

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

Justice Department, President Eisenhower offered him a seat on the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

Thirteen years later, President Nixon elevated him to the High Court.

As Chief Justice for 17 years, Warren Burger lead the Court through a tumultuous period in American history—first Vietnam, and later Watergate.

The Burger Court could be tough, and the Chief Justice's own law and order reputation was well deserved, but Warren Burger's judicial opinions were fair and often reflected his conservative Midwestern upbringing.

Fortunately, his legacy did not end with his retirement from the bench in 1986. Warren Burger continued his crusade to educate the public about the Constitution and the courts. And he never forgot his Minnesota roots.

Returning home often, he would stop by his alma mater, now called the William Mitchell College of Law, to share his years of knowledge and experience with the students and judges of tomorrow.

Mr. President, the Nation has lost a great leader, and Minnesota has lost a great friend. I join my colleagues in expressing our deepest sympathies to the family of Chief Justice Warren Burger.

#### STATEMENT OF PRESIDENT LEE TENG-HUI OF TAIWAN

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, during a recent visit to Cornell University, the President of the Republic of China on Taiwan, Lee Teng-hui, recently outlined his views about democracy. In his speech, President Lee underscores a number of reasons for the close ties between the American people and the people of Taiwan. I commend the full text of President Lee's remarks to my colleagues' attention and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

##### ALWAYS IN MY HEART

(By Dr. Lee Teng-hui)

It is a great honor for me to be invited to deliver the Olin lecture at my alma mater, Cornell University. It has been a long and challenging journey, with many bumps in the road, yet my wife and I are indeed very happy to return to this beloved campus.

This trip has allowed both of us to relive our dearest Cornell experiences. The long, exhausting evenings in the libraries, the soothing and reflective hours at church, the hurried shuttling between classrooms, the evening strolls, hand in hand—so many memories of the past have come to mind, filling my heart with joy and gratitude.

I want to thank you, President Rhodes, for your hospitality and for your unflagging support of my visit here to my alma mater.

I thank you, my fellow alumni, for your understanding and support as I undertake this important sentimental journey.

I thank the many, many friends in the United States who have been so supportive of my visit to your great country again.

And I also want to thank the people of this academic community, my professors and

classmates, for the deep and lasting influence that Cornell University has had on my life. The support each of you has given means a great deal to me.

I deem this invitation to attend the reunion at Cornell not only a personal honor, but, more significantly, an honor for the 21 million people in the Republic of China on Taiwan. In fact, this invitation constitutes recognition of their remarkable achievements in developing their nation over the past several decades. And it is the people of my nation that I most want to talk about on this occasion.

##### LISTENING TO THE PEOPLE

My years at Cornell from 1965 to 1968 made an indelible impression on me. This was a time of social turbulence in the United States, with the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War protest. Yet, despite that turbulence, the American democratic system prevailed. It was also the time I first recognized that full democracy could engender ultimately peaceful change, and that lack of democracy must be confronted with democratic methods, and lack of freedom must be confronted by the idea of freedom before it would be possible to hasten the day of genuine democracy and freedom. I returned to my homeland determined to make my contribution toward achieving full democracy for our society.

Ever since I became president of the Republic of China in 1988, I have sought to ascertain just what the people of my country want and to be always guided by their wishes. Ancient China's Book of History from over 2000 years ago, contains the phrase, "Whatever the People desire, the realm must follow." My criterion for serving as president is that I do it with the people in my heart. And it is obvious to me that most of all they want democracy and development. Democracy entails respect for individual freedom, social justice, and a sense of directly participating in the destiny of their nation. Economic development goes beyond attaining prosperity, it also involves equitable distribution of wealth.

Today we are entering a new post-Cold War era, where the world is full of many uncertainties. Communism is dead or dying, and the peoples of many nations are anxious to try new methods of governing their societies that will better meet the basic needs that every human has. There are many pitfalls in this search for a new rationale, and Man must strive to make the right choices with all the wisdom and diligence he can command.

Czech President Vaclav Havel said, "The salvation of this human world lies nowhere else but in the human heart." In my heart, I believe that the Taiwan Experience has something unique to offer the world in this search for a new direction. This is not to say that our experience can be transplanted entirely to fit the situation faced by other nations, but I believe that, without a doubt, there are certain aspects of this experience that offer new hope for the new age.

##### THE TAIWAN EXPERIENCE

By the term Taiwan Experience I mean what the people of Taiwan have accumulated in recent years through successful political reform and economic development. This experience has already gained widespread recognition by international society and is being taken by many developing nations as a model to emulate. Essentially, the Taiwan Experience constitutes the economic, political and social transformation of my nation over the years, a transformation which I believe has profound implications for the future development of the Asia-Pacific region and world peace.

It is worth remembering what we in the Republic of China on Taiwan have had to

work with in achieving all that we now have: a land area of only 14,000 square miles (slightly less than 1/3 the area of New York State) and a population of 21 million. My country's natural resources are meager and its population density is high. However, its international trade totaled US\$180 billion in 1994 and its per capita income stands at US\$12,000. Its foreign exchange reserves now exceed US\$99 billion, more than those of any other nation in the world except Japan.

The Taiwan Experience bases peaceful political change on a foundation of stable and continuous economic development. Taiwan, under Presidents Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo, experienced phenomenal economic growth. Currently, aside from economic development, Taiwan has been undergoing a peaceful political transformation to full democracy.

For many developing nations, the process of moving to a democratic system has been marked by a coup d'etat, or by the kind of "political decay" suggested by Professor Samuel P. Huntington. In sort, it is not unusual for such a process of transformation to be accompanied by violence and chaos. However, the case of Republic of China on Taiwan is a notable exception. Non-existent is the vicious cycle of expansive political participation, class confrontation, military coup and political suppression, which have occurred in many developing countries. The process of reform in Taiwan is remarkably peaceful indeed, and as such is virtually unique. In addition to the "economic miracle," we have wrought a "political miracle," so to speak.

The Taiwan Experience has regional and international dimensions as well. In 1994, the indirect trade between Taiwan and mainland China reached US\$9.8 billion. Taiwan's indirect investment in southern mainland China, made through Hong Kong, amounted to nearly US\$4 billion, according to estimates from various quarters. Taiwan's trade and investment have also been extended to members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, Vietnam, Russia, and countries in Central America and Africa.

Although the Republic of China on Taiwan has been excluded from the United Nations, it has accelerated the formation of an international network with economic ties as the key link. Recently, it has even begun to launch a project to build Taiwan into an Asian-Pacific Regional Operations Center, aiming at further liberalization and globalization of our economy.

I never allow myself to ever forget for a moment that Taiwan's achievements have been realized only through the painstaking effort and immense political wisdom of the people. However, success comes from difficulty, and the fruits of the Taiwan Experience are all the sweeter today from a recognition of the arduousness of the process.

##### POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY

We in the Republic of China on Taiwan have found that peaceful transformation must take place gradually, and with careful planning. Five years ago, on my inauguration day, I pledged to initiate constitutional reform in the shortest possible period of time. My goal was to provide the Chinese nation with a legal framework that is in accord with the times, and to establish a comprehensive model for democracy. These goals have since been realized with the support of the people.

Our constitutional reform was conducted in two stages. First, all the senior parliamentarians last elected in 1948 were retired. Then, in the second stage, comprehensive elections for the National Assembly and the Legislature were held in 1991 and 1992 respectively. This enabled our representative