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**Collection:** Latin American Affairs Directorate,  
NSC: Records

**Folder Title:** Bolivia (Safe 3)  
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*Last Updated: 9/6/2024*

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE, NSC:  
RECORDS

**Withdrawer**

KML 9/28/2011

**File Folder** BOLIVIA (SAFE 3) 05/01/1985-12/23/1985

**FOIA**

M10-353/1

**Box Number** 1

DENNISON

61

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
119850	MEMO	JACQUELINE TILLMAN TO JOHN POINDEXTER RE BOLIVIAN ELECTIONS <b>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</b>	2	7/9/1985	B1
119851	MEMO	JACQUELINE TILLMAN TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE BOLIVIAN ELECTIONS (WITH COVER SHEET)	2	7/15/1985	B1
119853	LETTER	ROBERT MCFARLANE TO AMBASSADOR CORR RE BOLIVIA <b>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</b>	1	ND	B1
119854	CABLE	232006Z JUL 85	2	7/23/1985	B1 B3
119855	MEMO	JACQUELINE TILLMAN TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION TO BOLIVIAN INAUGURATION <b>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</b>	1	7/29/1985	B1
119856	MEMO	NICHOLAS PLATT TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE U.S. DELEGATION TO BOLIVIA'S PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION <b>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</b>	1	7/26/1985	B1
119858	MEMO	JACQUELINE TILLMAN TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE TRIP REPORT <b>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</b>	1	8/9/1985	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

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B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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61

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
119859	REPORT	RE BOLIVIA (ATTACHMENT TO DOC 119858)	2	ND	B1
119861	MEMO	WILLIAM MARTIN TO JAMES ROSEBUSH RE REQUEST FOR MEETING <i>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</i>	1	11/22/1985	B1
119863	MEMO	JACQUELINE TILLMAN TO WILLIAM MARTIN RE REQUEST FOR MEETING <i>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</i>	1	11/21/1985	B1
119864	MEMO	NICHOLAS PLATT TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE REQUEST FOR CALL ON MRS. REAGAN <i>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</i>	1	11/19/1985	B1
119865	MEMO	JACQUELINE TILLMAN TO JOHN POINDEXTER RE PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION <i>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</i>	2	12/18/1985	B1
119866	MEMO	JOHN POINDEXTER TO THE PRESIDENT RE CERTIFICATION TO CONGRESS <i>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</i>	2	ND	B1
119868	MEMO	JOHN C. WHITEHEAD TO THE PRESIDENT RE DETERMINATION OF ENACTMENT OF LEGISLATION <i>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</i>	2	12/16/1985	B1

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MEMORANDUM

Tillman

3686

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 23, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD K. PETERSON

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *WRP for*  
SUBJECT: S-790 to Terminate U.S. Assistance for Bolivia

NSC concurs with State's draft response to S-790 which would terminate U.S. assistance to Bolivia unless it eradicates 10% of its coca production.

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

May 21, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: JACQUELINE TILLMAN *JT*  
SUBJECT: S-790 to Terminate U.S. Assistance for Bolivia

S-790 would terminate U.S. assistance to Bolivia unless they eradicated 10% of its coca production. It is an outrageous piece of legislation, totally unworkable and unquantifiable, and totally counterproductive to our efforts to both maintaining Bolivia as a country per se (it is that fragile there), and encouraging Bolivians to seriously tackle the narcotics issue. State's response says all these things in a much nicer way.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward your memorandum to Ronald K. Peterson stating NSC concurrence with State's draft.

Approve *LMP* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_  
*CCW* *RMW* *(unavailable)* *My* *(unavailable)*  
Menges, Wigg, Stark, Burghardt, Lehman concur.

## Attachment:

Tab I Kimmitt/Peterson memo  
Tab II Peterson memo dated May 3, 1985



3674

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

May 3, 1985

LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL MEMORANDUM

TO: Legislative Liaison Officer-  
National Security Council  
Department of Justice  
Department of Transportation  
Agency for International Development  
Department of the Treasury

SUBJECT: State draft report on S. 790, "To terminate U.S. assistance for Bolivia unless Bolivia eradicates 10 percent of its coca production."

The Office of Management and Budget requests the views of your agency on the above subject before advising on its relationship to the program of the President, in accordance with OMB Circular A-19.

A response to this request for your views is needed no later than THURSDAY, MAY 30, 1985.

Questions should be referred to Tracey Lawler/Sue Thau (395-7300) the legislative analyst in this office.

*Ronald K. Peterson*

RONALD K. PETERSON FOR  
Assistant Director for  
Legislative Reference

Enclosures

cc: S. Gates



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

M

Dear Chairman Lugar:

The Department has been asked for comment on S. 790, "To terminate United States Assistance for Bolivia unless Bolivia eradicates 10 percent of its coca production, and for other purposes, "which was introduced by Senator Hawkins on March 28, 1985.

Several bills relating to narcotics control in Bolivia were introduced following the February 14 submission by the Department of its annual report to Congress -- the International Narcotics Control Strategy Report -- in which we declared that Bolivia had not eradicated a single coca bush and was among our major disappointments in the field of narcotics control in 1984.

Most if not all of these bills would impose various kinds of economic sanctions against Bolivia, on grounds of having failed to eradicate its considerable coca crop.

The Department opposes this legislation. As Secretary Shultz and Assistant Secretary Thomas have said to both committees (Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs), the Department does not believe that imposing sanctions at this time would improve the control situation in any of the key producing countries. At the same time, the Department has said it will recommend to the President that he suspend assistance, under the authority of P.L. 98-164, if the Department believes it is no longer possible to obtain adequate cooperation from a government.

S. 790 goes well beyond P.L. 98-164, the so-called Hawkins-Gilman-Rangel amendment, by setting a new standard, unique to Bolivia. No other country is required by U.S. law to eradicate 10 percent of its crop annually, to continue receipt of U.S. assistance. Instead, the Department negotiates narcotics assistance agreements, which generally contain annual eradication targets. The target for Bolivia is 4,000 hectares.

The Honorable  
Richard G. Lugar,  
Chairman,  
Committee on Foreign Relations,  
United States Senate.

The implications of imposing an arbitrary 10 percent standard cannot be understated. With a major expenditure of U.S. and domestic resources, Mexico eradicated 40.9 percent of its 1984 marijuana crop. Yet, marijuana cultivation actually increased in Mexico in 1984, and, while we are working closely with the Mexicans to recapture the former effectiveness of this program, Mexico would have lost all U.S. assistance, if this standard were imposed on every country. On the other hand, Afghanistan reported a 68.7 percent year-to-year decline, and, if it were a U.S. aid recipient, it would have a cushion to carry forward against future year reports, assuring continued aid. But, unlike Mexico, Afghanistan made no real effort to reduce production, but instead benefitted from severely adverse weather and war-time conditions, which reduced the crop.

Thus, not only is the 10 percent requirement unique, but there would be considerable problems in measuring compliance. This would be particularly true in Bolivia. There are two different, professional estimates of production: one field analysis projected production at 37,600 to 60,800 metric tons; an aerial survey of a sample of the growing region yielded an estimate of 60,202 to 80,543 metric tons. By which standard would Bolivia be measured?

But, the current major problem in Bolivia is not one of eradicating 3760 vs 8054 metric tons of coca. The problem is one of getting the eradication program started. The 1983 program agreements signed with Bolivia correctly called for the prerequisite of establishing law and order in the Chapare and other key growing regions, as a precedent to eradication. For the past several years, the central government has not had a police presence in the Chapare, and, establishing that presence was and is the key to crop control.

On February 3, 1985, the special mobile narcotics unit was redeployed into the Beni area, and a special rural police force was deployed into the Chapare. We are finally getting solid reports of seizures and effective raids on trafficker establishments, and President Siles has promised that the voluntary phase of eradication will begin before the end of his Administration (this summer).



Obviously, this is not the schedule we would have preferred, and the record of the dialogue by Ambassador Corr and the Department on this matter is one of constant pressure on the Bolivians to take action. Progress has been admittedly slow in forthcoming and difficult to achieve, and we are still not in a position to guarantee eradication. But, we do not believe at this time that our narcotics goals would be achieved by suspending assistance.

We trust the Committee concurs and will not adopt this proposed legislation. The Department will keep the Committee advised of our progress in Bolivia, including a report to be made May 13 when Assistant Secretary Thomas is scheduled to testify before you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

William L. Ball, III  
Assistant Secretary  
Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs

Tillman

5092

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 5, 1985

*file*

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES G. ROSEBUSH

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN *WFM*  
SUBJECT: Thank You Letter from Mrs. Siles to Mrs. Reagan

State has advised that no response is necessary to the thank you letter that Bolivian First Lady Teresa Siles wrote to Mrs. Reagan.


## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

July 5, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: JACQUELINE TILLMAN 

SUBJECT: Thank You Letter from Mrs. Siles to Mrs. Reagan

State has advised that no response is necessary to this thank you letter.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward your memorandum to James Rosebush (Tab I) stating same.

Approve WPF Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

## Attachments:

Tab I Martin/Rosebush memo  
Tab II State transmittal dated June 24, 1985  
Tab III Letter to Mrs. Reagan dated May 8

5092  
9  
Unclassified  
(CLASSIFICATION)

8518631

S/S#

Date June 24, 1985

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
TRANSMITTAL FORM

FOR: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane  
National Security Council  
The White House

REFERENCE:

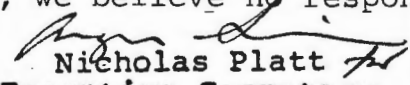
TO: Mrs. Reagan FROM: Mrs. Siles, wife of Bolivian President  
DATE: 6/21/85 SUBJECT: Letter thanking Mrs. Reagan  
for her hospitality during the First Ladies' Conference on drugs  
WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATED: NSC#

☒ The attached item was sent directly to the  
Department of State.

ACTION TAKEN:

- ☐ A draft reply is attached.
- ☐ A draft reply will be forwarded.
- ☐ A translation is attached.
- ☐ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- ☒ We believe no response is necessary for the reason  
cited below.
- ☐ The Department of State has no objection to the  
proposed travel.
- ☐ Other.

REMARKS: Mrs. Siles thanks Mrs. Reagan for the kindness and hospitality  
extended her and her daughter during the First Ladies' Conference and  
congratulates Mrs. Reagan on the Conference's success. Since letter  
contains nothing of substance on drugs, we believe no response is required.

  
Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

287  
Unclassified  
(CLASSIFICATION)



10

*Presidencia de la República*  
*Correspondencia Privada*

La Paz, 8 de Mayo de 1985

Excelentísima Señora y amiga:

A mi retorno a Bolivia quiero expresarle que guardo los mejores recuerdos de las finas atenciones brindadas a mi persona y a mi hija señora Marcela Siles de Gerke, durante nuestra grata permanencia en vuestro país con ocasión de la Reunión de Primeras Damas, gentilezas por las cuales debo manifestar le mi agradecimiento.

La Reunión auspiciada por usted ha constituido un acontecimiento internacional y una oportunidad magnífica para intercambiar ideas sobre los graves problemas que afectan a la juventud. Permítame felicitarla por el éxito alcanzado.

En esta oportunidad, le renuevo las seguridades de mi más alta y distinguida consideración, deseando toda ventura para usted y el pue-blo de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica.

Cordialmente

*Teresa Ormachea de Siles*  
Teresa Ormachea de Siles Zuazo

Excelentísima Señora  
Doña Nancy Reagan  
PRIMERA DAMA DE LOS  
ESTADOS UNIDOS DE NORTE AMERICA  
Washington, D.C.



EMBAJADA DE BOLIVIA  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

8518631

EMBO-237/85

May 17, 1985

The Embassy of Bolivia presents its compliments to the Department of State and is pleased to attach hereto a letter from Mrs. Teresa Ormachea de Siles Zuazo, wife of the President of the Republic of Bolivia, addressed to Mrs. Nancy Reagan.

The Embassy of Bolivia wishes to thank the Department of State for transmitting this letter and avails itself of this opportunity to renew the assurances of its highest consideration.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Protocol Office

Washington, D.C. 20520



~~SECRET~~

119850

5415

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~INFORMATION

July 9, 1985

NOTED

MEMORANDUM FOR ADMIRAL JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: JACQUELINE TILLMAN *JT*

SUBJECT: Bolivian Elections

President Siles is still trying to prevent Bolivia's elections scheduled for this Sunday, July 14, to go forward in an attempt to keep General Banzer from winning. The latest Gallup polls indicate a Banzer victory. Siles has asked Congress to convene July 11 (3 days before the scheduled elections) to obtain a postponement of the elections to September 15; the inauguration would move from August 6 to October 10.

Ambassador Ed Corr doubts that a quorum of Congress will be present which means technically the elections would go forward. He has also been in touch with Banzer's people and Victor Paz (the other major candidate) who are publicly protesting Siles' actions vigorously. The military under General Lopez Leyton is of course considering staging a coup if the elections are postponed--this situation is tailor-made for a Bolivian coup. Corr is working closely with the Argentine Ambassador to Bolivia. Argentina shares our concerns and believes that the elections should go forward, and has more influence in Bolivia than we do.

The pretext that Siles is using to postpone the elections is his assertion that there are 3 million eligible voters in Bolivia, only 2 million have registered leaving 1 million campesinos out of the process. Corr has stated that in 1980 when Siles was elected only 1.8 million Bolivians were registered and 1.6 voted in that election and Siles accepted that mandate. The COB (a militant and large labor union that tried to bring down the government with strikes in March) has joined with Siles in calling for a postponement even though Siles and the COB are bitter enemies.

~~SECRET~~

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~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M353/1# 119850

BY *RWS* NARA DATE 5/18/15

~~SECRET~~

13

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

State is requesting that the Argentine, Peruvian, Brazilian, Colombian, and Venezuelan presidents weigh in with Siles. State will issue a strong statement today at the noon briefing. (Attached)

If the elections don't go forward and the military stages a coup, it will be the civilians who lost the democracy in Bolivia. None of what is happening is unexpected. It may be that the elections will go forward this Sunday.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~



July 9, 1985

## STATEMENT

BOLIVIAN ELECTIONS

WE VIEW WITH CONCERN RECENT REPORTS FROM BOLIVIA WHICH INDICATE THERE COULD BE A POSTPONEMENT OF THE JULY 14 ELECTIONS. WE TRUST THAT THE BOLIVIANS WILL RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS THEY ARE CONFRONTING AND CARRY OUT THE ELECTIONS IN CONFORMITY WITH THEIR LAWS. ANY DELAY WILL ONLY FURTHER AGGRAVATE BOLIVIA'S SEVERE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CRISIS WHICH DEMANDS THE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION OF A NEWLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT. WE WOULD LAMENT ANY DEVELOPMENT THAT MAY CAUSE A REVERSAL OF THE PROCESS TO ESTABLISH MORE FIRMLY CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY IN BOLIVIA AND THE HEMISPHERE.

Drafted: ARA/AND: BAOwens *BAO*  
Cleared: ARA/AND: FERondon *BAO*  
ARA/AND: PMcLean *BAO*  
Embassy La Paz: Amb. Corp *BAO*  
ARA: LKilday *BAO*

Wang 1634

## ROUTING

To	Name and Address	Date	Initials
1	<i>Mr. McFarlane</i>		
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ACTION	FILE
<input type="checkbox"/>	APPROVAL	INFORMATION
<input type="checkbox"/>	COMMENT	PREPARE REPLY
<input type="checkbox"/>	CONCURRENCE	RECOMMENDATION
<input type="checkbox"/>	DIRECT REPLY	RETURN
<input type="checkbox"/>	DISPATCH	SIGNATURE

## REMARKS:

*cys 2-3 Tillman*  
*cy 4 - Radjinski*

*Bolivia* 119851**SECRET***file*NSC/ICS CONTROL NO. 400754COPY NO. 1 OF 4

HANDLE VIA SYSTEM IV CHANNEL ONLY

# NSC INTELLIGENCE DOCUMENT

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Intelligence Sources and Methods Involved

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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Sec.34(b), E.O. 12958, as amended  
 White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006  
 BY NARA *RW*, DATE 5/3/16

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**National Security Council  
The White House**

(247) ✓ 16

System # IV

Package # 400754

85 JUL 16 P12: 06

188

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	
William Martin	<u>2</u>		
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>		
Paul Thompson	<u>4</u>		
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane	<u>5</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>A</u>
William Martin		<u>um</u>	
NSC Secretariat	<u>7</u>		<u>R</u>
Situation Room	<u>6</u>	<u>WHE</u>	<b>FOR DISPATCH</b>

I = Information    A = Action    R = Retain    D = Dispatch    N = No further Action

cc: VP    Regan    Buchanan    Other \_\_\_\_\_

**COMMENTS**

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

*Bud,*  
*I think this is a good idea.*  
*[Signature]*

17



~~SECRET~~

119853

19

~~SECRET~~

BACK CHANNEL MESSAGE

TO: LA PAZ, BOLIVIA

AMBASSADOR CORR FROM *Assistant to the President* ~~NSC~~ ADVISOR MCFARLANE

*July 14*  
1. THAT BOLIVIA HELD ELECTIONS ON ~~SUNDAY~~ WAS A REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT FOR WHICH YOU DESERVE MUCH CREDIT.

2. THROUGHOUT YOUR YEARS IN BOLIVIA, YOUR DIPLOMATIC SKILLS, ACCURATE ASSESSMENTS, AND DETERMINATION HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE MAINTENANCE OF BOLIVIAN DEMOCRACY AND *the* ~~SECURING~~ *of* IMPORTANT US INTERESTS.

3. I KNOW THE UPCOMING TRANSITION PERIOD IN BOLIVIA WILL ALSO BE DIFFICULT, BUT IT IS REASSURING TO KNOW THAT YOU WILL BE THERE TO SEE IT THROUGH.

4. IT IS ALSO REASSURING TO KNOW THAT WE WILL HAVE, IN EL SALVADOR, AN AMBASSADOR OF SUCH PROVEN SKILLS.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRRM353/1 #119853

BY *RW* NARA DATE *5/18/15*

~~SECRET~~

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 30, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD I. SPIERS  
UNDER SECRETARY FOR MANAGEMENT  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FROM: ROBERT H. TUTTLE *RT*  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
PRESIDENTIAL PERSONNEL

SUBJECT: U.S. Delegation to Bolivia's Presidential  
Inauguration, August 6, 1985

After careful consideration, we concur on the following  
delegation to attend the inauguration of the next Bolivian  
President on August 6, 1985:

Head of the Delegation  
The Honorable Elliott Abrams  
Assistant Secretary of State  
for Inter-American Affairs

Representatives  
The Honorable Richard T. McCormack  
U.S. Permanent Representative to the  
Organization of American States

Mr. Edward M. Rowell  
U.S. Ambassador to Bolivia (designate)

Mr. Jack Webb  
Houston, Texas  
(713) 960-8806

Mrs. Sonia Landau  
Chairman, Board for Public Broadcasting  
(213) 278-9310

cc: Robert C. McFarlane  
William F. Martin  
✓ Jackie Tillman  
White House Press Office



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

5952

*Tillman*

23

July 31, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT H. TUTTLE

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE *rcm*  
SUBJECT: Presidential Delegation to Bolivian Inauguration

The Department of State has recommended that a Presidential delegation be sent to the upcoming inauguration of Bolivia's president. We anticipate the inauguration will be held sometime around August 6. The Department of State has recommended that Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Elliott Abrams lead the delegation, with OAS Ambassador Richard McCormack and Ambassador-designate Edward M. Rowell as the other two members. The NSC concurs with the Department of State's recommendations and would appreciate prompt notification of your decision.

DECLASSIFIED  
Sec.34(b), E.O. 12958, as amended  
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006  
BY NARA KML, DATE 9/28/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECLASSIFY: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

5952

24

CONFIDENTIALACTION

July 29, 1985

SIGNED

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACQUELINE TILLMAN *JJ*

SUBJECT: Presidential Delegation to Bolivian Inauguration

It appears that the President of Bolivia will be selected by the Bolivian Congress because no candidate received a majority of votes. The Bolivian Congress has a longstanding tradition of selecting the candidate who received the largest number of votes but because the percentages between Banzer and Victor Paz is quite small, the outcome is uncertain. It is also uncertain if a decision will have been made by the date scheduled for the inauguration, August 6. Therefore, the Department of State has recommended against naming a U.S. Cabinet official to head our delegation and has requested that Elliott Abrams, OAS Ambassador McCormack and Ambassador-designate Rowell be designated members of the presidential delegation to the inauguration. Ambassador Ed Corr believes that Rowell should be a member instead of him because it will help Rowell get established in Bolivia. We concur with State's recommendations. ARA has asked me to accompany the delegation. I would like to do so.

RECOMMENDATION

That you send your memorandum to Robert Tuttle with State's recommendations.

Approve *m* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

That you approve my representing the NSC on the delegation.

Approve *m* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

*B* Burghardt concurs.

## Attachments:

Tab I Your memo to Robert Tuttle  
Tab II State memo dated July 26, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECLASSIFY: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M353/1 #119855

BY *RW* NARA DATE *5/18/15*



119856

S/S 8522167 XR-8522

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

5952

July 26, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
AND MR. ROBERT TUTTLE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: U.S. Delegation to Bolivia's Presidential Inauguration,  
August 6, 1985.

The next Bolivian President is scheduled to be inaugurated on August 6, 1985 in that country's first transition from one democratically elected government to another in 25 years. The successful realization of the July 14 elections is a major achievement for Bolivia given its long history of military coups and short-lived constitutions. It is also a success for the Administration's strong support for Bolivian democracy since the return to civilian rule there three years ago.

There will be high level attendance at the August 6 ceremonies by several governments in the hemisphere. Both Argentine President Alfonsin and Colombian President Betancur plan to attend. We believe the United States should be represented by a Presidential delegation. The Department recommends that Assistant Secretary Elliott Abrams head a delegation. U.S. Ambassador to the OAS, Richard McCormack, and Ambassador-designate to Bolivia, Edward M. Rowell would form the nucleus of the rest of our representation.

We believe representation at this level is appropriate as a symbol of our strong continued support for the Bolivian democratic process and our desire to develop a productive bilateral relationship with the next government. Because of the possibility of a last minute cancellation of the inauguration, we do not recommend Cabinet level representation. The Bolivian Congress will not meet until a few days before inaugural day to elect the next President, and there could be a Congressional deadlock.

The Department requests White House concurrence to proceed with the recommended delegation.

*Nicholas Platt*  
Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
NLRR M353/1 #119856  
BY *RW* NARA DATE 5/18/15



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

6129

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August 3, 1985

Tillyman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

SUBJECT: Request for SAM for Bolivia Delegation

In our efforts to continue to show U.S. support for Latin America's new democracies, a presidential delegation led by Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Elliott Abrams, will represent the United States at the inauguration of Bolivia's new president. The delegation will leave Washington and travel to La Paz, Bolivia on Monday, August 5, and return to Washington on Wednesday, August 7. The Department of State has requested that SAM aircraft be made available for the delegation. NSC concurs with this recommendation.

cc: Edward V. Hickey, Jr.  
Chris Hicks

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
Sec.3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended  
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006  
BY NARA KML, DATE 9/28/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM

6129

27

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION

August 2, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACQUELINE TILLMAN

SIGNED

SUBJECT: Airplane for Bolivia Delegation

State just sent over the memorandum requesting SAM aircraft for the delegation to go to the Bolivian delegation. My understanding is that there is an airplane available and booked for the trip.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward your memorandum to Donald Regan requesting SAM aircraft for the travel to Bolivia.

Approve   1  

Disapprove           

Attachment:

Tab I Your memo to Donald Regan  
Tab II State memo dated August 1, 1985  
& Hickey memo dated August 2, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFY: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
Sec.3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended  
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006  
BY NARA KML, DATE 9/28/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 1, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

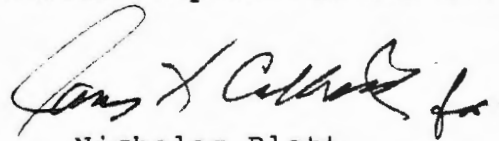
MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Request for Special Air Missions Aircraft

In furtherance of the President's foreign policy, Assistant Secretary Elliott Abrams will head the Presidential Delegation to the inauguration of the President of Bolivia. He and the Delegation will leave Washington and travel to La Paz, Bolivia on Monday, August 5, and return to Washington on Wednesday, August 7.

To enable Assistant Secretary Abrams to maintain his schedule in Washington before and after the proposed travel and to provide a level of support commensurate to the importance of this Delegation, the use of a Special Air Missions aircraft is requested to transport the Delegation on the above itinerary.

Thank you for your continued cooperation and assistance.



Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: 8/15/85

DECLASSIFIED  
Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997  
BY KML NARA, DATE 9/28/11

29

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 2, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
FROM: EDWARD V. HICKEY, JR. *WJH*  
SUBJECT: Aircraft Request - Delegation to Bolivia

Attached is a request for aircraft support for the Presidential Delegation to Bolivia, 5 - 7 August.

An aircraft is available. Please forward your recommendation to the Chief of Staff.

cc: Chris Hicks



United States Department of State.

Washington, D.C. 20520

30

July 31, 1985

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Edward Hickey  
Director, Military Office  
The White House

FROM: Mark Biedlingmaier  
Office of Protocol  
tele: 632-4294

SUBJECT: U.S. Presidential Delegation to Bolivia on the  
occasion of the Presidential Inauguration of the  
President-Elect of the Republic Bolivia on  
August 6, 1985

-----

It has been recommended that the White House appoint a U.S. Presidential delegation to attend the Inaugural Ceremonies in Bolivia. In this regard, I would like to request the following aircraft support:

MONDAY, AUGUST 5, 1985

9:00 am One U.S. Presidential (C-20) Aircraft to take the  
U.S. Presidential Delegation from Andrews Air Force  
Base to La Paz, Bolivia.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7, 1985 (Tentative)

One U.S. Presidential (C-20) Aircraft to take the  
U.S. Presidential Delegation from La Paz, Bolivia to  
Andrews Air Force Base.

cc: TTowell  
MArchambault



Washington, D.C. 20520 31

August 1, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

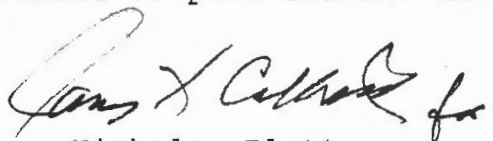
MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. McFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Request for Special Air Missions Aircraft

In furtherance of the President's foreign policy, Assistant Secretary Elliott Abrams will head the Presidential Delegation to the inauguration of the President of Bolivia. He and the Delegation will leave Washington and travel to La Paz, Bolivia on Monday, August 5, and return to Washington on Wednesday, August 7.

To enable Assistant Secretary Abrams to maintain his schedule in Washington before and after the proposed travel and to provide a level of support commensurate to the importance of this Delegation, the use of a Special Air Missions aircraft is requested to transport the Delegation on the above itinerary.

Thank you for your continued cooperation and assistance.



Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

DECLASSIFIED  
Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997  
BY KML NARA, DATE 9/28/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: 8/15/85

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

*Tillman**32*INFORMATION

August 5, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACQUELINE TILLMAN *JT/jh*

SUBJECT: Delegation to Bolivia

State requested approval to add Timothy Towell to the list of official delegates. I was unable to raise anybody by telephone from Presidential Personnel, either here or those out of town, but State Protocol assure me that Presidential Personnel had given verbal approval.

On John Carbaugh (because we were unable to get in touch with Presidential Personnel)--Elliott's deputy, the guy from State Protocol, and I decided that he could be designated a member of the accompanying delegation, which means that he could ride the airplane but would pick up his own per diem expenses.

Attachment:

Tab I State memo dated August 2, 1985

*ok*  
*w m*



8522772  
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 2, 1985

33

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. McFARLANE  
AND MR. ROBERT H. TUTTLE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: U.S. Presidential Delegation to  
La Paz, Bolivia, August 5-7, 1985

It is recommended that Timothy L. Towell, Acting Chief of Protocol, be added to the Presidential Delegation to the August 6 Inauguration of Bolivia's President.

Mr. Towell served twice in Bolivia (Cochabamba, 1967 and La Paz, 1968) and was the Department's Bolivia Desk Officer from 1968-1970.

*Nicholas Platt*  
Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

119858

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM

6341

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SECRET

34

ACTION

August 9, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACQUELINE TILLMAN *JT*

SUBJECT: Trip Report: Bolivia

Attached is a trip report on the Bolivia trip and a short account of my conversation with General Galvan in Panama where we stopped for refueling.

RECOMMENDATION

That you read the attached trip report.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment:

Tab I Trip Report

SECRET~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M3531 #119858

BY *RW* NARA DATE *5/18/15*

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

### *Collection Name*

Latin American Affairs Directorate, NSC: Records

### *Withdrawer*

KM 9/28/2011  
L

### *File Folder*

BOLIVIA (SAFE 3) 05/01/1985-12/23/1985

### *FOIA*

M10-353/1  
DENNISON

### *Box Number*

1

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
119859	REPORT  RE BOLIVIA (ATTACHMENT TO DOC 119858)	2	ND	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Hughes

37

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506ACTION

November 6, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: PHILIP HUGHES *Philip Hughes*

SUBJECT: Request for Authorization to Attend November 8-10  
Conference on Democracy in the Eastern Caribbean  
in Barbados

I have received a "last minute" invitation to attend the November 8-10 Conference on Democracy in the Eastern Caribbean being held in Barbados under the sponsorship of the Center for International Enterprise and the National Democratic Institute. My attendance will be in lieu of Walt Raymond, who had earlier planned to participate but has now decided not to go. The conference will provide a valuable opportunity to meet a large number of party leaders and government figures from the eastern Caribbean--including Barbadian Prime Minister St. John and Grenadian Prime Minister Blaize. The conference will enjoy high level attendance, including Congressmen Fascell, Gray, Dymally, Fuster and Rangel. There will be no cost to the NSC for my attendance; transportation is being made available by the congressional delegation aircraft and conference expenses will be borne by Otto Reich's office.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve my participation in the November 8-10 Conference on Democracy in the Eastern Caribbean in Barbados.

Approve *WR* Disapprove



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Tillman 119861

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November 22, 1985

*File*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES G. ROSEBUSH

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN *WFM*  
SUBJECT: Request for Meeting with Bolivian First Lady

The Department of State has advised that Mrs. Paz Estenssoro, the wife of the new Bolivian President, will be in Washington after December 3, 1985 because her daughter is undergoing medical treatment at Georgetown Hospital. The Department of State has recommended a meeting between Mrs. Reagan and Mrs. Paz Estenssoro to discuss narcotics and drug abuse and prevention programs. Mrs. Paz Estenssoro was unable to attend Mrs. Reagan's UN Conference because she was ill.

As you know, Bolivia is one of the world's largest producers of coca leaf and past Bolivian governments have not cooperated with the U.S. in addressing this issue. The new government of Paz Estenssoro is now moving vigorously on the narcotics problem: eradication programs are underway, a mandatory drug education program is being considered by the Bolivian Congress, interdiction efforts are increasing. Mrs. Paz Estenssoro is personally involved in many of these initiatives, and is especially interested in becoming more informed about drug abuse and prevention programs.

The NSC joins the Department of State in strongly recommending a meeting in order to show U.S. support for these welcome initiatives on the part of the new Bolivian government, and to encourage the Bolivian government to continue its cooperation with us on this important issue.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECLASSIFY: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M3531 #119861  
BY *RW* NARA DATE 5/18/15

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

119863

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

39

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION

November 21, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: JACQUELINE TILLMAN *JT*

SUBJECT: Request for Meeting with Mrs. Reagan with Bolivian First Lady

The Department of State has advised us that Mrs. Paz Estenssoro, the wife of the new Bolivian President, will be in Washington after December 3, 1985. The Department has recommended a meeting with Mrs. Reagan and Mrs. Paz Estenssoro to discuss narcotics. Mrs. Paz Estenssoro was unable to attend Mrs. Reagan's UN Conference because of illness.

We join State in strongly recommending this meeting. Bolivia is one of the world's largest producers of coca from which cocaine is derived. Up to now, we have not been able to effectively work with past Bolivian governments on this issue primarily because of their reluctance to confront powerful drug interests. The Paz Estenssoro government, which came to power this past August, is now moving vigorously on the narcotics issue. An eradication program is currently being implemented and the Bolivian Congress is considering legislation for drug education programs.

We believe that these efforts merit our support and a meeting between Mrs. Reagan and Mrs. Paz Estenssoro will do much to show this support and encourage the Bolivian government to continue its cooperation with the U.S. on this important issue.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward your memorandum to Rosebush recommending this meeting.

*K* Approve *WRT*  
*Stark, Miller* concur.

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

Tab I Your memo to Rosebush  
Tab II State incoming

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFY: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
NLRR M353/1 #119863  
BY *RW* NARA DATE 5/18/15





United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

9344

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November 19, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSESubject: Request for Call on Mrs. Reagan by Wife of the  
Bolivian President

Mrs. Paz Estenssoro, wife of Bolivian President Victor Paz Estenssoro, is in Washington in connection with the medical treatment of her daughter at Georgetown University. Because of her own illness at the time of Mrs. Reagan's First Ladies Conference on Drug Abuse at the United Nations on October 21, Mrs. Paz was unable to attend, but conveyed her support for the goals of the Conference in a letter to Mrs. Reagan. Our Embassy in La Paz reports that the First Lady of Bolivia has expressed a strong desire to establish a country-wide educational program on drug addiction, designed to prevent drug abuse among young people. This represents another encouraging sign that her husband and his new government are confronting the serious Bolivian cocaine problem.

In view of her availability in Washington during the next few weeks, we suggest that a meeting be scheduled between Mrs. Paz and Mrs. Reagan to discuss the progress that First Ladies have made since the April and October Conferences in the area of drug abuse prevention. A meeting would serve to maintain the momentum generated by Bolivia's attendance at the April Conference.

While we understand that Mrs. Reagan's schedule is extremely busy, we suggest that if possible, a meeting between the two First Ladies be scheduled for November 22. If that date is not convenient for Mrs. Reagan, a meeting could be scheduled after December 3.

Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M353/1 #119864

BY RW NARA DATE 5/18/15

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

41

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION

December 18, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: JACQUELINE TILLMAN *JA*

SUBJECT: Presidential Determination re Coca Cultivation  
in Bolivia

In its infinite wisdom, the Congress passed legislation that conditioned US assistance to Bolivia on its performance on control of coca production (for release of first tranche of assistance) and coca eradication (for release of second tranche of assistance). The legislation requires the President to certify that the Bolivian government has satisfactorily taken steps in these areas. Congress, of course, seems not to understand that a stable democracy and a healthy economy will create the conditions in Bolivia that will allow effective measures to be taken on the narcotics front. At any rate, the new Bolivian government, under President Paz Estenssoro, initiated a sound economic program which prompted a major strike to which Paz responded by courageously implementing a state of siege. The state of siege will be lifted shortly. With the economic program under way (an IMF letter of intent was just signed), Paz has vigorously turned to narcotics matters. (The most encouraging event in Bolivia is the Paz-Banzar pact which is producing a political climate of cooperation that is really moving things along. We're not out of the woods yet in Bolivia, but it is looking up.)

The Department of State has determined that the actions promulgated by the Bolivian government meet the Congressional requirement for release of the first tranche of assistance (which they desperately need) and has prepared a Presidential certification (Tab A) which will release approximately 50 percent of the assistance in the pipeline for Bolivia. The second tranche will be released after the Bolivians enact a program which will eliminate excess coca production. The certification document delegates to the Department of State the authority to make this certification. The Paz administration is taking encouraging steps to implement a coca eradication program.

Agency concurrences supporting Presidential certification:  
Carlton Turner, White House Office on Drug Abuse Policy; the Vice

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECLASSIFY

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NLRR M353/1 #119865  
BY *RW* NARA DATE 6/23/15

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Up

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

President's Office; the Attorney General's Drug Enforcement Policy Board.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward your memorandum to the President (Tab I) recommending he sign the certification at Tab A.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

*Stark, [signature], and [signature] concur.*

Attachments:

Tab I	Your memo to the President
Tab A	Presidential Determination
Tab B	Statement of Justification
Tab C	Memo to the President from Acting Secretary of State Whitehead dated December 16, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

119866  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN M. POINDEXTER  
SUBJECT: Certification to Congress on Bolivian  
Coca Production

Issue

To sign the determination to the Secretary of State regarding coca production in Bolivia.

Facts

US assistance to Bolivia was conditioned by the Congress based on performance on control of coca production and eradication of coca. The legislation requires that you certify that appropriate steps have been taken in these areas by the Government of Bolivia.

Discussion

The Department of State has determined that the Government of Bolivia has satisfied the requirement on control of coca production which will release the first tranche of US assistance to Bolivia. The Government of Bolivia has taken firm steps to control the production of coca. The second tranche of assistance can be released after a program of coca eradication that has been developed by the Government of Bolivia has been implemented. The Department of State recommends that you authorize them to make this second determination when the Government of Bolivia begins implementation of coca eradication.

The Vice President's office, the White House Office on Drug Abuse Policy, the Attorney General's Drug Enforcement Policy Board, and the National Security Council support the Department of State's recommendation that you sign the determination.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLR 119866  
M353/1 #119866  
BY DW NARA DATE 6/23/15

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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CONFIDENTIAL

Recommendation

That you sign the determination at Tab A.

OK

No

\_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

Tab A      Determination  
Tab B      Statement of Justification  
Tab C      Memo to you from Acting Secretary of State  
            Whitehead dated December 16, 1985

Prepared by:  
Jacqueline Tillman

CONFIDENTIAL

hh

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

45

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Presidential Determination  
No. \_\_\_\_\_

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ  
The Secretary of State

SUBJECT: Certification to Authorize Continuation of  
Certain Assistance for Bolivia

Pursuant to Section 611(1)(A) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 (P.L. 99-83), I hereby certify that the Government of Bolivia has enacted legislation that will establish its legal coca requirements, provide for the licensing of the number of hectares necessary to produce the legal requirement, and make unlicensed coca production illegal.

You are requested to report this determination to the Congress immediately.

I hereby delegate to you authority to make such determinations as called for in the future under Section 611.

This determination shall be published in the Federal Register.

46

Justification for Certification to Authorize  
Continuation of Certain Assistance for Bolivia

Section 611(1)(A) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 provides that Military Assistance Program grants, Economic Support Fund assistance, International Military Education and Training and Foreign Military Sales financing may be provided for Bolivia only under certain conditions. Up to 50 percent of the aggregate amount of such assistance allocated for Bolivia may be provided at any time after the President certifies to the Congress that the Government of Bolivia has enacted legislation that will establish its legal coca requirements, provide for the licensing of the number of hectares necessary to produce the legal requirement, and make unlicensed coca production illegal.

On May 22, 1985, the President of Bolivia enacted (and the Council of Ministers signed) a comprehensive coca control Supreme Decree that for the first time provides the legal basis in Bolivia for eradication of coca cultivation. Prior to this decree, there had been no statutory basis for either voluntary or mandatory programs for the reduction of coca cultivation through eradication. It is designed inter alia, to provide for the establishment of legal coca requirements and the licensing of the number of hectares necessary to produce the legal requirement, and makes unlicensed coca production illegal. Most of the above-mentioned controls had not existed before in Bolivia. A Supreme Decree (attached is the Department of State translation of the decree) signed by the President of Bolivia and signed by the Council of Ministers has the force of a law enacted by the legislative branch of the Government of Bolivia.

The Bolivian Supreme Decree, as it applies to coca cultivation, and production and marketing of leaves, provides a legal foundation for fulfillment of a major U.S. narcotics goal in Bolivia -- reduction of coca production to the level of traditional, legitimate demand -- and thus for depriving traffickers of their current access to coca leaf production excess to legitimate consumption.

The decree regulates the cultivation of coca in articles 39 through 44. Article 39 prohibits cultivation of coca in all but two geographic zones, located in the two separate departments of La Paz and Cochabamba. Within those zones the National Office to Combat Drug Traffic is directed to set aside traditional regions for the cultivation of coca leaf establishing maximum production ceilings for each region. All new



cultivation within and without the two zones is prohibited, except that coca nurseries in legally authorized areas may carry the minimum amounts of stock in order to renew, but not increase, authorized plantings (article 44).

In accordance with article 43, within the legal zones, only farmers who were registered as coca producers in 1977 and/or 1981 can receive production licenses. The licenses issued are to show the area authorized for coca cultivation, the number of current and annual harvests permitted, estimated yield for each harvest, and the commitment to reduce the amount planted if production in the region exceeds legal demand (e.g., traditional coca leaf mastication).

Article 40 stipulates that the voluntary eradication of illegal coca cultivation is to be accomplished under the terms of the Government of Bolivia/United States Government Project Agreement on Reduction to the Level of Legal Demand and Control of Coca Production of August 11, 1983 including voluntary and mandatory methods of eradication. Article 42 requires that the reduction of surplus cultivation in areas declared traditional regions is be concurrent with the implementation of development programs.

Under Article 41 all purchases of public or private land in regions in which coca is, or may be, produced is to be controlled following certification attesting that no coca cultivations exist on that land and a commitment by the bidders that they will not cultivate coca leaf on said land. The State reserves the right to have the land revert to the State immediately if coca is planted on it.

We are encouraged that the positive actions and commitments recently made by the GOB will result in the expeditious implementation of the decree. The tumult of a hard fought electoral campaign resulting in a new administration as well as the continuing deterioration of the Bolivian economy have created difficulties for performance by the Bolivian Government in most areas. Nevertheless, President Paz has clearly indicated his intention to initiate a coca eradication program. On October 8 he sent a letter to President Reagan in which he stated: "My government has decided to begin a frontal action against this scourge [the illegal production and trafficking of narcotics] and to that end we are implementing a program designed to eliminate excess cultivation". There are also efforts being made in the Bolivian Congress to strengthen and expand the May narcotics decree.

In spite of the difficulties of undertaking action on both the anti-narcotics front and with regard to the economy, in September the Government of Bolivia began a major enforcement operation in the Beni Department. On September 20, Bolivian enforcement personnel seized the largest cocaine laboratory ever encountered in Bolivia, and one of the largest to be found in Latin America -- capable of producing at least one half ton of cocaine hydrochloride per week.

The Government of Bolivia has now promulgated a law that limits production and marketing of coca leaf and provides legal authority for eradication of coca cultivation. We are pleased with the overall performance of the present Bolivian Government and believe that President Paz is committed to the eradication of excess coca cultivation.

December, 1985

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

December 16, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

From: John C. Whitehead, *John* Acting

Subject: Determination of Enactment of  
Legislation on Coca Cultivation in  
Bolivia, To Permit Continuation of  
Military and Economic Support Fund  
Assistance

Section 611(1)(A) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 (the Act) provides that Military Assistance Program grants, Economic Support Fund assistance, International Military Education and Training and Foreign Military Sales financing may be provided to Bolivia for FY 1986 only under certain conditions. Up to 50 percent of the aggregate amount of such assistance allocated to Bolivia may be provided at any time after the President certifies to the Congress that the Government of Bolivia has enacted legislation that will establish its legal coca requirements, provide for the licensing of the number of hectares necessary to produce the legal requirement, and make unlicensed coca production illegal. The remaining amount of such assistance is conditioned in section 611(1)(B) on the successful implementation of a coca eradication program.

On May 26, 1985 the President of Bolivia promulgated a Supreme Decree (signed by the Council of Ministers) which is, among other things, designed to regulate comprehensively the production of coca in Bolivia. It prohibits the production of coca except in two geographic zones and provides for the licensing of licit coca production. We believe that these provisions of the decree meet the requirements for providing the first 50 percent of FY 1986 assistance to Bolivia. A supreme decree, promulgated by the President and signed by the Council of Ministers, has the force of law in Bolivia.

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BY *RW* NARA DATE 5/18/15

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- 2 -

The decree, however, has not yet been fully implemented. The lame duck administration of ex-President Siles Zuazo, unable to act on most fronts, was not replaced until the August 6 inauguration of President Paz Estenssoro. Subsequently, President Paz has focussed his most immediate priority on the restoration of the country's economic stability. In a recent letter to you, Paz clearly indicated his intention to implement a program designed to eliminate excess coca cultivation. There are also efforts being made in the Bolivian Congress to strengthen and expand the May narcotics decree.

A stable democracy in Bolivia is an important U.S. objective, but political stability cannot survive without a healthy and orderly economy. Bolivia faces staggering economic problems and is in critical need of financial assistance to ensure the success of the recent stringent economic reform program. Stable democracy and reversal of the economic crisis are considered important preconditions to the successful implementation of a comprehensive narcotics control program. Thus, the rapid release of the first tranche is therefore especially important. Actual coca eradication is required under section 611(1)(B) of the Act to gain release of the second half of FY 86 economic and military assistance.

Section 611(1)(A) requires enactment of legislation to eliminate excess coca cultivation. We are encouraged that the positive actions and commitments recently made by the GOB will result in the expeditious implementation of the decree as well. For the reasons stated in the justification attached at Tab A, I believe that decree meets the requirements for providing the first tranche of FY 1986 assistance to Bolivia.

#### RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Determination at Tab A making the necessary finding under section 611(1)(A) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 and authorizing the Secretary of State to make any further such determinations required in the future.

#### Attachments:

- Tab A - Determination
- Tab B - Statement of Justification

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