Ten years ago, May 20, 1988, the federal debt stood at $2,523,014,000,000 (Two trillion, five hundred twenty-three billion, fourteen million).

Fifteen years ago, May 20, 1983, the federal debt stood at $1,288,467,000,000 (One trillion, two hundred eighty-eight billion, four hundred sixty-seven million) which reflects a debt increase of more than $4 trillion—$4,213,671,799,604.60 (Four trillion, two hundred thirteen billion, six hundred seventy-one million, seven hundred ninety-nine thousand, six hundred four dollars and sixty cents) during the past 15 years.

U.S. FOREIGN OIL CONSUMPTION FOR WEEK ENDING MAY 15TH

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the American Petroleum Institute's report for the week ending May 15, that the U.S. imported 8,562,000 barrels of oil each day, an increase of 728,000 barrels over the 7,834,000 imported each day during the same week a year ago.

Americans relied on foreign oil for 57.3 percent of their needs last week. There are no signs that the upward spiral will abate. Before the Persian Gulf War, the United States obtained approximately 45 percent of its oil supply from foreign countries. During the Arab oil embargo in the 1970s, foreign oil accounted for only 35 percent of America's oil supply.

Politicians had better give consideration to the economic calamity sure to occur in America if and when foreign producers shut off supply—or double the already enormous cost of imported oil flowing into the U.S.—now 8,562,000 barrels a day.

RESPONSE TO VACANCY CLAIMS

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise today to respond to a floor speech my good friend and colleague Senator LEAHY recently delivered. In that address, Senator LEAHY once again brought attention to the so-called vacancy crisis that is facing our Federal Judiciary. Now, I don't blame Senator LEAHY for that. After all, that is his job. He needs to press us a bit to move judges for the Clinton Administration. And indeed, we had some disconnects in the past that prevented us from holding hearings on perhaps as many judges as we would have liked.

That having been said, I am pleased that Senator LEAHY and I have worked out some of the kinks in the process and have worked together to ensure that qualified nominees are confirmed. Similarly, I am happy to report that I have worked over the last few months with White House Counsel Chuck Ruff to ensure that the nomination and confirmation process is a collaborative one between the White House and members of the Senate. I think it's fair to say that after a few bumpy months in which the process suffered due to inadequate consultation between the White House and some Senators, the process is now working rather smoothly. I think the progress is due to the White House's renewed commitment to good faith consultation with Senators of both parties. I also want to compliment Senator LEAHY for his willingness to work with me to get hearings scheduled for nominees. Let me take a moment, however, to correct some of the pernicious myths that persist on the subject of the confirmation process.

Quite simply, contrary to what you may have read in the popular press, there is no general vacancy crisis. So far this year, the Senate has confirmed 26 of President Clinton's nominees. We have confirmed a total of 62 Judges this Congress, in addition to a number of Executive branch nominees. In fact, 266 active Federal Judges, or roughly 35% of all sitting Article III judges, were appointed by this Administration. As of today there are 768 active Federal Judges. What does that number mean? It means that there are currently more sitting federal judges hearing cases than in any previous administration. In fact, since becoming Chairman, I have yet to cast a vote against a single Clinton judicial nominee.

Just as a matter of comparison, at this point in the 101st and 102nd Congress when George Bush was president and Democrats controlled the Senate, there were only 711 and 716 active judges, respectively. Thus, we have 50 more sitting federal judges today than we did in 1992, yet some would have us believe that our federal courts are being overwhelmed by a tidal wave of cases.

Keep in mind that the Clinton administration is on record as having stated that 63 vacancies is virtual full employment of the federal judiciary. The Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts lists the current number of federal judicial vacancies as 76, a far cry from the ''nearly 100'' I have heard some claim. In fact, by the administration's own admission we are 13 judges away from a fully employed federal judiciary. Which begs the question: if we are only 13 judges away from full employment how can we be mired in a vacancy crisis? Only 13 judges out of 843 authorized—I think it is time to put the vacancy crisis argument to rest.

Moreover, let's compare today's vacancy level of 76, with those that existed during the early 1990's when the Democratic and Republican parties' fortunes were reversed. In May of 1991, there were 148 federal judicial vacancies. One year later, in May of 1992, there were 117 federal judicial vacancies. I remember those years. I don't, however, remember one comment about it in the media. I don't recall one television show mentioning it. I don't recall one writer writing about it. Nobody seemed to care. Nobody, that is, except the Chief Justice of the United States, William Rehnquist. Back then, in his year-end report, he called upon the Democratically controlled Senate to confirm more judges, much like he did this past year. Yet no one seemed too concerned about the Chief Justice's comments back then. Now, when we have a Democrat in the White House, all of a sudden it has become a crisis when we have virtually half the vacancies today that we had in 1991. And it becomes a crisis even though the Chief Justice's message is virtually the same now as it was back then.

I also think it important to note that at the end of the Bush Administration, there were 115 vacancies, for which 55 nominees were pending before the Judiciary committee. None of those 55 nominees even received the courtesy of a hearing, however. Compare this to the 65 vacancies remaining at the end of President Clinton's first term. I think there is quite a difference.

Some have mentioned a deliberate effort among Republican members of the Senate to unduly delay the confirmation of Judicial nominees. Nothing could be further from the truth. The judiciary committee has in fact processed nominees at a remarkably fast pace this session. Of the 25 nominees currently pending in the Judiciary committee without a hearing, 10 were received since April. Today, there are only 5 nominees pending on the Senate Floor, and I expect that we will vote on their confirmations before the session ends.

A good deal has been said by critics with regard to the vacancies on the Second and Ninth Circuits. It is true that these two circuits have had unusual difficulties. It should be mentioned, however, that nominations to the Ninth Circuit were held up to decide whether the Circuit should be split or not. Now that a commission is in place to study that issue, we have been able to move a number of Ninth Circuit nominations. In fact, we have confirmed more judges to the Ninth Circuit —three—than to any other circuit. Of the five Ninth Circuit judges still pending in the Senate, two have had hearings and one is pending on the floor. We received two of the other nominees only this session. And there are still vacancies remaining on that circuit—two vacancies of which have not even received a nominees. And one of those vacancies has been open since December of 1996.

This represents a failure not on the part of the Judiciary Committee but on the Clinton Administration. President Clinton's failure to nominate judges expeditiously has in fact slowed the process, as the committee is left with an increasingly smaller base of qualified nominees to hold hearings on. In fact, fewer than half of the current vacancies have nominees pending, with many of those having incomplete paperwork. Rather than succumbing to the petulance of finger pointing, we all would be better served by an administration committed to sending us qualified nominees as expeditiously as possible.

Now, we also acknowledge that there have been problems with confirming

nominees to the Second Circuit, but we have made a strong effort to ameliorate them. Unfortunately an unexpected illnesses have taken their toll on the Second Circuit, but we have done our part in committee. Two of the four nominees to that court are pending on the Senate floor, the other two recently had a hearing, and I expect will be voted out of Committee on Thursday.

Apparently, President Clinton has not shared this sense of urgency with regard to the Second Circuit. In fact, of the five current vacancies on that court, one sat without a nominee for almost two years, another did not receive a nominee for over ten months, and the other waited just over eight months to receive a nominee. Most disturbing of all is the seat vacated by Senior Judge Jon Newman, vacant since July 1, 1997, which is yet to receive a nominee. As I have stated so often before, I'm a pretty good chairman of the Judiciary Committee, but I can't get judges confirmed that have not been nominated.

Now, while the debate about vacancy rates on our federal courts is not unimportant, it remains more important that the Senate perform its advice and consent function thoroughly and responsibly. Federal judges serve for life and perform an important constitutional function, without direct political accountability to the people. Accordingly, the Senate should never move too quickly on nominations before it. Just this past year we saw two examples of what can happen when we try to move nominations along perhaps too quickly. In one instance, a nominee for a federal district court was reported out of the Judiciary Committee before all the details of her record as a state trial judge were known. As it happens, the District Attorney in the nominee's city, who happened to be of her party, and the district attorneys' association in her home state all publicly opposed the nomination, setting forth facts demonstrating a very serious anti-prosecution bias in her judicial record. It's cases like these that underscore the importance of proceeding very deliberately with nominations for these most important life-tenured positions.

Let me make an important point here: federal judges should not be confirmed simply as part of a numbers game to reduce the vacancy rate to a particular level. While I plan to continue to oversee a fair and principled confirmation process, as I always have, I want to emphasize that the primary criteria in this process is not how many vacancies need to be filled, but whether President Clinton's nominees are qualified to serve on the bench, and will not, upon receiving their judicial commission, spend a lifetime career rendering politically motivated, activist decisions. The Senate has an obligation to the American people thoroughly to review the records of the nominees it receives to ensure that they are capable and qualified to serve as federal judges, and as part of that assessment of qualification, to ensure that nominees properly understand the limitations of the judicial role.

Clearly, I believe the Committee has done its part. I hope to continue to work with the Administration and with Senator LEAHY to ensure that qualified individuals will serve on the federal bench.

MEMORIAL DAY 1998

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, since the Civil War, more than 1.1 million American veterans have lost their lives in service to our Nation. I am humbled by their sacrifice.

I am grateful for the price they have paid for our liberty, the terrible price of individual lives, of men and women who were part of families. As we approach this Memorial Day, I want to pause a moment during this debate to remember their gift.

I am especially proud of Utah's proud tradition of honorable service. The story of the Mormon pioneers who made the grueling trek across the plains and over the Great Divide to escape persecution, in search of religious freedom is well known. Perhaps less well known is the story of the Mormon battalion.

Mr. President, in 1846, while there was an active order in effect in the state of Missouri for the extermination of Mormons, these Americans who had been driven from their homes in Nauvoo, Illinois, were asked to assemble a battalion of 500 men. With their ranks and strength already significantly depleted by disease, hardship, and persecution, most would have understood if the story had ended with an indignant refusal to respond to the request.

Instead, led by Brigham Young, these fathers, brothers, and sons who had seen their rights as Americans trampled, stepped forward to answer their country's call. I might mention that among them was a young man named Orrin Hatch.

This same, passionate willingness to serve one's country still thrives throughout my state. I remember today and honor the 147,000 veterans throughout the state of Utah who have honorably served. But, on Memorial Day, we especially remember those who left in service to our country but who did not return. They have preserved freedom for all generations who followed.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Williams, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting one treaty and sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

REPORT CONCERNING THE RATIFICATION OF THE PROTOCOLS TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY OF 1949 ON THE ACCESSION OF POLAND, HUNGARY, AND THE CZECH REPUBLIC—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 129

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

To the Senate of the United States:

I am gratified that the United States Senate has given its advice and consent to the ratification of the Protocols to the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 on the Accession of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic.

The Senate's decisive vote was a milestone on the road to an undivided, democratic and peaceful Europe. The message this vote sends is clear: American support for NATO is firm, our leadership on both sides of the Atlantic is strong, and there is a solid bipartisan foundation for an active U.S. role in transatlantic security.

I thank Majority Leader Lott, Minority Leader Daschle, Senators Helms and Biden, Senator Roth and the members of the NATO Observer Group, and the many others who have devoted so much time and energy to this historic effort. The continuous dialogue and consultation between the Administration and the Congress on this issue was a model of bipartisan partnership. I am committed to ensuring that this partnership continues and deepens as we proceed toward NATO'S 50th anniversary summit next year in Washington.

The resolution of ratification that the Senate has adopted contains provisions addressing a broad range of issues of interest and concern, and I will implement the conditions it contains. As I have indicated following approval of earlier treaties, I will of course do so without prejudice to my authorities as President under the Constitution, including my authorities with respect to the conduct of foreign policy. I note in this connection that conditions in a resolution of advice and consent cannot alter the allocations of authority and responsibility under the Constitution.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 21, 1998.*

REPORT CONCERNING THE RATIFICATION OF THE PROTOCOLS TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY OF 1949 ON THE ACCESSION OF POLAND, HUNGARY, AND THE CZECH REPUBLIC—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 130

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message