

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.J. RES. 36, CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT AUTHORIZING CONGRESS TO PROHIBIT PHYSICAL DESECRATION OF THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 189 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 189

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 36) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States authorizing the Congress to prohibit the physical desecration of the flag of the United States. The joint resolution shall be considered as read for amendment. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution and any amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) two hours of debate equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary; (2) an amendment in the nature of a substitute, if offered by Representative Conyers of Michigan or his designee, which shall be considered as read and shall be separately debatable for one hour equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent; and (3) one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LINDER) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 189 is a modified closed rule providing for the consideration of a constitutional amendment which would authorize Congress to ban the physical desecration of the American flag.

H. Res. 189 provides for 2 hours of debate in the House of Representatives, equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Upon the adoption of this rule, H.J. Res. 36 is made in order and considered as read. The rule also makes in order a substitute amendment if offered by the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) or his designee, which shall be separately debatable for 1 hour, equally divided between a proponent and an opponent. All points of order are waived against this amendment.

Finally, the rule provides for one motion to recommit, with or without instructions, as is the right of the minority.

Mr. Speaker, this rule would allow Congress to debate legislation that protects our American heritage by protecting one of our most important symbols, our flag. Most Americans look to the flag as a symbol of our unity, our sovereignty and our democracy. Throughout the years, millions of

Americans have fought and died for this country, and they look to the flag as the embodiment of our country's values.

Two reasons for supporting this measure come to mind as we consider this legislation: first, from a logical standpoint, if we prohibit the destruction of U.S. currency by law, then surely protecting our symbol of freedom and democracy is just as important.

The second reason is a more powerful one. Many Members believe it is the duty of Congress to protect the integrity of our heritage from individuals who disrespect this country.

It is in the best interests of the American people to pass this legislation, and I wholeheartedly support it. In fact, I am an original cosponsor of H.J. Res. 36.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

First, Mr. Speaker, let me thank the gentleman for yielding me this time. It is a pleasure to serve on the Committee on Rules with the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LINDER).

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to House Joint Resolution 36. I firmly believe that passing this constitutional amendment would abandon the very values and principles upon which this country was founded.

Make no mistake, I deplore the desecration of the flag. The flag is a symbol of our country and a reminder of our great heritage. I find it unfortunate and repugnant that a few individuals choose to desecrate that which we hold so dear. However, it is because of my love for the flag and the country for which it stands that, unfortunately, I have no choice but to oppose this well-intentioned yet misguided, in my view, legislation.

Our country was founded on certain principles. Chief among these principles is freedom of speech and expression. These freedoms were included in the Bill of Rights because the Founding Fathers took deliberate steps to avoid creating a country in which individuals' civil liberties could be abridged by the Government. Yet that is exactly what this amendment would do. It begins a dangerous trend in which the Government can decide which ideas are legal and which must be suppressed.

Ultimately, we must remember that it is not simply the flag we honor but, rather, the principles it embodies. To restrict people's means of expression would do nothing but abandon those principles, and to destroy these principles would be a far greater travesty than to destroy its symbol. Indeed, it would render the symbol meaningless.

Earlier this month, Mr. Speaker, I was with a group of 15 Members of Congress who were visiting the American cemetery in Normandy, France. There we saw the graves of more than 9,000 men and women who gave their lives

not just for the liberation of Europe but in defense of an idea: democracy, and all that it stands for. What democracy stands for is forever enshrined in our Constitution. These men and women who died for an idea, and the patriots who came before and after them, understand that idea.

I brought back these two flags, this one especially, the American flag. The other is the flag of France. I hold it here to remind myself of what others gave so that I may be here today in this country which protects individual rights and liberties more than any other country in the world. Understand, though, this flag itself has little inherent value. It is cloth attached to a piece of wood. The value of this cloth is in the messages that it conveys and the country that it stands for and the people who have fought and died to keep this flag and others like it flying high and free. Those men who died storming Omaha and Utah Beaches did not fight for a flag; they fought for the idea that our flag represents. This amendment, in my view, would diminish what those brave men and women fought and died for.

The last time Congress debated a similar bill, retired four-star general and current Secretary of State Colin Powell said that he would not support amending the Constitution to protect the flag. In fact, General Powell said, "I would not amend that great shield of democracy to hammer a few miscreants. The flag will be flying proudly long after they have slunk away."

We are too secure as a Nation to risk our commitment to freedom by endeavoring to legislate patriotism. If we tamper with our Constitution because of the antics of a handful of thoughtless and obnoxious people, we will have reduced the flag as a symbol of freedom, not enhanced it.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. CHABOT).

Mr. CHABOT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I rise in support of the rule. The American flag serves a unique role as the symbol of the ideals upon which America was founded. It is a national asset that helps to preserve our unity, our freedom, and our liberty as Americans. This symbol represents our country's many hard-won freedoms paid for with the lives of thousands and thousands of young men and women over this Nation's history. For years, 48 States and the District of Columbia enforced laws prohibiting the physical desecration of the American flag. In the 1989 Texas v. Johnson ruling, the United States Supreme Court in a 5-4 vote overthrew what until then had been settled law and ruled that flag desecration as a means of public protest is an act of free expression protected by the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution. A year later, essentially reiterating its Johnson ruling,

the court in *U.S. v. Eichman*, another 5-4 ruling, by the way, struck down a Federal statute prohibiting the physical desecration of the flag despite the court's own conclusion that the statute was content-neutral.

In the years since these two rulings were handed down, 49 States have passed resolutions calling upon this Congress to pass a flag protection amendment and send it back to the States for ratification. Although a constitutional amendment should be approached only after much reflection, the U.S. Supreme Court's conclusions in the Johnson and the Eichman cases have left the American people with no other alternative but to amend the Constitution to provide Congress the authority to prohibit the physical desecration of the American flag. The amendment enjoys strong support throughout the Nation, indicating that it will likely be adopted by the States should this Congress approve the language.

I urge my colleagues to approve this rule and move to full debate and pass H.J. Res. 36.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the rule.

Mr. Speaker, this rule allows the well-settled law of this nation to be called into question at the whim of special interest groups who disagree with the value we Americans place on freedom of speech. By allowing this debate to occur, the leadership has signaled its intention to favor its ideological companions without regard for legal precedent or constitutional muster.

In 1989 the Supreme Court was faced with a difficult balancing test. *Texas v. Johnson*, 491 U.S. 397, forced the court to examine whether the interests of this nation in protecting the symbol of its freedom are outweighed by the individual freedoms of its citizens. The Court did not shy away from this dilemma, holding that the government cannot prohibit the expression of an idea society finds offensive, and that not even the flag is recognized as an exception to this principle.

Following this rights-affirming decision, Congress passed the "Flag Protection Act of 1989," which attempted to criminalize the conduct of those who might use the flag for free speech purposes. The next session the Supreme Court invalidated this law on the same grounds it ruled on during its previous session. The Court held that attempting to preserve the physical integrity of the flag is only related to the flag as an article of speech or conduct in *United States v. Eichman*, 496 U.S. 310 (1990).

Now, Mr. Speaker, over ten years later, Congress is again attempting to impermissibly affect the ability of citizens to speak freely by taking the notoriously grave step of amending the Constitution of the United States. Supporters of this amendment argue that the step is warranted considering the Supreme Court's opinion on the flag; I contend the Supreme Court's opinion requires my opposition to this rule.

Mr. Speaker, it has almost become cliché to point out that we are a nation of laws, not persons. However, in this circumstance, that is exactly my point. The Supreme Court has spoken in an unambiguous way about the bal-

ancing of interests between the flag and the rights of individuals. On two separate occasions the right of individuals to speak has won.

Instead of honoring the decisions of the Court, and thereby respecting the separation of powers within the federal government, the House leadership instead chose to play politics with the law. On this day we begin subjecting legal opinions to the whims of the legislative branch in a new and chilling way. Any coalition with close enough ties to the majority might hope to see their pet project ratified as an amendment to our Constitution.

Mr. Speaker, not only this resolution, but also this very debate cast a long shadow over our long history of separation of powers. I contend it is our rights as citizens and our legal system that suffer. I oppose this rule.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

COMMENDING MILITARY AND DEFENSE CONTRACTOR PERSONNEL RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCCESSFUL BALLISTIC MISSILE TEST

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 195) commending the United States military and defense contractor personnel responsible for a successful in-flight ballistic missile defense interceptor test on July 14, 2001, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 195

Whereas at 11:09 p.m., eastern daylight time on July 14, 2001, the United States successfully tested an interceptor missile against a target Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missile in flight;

Whereas the target missile was launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base, California, and was traveling at approximately 140 miles above the Earth at a speed of greater than 11,000 feet per second, which is more than three times faster than a high-powered rifle bullet, when struck by the interceptor missile;

Whereas the interceptor missile was also traveling at a speed greater than 11,000 feet per second at the time of impact;

Whereas more than 35,000 Americans contributed to the successful test, including the Air Force team which launched the target missile from Vandenberg Air Force Base and the Army team which developed the radar and kill vehicle, the Navy and Coast Guard team which provided security for the test, the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization team which supervised the testing program, and the contractor team consisting of thousands of American scientists, engineers, and blue collar workers employed by the prime contractors and hundreds of small businesses; and

Whereas the House of Representatives understands that testing of ballistic missile defenses will involve many failures as well as successes in the future, the House of Representatives nonetheless commends the ef-

fort and ingenuity of those who worked so hard to make the test a success: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives thanks and commends the thousands of United States military and Government personnel, contractors, engineers, scientists, and workers who worked diligently to make the July 14, 2001, missile defense intercept test a success.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER) and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER).

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, Americans sometimes do great things. At 11:09 p.m. Eastern Standard Time last Saturday, the work of some 35,000 Americans, including service personnel from the Air Force, the Navy, the Coast Guard, and the Army combined to produce a wondrous success in our missile defense testing program.

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It was extraordinary, Mr. Speaker. We had an interceptor that was launched from Vanderbilt Air Force Base in California, heading west, achieving a speed of some 11,000 feet per second, or more than three times faster than a high powered rifle bullet; and an interceptor was launched from Kwajalein Island, also achieving a speed of close to 11,000 feet per second, also going much faster than a rifle bullet; and at 11:09 eastern time that interceptor successfully hit the target vehicle and destroyed it 148 miles above the Earth over the Western Pacific.

Mr. Speaker, I think Americans need to draw a number of conclusions from this very successful test. First, it is absolutely appropriate that we in the House of Representatives commend all the great people who worked on this program, and we intend to do that fully. Of course, the Army developed the radar and the kill vehicle working from their missile defense headquarters in Huntsville, Alabama. The Air Force in this case launched the Minuteman missile, which was the target missile, from Vanderbilt Air Force Base. We had Navy and Coast Guard monitoring and providing security in the Pacific. So we had thousands and thousands of men and women in uniform supporting these tests, all the way from folks who were doing basic security work to folks who were doing some very high-level physics work.

Along with that, we had lots of Americans, scientists, engineers, blue-collar workers, some working for major contractors and others working for small business. One thing we have learned in this missile defense business is that the innovators, sometimes the smartest guys, are in the companies with 20, 30, 40, 50 people, and all of these people combined to produce a success that was stupendous. It was remarkable.