

fears of millions that the White House would be an outpost of the Vatican. Friday, as his life is celebrated at a Mass at St. Thomas More Church in New York City, anti-Catholicism has almost vanished in America.

The Kennedy saga covers most of the century. John F. "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald was elected to the US House of Representatives in 1894. One of his grandsons, John, became president; two more, Edward and Robert, became senators; and two of his great-grandsons, Joseph and Patrick, also have served in the House. A half-dozen Frelinghuysens from New Jersey have served in Congress, but only four from another Dutch dynasty, the Roosevelts. The grandchildren of Franklin Delano Roosevelt have known little political fame.

The future has always been Kennedy country and the greatest Kennedy success could lie among its women. Caroline Kennedy Schloseberg has been a key decision maker on many matters, including her father's library. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, the lieutenant governor of Maryland, may possess as much charm and savvy as her father, Robert, her uncles and cousins, and even her grandfather.

The much-photographed Kennedys have been reviled and revered. In a society anxious about "family values," theirs has been on exuberant display for four decades, along with those of the Bouviers, Shakers, Bennetts, Smiths, Lawfords, and Shrivvers. (A large family means many in-laws.)

In a nation of small families, size matters. When Edward Kennedy barely escaped death in the crash of a small plane in 1964, his brother Robert visited him and remarked in that ruefully wry Kennedyesque way, "I guess the reason my mother and father had so many children was that some of them would survive."

Edward Kennedy, the ninth of nine, is, at 67, the sole surviving son, the patriarch, and an all-too-accomplished eulogist. The Kennedys' famous fatalism was once expressed by President Kennedy's citation of a French fisherman's prayer: "Oh God, thy sea is so great and my boat is so small." Thursday's burial was private and at sea off Cape Cod, that slip of land of which Henry David Thoreau said in 1865: "A man may stand there and put all America behind him."

The America John F. Kennedy Jr. leaves behind is one in which the median age is younger than his at his death. The vast majority of his fellow citizens have no contemporary memory of his father's violent death in 1963 nor that of his uncle in 1968. The grief of the Kennedys has been vivid in the nation's tribal memory as only a photograph or a video image, but no less vivid for being so.

Stanley Tretick, who died last week at 77, was a photographer for *Look* magazine. One of his most famous pictures was of the President Kennedy's young son climbing through a desk in the Oval Office. "The Kennedys are great, but you have to do things their way," Tretick once said.

The Kennedys stage-managed their own public image in the days before 24-hour cable channels and the vast hordes of paparazzi that their fame and glamour enticed. The Hyannis Port family compound this week has been a logo for media fascination with one family's grief.

The old Latin liturgy once included an Augustinian admonition, "Vita mutatur non tollitur"—"Life is changed not taken away." That belief sustains those of faith, in addition, there's always the Irish wake tradition of stories and memories, happy and sad.

Arthur N. Schlesinger Jr. wrote in "A Thousand Days" of how a young assistant secretary of labor, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, reacted to President Kennedy's death. "I don't think there's any point in being Irish if

you don't know that the world is going to break your heart eventually. I guess that we thought we had a little more time," Moynihan said. "Mary McGrory said to me that we'll never laugh again. And I said, 'Heavens, Mary. We'll laugh again. It's just that we'll never be young again.'"

Across America and the world, many people feel a lot less young than they did a week ago.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business Friday, July 23, 1999, the Federal debt stood at \$5,636,001,455,884.82 (Five trillion, six hundred thirty-six billion, one million, four hundred fifty-five thousand, eight hundred eighty-four dollars and eighty-two cents).

One year ago, July 23, 1998, the Federal debt stood at \$5,537,084,000,000 (Five trillion, five hundred thirty-seven billion, eighty-four million).

Fifteen years ago, July 23, 1984, the Federal debt stood at \$1,534,379,000,000 (One trillion, five hundred thirty-four billion, three hundred seventy-nine million).

Twenty-five years ago, July 23, 1974, the Federal debt stood at \$474,854,000,000 (Four hundred seventy-four billion, eight hundred fifty-four million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$5 trillion—\$5,161,147,455,884.82 (Five trillion, one hundred sixty-one billion, one hundred forty-seven million, four hundred fifty-five thousand, eight hundred eighty-four dollars and eighty-two cents) during the past 25 years.

FUNDING FOR EMBASSY SECURITY

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, last week the Senate passed S. 1217, the Commerce, Justice, State appropriations bill. I want to take a minute now to express my serious concerns about the low level of funding for embassy security contained in the bill.

Just about one year ago, two United States embassies in East Africa were destroyed by terrorist bombs, killing hundreds of people and injuring thousands. The bombings underscored the great vulnerability of our diplomatic missions. In response, Congress promptly provided \$1.4 billion in emergency funding to rebuild the two embassies and to take other urgent steps to bolster security at overseas missions.

Soon thereafter, two panels were convened by the Secretary of State to review the bombings. The two commissions were chaired by retired Admiral William Crowe, the former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and former Ambassador to the United Kingdom. The Crowe commissions recommended that the U.S. government devote \$1.4 billion per year for each of the next ten years to security.

Unfortunately, the legislation before the Senate falls far short of what the Crowe commissions recommended. The bill appropriates just \$300 million for

security in the State Department operations accounts, and just \$110 million for security in the capital account. But of this latter amount, only \$36 million is provided for construction or renovation of new embassies—\$264 million below the President's request. Moreover, the bill rescinds \$58 million in previously-appropriated funds in this same account. Neither the bill nor the Committee report explains how these funds will be restored to meet continuing and future needs.

Finally, the bill denies the Administration's request for \$3.6 billion in advance funding for capital projects for Fiscal Years 2001 to 2005. The Department based this request on bitter experience. In the mid-1980s, after a commission chaired by Admiral Bobby Inman recommended massive increases in embassy security, Congress initially responded by providing significant funding and significant promises. But as the years passed, security became a second-order priority; the requested funding for security was denied by Congress, and some of the money that had been allocated for security was either rescinded by Congress or redirected to other priorities. By the mid-1990s, the Inman Commission report was collecting dust on government bookshelves, its recommendations barely recalled, and funding for security had been reduced considerably.

So, understandably, the State Department is skeptical that the grand promises made in the wake of the embassy bombings will be fulfilled. With considerable justification, the State Department experts have told Congress that it can best move forward on a sensible and rational construction program if it can be assured in advance of the necessary funds. Otherwise, the Department of State rightly fears, we will see a repeat of the experience after the Inman Commission.

The Committee on Foreign Relations, and then the full Senate, responded to this plea by providing a \$3 billion authorization over five years in S. 886, the Foreign Relations Authorization Act. But that was just the first step. The authorization will be useless without appropriations. Unfortunately, the Committee on Appropriations has ignored the State Department's request in this bill.

I believe this bill breaks faith with the bold promises that were made in the wake of the embassy bombings last summer. We need to do much, much more to protect our dedicated public servants working overseas. I strongly urge the chairman and ranking member to look for additional resources to fund this important account, without compromising the other important foreign affairs accounts.

THE HATE CRIMES PREVENTION ACT OF 1999

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, one of the most significant amendments adopted by the Senate in consideration

of the Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 2000 is the Hate Crimes Prevention Act. I commend Senator KENNEDY for his leadership in this effort and on this bill, and I am proud to have been an original cosponsor. This legislation amends the federal hate crimes statute to make it easier for federal law enforcement officials to investigate and prosecute cases of racial and religious violence. It also focuses the attention and resources of the federal government on the problem of hate crimes committed against people because of their sexual preference, gender, or disability.

Violent crime motivated by prejudice demands attention from all of us. It is not a new problem, but recent incidents of hate crimes have shocked the American conscience. Just this month, an adherent of a white supremacist group killed two people and wounded nine others in a shooting rampage in Illinois and Indiana that was apparently motivated by racial and religious hate. Billy Jack Gaither, 39, was beaten to death in Alabama because he was gay. Matthew Sheppard, 21, was left to die on a fence in Wyoming because he was gay. James Byrd, Jr., 49, a father of three, was dragged to his death behind a pickup truck in Texas because he was black. These are sensational crimes, the ones that focus public attention. But there also is a toll we are paying each year in other hate crimes that find less notoriety, but with no less suffering for the victims and their families.

It remains painfully clear that we as a nation still have serious work to do in protecting all Americans from these crimes and in ensuring equal rights for all our citizens. The answer to hate and

bigotry must ultimately be found in increased respect and tolerance. But strengthening our federal hate crimes legislation is a step in the right direction. Bigotry and hatred are corrosive elements in any society, but especially in a country as diverse and open as ours. We need to make clear that a bigoted attack on one or some of us diminishes each of us, and it diminishes our nation. As a nation, we must say loudly and clearly that we will defend ourselves against such violence.

All Americans have the right to live, travel and gather where they choose. In the past we have responded as a nation to deter and to punish violent denials of civil rights. We have enacted federal laws to protect the civil rights of all of our citizens for more than 100 years. This continues that great and honorable tradition.

Several of us come to this issue with backgrounds in local law enforcement. We support local law enforcement and work for initiatives that assist law enforcement. It is in this vein as well that I support the Hate Crimes Prevention Act, which has received strong bipartisan support from state and local law enforcement organizations across the country.

The bill has been materially improved since its introduction on March 16th. At that time, I questioned whether the bill was sufficiently respectful of state and local law enforcement interests and cautioned against federalizing prohibitions that may already exist at the state and local level. The Senate-passed bill includes a new certification requirement, which provides that the Federal government may only step in where the State has not assumed jurisdiction, the State has requested that the federal government assume juris-

diction, or the State's actions are likely to leave unvindicated the Federal interest in eradicating bias-motivated violence. I am satisfied that this provision will ensure that the Hate Crimes Prevention Act operates as intended, strengthening Federal jurisdiction over hate crimes as a back-up, but not a substitute, for state and local law enforcement.

The Hate Crimes Prevention Act gives us a formidable tool for combating acts of violence motivated by race, color, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, gender, or disability. I urge its speedy passage into law.

SENATE QUARTERLY MAIL COSTS

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, in accordance with section 318 of Public Law 101-520 as amended by Public Law 103-283, I am submitting the frank mail allocations made to each Senator from the appropriations for official mail expenses and a summary tabulation of Senate mass mail costs for the first and second quarter of FY99 to be printed in the RECORD. The first and second quarters of FY99 cover the periods of October 1, 1998, through December 31, 1998, and January 1, 1999 through March 31, 1999. The official mail allocations are available for franked mail costs, as stipulated in Public Law 105-275, the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act of 1999.

I ask unanimous consent that the frank mail allocations and summary tabulation be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senators	FY 99 Official mail allocation	Senate quarterly mass mail volumes and costs for the quarter ending December 12, 1998				Senate quarterly mass mail volumes and costs for the quarter ending March 31, 1999			
		Total pieces	Pieces per capita	Total cost	Cost per capita	Total pieces	Pieces per capita	Total cost	Cost per capita
Abraham	\$111,746	0	0	\$0.00	0	0	0	\$0.00	0
Akaka	34,648	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Allard	63,266	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Ashcroft	77,190	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Baucus	33,847	0	0	0.00	0	23,970	0.0300	21,348.57	0.02672
Bayh	60,223	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Bennett	40,959	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Biden	31,559	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Bingaman	41,646	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Bond	77,190	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Boxer	301,322	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Breaux	66,514	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Brownback	49,687	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Bryan	41,258	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Bumpers	13,218	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Bunning	46,853	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Burns	33,857	0	0	0.00	0	4,295	0.00538	3,399.30	0.00425
Byrd	43,560	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Campbell	63,266	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Chafee	34,307	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Cleland	95,484	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Coats	21,139	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Cochran	50,337	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Collins	37,775	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Conrad	31,000	198,640	0.31096	30,318.17	0.04746	37,870	0.05928	6,075.13	0.00951
Coverdell	95,484	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Craig	35,841	0	0	0.00	0	3,000	0.0298	568.71	0.00056
Crapo	27,070	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
D'Amato	183,036	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Daschle	31,638	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
DeWine	132,302	5,182	0.00048	4,549.16	0.00042	3,130	0.00029	2,072.47	0.00019
Dodd	56,116	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Domenici	41,646	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Dorgan	31,000	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Durbin	128,275	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Edwards	76,489	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Enzi	29,891	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Faircloth	29,275	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Feingold	72,089	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Feinstein	301,322	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0
Fitzgerald	97,925	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0