

Over the last 10 years, Ed has worked as a senior foreign policy advisor for Majority Leaders ROBERT BYRD and George Mitchell and for Minority Leader THOMAS DASCHLE.

I first came to know Ed King while he was working on the Democratic Policy Committee. I also came to respect and admire Ed as he went from legislative crisis to crisis with the same calm but determined and effective demeanor that I am sure served him and his troops so well as a combat infantry officer. Whether the issue was pop-up legislation dealing with the Persian Gulf, Somalia, Haiti, or Bosnia or setting up a routine meeting for Senators with a visiting foreign official Ed was always on top of the situation, always in full control of the facts, and ready with a solution to bridge ostensibly irreconcilable positions. And despite the stress and the raised voices on the part of some, Ed never lost his good nature and sense of humor.

But what I remember most of all were the numerous occasions on which a long stint of negotiations ended with the parties agreed on the general framework of a solution and leaving it to Ed to come up with the specific text that embodied that general solution. And you knew that the specific text would be ready the first thing the next morning and that it would have been agreed to on all sides at the staff level and vetted with and acceptable to the administration.

Mr. President, the Senate is losing one of its finest staff members. The Nation is losing a fine public servant whose contributions will, for the most part, remain unknown. I, for one, want the record to reflect that this Senator appreciates the service that Ed King has rendered to the Senate and the Nation. I know that he will be successful in the private sector and that he will continue to make a contribution in whatever he does in the future.

THE BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, March 27, 1996, the Federal debt stood at \$5,069,500,044,702.95.

On a per capita basis, every man, woman and child in America owes \$19,165.10 as his or her share of that debt.

It is no wonder that babies come into this world crying.

A TRIBUTE TO GERTRUDE MALLARD PRITCHER

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to wish a very happy birthday to Gertrude Mallard Pritcher of St. George, SC. Mrs. Pritcher will turn 100 years old on April 13.

The 11th of 12 children, Gertrude Pritcher was born in Colleton County in 1896 to John Behlin and Annie Eliza Liston Hucks. In the history of her life, one can trace the history of the South

Carolina Lowcountry. She grew up in Smoaks, where she taught school in a one-room schoolhouse, and Sunday school at a Methodist Church. Throughout the 1930s, '40s and '50s, she lived in Beaufort County where she was active in home demonstration clubs, specializing in gardening, cooking and sewing. A member of Daughters of the American Revolution, Mrs. Pritcher has three daughters and one son by her first husband, William Daniel Mallard of Summerville. They were married for almost 50 years, until his death in 1965. Mrs. Pritcher married Asbury Pritcher of Beaufort County in 1972 who has also passed away.

Like a true Southerner, she has a love of and flair for storytelling. With her knowledge of the counties of South Carolina, and with all the family and friends she has, you can bet she has some good ones to tell. She enjoyed a healthy and active life for 85 years, until a stroke in 1981. The condition curtailed her activity somewhat, but she continues to live comfortably in St. George where her children and grandchildren enjoy her company, and her tales. Let's all hope that we can have as rich a life.

THE FLAG AMENDMENT

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, the February, 1996 issue of the American Legion Magazine contains a column entitled, "We Will Continue To Stand By Our Flag," by Daniel A. Ludwig, national commander of the American Legion. As my colleagues know, the American Legion, other veterans and civics groups, the Citizens Flag Alliance, and countless individuals undertook an effort to pass a constitutional amendment authorizing protection of the American flag. There was nothing in it for any of the participants in that great effort. This effort fell just short in the Senate. But, I note that in 1989 an amendment received 51 votes; in 1990, 58 votes; and in 1995, 63 votes. In the other body, the effort went from falling short in 1989 to an overwhelming win in 1995.

I said in December that the effort to enact a constitutional amendment authorizing protection of the American flag will be back. And so it will, as the column by Commander Ludwig makes clear. I ask unanimous consent that the column be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the American Legion Magazine, Feb. 1996]

WE WILL CONTINUE TO STAND BY OUR FLAG (By Daniel A. Ludwig)

By the time you read this, the postmortems on the Senate vote on the flag amendment will largely have subsided. The media may finally have stopped smirking their smirks of (supposed) intellectual superiority. The constitutional scholars who were thrust into an unaccustomed limelight will have gone back to their universities to continue the debate in quieter fashion. The

public-interest groups who took sides against us—and, we always believed, against the public interest—will have turned their attention to other cherished aspects of traditional American life that need to be "modernized," which is to say, cheapened or twisted or gutted altogether.

Observers have suggested that we, too, should give up the fight. Enough is enough, they say. "You gave it your best, now it's time to pack it in." Those people don't understand what the past six years, since the 1989 Supreme Court decision, have really been about.

From the beginning of our efforts, debate centered on the issue of free speech and whether the proposed amendment infringes on it. But whether flag desecration is free speech, or an abuse of free speech, as Orrin Hatch suggests (and we agree), there is a larger point here that explains why we can't—shouldn't—just fold up our tents and go quietly.

Our adversaries have long argued that opposition to the amendment is not the same as opposition to the flag itself, that it's possible to love the flag and yet vote against protecting it. Perhaps in the best of all possible worlds we could accept such muddled thinking.

Sadly, we do not live in the best of all possible worlds.

In the best of all possible worlds it would not be necessary to install metal detectors in public schools, or have drunk-driving checkpoints on our highways, or give mandatory drug tests to prospective airline employees. Indeed, in the best of all possible worlds, the Pope would not have to make his rounds in a bulletproof vehicle. In all of these cases, we have willingly made certain sacrifices in freedom because we recognize that there are larger interests at stake. In the case of the metal detectors, for example, the safety of our children, and our teachers, and the establishment of a stable climate for instruction to take place, is paramount.

If the flag amendment is about anything, it's about holding the line on respect, on the values that you and I asked our lives to preserve. We live in a society that respects little and honors still less. Most, if not all, of today's ills can be traced to a breakdown in respect—for laws, for traditions, for people, for the things held sacred by the great bulk of us.

Just as the godless are succeeding at removing God from everyday life, growing numbers of people have come to feel they're not answerable to anything larger than themselves. The message seems to be that nothing takes priority over the needs and desires and "rights" of the individual. Nothing is forbidden. Everything is permissible, from the shockingly vulgar music that urges kids to go out and shoot cops, to "art" that depicts Christ plunging into a vat of urine—to the desecration of a cherished symbol like the U.S. Flag.

Are these really the freedoms our forefathers envisioned when they drafted the Bill of Rights? Thomas Jefferson himself did not regard liberty as a no-strings proposition. His concept of democracy presupposed a nation of honorable citizens. Remove the honorable motives from a free society and what you have left is not democracy, but anarchy. What you have left, eventually, is Lord of the Flies.

Amid all this, the flag stands for something. If respect for the flag were institutionalized, and children were brought up to understand the unique collection of principles it represents, there would be inevitable benefits to society, benefits that would help turn the tide of today's chaos and disrespect. For no one who takes such principles to heart—no one who sees the flag as

an untouchable symbol of democracy, of decency—could possibly do the things that some people do, these days, in the name of freedom.

The flag stands for something miraculous that took life upon these shores more than two centuries ago and, if we only let it, will live on for centuries more. It stands for a glorious idea that has survived every challenge, that has persevered in the face of external forces who promised to “bury” us and internal forces which promised to tear us apart. Let us never forget this.

And let us not forget that 63 out of 99 senators voted with us, or that we won over 375 legislators in total. Our efforts were no more wasted than were the efforts to take remote outposts in the Pacific a half-century ago. Those efforts, too, failed at first, but eventually we prevailed.

We undertook a noble fight in trying to save our flag, and the fact that we have suffered a temporary setback does not diminish the nobility of what we fought for. This is not over by a long shot. They will hear from us again.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, on the Op Ed page of today's edition of the New York Times there is a column I want to call to my colleagues' attention entitled “Line-Item Lunacy” by David Samuels. Even though the current debate on this matter is over for now, I encourage my fellow Senators to take the time to read this thoughtful opinion. Mr. President, to that end, I ask unanimous consent that the column be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 28, 1996]

LINE-ITEM LUNACY

(By David Samuels)

It's a scene from a paranoid thriller by Oliver Stone: A mercurial billionaire, elected President with 35 percent of the vote, holds America hostage to his minority agenda by vetoing item after item in the Federal budget, in open breach of the separation of powers doctrine enshrined in the Constitution. Impossible? Not anymore.

With the announcement by Republican leaders that they plan to pass the line-item veto this spring, the specter of a Napoleonic Presidency has moved from the far reaches of poli-sci fiction, where it belongs, to the brink of political possibility.

At the moment, of course, a Presidential dictatorship is far from the minds of the G.O.P. leadership and White House Democrats, who hope that the line-item veto would encourage the President to eliminate pork-barrel giveaways and corporate tax breaks. But to see the measure as a simple procedural reform is to ignore the forces that have reconfigured the political landscape since it was first proposed.

Back in the 1980's, President Ronald Reagan ritually invoked the line-item veto while shifting blame onto a Democratic Congress for ballooning deficits. Part Republican chestnut, part good-government gimmick, the line-item veto became part of the Contract With America in 1994, and this month rose to the top of the political agenda.

What the calculations of Democrats and Republicans leave out, however, is that the unsettled politics of the 1990's bear little relation to the political order of the Reagan years.

In poll after poll, a majority of voters express a raging disaffection with both major parties. With Ross Perot poised to run in No-

vember, we could again elect our President with a minority of the popular vote (in 1992, Mr. Clinton won with 43 percent). The line-item veto would hand over unchecked power to a minority President with minority support in Congress, while opponents would have to muster two-thirds support to override the President's veto.

By opening every line in the Federal budget to partisan attack, the likely result would be a chaotic legislature more susceptible than ever to obstructionists who could demand a Presidential veto of Federal arts funding or sex education programs or aid to Israel as the price of their political support.

And conservatives eager to cut Government waste would do well to reflect on what a liberal minority might do to their legislative hopes during a second Clinton term in office.

Nor would the line-item veto likely result in more responsible executive behavior. The zigs and zags of Bill Clinton's first term in office give us a clear picture of the post-partisan Presidency, in which the executive freelances across the airwaves in pursuit of poll numbers regardless of the political coherence of his message or the decaying ties of party. With the adoption of the line-item veto, the temptation for Presidents to strike out on their own would surely grow.

The specter of a President on horseback armed with coercive powers might seem far away to those who dismissed Ross Perot as a freak candidate in the last election. Yet no law states that power-hungry billionaires must be possessed of Mr. Perot's peculiar blend of personal qualities and doomed to fail. Armed with the line-item veto, a future Ross Perot—or Steve Forbes—would be equipped with the means to reward and punish members of the House and Senate by vetoing individual budget items. This would enable an independent President to build a coalition in Congress through a program of threats and horse-trading that would make our present sorely flawed system seem like a model of Ciceronian rectitude.

President Clinton has promised to sign the line-item veto when it reaches his desk. Between now and then, the historic breach of our constitutional separation of powers that the measure proposes should be subject to a vigorous public debate. At the very least, we might reflect on how we intend to govern ourselves at a time when the certainties of two-party politics are dissolving before our eyes.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, Mr. Samuels eloquently points out just one of the many concerns this country could very well face with the adoption of this legislation. He focuses on what might happen should our two-party system dissolve and allow for a rogue individual to be elected president by a minority of the American people. In this scenario, the possibility of a tyrannical oppressor freely and recklessly wielding power has to be considered. While at the present time the likelihood of such an event seems farfetched, it is just this type of concern that we elected members of the people's branch must consider.

Indeed, if there is one bright spot on this day after Senate passage of S. 4, it is that in eight years the Congress will revisit this issue. It is my hope that at that time, wisdom will prevail.

EDMUND S. MUSKIE

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I wanted to take a few moments today to speak

about the death of former Senator Edmund Muskie.

I first met Ed Muskie during his visits to my family's house in Connecticut more than 30 years ago as he traveled back to Maine from Washington.

And like my father before me—I was honored to serve with him in Congress. I came to greatly admire and respect his leadership, his conviction, his knowledge and his great devotion to public service.

Edmund Muskie was a truly dedicated member of this body for 22 years. He served both the people of Maine and all the American people as a committed and able legislator.

And when his party and his President called on him he answered. He twice ran for national office as a Democrat: Once for Vice-President in 1968 and once for the Democratic nomination for President in 1972. And he finished his career as Secretary of State, under President Carter in 1980.

Throughout his more than two decades of public service Ed Muskie was ahead of his time in his efforts to keep our environment clean and America's fiscal house in order.

He earned the apt nickname “Mr. Clean” for his pioneering work on the Clean Air Act and Clean Water Act, both of which he shepherded through the Senate. Generations from now, when Americans are enjoying our safe and healthy air and water, they should thank Edmund Muskie for having the foresight and vision to place a clean environment on top of the political agenda.

And even before the era of exploding federal deficits in the 1980's, Edmund Muskie strived to bring fiscal discipline to Congress, as chairman of the Senate Budget Committee.

Yesterday, former President Jimmy Carter said he had “never known any American leader who was more highly qualified to be President of the United States.” And it is to the American people's misfortune that a man of such principle never had the opportunity to reach the Oval Office.

As a fellow Democrat and Northeasterner I remain committed to the policies that Edmund Muskie so energetically championed as a U.S. Senator.

My thoughts and prayers go out to his wife Jane, his children, his friends and the people of Maine.

THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE LINE ITEM VETO CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I rise today to explain my opposition to this so-called line-item veto conference report, which passed on March 27. I have been a strong supporter of a line item veto and feel that such legislation would provide the President with an effective weapon to fight wasteful spending. I have voted for several line item veto bills that I felt were constitutional. However, I did not support this