

Flag Alliance who now carries on the tradition of reciting this tribute at the appropriate events.

Mr. Speaker, as a veteran and as one who dedicated his life to other veterans and to our Nation, it is most appropriate that Charlie Allen's word from the heart about the American flag be a part of this historic debate. In just a few sentences, he captures its essence and the urgent need to protect the Stars and Stripes from those who would desecrate it. Those who would trample on our flag also trample upon our Nation, the honor of Charlie Allen, all those who went before him into battle, and all those who will go into battle in the future in defense of our Nation and our way of life.

Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Speaker, the flag of the United States is very dear to almost every American. To see it desecrated evokes anger among most of us because it is such a powerful and important symbol. The flag makes us proud and reminds us of what we, our friends and relatives and our forefathers have sacrificed to ensure it will continue to symbolize peace, strength and above all, freedom.

The Supreme Court has ruled that statutes which prohibit flag desecration violate the first amendment protection of freedom of speech and are unconstitutional. Therefore, it has become necessary to amend the Constitution so that Congress and the states may enact legislation protecting the flag. The constitutional amendment before us today provides such power; no more, no less. It states: "The Congress and the States shall have power to prohibit the physical desecration of the flag of the United States." I support this narrowly drawn amendment to allow us to protect the flag, our symbol of all that we are as a people.

The most important part of this debate, and one we won't decide today, is how a future Congress will define two important terms in this amendment. Those terms are "physical desecration" and "flag." This will require careful and thoughtful consideration to make sure we protect both our flag and our right to free speech.

Some would argue that we cannot protect the flag through a constitutional amendment, because to do so would restrict the right to free speech. The first amendment protects a wide variety of expression of ideas and the means by which these ideas are conveyed. For example, the spoken word, a gesture, and picket signs are largely protected by the first amendment. However, the Supreme Court has ruled that first amendment does have reasonable limits. The Supreme Court has ruled that the first amendment does not protect one from yelling "fire" in a crowded movie theater or from provoking a riot. It has also allowed restrictions on when, where and how speech is conveyed in public.

Let me illustrate with a hypothetical situation. Assume that I am the owner of a business on Main Street in town and the mayor decides to close Main Street. I can express my dislike for the mayor's decision by giving a speech against the idea in a public square or by holding a picket sign. However, the town can legally regulate when, where and how I can do these things. In my example above, the town could prevent me from screaming my speech through a megaphone at 2 o'clock in the morning. It could also prevent me from throwing a paint bomb at city hall. But it can-

not prevent me from expressing my dislike of the mayor's decision to close Main Street.

It will be necessary for a future Congress to be thoughtful in defining the term "physical desecration." Obviously, the definition cannot be so narrow that it prevents burning of a soiled or tattered flag. That is considered a respectful means of disposal. However, it should not be so broad as to prevent a flag being present at a protest against a certain government action. Such a prohibition would not involve physical contact with the flag and would not, therefore, involve any changes to the flag.

The definition of "physical desecration" will depend upon how a future Congress defines "flag," which will be just as difficult. What exactly is a flag? I have no problem with the traditional "flag" that is flown on a flag pole in front of a house or city hall or above the Capitol. Similarly, a flag on a stick distributed at a Fourth of July parade seems clearly to be a flag which deserves protection. But what about a flag emblem on a sweater or on a shoe? What about a flag cake or a flag tie on the Fourth of July? Or a video picture of a flag that is transformed into the face of a politician? Is this video emblem a flag capable of desecration?

These are the very detailed and difficult questions which a future Congress must resolve if the amendment is adopted and ratified by the States. I support this amendment because I believe in protecting the flag. However, I also support the amendment because in the process of defining "flag" and "physical desecration," the American public will see just how challenging it is to define what is and what is not protected by the first amendment. This civics lesson will increase our understanding of the freedoms which our flag symbolizes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OXLEY). All time has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 173, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT OFFERED BY MR. BRYANT OF TEXAS

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as the minority leader's designee, I offer a motion to recommit with instructions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman opposed to the joint resolution?

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. Yes, I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit with instructions.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BRYANT of Texas moves to recommit the joint resolution, H.J. Res. 79, to the Committee on the Judiciary with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendment:

Strike all after the resolving clause and insert the following:

That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution

when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years after the date of its submission for ratification:

"ARTICLE—

"SECTION 1. The Congress and the States shall have power to prohibit the burning, trampling, soiling, or rending of the flag of the United States.

"SECTION 2. For the purpose of this article of amendment, the Congress shall determine by law what constitutes the flag of the United States, and shall prescribe procedures for the proper disposal of a flag."

□ 1400

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OXLEY). Pursuant to House Resolution 173, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BRYANT] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON] will each be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BRYANT].

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would dearly love to be freed at this moment from any restraints of conscience so that I could simply content myself with a sincere speech about my love of this country and this flag and then go on my way because life would certainly be more simple for me and for many others who have spoken here today if we did that, but the fact of the matter is, if we love this country, if we truly want to be patriots who bear responsibility for the future of our people, and, after all, they are this country, we have the obligation to legislate for the long run in a way that is workable and in a way that protects them from accidentally getting in trouble and in a way that protects the things that we hold dear insofar as possible.

The fact of the matter is that in haste to bring this bill to the floor in time to precede the July Fourth recess the bill that has been brought to us today is one that I think bore a great deal more study and a great deal more consideration than it received. Why is that? Because either inadvertently or perhaps on purpose the way this current provision is written, Mr. Speaker, it allows 52 different definitions of what the flag is and 52 different definitions of what desecration of the flag is.

Well, I submit to my colleagues that the polls that I have heard the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON] make reference to during this debate, that the American people are for a prohibition on burning the flag, certainly would not be the same if they knew it was going to be 50 different laws and 50 different definitions of the flag; 52 that is. Surely, if there is anything that is within the province and responsibility of this Congress, it is defining what is an American flag. That should not be subject to 52 different definitions, and surely if we are going to deal with this problem in a way that goes as far as possible to avoid limiting freedom of speech and to avoid accidental prosecutions and accidental crossing of the

legal prohibitions, it is our job to write a single statute, a Federal statute, to govern the question of what is desecration of the flag.

I asked during the course of the debate in the Committee on the Judiciary of the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CANADY], who is the chairman of the subcommittee with jurisdiction, what would happen if a State said that a flag has 49 stars, or 48 stars, or a flag is green, and yellow, and blue instead of red, white, and blue, and the answer that I received was, "Well, it is up to the States. It depends on what the States do." That is not an outcome that befits a Congress that is supposed to be handling with extreme care and reverence the Constitution of the United States and the best interests of the people that sent us here.

The motion to recommit is in effect an amendment to this bill, this resolution. It says quite simply that Congress and the States shall have power to prohibit the burning, trampling, soiling, or rending of the flag of the United States, and for purposes of this article the Congress shall determine by law what constitutes the flag and shall prescribe procedures for the proper disposal of the flag. That, if we are going to pass a constitutional amendment, is what the public would have in mind. That is something that tells people what is the flag, what is the law, and where is the line which one cannot cross.

I simply submit to the many Republicans, as well as Democrats who stood up today and spoke for this, that this is what they had in mind, not the provision that was hastily brought to the floor today in order to get here before the July Fourth recess and perhaps permit the delivery of many insprational speeches with a slight political overtone over this coming holiday. How are we serving the interests of this country if we handle this in a way that is designed to meet our political needs rather than handling it in a judicious way that is designed to protect the interests of the public?

I submit the motion to recommit is constructive, it deals with the problem that has been articulated by the authors of the amendment in a way and in a way that tells the American people what is permitted and is not permitted.

Finally I would say this: You have made much of how important it is to prohibit anyone from desecrating the flag, but your proposal would allow States to permit the desecration of a flag because all 50 states can do what they want to do in terms of defining desecration and defining the flag. This proposal, this motion to recommit, says that the Congress defines the flag and the Congress defines desecration. If we are to take this monumental move, action, if we're to amend the most sacred civil document of this land, surely we ought to do it in a way that is constructive and it serves the interests of the people.

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

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I might consume.

Mr. Speaker, first of all let me just say to Members on both sides of the aisle that reasonable men and women can disagree with each other, and certainly there is a reasonable disagreement on this issue. I respect those on both sides of the aisle regardless of what their opinion is, and I am sure that they are sincere, and I do not think that any of us are any more patriotic or any more standing up for the flag than the other. It is a question of a difference of opinion, and, because of that, I rise in opposition to the alternative for two basic reasons.

One, Mr. Speaker, is because it changes the wording of the language recommended by 49 States of the United States of America, and more than three-quarters of these States have memorialized this Congress to pass this exact language.

Now all of the State's attorneys in those States, whether it is Ohio, yours, Mr. Speaker, or Texas, or New York, they have looked at the language in House Joint Resolution 79, as have all of the veterans' organizations, as have many of the constitutional lawyers around this country. They have said that this language is the language we should adopt.

Now, if we change it, then it is going to cause a problem. We know now that these 49 States would almost immediately, within the first year that their legislatures go back into session, we know that they would ratify the language in House Joint Resolution 79. That means within 2 years we are going to settle this issue one way or the other. It would not be like the equal rights amendment that went for 7 years and then failed. If we pass this exact language, then we are assured that we are going to protect that flag and we are going to do it in a very short period of time.

Now, second reason:

It is because I do not believe that the sponsors, not this gentleman here, but those who appeared before my Committee on Rules upstairs yesterday, I do not believe that they are going to vote for this gentleman's substitute. As a matter of fact, those who came to testify, and the gentleman was not one of them, those that came to testify said they would not vote for it even if we made it in order.

Now that brings a problem to us because it again, once again, just clouds the issue. I say to my colleagues, "If you recall last time, we passed a constitutional—or we tried to pass a constitutional amendment, but we ought to in tandem try to pass a statute, and many Members said, 'no, I'm going to vote against the constitutional amendment because we can vote for the statute, and that will take care of it,' and we failed. We failed by about 34 votes."

My colleagues, we cannot fail today. We have tried it. The courts have said

nothing is going to stand short of a constitutional amendment, and what we are simply doing is putting the constitution back to where it was prior to 1989 and how it stood for 200 years.

My good friend from Texas worries about the possibility that States might permit the desecration of the flag. Now I just have to take exception to that. In 200 years of the history of this country not one State did that. I mean after all, Mr. Speaker, we are people of common sense in this country.

Mr. Speaker, those are the reasons we need to defeat this alternative that is being offered and pass the constitutional amendment overwhelmingly supported by the American people.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I have the highest regard for the gentleman. There is not one Member of this House, whether liberal or conservative, that I dislike, or question, or impugn their integrity. They are all ladies and gentlemen that are highly respected in the eyes of this gentleman anyway.

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLOMON. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. HEFNER. I just want to ask a question.

I plan to vote for the amendment, but there is something that has been bothering me. I realize that the States will set whatever the penalty is, but just say that someone is here on the Capitol Grounds in the District, here on the Capitol Grounds, and they burn a flag. Now what would be the penalty?

Mr. SOLOMON. There would not be any penalty unless this Congress—

Mr. HEFNER. Say it passes, it is ratified. What would be the penalty? What would be the Federal penalty if it happened in front of the Capitol?

Mr. SOLOMON. There would be no penalty unless the Congress takes action. The District of Columbia is not a State. This Congress must pass a statute, which we will do, the gentleman and I will do it together, and we will define the U.S. Flag Code, and what constitutes a flag, and what is a criminal offense; we will do that once this amendment has been ratified.

Mr. HEFNER. If the gentleman would continue to yield, because I read here the Congress and the States shall have the power to prohibit the physical desecration of the flag of the United States, and we cannot very well prohibit it, but what I am trying to get at is are we going to pass a statute here or are we going to have a law that it is a Federal crime, a Federal crime, to desecrate the flag and what penalty would it carry if someone desecrated the flag on the steps of the Capitol? What penalty would he have to pay? We have to have something.

Mr. SOLOMON. That is going to be up for debate on this floor. I hope the gentleman is back here next year if this is ratified as quickly as I think it will be. We ought to take this up on the floor and establish what constitutes an illegal activity as far as the

flag is concerned and what criminal penalty goes with it. That is up for this Congress to do, but do it by statute. All this amendment does is speak to the principle and allow, as the gentleman repeated, the States and/or the Congress to enact a statute which would provide for a legal penalty for physically desecrating the flag.

Mr. HEFNER. Would the gentleman continue to yield?

Mr. SOLOMON. I am running out of my time over here.

Mr. HEFNER. But the gentleman would anticipate that once this is passed by all the States, and I am assuming that it would happen fairly quickly, that they would set their penalties, and we would set one penalty, it would be a Federal offense if it took place here in the front of the Capitol, and there would be some penalty for desecration of the flag. If not, it is pretty meaningless to have it.

Mr. SOLOMON. Well, yes, sir, and I would hope that this Congress would do it before any of the States do it so that we could give them a sample to go back to what we believe it should be. They would not have to follow it because in some States, like in your State of North Carolina, they may want a very, very stiff penalty. In my State of New York, sometimes they are a little questionable with their enforcement of the laws; right, Mr. ACKERMAN? And so it might be a lesser penalty; I don't know. But again that is up to the States.

Mr. HEFNER. I thank the gentleman.

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

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I would like to ask the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON] if he would respond to me; he was good enough to yield me his time a moment ago. I ask Mr. SOLOMON from New York if I could have his attention for a question.

Mr. SOLOMON. Excuse me. I was distracted over here by one of our Texas colleagues.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. I understand. Mr. SOLOMON. They are everywhere you turn.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. That is as it should be.

Mr. SOLOMON. Almost as bad as Californians.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. Mr. SOLOMON, I am sure—I appreciate the gentleman's statement of his belief and sincerity of all parties in this debate, and I certainly say to the gentleman that those are my feelings in return. In the substitute which I have offered in the form of a motion to recommit we have provided that the Congress and the States shall have the power to prohibit the burning, trampling, soiling or rending of the flag of the United States. What else do you want to prohibit other than those four things?

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. BRYANT, I do not know what the interpretation of rending of the flag might be.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. Tearing.

Mr. SOLOMON. There are a lot of other things. Is punching a hole in the flag? I do not know.

□ 1415

What I am saying is that we want it to be a statement of principle, and then let this Congress make that decision, or let your State of Texas make that decision as to what the physical desecration of that flag would be.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. Do you think my State should be able, for example, to prohibit someone from wearing the flag on the back of their jacket if they are a Member of an Olympic team? Should the State be allowed to prohibit that?

Mr. SOLOMON. No, and I do not think that they will.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. Do you think the States should be allowed to prohibit the Olympic team from wearing a flag on the back of their athletic jacket?

Mr. SOLOMON. No, and I do not think they will.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. Under the terms of your language, that could be defined as physical desecration. That is the whole point of my substitute.

Mr. SOLOMON. Let me tell the gentleman something: I have the greatest respect for your State legislature in Texas.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. How about the one in New York?

Mr. SOLOMON. They are going to define a flag according to the U.S. flag code. Some articles of clothing are not a flag, and neither is a picture of it on a T-shirt. I have no concerns about that.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. If I might ask the gentleman another question, do you not think it just logical that the flag of the United States would be defined by the Congress of the United States, not by the New York legislature, or the Texas legislature, or California or Massachusetts? One definition of what the flag is? Doesn't that just stand to reason that would make more sense?

Mr. SOLOMON. Yes, and we have a flag now; I think it needs refining and defining. I intend to work with that gentleman and to try to do that.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. But your proposal allows 50 States to define the flag any way they want to. You brought it out here so quickly, you overlooked that. That is the point.

Mr. SOLOMON. I would say to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BRYANT] that I am 64 years old, and I have looked at all of these statutes. I have not found one State that abused it, not one, in 200 years of this country's history.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. I doubt if you looked at all of them. None of the rest of us have either. But for you to state a State can never abuse it. A State, as I said under your definition, could permit the desecration of the flag, whereas we are saying it is going to be a Federal statute.

Mr. SOLOMON. Does the gentleman think his State of Texas is going to abuse it?

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. No, but I am not so sure about the gentleman's State of New York.

Mr. SOLOMON. I do not think my State of New York would do it.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. I hope the gentleman is right.

Mr. SOLOMON. I do not think any State would do it, not even Vermont, which happens to be the only State that actually passed a resolution saying they did not want this amendment.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. I hope the gentleman is right. But the reason we write constitutional amendments is because of the assumption that somewhere down the line, somebody is going to get off tract, and abuse what we put into the Constitution, unless we write it carefully. This proposal to this motion to recommit is a careful writing of something which you all hustled out here in a big hurry, because you wanted to get out of here ahead of the July 4 recess.

Vote for something reasonable. You are going to have what you want. You will be able to prohibit the desecration of the flag. But we are not going to threaten the American people with accidental prosecution.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 9 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ACKERMAN].

(Mr. ACKERMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am a bit old-fashioned. I love our country. I love our Constitution. I even love a parade. I love our flag. I am an Eagle Scout who still gets a tingle down my spine when Old Glory goes by. I do not understand and I disapprove of those misguided people who would desecrate that in which we all believe.

The question is, how should we as American patriots respond? Do we, like Voltaire, disagree with what they say, but loving freedom so much defend their right to do so? Or do we do like a despot, who, when offended, seeks to put an end to the activities of those who offend them?

Why should we as Americans act? Is the threat so great? Is our society grinding to a halt? Are our constituents jumping out from behind parked cars, waving flags, and burning them at us so we cannot get to work? Is there a left-leaning radical court giving solace to our enemies? Or is it a blue, white, and red herring to use our beloved national symbol as a partisan pawn by petty politicians for their personal partisan purposes?

And what is the flag, and why do I love it? The flag is not our way of life. The flag is a symbol. It is a symbol of our country, of our value system, a symbol of the things in which we believe. And high among those beliefs is the right to disagree and the right to protest, the same right currently in each and every one of our 50 States.

Let me correct a misconception. Nobody died for the flag. They died for what it stands for. No American mother gave up her son for a piece of cloth. The sacrifice was made for our way of life. It did not cost us a sea of blood and thousands of lives for a flag that costs each of us \$7.97 a copy in the office supply store downstairs. Americans did not sacrifice and bleed and die for a piece of cloth, but rather for what it symbolizes.

And what does it symbolize? It symbolizes the greatest experiment in democracy and individual rights in the history of this planet. It symbolizes a country that is different, because people, indispensable and disagreeable people, have a right to protest, to protest to Congress, to protest against Congress, to protest against you and me, to protest against their Government, their President, their Constitution, and, yes, even against their flag.

This proposed amendment says that 50 States can pass 50 different flag desecration amendments. The motion to recommit corrects that. Imagine 50 different definitions of desecration. Is it a tearing in Montana? It will be. Will it be burning in Mississippi? How about soiling in New Jersey, or cursing at the flag in Utah?

Imagine 50 different State definitions of the flag itself. Is it cloth? How about a paper flag? Could it be unconstitutional to burn a tablecloth that looks like a flag? How about ripping up a photograph of a flag, destroying a symbol of a symbol? Take away that right, and you have diminished us all.

Is a flag anything with stars and stripes? If it has 70 stars and 12 stripes, have you burned a U.S. flag, or can you get off the hook? It will be different in each of 50 States. How about if it is orange, white, and blue? We can have people making them for the purpose of burning. If that is the case, do you beat the rap?

The Constitution is supposed to protect your rights, not your sensitivities. Take away that right, and you are changing what the flag symbolizes, for the first time in American history, reducing constitutional rights. Pass the amendment as it is without the motion to recommit, and what will it mean? The answer will be different in 50 different States. Let us take a look at what it might mean.

America's First Ladies, most of them, all truly patriots, have worn American flag kerchiefs. Are they desecrators? A patriotic gesture, you say? How about an ugly Democrat wearing a flag hat in some State that does not like the idea? Or an uglier flag hat, or an uglier flag hat?

How about a bathing suit made out of the Stars and Stripes, is that desecration? Maybe in one State it is, and another State it will not be.

It goes further. Where does it offend you? How about pantyhose made out of the flag? Stars down one side, stripes down the other leg.

I will spare you the things that personally offend me. How about children

who desecrate? Wearing silly flag ears? Or flag pinwheels? Or filling the flag up with hot air? Can you try these children as if they were adult desecrators?

How about American flag napkins? If you blow your nose in one, have you broken the law? Violating the Constitution is nothing to sneeze at. And how about American flag plates? If you put your spaghetti in it, do you go to the can? How about a flag bag? Have you violated the Constitution if you fill it with garbage and then throw it out? Each State could have a different answer.

Do we raid factories that make things such as George and Barbara slippers out of flags? Do we just arrest the people who make them or the people who put their feet in them? Do you throw them all in jail?

How about flag socks? There are ugly ones, and there are cute ones. Do you violate the flag when you make them, when you buy them, when you wear them? Does it matter if your feet are clean or dirty? And what happens if different States make different statutes? Do you have to check your socks at the border? And what happens to you if you burn your socks?

Disposable flashlights. Can you dispose of them or do you have to give them a decent burial when the battery dies? Suspenders. Does that get you a suspended sentence in one State and live sentence in another? And your mother's admonition to wear clean underwear will have new meaning when it comes from your lawyer.

I do not mean to trivialize the flag, Mr. Speaker. Americans love and respect our flag. But we do not want to worship it. It is not a religious relic that once destroyed exists no more. It is not the physical embodiment of our value system that once gone can no longer be. It is only a copy. The fabric of our beliefs are woven into our society and guaranteed by our Constitution, and that which is a symbol of our beliefs is not so fragile as to be endangered by matches or desecrators or even trivializers.

Desecrators cannot destroy the flag, Mr. Speaker. They have tried. They have burnt it, they have soiled it, they have torn it, but they have not destroyed it.

Turn around, Mr. Speaker. There it is, right in back of you. You cannot destroy a symbol, unless you destroy that which it represents. I urge our colleagues, Mr. Speaker, do not destroy what our flag represents. Do not destroy what our flag represents. Please, do not destroy that which our flag represents.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. (Mr. OXLEY). Visitors in the gallery are admonished not to demonstrate approval or disapproval of the proceedings.

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

Mr. Speaker, I have a little trouble composing myself here, but let me just point out, I did not see an American flag in any of that crap on that desk there. To me that is crap.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE], chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, who is so highly respected in this body. I once recommended him to Ronald Reagan as a U.S. Supreme Court Justice, and would he not have made a great one?

(Mr. HYDE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, my good friend from New York that preceded me was quite amusing, and he reminded me when he said the flag cost \$7.59, or whatever, of the old saying about a person. They say he knows the cost of everything and the value of nothing.

What is at work here is something larger than the flag itself; it is a protest against the vulgarization, the trashing of our society. This amendment asserts that our flag is not just a piece of cloth, but, like a family picture on your desk, it represents certain unifying ideals most Americans hold sacred, ideals that are wonderfully expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

It represents the "unum" in the "e pluribus unum" of our country, and as tombstones are not for toppling, as churches and synagogues and places of worship are not for vandalizing, flags are not for burning.

Some of our critics have accused us of trivializing the Constitution. With great respect, I believe it is they who trivialize democracy itself, by reducing it to a matter of process, a matter of procedure, rather than substance. Their democracy is one-dimensional, consisting only of free speech as they define it. They elevate a method of communication or process over the substance of democracy, equal protection, due process, and the majestic values so timelessly expressed in our Declaration of Independence, our country's birth certificate: Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Free speech is protected by this amendment. It is not harmed or diminished. This amendment takes free speech a dimension forward and it validates the duties and the responsibilities that are part and parcel of every right that exists. A right does not exist without a correlative duty.

□ 1430

We have a duty to respect your rights, and you have a duty to respect our rights. Those responsibilities and duties are the essential underpinnings of the ordered liberty that is the soul of America.

There are well-defined limits to freedom of speech: obscenity laws, perjury, slander, libel, copyright laws, classified information, agreements in restraint of trade and the old yelling fire where there is no fire in a crowded theater.