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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name NORTH, OLIVER: FILES

Withdrawer

SMF 11/19/2010

File Folder TERRORISM: LIBYA [04/09/1986-04/18/1986]

FOIA

F95-023/9

Box Number 105

WILLS

25

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
100889	REPORT	RE LIBYAN TERRORISM <i>D 9/4/2015 M1106/1</i>	4	4/9/1986	B1 B3
100890	REPORT	RE REACTION TO US MILITARY ACTION AGAINST LIBYA	8	4/15/1986	B1 B3
100891	CABLE	171340Z APR 86 <i>D 9/4/2015 M1106/1</i>	2	4/17/1986	B1 B3
100892	CABLE	171848Z APR 86 <i>D 9/4/2015 M1106/1</i>	3	4/17/1986	B1 B3
100893	CABLE	172046Z APR 86 <i>D 9/4/2015 M1106/1</i>	3	4/17/1986	B1 B3
100894	LETTER	PM OF JAMAICA TO RR <i>R 2/28/2017 M1106/1</i>	2	4/17/1986	B1
100895	MEMO	SITUATION ROOM NOTE RE LIBYA	2	4/17/1986	B1 B3
100896	PAPER	RE PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH <i>D 9/4/2015 M1106/1</i>	3	ND	B1 B3
100897	PAPER	RE REACTION ASSESSMENTS <i>D 9/4/2015 M1106/1</i>	2	4/18/1986	B1 B3
100898	MEMO	BISHOP TO PLATT RE CHAD <i>R 2/28/2017 M1106/1</i>	1	4/18/1986	B1

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Jamaica

3407 21

100894

Office of the Prime Minister

Jamaica House
Kingston

17th April, 1986

Dear President Reagan,

It is easy to understand the anguish felt by nations whose people have been bombed, battered, kid-napped and held hostage by acts of terrorism. These senseless acts of inhuman barbarity evoke even deeper emotional feelings than acts of war, because the funda-mental question which always remains to be answered is, why? It is easy to understand, too, the impatience which builds frustration beyond the level of tolerance.

Against this background it is not difficult to appreciate the compelling considerations which led to the decision to make a pre-emptive strike against terrorist camps in Libya on April 14.

World outrage against terrorism has sought political solutions through dialogue without success. It would have been most gratifying if, indeed, dialogue had been productive, as certainly this would have achieved the peaceful solution we all desire.

Faced with the lack of progress in arriving at peaceful solutions to the scourge of terrorism, nations must ask:

Do we stand still, allowing the spiralling of destructive terrorist forces to go un-checked?

Oliver Wendell Holmes reminded us:

"To reach the Port of Heaven, we must sail sometimes with the wind and sometimes against it - but we must sail and not drift, nor be at anchor."

You/

The President,
The White House,
Washington

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BY RW NARA DATE 2/28/17

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

You took the bold decision to "sail against the wind" and from here on terrorism may escalate or de-escalate, but it will never again be able to run its course without check or prosper without predicament, because you did something about it.

I believe it was George Bernard Shaw who said:

"All that good men need to do that evil men may prosper, is nothing".

I sincerely hope that out of these experiences may come a greater awareness of urgency that may lead to resolution of this silent global war of terrorism without more bloodshed or endangering of lives of innocent people, particularly little children and civilians.

I know too that is your wish, and I trust it will be the wish of enough members of the family of mankind to compel action to rid the world of the scourge of terrorism. This must be the new imperative for the remainder of this decade.

With every good wish
[Handwritten Signature]

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Senate

THURSDAY, APRIL 17, 1986

(Legislative day of Tuesday, April 8, 1986)

The Senate met at 10 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Richard C. Halverson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.
Righteous God, trouble comes in like a flood—like an avalanche threatening to bury us: Libya and the Middle East, Nicaragua and Central America—oil crisis and farm crisis, with chain reactions exploding in many different directions—budget deadline and deadlock like an irresistible force meeting an immovable object—an incomprehensible national debt—unfavorable balance of trade with potential trade wars seething—and a host of other intransigent domestic and international issues that challenge and provoke—and the Senate right in the middle of all of it. Help us to see, wise Father, that God alone is big enough to handle this cosmic mess and He is ready to enable those who bear the burden to find resolution. In His name Who is the way, the truth, the life. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The distinguished majority leader, Senator DOLE, is recognized.

Mr. DOLE. I thank the President pro tempore, Senator THURMOND.

SCHEDULE

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, under the standing order, the leaders have 10 minutes each, to be followed by special orders for not to exceed 5 minutes each for Senators HAWKINS, CRANSTON, WILSON, DIXON, ROCKEFELLER, BINGAMAN, CHILES, LEVIN, RIEGLE, BAUCUS, GORE, and PROXMIRE.

Mr. President, I would indicate that the list for special orders seems to be growing on a daily basis. I would hope sometime in the next few weeks we can reach some agreement for dividing special orders for the morning and afternoon, or limiting the amount of time for special orders. Special orders today will require 1 hour and 5 minutes.

Following the execution of the special orders, there will be a period for

the transaction of routine morning business, not to extend beyond the hour of 11:30 a.m.

Mr. President, we are hoping we can move the rollcall vote from 11:30 to 12 noon. I will make that request, if the minority leader has no objection.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the vote on the hydrorelicensing bill occur at 12 noon rather than 11:30 a.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COCHRAN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, as soon as we complete action on the hydrorelicensing bill, which will just be the vote, we will move to S. 1923, the bankruptcy judges bill. It is my understanding that that will not take more than a couple of hours.

We have completed action on the Federal Deposit Insurance Act. That will leave the technical amendments to the crime bill. I think I am in a position to say there will be no votes tomorrow. Maybe we will lay something down today and there might be some debate tomorrow, but I think this is a particularly bad week for Members on both sides who want to visit their home States.

Mr. President, I hope Members will cooperate and try to clean up these minor bills that are on the calendar.

I want to thank the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DIXON) for his cooperation on the Federal Deposit Insurance Act last night. That action will be helpful to Senator BOREN and others with particular problems in their States.

Mr. President, I see no reason why we could not complete our work fairly early this evening. However, there will be rollcall votes today.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I will introduce later today a bill that will clarify Presidential authority, and strengthen the President's hand in dealing with international terrorism directed at our country and our citizens. I am honored to be joined as an original cosponsor of this bill by the distinguished Senator from Alabama and chairman of the Judiciary's Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, JEREMIAH DENTON. In addition to his work on this bill, Senator DENTON has a number of other important legisla-

tive initiatives on the matter of terrorism.

I would also note that I have worked closely in developing this legislation with three distinguished Members of the House of Representatives: Congressman JOE BARTON of Texas, who first suggested a bill and came up with the basic concepts we have included in it; and Congressmen DUNCAN HUNTER of California, and BOB LIVINGSTON of Louisiana, each of whom has made valuable contributions to the final product. Those three Congressmen will be introducing the bill in the House today.

In light of ongoing events involving Libya, this is obviously an appropriate time for the Senate to consider legislation related to terrorism. And, as my remarks will indicate, the substance of this bill will have direct bearing on situations such as the one we see unfolding in Libya.

But it is important to emphasize that this bill is not any kind of "quick fix" reaction of the Libyan situation. I and my cosponsors have been considering terrorism legislation for several months and have been working on this bill for several weeks. It deals with an issue broader than Libya and more enduring than Qadhafi. Terrorism is a long-term problem and requires a long-term solution. Passage of the bill will provide one more important tool to help find that solution.

REAFFIRMING THE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY

Let me briefly outline the contents of the bill. As I noted, its central purpose is clarifying the extent of the President's authority to deal with terrorism, thereby strengthening his hand as he copes with this problem.

Personally, I do not believe this bill gives the President any new authority. In my view, the President's constitutional role as Commander in Chief, his clear obligation and authority to defend the United States and its citizens and our country's right of self-defense embodied in the Constitution and specifically included in the United Nations Charter already endows the President with decisive, independent power to respond to terrorist acts and to the threat of terror against America and Americans.

But I am aware that some dispute that view. Certainly, our current debate—an unfortunate debate, in my opinion—over whether the President

adequately consulted the Congress prior to the recent air strikes on Libya and whether and how the War Powers Resolution of 1973 applies to the current situation reflects the fact that there is honest disagreement on this issue.

Harry Truman is famous for saying that the "buck stops" in the Oval Office. Maybe that was true in Truman's day. But today every Senator seemingly insists on putting in his 2 cents' worth on that buck. This is no way to make or implement policies on terrorism.

So it is very important to make clear in law—and equally important to make clear to the world, including the world's terrorists—that the President does have extensive, flexible authority to do what is necessary to strike back against terrorists and to preempt planned terrorist attacks against the United States and its Citizens. By passing this legislation, we will cement the authority in law and send a strong message around the globe: The President has the power to act and has the political backing of the American Congress in doing what he must. And if that message is sent now, through passage of this bill, perhaps in the future, the President will not have to send as many of the kind of messages our P-111's delivered to Qadhafi this week.

DEFINITIONS OF "TERRORISM" AND "TERRORIST"

What, exactly, does the bill do? It defines terrorism as a "form of aggression" against the United States. As such, it broadens the conception of terrorism from being just another kind of criminal act and calls it what it is—an attack on our country and our national interests. In that way, the bill will underscore that the President's powers as Commander in Chief come directly and automatically into play when terrorism occurs or is being planned.

The bill defines "terrorist" and "terrorist organization" to include all of those people and groups which can be shown to be directly involved in the planning or conduct of terrorist acts or which directly support such planning or acts. It is not only the bomb-throwers we have to deal with; it is everyone in the network, up to and including governments like Libya's, which openly and aggressively espouse state-sponsored terrorism as an instrument of policy, and people like Qadhafi, who masquerade as legitimate national leaders.

USE OF ALL APPROPRIATE MEASURES

When such groups or people engage in specific acts of terror aimed at Americans, or when the President has clear evidence that they intend to, the bill reaffirms his authority, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, to "use all such antiterrorism and counterterrorism measures as may be necessary to prevent the loss of lives of U.S. citizens," including use of "deadly force."

Should the President utilize the authority affirmed in the bill, he would be required to report to the Congress within 10 days, specifying "in detail the terrorist threat or terrorist act which justified" his action.

AUTHORITY LIMITED TO TERRORISM SITUATIONS

Perhaps the best summation of the bill is that it affirms the President's very broad authority but only in the relatively narrow—but, of course, critical—field of dealing with terrorism. The bill has no application—and makes no judgment, one way or the other—on the question of Presidential authority to deal with other threats to our Nation or other international situations. The bill does not seek to expand, or in fact expand, any Presidential authority in these broader national security or foreign policy fields.

I have my own views about what the President can do in those areas, and each Senator undoubtedly has his or her own views, too. But this bill purposely avoids those issues. The question of terrorism and our ability to deal with it is too urgent to get bogged down in an endless re-debate of the War Powers Resolution of 1973.

PARTIALLY SUPERSEDES WAR POWERS RESOLUTION

Having said that, though, let me make clear that this bill would supersede the War Powers Resolution in those instances—but only in those instances—when the President might use, or contemplate the use of, American military forces to deal with terrorism.

NO SPECIFIC REQUIREMENT FOR CONSULTATIONS

In such circumstances, the bill would eliminate the near requirement—and I say "near requirement" because even the War Powers Resolution qualifies it by saying "in every possible instance"—for prior consultations with Congress before using American forces.

Let me also stress here that in eliminating the legal requirement for the consultations, I am not suggesting there should be no consultations. On the contrary, such consultations are very desirable and helpful, to both the President and the Congress, whenever they are feasible and can be conducted in a manner consistent with the President's overriding need to avoid jeopardizing the safety of our armed forces.

But this is an age when madmen like Qadhafi have sophisticated weapons which can instantly annihilate large numbers of American military personnel and, regrettably, when almost every word uttered in the deepest secrecy on Capitol Hill ends up, shortly thereafter on the evening news and in the morning paper. In this environment, like it or not, we simply cannot undermine the President's ability to act against terrorism by requiring him in every case to trash out with some or all of 535 Congressmen the details of sensitive antiterrorist military operations before they are underway.

EXTENDS PERIOD FOR PRESIDENTIAL REPORT

The bill would also supersede the War Powers Resolution in a second way—but, again, only when the issue at hand is terrorism—by extending to 10 days (from the resolution's 48 hours) the time during which the President would have to report to Congress on action taken pursuant to the authority outlined in the bill. That additional time would provide the opportunity for a more comprehensive, useful report.

NO ARBITRARY TIME LIMITS

Finally, contrary to the 60- and 90-day limits of the War Powers Resolution, the bill would not put any time limit on the President's use of forces in a terrorist situation. It would be my presumption that use of this authority, in situations such as we have just seen in Libya, would almost always be for operations of very short duration, well under any 60- or 90-day time-frame. But prudence dictates, to me at least, that we not build in any artificial limits on the President's flexibility to do what is necessary, when it is necessary.

THE CHALLENGE OF TERRORISM

Mr. President, international terrorism is one of the most serious challenges which confronts our Nation and our President. To deal effectively with it, the President needs two things above all else. First, he needs the clear and indisputable authority to strike at terrorism and terrorists with his full powers as Commander in Chief. This bill will reaffirm unequivocally that he has that authority.

Second, he needs the political support of the Congress and the people of the United States in doing what must be done. Passage of this bill will make it clear to everyone, everywhere—friend and foe alike—that our President has that political support.

Mr. President, I urge all of my colleagues to join with Senator DENTON and me in passing this bill promptly and decisively.

Mr. President, as an original cosponsor of the War Powers Act of 1970, with Senator JAVITS, I ask my colleagues to take a look at the debates and report on the War Powers Act. I do not think we ever dealt with state international terrorism. In 1970 and 1973 when the War Powers Act was passed, that was not a matter of great concern. Terrorism had been around for a long time but it was not concentrated, widespread, or state sponsored.

Mr. President, in effect what we seek to do, is to clarify the President's authority to make certain the President will be able to respond to an act of terrorism without a long consultation with Members of Congress, and that it will not in any way compromise our efforts or compromise the security of the American forces.

Earlier in my statement, I outlined what I believe to be a number of areas of concern. We are not trying to give the President new authority. The au-

thority is limited to acts of international terrorism. The bill will outline what an act of terrorism is. It defines who may be participating in terrorism, whether it is a group, whether it is an individual, or whether it may be a government that is involved.

So I hope my colleagues on both sides of the aisle will have an opportunity to take a look at this bill. It is not partisan. It is nonpartisan; and I hope that we could have a number of co-sponsors, Republicans and Democrats. I will be joining Senator DENTON in writing my colleagues a note to outline the provisions.

I am hoping that later today the bill can be introduced and jointly referred to Foreign Relations and Judiciary but that has not been cleared by the distinguished minority leader. I will do that later.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the Record at this point, followed by a fact sheet.

There being no objection, the bill and fact sheet were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Anti-Terrorism Act of 1986."

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSES.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds and declares that terrorism is—

- (1) a form of aggression which results in the killing of innocent persons, the loss of civil liberties through intimidation and coercion, or the loss of property;
- (2) a form of aggression that has as its goal the furtherance of a political or ideological objective by violent means;
- (3) directed against the orderly and democratic conduct and security of all people;
- (4) a threat to the national security and national interests of the United States;
- (5) a threat to the safety of all United States persons; and
- (6) a threat to the continued and effective operation of the Government of the United States.

(b) PURPOSES.—It is the purpose of this Act—

- (1) to protect United States persons from terrorism; and
- (2) to grant the President under appropriate circumstances the authority to punish terrorists or terrorist organizations for acts committed against United States persons.

SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.

For purposes of this Act—

- (1) the term "terrorism" means activity, directed against United States persons, which—
 - (A) is committed by an individual who is not a national or permanent resident alien of the United States;
 - (B) involves violent acts or acts dangerous to human life which would be a criminal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of the United States; and
 - (C) is intended—
 - (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population;
 - (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or
 - (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnaping;
- (2) the terms "terrorist" and "terrorist organization" mean an individual, group, or

any combination thereof which are involved in an act of terrorism;

(3) the term "national of the United States" means—

(A) a natural person who is a citizen of the United States or a natural person (other than an alien) who, though not a citizen of the United States, owes permanent allegiance to the United States; or

(B) a corporation or other entity which is organized under the laws of the United States, if natural persons (described in subparagraph (A)) own, directly or indirectly, more than 50 percent of the outstanding capital stock or other beneficial interest in such legal entity;

(4) the term "United States" means the several States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and any other territory or possession of the United States; and

(5) the term "United States person" means any individual, organization, corporation, or entity which is either a permanent resident alien or national of the United States or subject to its domestic jurisdiction.

SEC. 4. OFFENSE OF TERRORISM.

(a) OFFENSE.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, whoever organizes, attempts, commits, procures, or supports the commission of an act of terrorism shall be considered to have committed an act of aggression against the United States and may be punished with deadly force.

(b) AUTHORIZATION OF PRESIDENTIAL ACTION.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law and except as provided in subsection (d), the President is authorized to undertake actions to protect United States persons against terrorists and terrorist activity through the use of all such anti-terrorism and counter-terrorism measures as he deems necessary.

(c) DEVIATION OF AUTHORITY.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, subsection (b) shall apply—

- (1) to all terrorists wherever they may be; and
- (2) until such time as the President determines that no terrorist poses a threat to United States persons.

(d) CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATION.—The authority granted to the President under this Act may be exercised in the United States only in accordance with the provisions of the United States Constitution.

(e) INTERPRETATION.—Nothing in this Act may be construed as granting any authority to use deadly force within the United States which authority would not exist in the absence of this Act.

SEC. 5. REPORT.

The President shall submit a report to the Congress not later than 10 days after the President takes any action under section 4(b). The report shall describe in detail the terrorist threat or terrorist act which justified such action.

FACT SHEET ON TERRORISM BILL
ELEMENTS OF THE BILL

Defines terrorism as an act of aggression by a foreigner, aimed at U.S. citizens and corporations, with the purpose of influencing our policy.

Gives the President clear-cut authority to deal with specific acts of terrorism with all appropriate means, including deadly force.

Gives the President authority to act to preempt as well as respond to specific acts of terrorism.

Makes clear terrorists include not only actual "bomb throwers" but also those who organize, lead, fund and support terrorists.

Requires the President to report to Congress within ten days of utilizing his author-

ity, specifying in detail the terrorist threat or terrorist act that justified his action.

Supersedes the War Powers Resolution by: (1) imposing no time limit, such as the 60 and 90 day time limits in the resolution, on the President's use of force in a terrorist situation; (2) requiring no prior consultation with Congress; (3) and extending the reporting period from 48 hours to 10 days.

PROTECTIONS IN THE BILL

Limits the authority to terrorist situations.

Insures, through the reporting requirement, that the authority will be used only to combat specific acts of terror.

Does not expand the President's traditional powers to conduct foreign policy—only to react to terrorism.

Applies only to acts by foreigners and has no impact on the rights of Americans.

Mr. DENTON. Mr. President, I rise today to voice my strong support for the "Anti-Terrorism Act of 1986," which I am pleased to cosponsor together with the distinguished majority leader from Kansas. I congratulate Senator Dole for his leadership in introducing this important legislation, which I believe is an essential factor in the continuing development of a comprehensive U.S. policy to combat international terrorism.

Mr. President, a consistent thrust of mine as a Senator has been to develop improvements in the credibility of the United States ability to act promptly against terrorism with unity of resolve and proper regard for the separation of powers within our Government. Terrorism can be discouraged only if would-be terrorists believe that the President of the United States has the power to take appropriate action promptly, with the backing of the Congress, irrespective of the political party of the President or the party in majority in either House of Congress.

In this regard, I believe that this bill is one of the most important introduced since I have been in the Senate. The bill defines terrorism as an act of aggression against the United States, thereby triggering the President's authority as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, to pursue terrorists with deadly force, if necessary. As such, the bill does not create new authority for the President, but rather, as Senator Dole has so eloquently stated, clarifies the extent of the President's authority to deal with terrorism.

Such clarification is absolutely necessary in view of the second guessing frequently engaged in by some Members of Congress and the media which clouds the President's existing authority to order military strikes when necessary to prevent terrorist attacks on Americans. Even now, in the wake of the strike conducted against Libya this week, we hear expressions of doubt about the President's authority to take such action. The bill introduced today will ensure that the President does not speak with an empty voice in acting against terrorism. This unfortunately has been the practice in the past on occasion when 535 Secretaries

of State undercut foreign policy decisions which the Chief Executive sought to implement.

I believe that prompt enactment of the "Anti-Terrorism Act of 1986" will demonstrate that we are finally on the road to developing an effective policy against terrorism. For far too long, United States policy toward terrorism has been fragmented, reactive, defensive and ad hoc, dealing with each incident as though it were an isolated occurrence, entirely unrelated to other terrorist acts. This approach has ignored the voluminous record developed by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism.

Over the past 5 years, the Subcommittee has held numerous hearings on terrorism which have yielded abundant and conclusive evidence of a network, a global unity, in the sources of support, strategy, tactics, and goals of international terrorists. The thrust and power of this network amounts to a new, highly effective form of low intensity warfare which is being waged by various nation-states—including, particularly, Libya, Iran, Syria, North Korea, and Cuba—to erode the influence and strategic position of the United States and Western democracies, in general, and to enhance the power of the Soviet Union; its client states and allies, in particular.

This reservoir of information regarding the global and interrelated nature of terrorist activities has not been tapped sufficiently by the Congress, the public or the executive branch. Thus, our spasmodic and ad hoc policy toward international terrorism has persisted, despite the publicly declared policies and intentions of terrorist groups and the states, such as Libya, which support them.

However, the events of the last several weeks have focused American and European attention as never before on the strategic and operational coordination of international terrorists. Despite protestations to the contrary by Qadhafi, United States and European intelligence services were able to confirm that the terrorist attack on the West Berlin disco received support, encouragement, and direction from Libya and other sponsors of international terrorism outside Germany.

Presented with such intelligence, the President must be able to act quickly to prevent a terrorist attack, if possible. If prevention is not possible in a given case, the President must act to punish, while the gun is still smoking, the terrorist group or groups involved and the nation-states which have facilitated their criminal acts. The bill introduced today will make it clear that the President is authorized to take such actions, and that we in the Congress stand behind him.

In addition to defining terrorism and clarifying the President's powers to deal with terrorists, the bill's definition of "terrorists" and "terrorist organizations" would cover not only the individuals and groups who actually per-

petrate an act of terrorism, but also the leaders of a state which organizes or supports the act. The bill makes any offense of terrorism committed against a U.S. person an act of aggression against the United States, itself, which may be pursued with deadly force.

Finally, in order to protect Congress' oversight responsibility, the bill requires the President to submit a report to the Congress within 10 days after the President takes any action under the bill against terrorists or terrorist activity.

The "Anti-Terrorism Act of 1986" is landmark legislation which could at least cause the tide of terrorism to ebb. Its enactment will demonstrate to terrorists that Congress and the American people are solidly united in supporting prompt action by the President to prevent terrorist acts and punish terrorists. The act will evidence, as well, the growing consensus in this country which is helping to develop a sound and consistent U.S. policy against terrorism.

I urge my colleagues to support prompt consideration and passage of this legislation.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, on this side we ran the hot line about changing the time for the vote and there were no responses. I took that to mean that there would not be any problems. I now learn that a Senator has called to say he can be here and vote at 11 or 1, but cannot be here at 12. Will the distinguished majority leader review this matter and see if that vote could be changed?

Mr. DOLE. Yes.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. President, before the distinguished majority leader leaves the floor, I think his statement earlier was clear enough but I want to be sure that I understood it. I believe the distinguished majority leader indicated there definitely would not be any roll call votes tomorrow. Am I correct?

Mr. DOLE. That is correct.

Mr. BYRD. Does the distinguished majority leader contemplate a session tomorrow?

Mr. DOLE. I am not certain of that, but I will give that information. I am certain there will be no roll call votes tomorrow.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the majority leader.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the minority leader is recognized.

ACTION ON THE BUDGET RESOLUTION

Mr. BYRD. On several occasions I have stated the feeling that the budget resolution should be called up and debated on this floor and that there should not be further delay.

There are many reasons, Mr. President, for avoiding further delay. One important consideration has been brought to my attention. I had the opportunity to meet on Tuesday with a group of presidents from colleges and universities around the country, including one or more in my own State. These were both large and small institutions. They warned me of the concerns which delay in acting on the budget will occasion.

Mr. Joseph Murphy of the City University of New York put it to me succinctly: "While nothing happens, something bad happens." That "something bad" is the uncertainty in which students all around the country are finding themselves because they do not know what to plan in terms of student aid.

This is the time of the year when students make decisions about attending colleges and universities next fall. Delay in making decisions about the level of Federal support for student aid programs could affect hundreds of thousands of students nationwide. Some students, faced with this uncertainty, may plan a course of part-time instruction rather than full time. Worst of all, some students may decide to forgo college entirely because of the lack of certainty that aid will even be available. And this is true for many students who will need to depend on a Pell grant.

It is not only the students who are put into this state of uncertainty by failure to produce a budget; counselors in high schools are also unable to advise students on the wise course of action concerning their college plans, and financial aid officers in the colleges and universities are unable to plan for the coming term.

We know that the President's draconian budget cuts in higher education programs are dead. The President's budget was rejected in the House. In the Senate it was rejected in the committee. But what do we do? I was told in this meeting to which I have referred that 70 percent of the Pell grants in West Virginia, indeed a similar amount nationwide I was told, have been affected by the Gramm-Rudman legislation.

If the Senate does not get to work on a responsible budget, we may see even deeper cuts for next year. Students in West Virginia and around the country need to know what the Senate and the House will do about the student aid on which they desperately depend for their education.

The bipartisan budget reported by the Budget Committee is more responsible in the area of education than the President's budget—which has already

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

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100898

April 18, 1986

SECRET/SENSITIVE

TO: S/S - Mr. Platt

FROM: AF - James K. Bishop *JKB*

If consideration is given putting pressure on Qadhafi via Chad, the following suggestions might be factored into the process:

Habre must see the present situation as the most favorable he is likely to have for some time to try to retake territory north of the 16th parallel. His principal concern will be his ability to withstand Libyan air power. With no air force of his own and only unreliable redevye missiles and machine guns for defense against Libyan ground attack aircraft and helicopter gunships, he will be reluctant to move out beyond a French air umbrella which only covers him south of the 16th parallel. The French have stingers, and in 1983 they had "civilian experts" accompany Habre's forces in combat operations. Habre might be willing to try to retake Libyan defended positions if he had Frenchmen along with stingers. He would be even more confident if there were Frenchmen along manning tank-killers, such as the Milan.

If the French were to make an air strike their preferred target probably would be the airport at Quadi Doum. It is the most strategically significant installation south of the Aouzou Strip. From Quadi Doum Libyan aircraft could threaten French forces in southern Chad. It also is an exclusively military target, without the Chadian civilian populations at other potential targets, e.g., Faya Largeau.

SECRET/SENSITIVE

DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
NLRR #1106 #100898
BY RW NARA DATE 2/22/17

(Rohrabacher/BE)

April 18, 1986

8:30 p.m.

APR 18 5:05
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: INTERNATIONAL FORUM OF UNITED STATES
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23, 1986

Thank you. I appreciate this opportunity to be here with you today. One of America's greatest assets is the skill and professionalism of its men and women of commerce and industry. The peppery can-do spirit of our business community is in stark contrast to the inefficiency and poor performance often associated with other economic systems.

Of course, mistakes do happen. There is the story of the fellow who ordered a bouquet of flowers to be sent to the opening of his friend's new branch office. When he got there, he was shocked to see flowers with the inscription: Rest in Peace.

He was so outraged that on the way home he stopped at the florist to complain. "Don't get mad," the florist said. "Just think of it this way. Today someone in this city was buried beneath a flower arrangement with the inscription, "Good luck in your new location."

Well, all kidding aside, America's business managers are the pride and joy of this country, the fountainhead of our economic well-being. Today a new crop of young people are filling the ranks of our businesses and corporations and working their way up. They are as talented and diligent as any we've ever had.

There's every reason to be proud and to be looking to the future with unbounding anticipation. Today's young business leaders will come to their own with freedom, know-how, and resources far beyond anything the world has ever known. Henry

David Thoreau, once wrote of free people, "This world is but canvas to our imaginations." Those words were never more true than they are now.

Today, a refreshing breeze can be felt across the face of mankind. Winds of Freedom are blowing, clearing the air, opening the view of a new and wondrous horizon.

In a few days, Nancy and I will be heading West, embarking on the longest overseas journey of my Presidency, which will culminate in Tokyo with a summit of the major industrial democracies. As we lift off aboard Air Force One, circling half the globe, the Winds of Freedom will be my tail wind. Those winds are blowing in Latin America, where in recent years we have witnessed one of the greatest expansions of democracy in history. Today 90 percent of the population of this hemisphere lives in democratic countries, or countries in transition to democracy.

In Europe the new democracies in Spain and Portugal have proven the pessimists wrong. The democratic workers movement in Poland, though suffering repression, still persists. In Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan, and Cambodia, freedom fighters, struggling for liberty and independence, inspire the West with their courage in the face of a powerful enemy. As I fly westward over our majestic land, I go knowing that we are witnessing an awakening to those self-evident truths to which our forefathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

In future years I think we may look back on the period we are going through as the vernal equinox of the human spirit -- that moment in history when the light finally exceeded the

darkness. This gathering in Tokyo will be in stark contrast to my first summit in Ottawa in 1981. Those were darker days for the free peoples of the world.

In the 1970's, the Western democracies suffered economic and political reversals which sapped their confidence and gutted the resilience of their social systems. The maladies to which I am referring were the logical result of wrong ideas and flawed policies. The innovators, entrepreneurs, and profit-seeking risk takers, who had always been on the cutting edge of change, were gradually being phased out. The resources and decision making of the West were being channeled into the hands of central planners, government officials, and bureaucratic managers.

In our country, Government spending tripled in the 1970's and the Federal tax take doubled between 1976 and 1981. By 1980, we suffered double-digit inflation, economic stagnation, sky-high interest rates and unprecedented national uncertainty. Nothing could be done, we were told, to escape this quagmire. Our citizens would have to lower their expectations. American people never believed that bunk, and I didn't either.

Looking out over the United States today, I'm confident that our country's best days lie ahead. The winds of freedom are indeed blowing, and if America puts its mind to it, there is nothing we can't accomplish.

When I arrived in Ottawa in 1981 to meet, for the first time as President, with other Western leaders I brought a similar message. I spoke about the need to strengthen the private sector as a vehicle for improving the well-being of all our people. I

spoke about our domestic reforms, about bringing the growth of Government under control, and reducing tax rates to give people incentives and rewards to work, invest, and build. I spoke of sustained non-inflationary, market-oriented growth. My reception was less than enthusiastic.

It reminded me of the businessman who every day would stop at a pretzel stand just outside his office. Every day he would put 25 cents on the plate, but never take a pretzel. This went on for quite sometime. He'd stop, put a quarter on the plate and walk into his office, never taking a pretzel.

Then one day, as he put a quarter on the plate, the woman running the stand grabbed him by the arm. He said, "you probably want to know why for over a year I've been putting 25 cents on your plate, but never taking a pretzel." "Well no," she said, "Actually, I just want to let you know that pretzels are going up to 35 cents."

Today, things have dramatically changed from those days when the idea of private sector growth was listened to with courtesy and then dismissed. Astounding the so-called experts, our economic engines have powered us forward with 40 straight months of growth. A record 669,000 businesses were incorporated last year alone. Interest rates are down, and inflation has remained low. Almost 10 million new jobs have been created in the last 3 years, while Europe has seen a net loss of jobs in the last decade.

Today, the world, especially the developing world, is leaving behind the dismal failures of statism and redistribution.

Central planning and government authority did not, as promised, usher in a new era of plenty. Instead, socialist models of development have left a path of poverty and deprivation wherever they have been tried. In Africa, hunger and famine have stalked a continent, spreading in their wake a growing shadow of death.

The massive relief efforts, public and private, organized to help the starving of Africa reflect the essential goodness of man, goodness that can be expressed and acted upon when people are free. The Live Aid concert, for example, was a spectacular tribute to the creative vision, technological genius, and good souls of this generation, here and in the other democracies. The meager humanitarian aid extended by the Soviet bloc should not go unnoticed. It is communism, more than a lack of rain, that has brought, and will continue to bring, such suffering as we have witnessed in Africa.

The late John Dos Passos put it well. "Communism," he said, "has not only failed to promote human freedom. It has failed to produce food."

The developing world has been told that it is necessary to give up freedom in order to achieve progress; nothing could be be further from the truth. Freedom and economic advance go hand-in-hand. They are two sides of the same coin. The mainspring of human progress is found not in controlling and harnessing human energy, but in setting it free. The most valuable resource is not oil, or precious metals, or even territory; it is the infinite richness of human potential. The creative genius and diligence unleashed when people are free and

working to improve their lot, and that of their families, is the greatest force for good on this planet.

Nowhere are the Winds of Freedom more evident than on the Pacific Rim, except, of course, in my home state of California. Seriously though, after the Second World War, Japan was in ruins and devastation was heavy throughout the region. It is becoming difficult to think of the Pacific as being undeveloped, but only a generation ago that was a fair characterization. Pacific nations with almost no territory and few natural resources have become dynamic centers of commerce and production, almost beyond imagination. Over the last 15 years annual growth in the region has averaged about 6 percent. This was accomplished despite rising oil prices and at a time when some countries, short on land to begin with, were forced to absorb influxes of refugees.

The energy and enterprise on the Pacific rim is changing the economic center of gravity. The United States and our northern neighbor, Canada, now exchange more goods with Asia than with Europe. Almost one-third of total U.S. trade now flows West. Our trade enriches the quality of life on both sides of the Pacific. And while much attention has been focused on our imports from the region, we must not overlook our exports. Today, we export \$54 billion worth of American products annually to East Asia and the Pacific, compared to \$20 billion just 10 years ago.

Again, the relationship between freedom and prosperity, between democratic government and economic progress, is clear. The people of the Philippines recently struck a blow for their

economic freedom. A major cause for discontent in the Philippines was what they called "crony capitalism," which restricted much of the country's business and trade to a politically-connected clique. This kind of insider profit-making has little to do with free enterprise. It, in fact, has more in common with controlled socialist economics. Because of the corruption and controls, the Philippines lagged behind its Pacific neighbors. With the shackles of cronyism removed, new opportunities will abound for the Philippine people. As their friends, we wish them the very best and will help where we can.

Just as the link between freedom and prosperity can be seen in success stories, it is also apparent in countries left out of the rising Pacific prosperity. Those countries forced to endure centralized Communist planning continue to decline; this while much of the Pacific marches into an exciting new age of enterprise and commerce. Vietnam, with its troops in Cambodia, is perhaps the best example of what I'm talking about.

On my upcoming trip, I will stop in Bali. There, I will be discussing Vietnam's continuing occupation of Cambodia, as well as other economic and security issues, with President Soeharto of Indonesia and with representatives of six nations which make up ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Most important, throughout my trip I will be reconfirming that the United States considers itself a Pacific Rim country, and we will continue to be an important part of the economic and political forces that shape the future of this vital area of the world. If

the next century is the Pacific century, as some have suggested, America will be leading the way.

From Bali, I will head to Japan, the site of the 12th Economic Summit. That this meeting is in Tokyo reminds us again of an emerging Japan. Over these last few decades this former enemy has become a trusted friend, a major political and economic partner and a strategic ally -- the pillar of our Pacific policy. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Nakasone, Japan has embarked on a new and expanded international role, in partnership with the United States. Together, our countries exercise enormous political and economic influence on the world. I think that all our peoples can be proud that we are using our power to benevolent ends, to secure democracy, to foster economic progress, and to maintain peace in a dangerous world.

Japan's is a dramatic story of democracy's success. That it has been built into the world's second-largest market economy, and is now taking on greater international responsibilities, bodes well for the future. The winds of freedom blow both East and West. Man's willingness to improve his lot, his longing for freedom, and his desire to live in dignity and peace are never limited by geography.

Our annual economic summits stand in glorious defiance to the totalitarian theory that sovereign democratic societies are too independent -- too bogged down by short-sighted self-interest -- to be able to cooperate on matters of significance, especially matters concerning money and finances.

Well, the issues may vary, but if there are two watch words of our economic summits, those words are freedom and cooperation.

Each year's gathering is an opportunity to renew acquaintances, to take stock of economic prospects and to discuss, frankly and openly, issues of common interest. And this year there is much to discuss.

The continuing upward momentum of the American economy has been a major impetus to growth in the rest of the world, in both summit and non-summit countries. Now we urge others to join us in tackling those domestic policies and structural problems that inhibit growth and serve only as roadblocks to progress. High tax rates and over-regulation are like a ball and chain holding too many nations back.

The substantial decline in world oil prices offers the industrial democracies, as well as the developing world, a dramatic opportunity. We hope our summit partners will translate the benefits of lower oil prices into stronger growth and higher employment. Now is the time to accelerate the pace of structural change and pave the way for higher sustained growth in future years.

As the United States has demonstrated, strong growing economies in the major industrial countries will do much to help those in the developing world. Succinctly put, our policies toward the Third World should be aimed at establishing partners in trade, not recipients of aid. Our approach should be to open our markets, not to empty our treasury.

Last September, Secretary Baker proposed a plan for sustained growth intended as a declaration of independence for debtor nations. Its purpose is to help them become self-sufficient; to assist them in developing free-market, pro-growth policies; and eventually to lead them out of the pit of indebtedness and dependence and up to the high level plateau of competitive enterprise and productivity.

Now is the time for creative and innovative thinking by creditors and debtors. One alternative being explored in some quarters would turn the debt of state-owned and run enterprise into equity in profit-making, and perhaps worker-owned, private companies.

The general plan presented by Secretary Baker and other exciting new proposals which we will discuss in Tokyo, are focused not just on postponing their day of reckoning, but on solving their problem. We cannot forever subsidize these debtor countries. They must begin to work, produce, and grow their way out of their current predicament.

We want all people, in every country, to live healthier, more productive, opportunity-filled lives. Free and unfettered trade between nations is a vital part of the formula for achieving this goal. We are ready and willing to work with those with whom we have commerce to maximize the benefits of a worldwide open trading system. Keeping trade fair and open will be a major topic of discussion in Tokyo. Our summit partners have already helped start up the preparatory process for a new round of multilateral trade negotiations. We hope they will

continue their efforts to ensure that those negotiations are launched this September.

At home, we must fight protectionist moves by those who would protect special interests at the expense of the consumer and at the risk of retaliation. The abnormally strong dollar has been a legitimate concern of those of you in our business community trying to sell overseas. That problem is now adjusting itself, as the economies in other nations improve. Now is not the time to surrender trade-killing protectionism. The right solution to a trade problem lies in multilateral negotiations that open markets, not unilateral legislation that closes them. I will veto any attempt to restrict or close our markets. It's bad for the consumer, bad for business, and bad for America.

Our trading partners have been sent the message -- and I'll reinforce it in Tokyo -- that the United States is moving forward, aggressively and vigorously, to keep the markets of the world open and to see to it that American interests are treated fairly.

In Tokyo, we will primarily be discussing issues of economic importance, yet all of us meeting there are fully aware of how totally dependent economic progress is on maintaining a peaceful and stable world. Those who will gather in Tokyo represent countries which, by working together, have given the world 41 years of peace, ushering in the greatest strides in science and industry in the history of mankind.

The United States, in pursuit of peace, is working in close consultation with its partners, seeking a more stable and

constructive relationship with the Soviet Union. In Tokyo, we will discuss initiatives connected with my meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev last November. We will discuss American efforts to reach an agreement with the Soviets to reduce drastically the number of nuclear weapons threatening mankind; to facilitate the negotiated settlements of regional conflicts; to encourage respect for human rights, and to decrease the number of conventional forces in Europe.

During my meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva, we discussed these issues and talked together about the differences between our systems. I challenged him to compete with us, not in the manufacture of bombs and weapons, but in the arena of ideas. We can and should have peaceful competition between our systems. We should let the world decide, based not on the size of our arsenals, but on the attractiveness of our ways of life. Let us be measured by our results, not our rhetoric, our deeds, not our words.

Whether First Secretary Gorbachev takes me up on my challenge remains to be determined. In the meantime, preserving peace is not just the business of the United States, or of the United States and the Soviet Union. The summit partners with whom I will meet in Tokyo each share this responsibility.

One area of exemplary cooperation has been our mutual efforts to counteract international drug trafficking, which undermines the respect for law and attacks the fundamental health of our nations. The threat is particularly grave to our youth. Nancy has made the war on drugs a personal mission. She has made

me very proud. And while I am in Tokyo, she will be carrying her crusade to Malaysia and Thailand, where she will join in a comprehensive review of the anti-drug efforts of those two important nations.

Coming to grips with threats posed by such evils as drugs will require all free people to work together. The democratic nations decided long ago they would stand shoulder-to-shoulder in facing such common enemies. Nowhere is this more imperative than in the battle against terrorism. It will, if we let it, erect a wall of fear around nations and neighborhoods. It will dampen the joy of travel, the flow of trade, the exchange of ideas. In short, it will, if we let it, deflect the winds of freedom.

Let us resolve that this will never happen. We can no longer tolerate cowardly terrorist attacks on our citizens. Government-sponsored terrorism, in particular, cannot continue without grave threat to the social fabric of all free societies. This undoubtedly will be a topic of discussion in Tokyo. Henry Russel Lowell in a poem entitled "The Present Crisis" and later made into one of my favorite hymns wrote:

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of truth with falsehood, for the good or evil
side."

Well, over the past few months, we've had to make some tough decisions. But in the end the decision was made for us, when a despot, despite our political, economic, and diplomatic attempts to change his ways, continued his murderous attacks on our fellow citizens.

America will never watch passively as our innocent citizens are murdered by those who would do our country harm. We are slow to wrath and hesitant to use the military power available to us. By nature, we prefer to solve problems peacefully. But as we proved last week, no one can kill Americans and brag about it. No one. And should it be required, we will act again.

There was a funeral a short time ago in Annapolis. A local family -- the kind you can find in any neighborhood across our great country -- had suffered the horror of a terrorist attack. A young man, Warren Klug, buried his wife, his baby daughter, and his mother-in-law. All were innocent victims of the bombing of a TWA airliner. After the memorial service, his baby daughter laying in the coffin with her mother, Warren Klug told his fellow citizens and the world, "To those responsible for this cowardly act: you've succeeded in devastating our family, but you will never destroy the heart and spirit of America." All of us stand united with the Klug family, and the others who have suffered.

As your President, I promise you we, as a people, will have the courage and the honor to do what is right. Together, we will keep this the land of the free and the home of the brave, the last best hope for mankind. Thank you and God bless you.