

budget documents produced each year, we don't know how many employees it has, how funds are spent or which programs work. After a decade of "no real budget growth," the budget has almost doubled. Sexual harassment, mismanagement, and cronyism are all too common at the U.N. Those engaged in such practices are not punished, but those who report them are.

Congress tried to address these problems by mandating the establishment of an inspector general at the United Nations. To date, this office has been a disappointment. We are prepared to take strong measures, including withholding funds, until this office is strengthened and functions properly. The U.N. must be accountable to the nations that pay its bills.

We also believe the time has come to inject more accountability into the Secretariat by reforming the process by which the secretary general is selected. Unlike a head of state, the secretary general is a chief administrative officer—not a chief executive. Skills and administrative ability, not nationality or political connections, should be the decisive qualifications for the secretary general. It is important that the selection process become more open and transparent.

We offer these proposals to kick off a debate that must occur soon. The United Nations as it exists today is not sustainable. The Cold War excuses for inaction are gone. If the United Nations does not begin to fulfill its true potential, it will be left to suffocate in endless debates over meaningless issues or will become a side show in the realm of international politics. The danger of irrelevance is imminent.

The preamble to the charter sets forth bold objectives To "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights . . . to establish conditions under which justice . . . can be maintained, and . . . to promote social progress and better standards of life in large freedom." These purposes remain as important today as they were half a century ago. The task for our generation is to ensure that the machinery of the United Nations works. Today it does not.

ADMINISTRATION VETO THREAT ON REGULATORY REFORM

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, as I stated on the floor last Thursday, I and other Senators, particularly Senators JOHNSTON and HEFLIN, have been working to craft a bipartisan regulatory reform bill that we can take up tomorrow. Senator JOHNSTON and I placed a discussion draft in the RECORD that incorporated many of the ideas included in various bills. We then worked through last weekend, and are still working, on final text that takes into account comments and suggestions by Democrat and Republican Senators to improve the bill. I understand that at 6 o'clock today a group of us will meet with Senator DASCHLE, the Democratic leader, to see if we can make further improvements.

So I must say I was surprised and dismayed, in the middle of these negotiations, to receive a letter last Friday night from the OMB Administrator for Regulatory Affairs threatening a veto of any bill that closely followed the discussion draft. Let me point out this was just a discussion draft.

The timing of this veto threat is not helpful, nor I suspect was it intended to be. For one thing, the letter relied on generalizations so bland as to be meaningless. But it also continued a pattern of distortions of the regulatory reform bill which call for a response.

Among the list of complaints in this letter was a description of the bill as containing a "supermandate," that is, a requirement to consider costs that would override other statutory goals such as promoting health and safety and protecting the environment. One can debate the merits of a supermandate, but it is irrelevant to this bill. The text of the bill makes clear that it is intended to "supplement, and not supersede" other laws. This type of staff work does not serve the President well.

But it is not the first time that President Clinton's rhetorical embrace of regulatory reform has been undermined by his own handpicked officials publicly attacking any meaningful attempt to enact such reforms. One example stands out because it is an example both of the distortions at play in this debate and, ironically, of the value of the reforms we propose.

At various times, the present Administrator of EPA has stated that cost-benefit analysis requirements would have prevented a rule getting lead out of gasoline and consigning a generation to lead poisoning. This is false.

In fact, EPA refused to do a cost-benefit analysis initially in 1982 when a rule on lead phaseout was being considered. However, after a cost-benefit analysis was performed that showed the social benefits outweighed the costs of a quick phaseout of lead, EPA issued a new rule in 1984 providing for a quick phaseout of lead. That rule also introduced a new concept—market-based mechanisms—that allowed trading in lead permits that sped up the phaseout of lead and reduced the economic costs of the regulation.

So, not only has the Administrator gotten her facts wrong, she chose the wrong example. Getting lead out of gasoline occurred precisely because a cost-benefit analysis supported doing so. And that analysis helped produce a regulation to achieve that goal through market-based mechanisms that reduced the economic impact.

Both cost-benefit analysis and market-based mechanisms are at the heart of the reforms we propose. We should have a debate on these important issues, but that debate will not be furthered if President Clinton continues to duck the issue and allow his officials to muddy the debate with arguments that have nothing to do with the bill the Senate will actually consider.

I want to point out again, we are working, I think, in good faith, Members of both sides of the aisle, Democrats and Republicans, to see if we can put together a good regulatory reform bill; and hopefully one that will be signed by the President.

A PRESIDIO TRUST

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, today I am pleased to cosponsor S. 594, legislation which provides for the administration of the Presidio in California. I have discussed this legislation with my colleagues, Senator CAMPBELL and Senator FEINSTEIN, and feel that this legislation allows for the national recognition of the Presidio while also taking into account concerns about the growing demand for Federal funding for National Park Services. Through this innovative approach to managing one of our Nation's finest landmarks, we can ensure the preservation of the Presidio while also providing significant opportunities to the local community.

The unique history of the Presidio's operation as a military post dates back to 1776. Its designation as a national historic landmark in 1962 recognized the importance of the post in many military operations. After the Army closed the post, the National Park Service took over the Presidio. When comparing our limited resources against the increasing number of national parks and historic sites which have become the responsibility of the Federal Government, it becomes apparent that we must find new ways to manage and preserve such important resources.

This legislation proposes a Presidio trust, ensuring the continued preservation of the post with assistance from the local community. This trust, established within the Department of the Interior, would manage the renovation and leasing of specific Presidio properties. The revenues generated from these leases would then offset the cost of maintaining the Presidio as a national park, reducing the need for Federal funding. In my view, this legislation represents the best approach to ensure the efficient management and preservation of the Presidio at the least cost to the taxpayer. The importance of public sector participation in this effort to maintain the Presidio sets this initiative apart from others, and I am pleased to support it.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT WARREN BURGER

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to a great Minnesotan—former Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court Warren Burger, who passed away yesterday.

Warren Burger was a native of St. Paul, MN.

He got his first taste of law taking night classes at the University of Minnesota while working during the day selling insurance. Warren Burger later received his law degree from the old St. Paul College of Law.

In his early career, he never gave much thought to pursuing a career on the bench, one time telling friends, "I never had a passion to be a judge."

But he accepted the challenge when, as an assistant attorney general in the