from Montana (Mr. BAUCUS) was withdrawn as a cosponsor of S. 630, a bill to provide for the preservation and sustainability of the family farm through the transfer of responsibility for operation and maintenance of the Flathead Irrigation Project, Montana.

S. 636

At the request of Mr. REED, the name of the Senator from Washington (Mrs. MURRAY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 636, a bill to amend title XXVII of the Public Health Service Act and part 7 of subtitle B of title I of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to establish standards for the health quality improvement of children in managed care plans and other health plans.

SENATE RESOLUTION 26

At the request of Mr. MURKOWSKI, the name of the Senator from Georgia (Mr. COVERDELL) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 26, a resolution

relating to Taiwan's participation in the World Health Organization.

SENATE RESOLUTION 47

At the request of Mr. MURKOWSKI, the name of the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. JOHNSON) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 47, a resolution designating the week of March 21 through March 27, 1999, as "National Inhalants and Poisons Awareness Week."

SENATE RESOLUTION 50

At the request of Mr. SPECTER, the name of the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. CHAFEE) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 50, a resolution designating March 25, 1999, as "Greek Independence Day: A Day of Celebration of Greek and American Democracy."

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 18—EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF CONGRESS THAT THE CURRENT FEDERAL INCOME TAX DEDUCTION FOR INTEREST PAID ON DEBT SECURED BY A FIRST OR SECOND HOME SHOULD NOT BE FURTHER RESTRICTED

Mr. ASHCROFT submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

S. CON. RES. 18

Whereas homeownership is a fundamental American ideal, which promotes social and economic benefits beyond the benefits that accrue to the occupant of the home;

Whereas homeownership is an important factor in promoting economic security and stability for American families;

Whereas it is proper that the policy of the Federal Government is and should continue to be to encourage homeownership;

Whereas the increase in the cost of housing over the last 10 years has been greater than the increase in family income;

Whereas, for the first time in 50 years, the percentage of people in the United States owning their own homes has declined;

Whereas the percentage of people in the United States between the ages of 25 and 29 who own their own home has declined from 43 percent in 1976 to 38 percent today;

Whereas the current Federal income tax deduction for interest paid on debt secured by a first home has been a valuable cornerstone of this Nation's housing policy for most of this century and may well be the most important component of housing-related tax policy in America today;

Whereas the current Federal income tax deduction for interest paid on debt secured by second homes is of crucial importance to the economies of many communities;

Whereas the continued deductibility of interest paid on debt secured by a first or second home has particular importance in promoting other desirable social goals, such as education of young people; and

Whereas the Federal income tax deduction for interest paid on debt secured by a first or second home has been limited twice in the last 6 years, and was further eroded as a result of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),* That it is the sense of the Congress that the current Federal income tax deduction for interest paid on debt secured by a first or second home should not be further restricted.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 19—CONCERNING ANTI-SEMITIC STATEMENTS MADE BY MEMBERS OF THE DUMA OF THE RUSSIA FEDERATION

Mr. CAMPBELL (for himself, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. SMITH of Oregon, Mr. ABRAHAM, Mr. BROWNBACK, Mr. REID, Mr. BURNS, Mr. TORRICELLI, Mr. CLELAND, and Mr. FEINGOLD) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. CON. RES. 19

Whereas the world has seen in the 20th century the disastrous results of ethnic, religious, and racial intolerance;

Whereas the Government of the Russian Federation is on record, through obligations freely accepted as a participating state of the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), as pledging to "clearly and unequivocally condemn totalitarianism, racial and ethnic hatred, anti-Semitism, xenophobia and discrimination against anyone . . .";

Whereas at two public rallies in October 1998, Communist Party member of the Duma, Albert Makashov, blamed "the Yids" for Russia's current problems;

Whereas in November 1998, attempts by members of the Russian Duma to formally censure Albert Makashov were blocked by members of the Communist Party;

Whereas in December 1998, the chairman of the Duma Security Committee and Communist Party member, Viktor Ilyukhin, blamed President Yeltsin's "Jewish entourage" for alleged "genocide against the Russian people";

Whereas in response to the public outcry over the above-noted anti-Semitic statements, Communist Party chairman Gennadi Zyuganov claimed in December 1998 that such statements were a result of "confusion" between Zionism and "the Jewish question"; and

Whereas during the Soviet era, the Communist Party leadership regularly used "anti-Zionist campaigns" as an excuse to persecute and discriminate against Jews in the Soviet Union: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),* That Congress—

(1) condemns anti-Semitic statements made by members of the Russian Duma;

(2) commends actions taken by members of the Russian Duma to condemn anti-Semitic statements made by Duma members;

(3) commends President Yeltsin and other members of the Russian Government for condemning anti-Semitic statements made by Duma members; and

(4) reiterates its firm belief that peace and justice cannot be achieved as long as governments and legislatures promote policies based upon anti-Semitism, racism, and xenophobia.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, although Communism released its oppressive grip on the people of Russia nearly ten years ago, its fingerprints of racism and ethnic intolerance persist. Today, I call the attention of my colleagues to the troubling surge of anti-Semitic rhetoric by the Russian Duma's Communist Party leaders who have sought to place the blame of Russia's social and economic ills on its Jewish community. As the new co-chairman of the Helsinki Commission, I am submitting a resolution to help address this disturbing situation. This