

organs at the central government level to better represent the people.

Last year, the governor of Taiwan province, and the mayors of Taipei and Kaohsiung, the two largest cities in Taiwan which used to be directly administered by the central government as special municipalities, were directly elected by the people for the first time. Next spring, the president and vice president of the Republic will also be directly elected by the people for the first time.

With the completion of constitutional reform, we have established a multiparty system and have realized the ideal of popular sovereignty. This has led to full respect for individual freedom, ushering in the most free and liberal era in Chinese history. I must reiterate that this remarkable achievement is the result of the concerted efforts of the 21 million people in the Taiwan area.

Today, the institutions of democracy are in place in the Republic of China: human rights are respected and protected to a very high degree. Democracy is thriving in my country. No speech or act allowed by law will be subject to any restriction or interference. Different and opposing views are heard every day in the news media, including harsh criticism of the President. The freedom of speech enjoyed by our people is in no way different from that enjoyed by people in the United States.

I believe that the precept of democracy and the benchmark of human rights should never vary anywhere in the world, regardless of race or region. In fact, the Confucian belief that only the ruler who provides for the needs of his people is given the mandate to rule is consistent with the modern concept of democracy. This is also the basis for my philosophy of respect for individual free will and popular sovereignty.

Thus, the needs and wishes of my people have been my guiding light every step of the way. I only hope that the leaders in the mainland are able one day to be similarly guided, since then our achievements in Taiwan can most certainly help the process of economic liberalization and the cause of democracy in mainland China.

I have repeatedly called on the mainland authorities to end ideological confrontation and to open up a new era of peaceful competition across the Taiwan Straits and reunification. Only by following a "win-win" strategy will the best interests of all the Chinese people be served. We believe that mutual respect will gradually lead to the peaceful reunification of China under a system of democracy, freedom and equitable distribution of wealth.

To demonstrate our sincerity and goodwill. I have already indicated on other occasions that I would welcome an opportunity for leaders from the mainland to meet their counterparts from Taiwan during the occasion of some international event, and I would note even rule out the possibility of a meeting between Mr. Jiang Zemin and myself.

#### YEARNING TO PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE

When a president carefully listens to his people, the hardest things to bear are the unfulfilled yearnings he hears. Taiwan has peacefully transformed itself into a democracy. At the same time, its international economic activities have exerted a significant influence on its relations with nations with which it has no diplomatic ties. These are no minor accomplishments for any nation, yet, the Republic of China on Taiwan does not enjoy the diplomatic recognition that is due from the international community. This has caused many to underestimate the international dimension of the Taiwan Experience.

Frankly, our people are not happy with the status accorded our nation by the inter-

national community. We believe that international relations should not be solely seen in terms of formal operations regulated by international law and international organizations. We say so because there also are semi-official and unofficial rules that bind the international activities of nations. This being so, we submit that a nation's substantive contribution to the international community has to be appreciated in light of such non-official activities as well.

During last year's commencement, President Rhodes brought up the old saying, "Be realistic. Demand the Impossible!" Well, over the last four decades, we have been extremely realistic while always trying to look forward, not backward, and to work, not complain. Accordingly, we have created the very fact of our existence and economic prosperity. We sincerely hope that all nations can treat us fairly and reasonably, and not overlook the significance, value and functions we represent.

Some say that it is impossible for us to break out of the diplomatic isolation we face, but we will do our utmost to "demand the impossible." Ultimately, I know that the world will come to realize that the Republic of China on Taiwan is a friendly and capable partner for progress!

If we view the recent economic, political and social developments in the ROC in this light, we have a basis for defining the status of my country in the post-Cold War and post Communist era. Only in this way can we propose a new direction for the new world order as we enter the 21st century.

#### CLOSE TRADITIONAL TIES

I want to once again express how grateful I am to be with you. My gratitude extends not only to Cornell but also to the United States as a whole. When we look back in history, we can immediately realize how close the traditional ties between our two countries are. Indeed, our shared ideals for human dignity, and peace with justice have united our two peoples in the closest of bonds.

The United States was extremely helpful in the early stages of Taiwan's economic development. We have never forgotten America's helping hand in our hour of adversity, so your nation occupies a special place in our hearts. Today, as the 6th largest trading partner of the United States, the Republic of China imports and exports US \$42.4 billion worth of goods through our bilateral trade. We also are the number two buyer of US treasury notes. About thirty-eight thousand students from Taiwan are studying in the United States. Students who have returned have made important contributions to our society.

The Republic of China's development has been partly influenced by the experiences of its people while studying abroad. I gained substantial know-how in the mechanics of national growth and development from the faculty and students I worked with here in America at both schools where I studied. I had the chance to see democracy at its best in the United States, and to observe its shortcomings as well. We in Taiwan believe that we have much to learn from an advanced democracy such as the United States; however, we also believe we should develop our own model. The success of our democratic evolution has provided tremendous hope for other developing nations, and we wish to share our experience with them. Our efforts to help others through agricultural development have been well received, and we are eager to expand our technical assistance programs to friendly nations in the developing world.

Taiwan has grown from an agricultural exporting economy to a leading producer of

electronics, computers and other industrial goods. We are "paving the information highway" with disk drives, computer screens, laptop computers and modems. We are poised to become a major regional operations centers as well as to buy more American products and services to develop our infrastructure.

We stand ready to enhance the mutually beneficial relations between our two nations. It is my sincere hope that this visit will open up new opportunities for cooperation between our two countries.

It is for this reason that I want to publicly express my appreciation and admiration to President Clinton for his statesman-like decision. We are equally grateful to others in the administration, to the bipartisan leadership in Congress, and to the American people.

#### ALWAYS IN MY HEART

Whatever I have done as president of my nation. I have done with the people in my heart. I have thought long and hard about what my people want, and it is clear that most of all, they desire democracy and development. These wishes are no different than those of any other people on this planet, and represent the direction in which world trends will certainly continue.

As I have spoken to you today, I have done so with the people in my heart. I know that what my people would like to say to you now can be expressed by this simple message:

The people of the Republic of China on Taiwan are determined to play a peaceful and constructive role among the family of nations.

We say to friends in this country and around the world;

We are here to stay;

We stand ready to help;

And we look forward to sharing the fruits of our democratic triumph.

The people are in my heart every moment of the day. I know that they would like me to say to you, that on behalf of the 21 million people of the Republic of China on Taiwan, we are eternally grateful for the support—spiritual, intellectual and material—that each of you has given to sustain our efforts to build a better tomorrow for our nation and the world. In closing, I say God bless you, God bless Cornell University, God bless the United States of America, and God bless the Republic of China.

Thank you very much.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, is morning business concluded?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is to be concluded.

Mr. DOLE. Leaders' time was reserved?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It was.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask that I may use part of my leader time, that it not interfere with the ongoing debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### FBI AGENTS REMEMBERED

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, today marks the 20th anniversary of the number of two fine young men who served their country in the Federal Bureau of Investigation. They were Special Agents Jack Coler and Ron Williams. They were murdered by Leonard Peltier, who is now serving two life terms in Leavenworth Penitentiary.

Ron liked living in South Dakota and particularly enjoyed the Black Hills.

After coming to my State in 1975, he purchased a home in a quite section of Rapid City, my State's second largest city. Jack was a guest in South Dakota. His home was in Colorado. He was halfway through a 60-day temporary duty assignment in the Rapid City FBI office when he was killed.

Special Agents Coler and Williams were law enforcement officers, serving our country, doing a job the Congress of the United States authorized them to do. They were young men—Jack was 28 years old; Ron was 27—at the very beginning of promising careers with a premier Federal law enforcement agency. They performed their duties with a great deal of pride.

Mr. President, the current issue of *Outdoor* magazine features an article by Scott Anderson, entitled "The Martyrdom of Leonard Peltier." Despite the rather sympathetic title, the article does a fairly good job of debunking the myth that has been created over the years by the nonnative American, liberal Eastern establishment and Hollywood elites. When the article does portray Peltier as victim, it is not in the way previously done, ad nauseam, as a victim of some Government conspiracy to frame Peltier for murder. Rather, Peltier is portrayed as a stooge of attorneys, newspaper and book publishers, print and media journalists, and movie moguls who have used Peltier for two decades now to line their own pockets and advance their own liberal agenda and warped view of the world.

I particularly liked Mr. Anderson's comments about the book, "In the Spirit of Crazy Horse," by Peter Matthiessen. Mr. Anderson is to be commended for calling Matthiessen to task for writing what essentially is a work of fiction—subjected to two libel suits—not the work of fact he purported it to be. Unfortunately, over the years, Matthiessen's apologia for Peltier has been regarded biblically by those who choose not to rely on the facts and the trial proceedings for what really happened 20 years ago today. Matthiessen's comic book version of reality has been spun into various movies and pseudo-documentaries by the liberal establishment.

Mr. President, it seems all too predictable that Oliver Stone is using that book to make a movie about Peltier. Let us not forget that this is the same Oliver Stone who has distorted the collective public memory by foisting upon us the movie "JFK." I suspect that the American people will learn very little about what really happened 20 years ago today on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation if they rely on the Stone version of the case.

Regrettably, should this pulp fiction eventually hit the big screen, I am sure we will see a resurgence of calls for a Presidential commutation of Peltier's life sentences. I would hope that President Clinton would hold to the recommendation of the man he appointed to a 10-year term to head the FBI,

Louis Freeh, who has said "There should be no commutation of his [Peltier's] two life terms in prison." President Clinton has spoken laudably of his respect for law enforcement during the debate on last year's crime bill and in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing. The men and women of law enforcement are more than worthy of his and other's words of praise. I hope he will always remember what a supreme display of disrespect it would be to these fine individuals if he caved in to the calls of the radical left and freed the man who murdered two of law enforcement's finest, 20 years ago today.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following my remarks there be printed a copy of an open letter to the President, published in the *Washington Post* on July 15, 1994, which was written by the representatives of more than 15,000 active duty and former FBI agents. It is one of the most concise and accurate accounts of the facts of the murders ever to appear in print. I would recommend its reading to all my colleagues on the 20th anniversary of the deaths of Special Agents Jack Coler and Ron Williams.

We should never forget the sacrifice made by these two fine men, nor forgive the man lawfully convicted and justly sentenced to spend the rest of his life behind bars for their murders.

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

[From the *Washington Post*, July 15, 1995]

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: LEONARD PELTIER MURDERED TWO FBI AGENTS—HE DESERVES NO CLEMENCY

June 26, 1975, was a hot, dusty Thursday on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in southwestern South Dakota when two young FBI agents arrived from their office in Rapid City. It was about noon when Special Agents Ronald A. Williams, 27, and Jack R. Coler, 28, pulled into the Jumping Bull Compound area of the remote reservation seeking to arrest a young man in connection with the recent abduction and assault of two young ranchers in nearby Manderson, S.D.

Spotting a red and white Chevrolet Suburban van in which they believed the fugitive suspect to be riding, the two agents pursued it toward an open grassy bowl-like area. Unknown to Special Agents Coler and Williams, one of the three men in the vehicle was Leonard Peltier, a violent man with a violent past, a fugitive wanted for attempted murder of an off-duty Milwaukee police officer. Knowing the two vehicles pursuing him were occupied by FBI agents and believing they were seeking to arrest him on the attempted murder case, Peltier and his two associates abruptly stopped their vehicles and began firing their rifles at the agents.

Out of range of the agents' revolvers, Peltier and his friends continued firing. Other militants and radical members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) joined them in shooting at the disabled and trapped agents.

Surprised by the sudden violence, outmanned, outgunned and at an extreme tactical disadvantage, Coler and Williams were both wounded and defenseless within minutes. Coler sustained a severe wound, the force of a bullet nearly tearing his right arm off. Williams, wounded in the left shoulder and right foot, removed his shirt during the

hail of incoming rifle fire and fashioned a tourniquet around the arm of Coler, who had fallen unconscious. Coler, a former Los Angeles Police Department sergeant with two small sons, and Williams, an affable, friendly former FBI clerical employee, were at the mercy of Peltier and his associates. But there was to be no mercy that day for the fine young law enforcement officers.

Not satisfied with the terrible injuries they had inflicted, Peltier and two other men walked down the hill toward the ambushed officer. Three shots were heard. Williams, kneeling and apparently surrendering, was shot in the face directly through his outstretched, shielding hand. He died instantly. Coler, still unconscious, was shot twice in the head at close range. He died instantly after the second shot. Before leaving the murder scene, Peltier and his criminal associates stole the two dead agents' handguns and the .308 rifle Coler was going after when shot.

The crime scene examination testified to the brutality of the ambush. Coler and Williams had little chance to defend themselves. They had fired only five shots. In contrast, over 125 bullet holes were found in their two cars.

The investigation quickly focused on Leonard Peltier as the executioner. The murder weapon was determined to be a .223-caliber rifle. Witnesses identified Peltier as the only person at the murder scene in possession of a weapon that would fire a .223-caliber bullet, his weapon being a .223-caliber AR-15 semi-automatic rifle. Witnesses later testified that Peltier had possessed this rifle before, during and after the ambush. The murder weapons, with others used in the attack, was hidden, AIM sympathizers later spirited it from the area.

In September 1975, a stationwagon, heavily laden with weapons and explosives, caught fire and blew up on the Kansas Turnpike near Wichita. The murder weapon and Coler's stolen .308 rifle were recovered from the wreckage. One of the vehicle's occupants later testified that he had seen Peltier carrying the recovered .223-caliber rifle by the two FBI agent's cars on the day and at the time of their murder.

Following the June 26 murders, Leonard Peltier fled the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. The FBI added him to its Ten Most Wanted list. Then, in November, 1975, an Oregon State trooper stopped a recreational vehicle in which Peltier was hiding. Peltier ran from the RV, fired at the officer and escaped. Coler's revolver, stolen when he was murdered, was found in a paper bag under the front seat of the RV. Peltier's thumbprint was on the bag.

When later arrested in Canada by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Peltier remarked that, had he known the officers were there to arrest him, he would have blown them out of their shoes. These are not the comments of an innocent man and portray the true character and violent nature of Leonard Peltier.

During his trial in U.S. District Court in Fargo, N.D., in April 1977, a jury convicted Peltier of the murders of Coler and Williams. A judge sentenced him to two consecutive life sentences. While incarcerated in the Lompoc, Calif., Federal Prison, and with outside assistance, Peltier shot his way out of jail, using a smuggled semi-automatic .223-caliber rifle to make the escape. A fellow AIM member was killed by guards during the escape. Several days later, after assaulting a rancher and stealing his truck, Peltier was captured. He was tried and convicted of the escape and of being a felon in possession of a firearm. Separate consecutive prison terms of two and five years were added to his two consecutive life sentences.

Peltier has since appealed his various convictions numerous times. Each time, the federal courts have upheld earlier court actions. The U.S. Supreme Court has twice denied Peltier petitions for certiorari, without comment. The record is clear. There are no new facts. The old facts have not changed and Peltier is guilty as charged.

Twice on national television, Peltier has admitted to firing at the two agents. He has openly stated that he feels no guilt or remorse for the murders. One has only to review his murderous misconduct when confronted by law enforcement officers to be convinced of that fact. Leonard Peltier has lived a life of crime. He has earned and deserves a lifetime of incarceration. Leonard Peltier is a murderer without compassion or feeling for his fellow man. In turn, he deserves no compassion.

Mr. President, on many occasions you have described this country's law enforcement officers as heroes and heroines. You have said that we must work together to ensure that hardened criminals who prey on the innocent receive punishment commensurate with the harm—physical, emotional and financial—that they have inflicted. We agree.

Peggy Coler, Special Agent Coler's widow, can't believe anyone would consider freeing Peltier, the man convicted of shooting her husband point-blank in the face while he lay unconscious. Her son, Ron, four years old when his dad died and now 22, can't understand how anyone could portray Peltier as the victim of this tragedy. Peggy and Ron Coler are against any thought of a pardon or commutation of Peltier's sentence. We agree.

Special Agent Ron Williams' mother, Ellen Williams, worries that Peltier's release into an unsuspecting society would only add to the list of grieving loved ones. She is convinced Peltier will commit violent acts against others. We agree.

Mr. President, it's time for Leonard Peltier to pay up. Our judicial system is overwhelmed, overworked and has spoken in this case, again and again. It's time to move on. Leonard Peltier is a vicious, violent and cowardly criminal who hides behind legitimate Native American issues. Leonard Peltier was never a leader in the Native American community. Peltier is simply a vicious thug and murderer with no respect or regard for human life, especially when law enforcement officers are involved. Our citizens, on and off the reservations, must be protected from predators such as Peltier. Our laws must be respected and obeyed or the penalty must be paid. The punishment must also fit the crime—and it does here.

Mr. President, since Leonard Peltier couldn't fool the federal courts, he is now trying to fool you and the public. He is shading and hiding the facts—and playing on sympathy. Don't let him get away with it, Mr. President. Sympathy is appropriate only for the dead heroes and their surviving families. Don't let their sacrifice be forgotten.

#### THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, when President Truman addressed the opening session of the conference that met in San Francisco in April 1945, he told the gathered delegates, "You members of the conference are to be the architects of the better world. In your hands rests our future. By your labors at this conference we shall know if suffering humanity is to achieve a just and lasting peace."

Neither Truman nor any other realistic person then or later believed that

an organization of the international community could, by itself, bring about an end to war. And, of course, the United Nations has not been able to achieve that.

But in regretting what an organization has not done, we should not overlook its achievements, and those of its associated organizations.

Today marks the 50th anniversary of the creation of the United Nations. It is the only world body which has endured for so long.

Commemorative ceremonies are taking place in San Francisco today to mark the occasion. The Senate and the Nation can be proud of the fact that, among the delegates to those ceremonies is a man who was present when the original delegates began to meet, Senator CLAIBORNE PELL of Rhode Island.

It is a tribute to the enduring ideals of public service in our Nation that many of those who served 50 years ago in San Francisco continued in long and distinguished careers of public service. We are fortunate that Senator PELL was able to return after 50 years.

The history of the world since the creation of the United Nations has been turbulent.

The United Nations Organization often has been as unpopular as it has been admired in the United States and around the world. Its shortcomings have been criticized, and its errors have been magnified by those who opposed its creation and their political heirs.

Like every organization created and manned by human beings, it is far from perfect.

But the same observation can be made about every form of human organization, governmental and corporate, public and private. None are perfect; all can bear improvement. What's significant isn't how far an organization falls short of perfection, but how close it has come to achieving its goals.

It is a remarkable fact that in a century drenched with the blood of innocents in wars both large and small, the United Nations has provided a forum in which some of the world community's most dangerous disagreements could be controlled, if not reconciled.

Those who argue that the organization is a failure because it hasn't stopped war forget that throughout the long history of humankind, nothing has successfully stopped war. Huge, tyrannical empires like the former Soviet Union successfully curtailed wars among their component states—but that's not a model for peace that any free people can admire.

Today, when the painful costs of war in human life, human health, and hard-earned treasure is less visible to us in the fortunate nations of the Western World, it is tempting to suggest that the United Nations' shortcomings are so great, its failures so substantial, that it serves no further purpose that is in the American national interest.

There are many voices willing to make that claim. But they are mistaken.

In the post-cold war world, our Nation is the only remaining superpower. Our global trading partnerships and our security interests alike mean that American must be involved with the world.

It is not in the American interest to unilaterally take on the mediation of each and every conflict that may arise between nations. Yet a peaceful and stable world community is very much in our national interest.

There is no body other than the United Nations that can serve as a mediating forum for the disputes and conflicts that inevitably arise among the members of the international community. With all its shortcomings, if the organization did not exist, we would be forced to invent it.

In April 1945, when the idea of a world body was taking shape, President Truman observed, "When Kansas and Colorado have a quarrel over the water in the Arkansas River, they don't call out the National Guard in each state and go to war over it. They bring a suit in the Supreme Court of the United States and abide by the decision. There isn't a reason in the world why we cannot do that internationally."

In the wake of a half-century in which states have repeatedly gone to war, not to the negotiating table, Truman's words sound sadly idealistic. We think we know better.

But perhaps it is we who are being foolishly cynical. Perhaps it was Truman, that Midwestern man of great common sense, who understood more deeply what was at stake. He understood that if we did not strive to create a great organization, we would not achieve even a good one. He knew that if we approached the task with less than our ideals, we would reap much greater disappointment.

At a distance of 50 years, there is much many of us have forgotten about the times in which the United Nations was forged, and about the forces that made men and women work for its creation. On the anniversary of its creation, it is a good time to think back and remember that we are all charged with the responsibility Truman expressed 50 years ago: "We must build a new world, a far better world—one in which the eternal dignity of man is respected." That is a task every bit as important for our generation as it was for Truman's.

#### FORMER CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN BURGER

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, from the earliest days of our republic, the Supreme Court has always been one of the most important institutions in the land. Sitting at the top of the judicial branch, nine individuals pass judgment on cases of constitutional importance that are argued before them. Managing and administering this