

speak the same indecency over the telephone. What an adult may not send a child through the U.S. mail, he may send a child via e-mail. This is inconsistent and incomprehensible. It is also now the official position of the U.S. Supreme Court.

What this Court is saying is that it recognizes indecency when it hears it on the radio, sees it on television, views it on a magazine rack, or overhears it on the telephone, but it does not recognize it on-line. Computer technology may be confusing to many of us, but it is not that confusing. The confusion lies with a Court that protects children from indecency everywhere but the one place most children want to be.

I expect that Congress will revisit this issue, within the restrictions provided by the Court. But parents must understand that the Internet has been declared an exception to every other American law on the provision of indecency to children. It is a place where the predators against your children's innocence have legal rights, announced by distinguished judges. Whatever its virtues, the Internet is not a safe place, without a parent's constant supervision.

The Supreme Court has actually suggested that the very industry which profits from the provision of this material be the guardians of your children's minds—that it regulate itself. It is nice to have the Supreme Court's extra-constitutional advice on these policy matters—though I don't know why it should be more binding than the will of the Congress. I expect that we will have to live with this advice. But I hope that parents will understand that the Supreme Court has not taken your side, or the side of your children, or the side of decency.

There are consequences of giving children free access to an adult culture with coarsened standards—consequences for their minds and souls and futures. Both the Congress and the President took those consequences seriously. The Supreme Court has not.

This Court, which chose yesterday to undermine religious liberty and influence, has now chosen to defend immediate, unrestricted access of children to indecency. This is part of a disturbing pattern.

The Supreme Court is actively disarming the Congress in the most important conflicts of our time—in defense of religious liberty and the character of children.

THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION DECLARING UNCONSTITUTIONAL THE COMMUNICATIONS DECENCY ACT

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, The Supreme Court has made clear that we do not forfeit our First Amendment rights when we go on-line. This decision is a landmark in the history of the Internet and a firm foundation for its future growth. Altering the protections of the

First Amendment for on-line communications would have crippled this new mode of communication.

The Communications Decency Act was misguided and unworkable. It reflected a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of the Internet, and it would have unwisely offered the world a model of online censorship instead of a model of online freedom.

Vigilant defense of freedom of thought, opinion and speech will be crucially important as the Internet graduates from infancy into adolescence and maturity. Giving full-force to the First Amendment on-line is a victory for the First Amendment, for American technology and for democracy.

The Supreme Court posed the right question: "Could a speaker confidently assume that a serious discussion about birth control practices, homosexuality . . . or the consequences of prison rape would not violate the CDA? This uncertainty undermines the likelihood that the CDA has been carefully tailored to the congressional goal of protecting minors from potentially harmful materials."

Mixing government and politics with free speech issues often produces a corrosive concoction that erodes our constitutional freedoms. Congress should not be spooked by new technology into tampering with our old Constitution. Even well-intended laws for the protection of children deserve close examination to ensure that we are not stepping over constitutional lines. The Supreme Court observed:

we have repeatedly recognized the governmental interest in protecting children from harmful materials. . . . But that interest does not justify an unnecessarily broad suppression of speech addressed to adults. As we have explained, the Government may not "reduc[e] the adult population . . . to . . . only what is fit for children."

As a recent editorial in Vermont's Times Argus succinctly noted: "To obey this law, Internet users would have to avoid discussing matters routinely covered in books, magazines and newspapers. Who would want to drive on that kind of information superhighway?"

I sent child molesters to prison when I was a prosecutor, and I am a parent myself. I want no effort spared in finding and prosecuting those who exploit our children, and I want strong laws and strong enforcement to do that. But the CDA is the wrong answer, and I applaud the Court for its decision.

We can spend much time and energy in Congress trying to out-muscle each other to the most popular position on regulating the content of television programs or Internet offerings, and from all appearances, we probably will. We should take heed of the Supreme Court's decision today, however, and be wary of efforts to jump into regulating the content of any form of speech.

Congress did jump when confronted with the CDA. The Supreme Court takes pains in its decision to note at

least three times in its opinion that this law was brought as an amendment on the floor of the Senate and passed as part of the Telecommunications Act, without the benefit of hearings, findings, or considered deliberation. As the Supreme Court noted in its decision, I cautioned against such speedy action at the time. Not surprisingly, the end result was passage of an unconstitutional law.

We should not be substituting the government's judgment for that of parents about what is appropriate for their children to access on-line. The Supreme Court pointed out excellent examples of how the CDA would have operated to do just that, noting:

"Under the CDA, a parent allowing her 17-year-old to use the family computer to obtain information on the Internet that she, in her parental judgment, deems appropriate could face a lengthy prison term . . . Similarly, a parent who sent his 17-year-old college freshman information on birth control via e-mail could be incarcerated even though neither he, his child, or anyone in their home community, found the material 'indecent' or 'patently offensive,' if the college town's community thought otherwise."

I attended the Supreme Court's oral argument in this case and was concerned when several of the Justices asked about the "severability" clause in the CDA: They wanted to know how much of the statute could be stricken as unconstitutional and how much could be left standing. The majority of the Supreme Court resisted the temptation to do the job of Congress and judicially re-write the "indecency" and "patently offensive" provisions of the CDA to be constitutional. The Court said: "This Court 'will not rewrite a . . . law to conform it to constitutional requirements.'"

It is our job to write constitutional laws that address the needs and concerns of Americans. On this issue, our work is not done. There is no lack of criminal laws on the books to protect children on-line, including laws criminalizing the on-line distribution of child pornography and obscene materials and prohibiting the on-line harassment, luring and solicitation of children for illegal sexual activity. Protecting children, whether in cyberspace or physical space, depends on aggressively enforcing these existing laws and supervising children to ensure they do not venture where the environment is unsafe. This will do more—and more effectively—than passing feel-good, unconstitutional legislation.

But, as I said, our work is not done. The CDA became law because of the genuine concern of many Americans about the inappropriate material unquestionably accessible to computer-savvy children over the Internet. Parents, teachers, librarians, content providers, on-line service providers and policy-makers need to come together to find effective ways to address this concern. I have long believed that we need to put the emphasis where it would be most effective: on parental

and user empowerment tools to control the information that children may access on-line. I applaud the efforts already underway to bring concerned groups together to define steps we can take to make the on-line world a comfortable one for families.

Also, we should now remove the unconstitutional CDA provisions from our law books. At the beginning of this Congress, Senators FEINGOLD, JEFFORDS, KERRY and I introduced a bill, S. 213, to repeal the Internet censorship provisions of the CDA. We should move promptly to pass that measure.

One of the continuing challenges we will face in making the best use of our burgeoning information technologies is in adding value to all that they offer. Anyone who uses the Internet knows that there is a lot of junk out there. For example, student searching for background on the Holocaust may easily come across diatribes on the Internet claiming that the Holocaust never happened. In our classrooms, in our homes, in our libraries, we must teach our children to be discerning users of this powerful new tool.

We are blessed in the United States to enjoy the oldest and most effective constitutional protections of free speech anywhere. The struggle facing succeeding generations of Americans in preserving free speech liberties often is difficult, and it means standing firm in the face of sometimes fleeting but usually intense political pressures, and I am proud of the 15 Senators who joined with me to vote against the CDA. This is a vindication of that effort.

We have the technology and the temperament to show the world how the Internet can be used to its fullest. This decision has prevented us from succumbing to short-sighted political pressures by adopting a model of censorship instead.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Wednesday, June 25, 1997, the federal debt stood at \$5,339,644,139,769.58. (Five trillion, three hundred thirty-nine billion, six hundred forty-four million, one hundred thirty-nine thousand, seven hundred sixty-nine dollars and fifty-eight cents)

One year ago, June 25, 1996, the federal debt stood at \$5,114,149,000,000. (Five trillion, one hundred fourteen billion, one hundred forty-nine million)

Five years ago, June 25, 1992, the federal debt stood at \$3,944,282,000,000. (Three trillion, nine hundred forty-four billion, two hundred eighty-two million)

Ten years ago, June 25, 1987, the federal debt stood at \$2,292,504,000,000. (Two trillion, two hundred ninety-two billion, five hundred four million)

Fifteen years ago, June 25, 1982, the federal debt stood at \$1,070,485,000,000 (One trillion, seventy billion, four hundred eighty-five million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$4 tril-

lion—\$4,269,159,139,769.58 (Four trillion, two hundred sixty-nine billion, one hundred fifty-nine million, one hundred thirty-nine thousand, seven hundred sixty-nine dollars and fifty-eight cents) during the past 15 years.

DELAYING THE LOAN TO CROATIA

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise today in support of delaying a World Bank loan to Croatia until that country fully meets the obligations it agreed to when it signed the Dayton Accords in November 1995.

Two days ago, the Clinton administration announced that it would attempt to block a \$30 million World Bank loan to Croatia until Zagreb extradites Croats indicted on war crimes charges and allows Serbian refugees to return to their homes in Croatian territory.

It appears that we may have difficulty in persuading other countries on the World Bank's board to go along with this postponement, but I believe that the United States should stick to its principles.

Mr. President, the horrifying wars that took place in Bosnia and Croatia from 1991 to 1995 had many and complex causes. One of them was the thinly disguised desire of Serbian President Milosevic and Croatian President Tudjman to carve up Bosnia and Herzegovina. The revolt and temporary secession from Croatia by the Krajina Serbs—who themselves were led by extremely unsavory individuals who also carried out atrocities—interrupted the planned cooperation of the two rapacious strongmen in Belgrade and Zagreb.

There is also no doubt, Mr. President, that the Croatian army—trained by private Americans—played a valuable role in turning the tide in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the summer and fall of 1995 as part of its successful campaign to oust the Krajina Serbs from Croatia.

But, Mr. President, the behavior of President Tudjman since then has been deplorable. He has knowingly coddled indicted war criminals, despite his obligation under Dayton to turn them over to the International Tribunal at The Hague. On numerous other occasions, I have spoken out in this Chamber against the atrocities—murder, rape, and vile “ethnic cleansing”—that were perpetrated against innocent civilians in Bosnia.

Most expert observers believe that Bosnian Serbs were responsible for the majority of these heinous acts. But several Bosnian Croats and some Croats from Croatia apparently were among the sadists, as were a few Muslims. That President Tudjman refuses to hand over the indicted who are living in Croatia is an affront to civilized people everywhere, and a direct slap in the face of the United States, which brokered the Dayton Accords.

Moreover, despite pretty rhetoric and laws on the books, Tudjman has thrown up practical roadblocks to the

resettlement of ethnic Serb refugees, preferring instead to govern a Croatia that is now much more ethnically homogeneous. I should add, Mr. President, that ethnic Croats who were displaced by Serbs earlier in this decade should also be allowed to return to their homes. Our goal is a peaceful, multi-ethnic, democratic Croatia.

In Herzegovina, President Tudjman continues to rule through thuggish ethnic Croatian proxies headquartered in Mostar. These lawless types have refused all international attempts to integrate Mostar and have resorted to deadly violence against Muslims.

In addition, despite their Bosnian citizenship, the Croats of Herzegovina were allowed to vote in Croatia's national elections earlier this month, providing much of the support by which Tudjman was re-elected in a campaign distinguished by his nearly one-sided access to the media and violence against opposition candidates.

Mr. President, I firmly believe that Croatia will some day re-enter the Western European community to which it alleges it belongs. But Croatia cannot even think of becoming a member of Western institutions like the European Union or NATO until it lives up to its moral and legal commitments.

Postponing the World Bank loan to Croatia would serve as a useful warning to President Tudjman that he cannot escape the consequences of his authoritarian and duplicitous behavior.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

JUDICIAL VACANCIES

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, last week I spoke at some length about the crisis being created by our failure to move forward expeditiously to fill long-standing judicial vacancies. This week, we have the opportunity to double our confirmations by taking up and approving the five judicial nominees on the Senate Executive Calendar. As the Senate approaches its fifth extended recess, it has found time to confirm only five Federal judges of the 38 nominees the President has sent to us. That is less than one judge per month.

We continue to fall farther and farther behind the pace established by Senator Dole and Senator HATCH in the last Congress. By this time 2 years ago, Senator HATCH had held six confirmation hearings involving 26 judicial nominees and the Senate had proceeded to confirm 26 Federal judges by the end of June—during one of the busiest periods ever, during the first 100 days of the Republicans' Contract with America.

I have spoken often about the crisis being created by the 100 vacancies that are being perpetuated on the Federal courts around the country, as has the Chief Justice of the United States. At the rate that we are currently going more and more vacancies are continuing to mount over longer and longer times to the detriment of greater numbers of Americans and the national cause of prompt justice.