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Collection Name LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE, NSC:

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BOLIVIA (SAFE 1) 01/09/1986-04/06/1986

**KML** 9/29/2011

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File Folder

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ID Doc Type	Document Description			No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions	
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120167 CABLE	LA PAZ 02439			3	3/22/1986	B1
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120169 CABLE	LA P	AZ 02631		1	3/27/1986	B1
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120172 CABLE	LA P	AZ 02657	*	4	3/28/1986	B1
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## CONFIDENTIAL

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E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, EFIN, BL, EAID SUBJECT: IMPENDING CABINET CHANGES; SLIDING CONFIDENCE
IN GOVERMENT DUE TO SLUMP IN PESO

(C-ENTIRE TEXT)

IMPENDING CABINET CHANGES

- I CALLED SENATE PRESIDENT GONZALO SANCHEZ DE LOZADA FOR A PRIVATE MEETING LATE JANUARY 10 TO USE HIM AS AN INTERLOCUTOR WITH PRESIDENT PAZ ESTENSSORO ON THE POSSIBILITY OF SIGNIFICANT CABINET CHANGES. I DID NOT WANT TO TALK DIRECTLY TO THE PRESIDENT BECAUSE OF THE EVER-PRESENT TELEVISION CREWS THAT SURROUND HIM. I SAW SANCHEZ DE LOZADA HE IMMEDIATELY TOLD ME THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD ASKED HIM TO GET HOLD OF ME TO DISCUSS THE SAME SUBJECT.
- THE PRESIDENT WANTED MY PERSONAL OPINION ON THE LIKELY IMPACT ON INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD BOLIVIA IF SIGNIFICANT CABINET CHANGES TAKE PLACE SOON. I HAD TWICE IN THE LAST THREE MONTHS IMPRESSED ON THE PRESIDENT THE IMPORTANCE OF TAKING EXTERNAL VIEWS INTO ACCOUNT.
- I TOLD SANCHEZ DE LOZADA THAT THE IMF HAS NO CONFI-DENCE IN THE PRESENT MINISTER OF FINANCE GISBERT.

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THE OTHER HAND, PLANNING MINISTER BEDREGAL HAS BECOME THE SYMBOL OF FIERCE AND INTELLIGENT DETERMINATION TO CARRY THE ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAM TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. FROM THE U.S. POINT OF VIEW, INTERIOR MINISTER BARTHELEMY IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT IN THE ANTI-NARCOTICS PROGRAM.

5. SANCHEZ DE LOZADA SAID THIS INFORMATION IS EXTREMELY HELPFUL. HE SAID THAT THERE ARE THREE MINISTERS WHOM THE PRESIDENT IS DETERMINED TO KEEP: BEDREGAL, BARTHELEMY AND DEFENSE MINISTER VALLE (ALTHOUGH VALLE IS "EXTREMELY WEAK AND SIMPLY GIVES THE ARMY EVERYTHING IT ASKS FOR," SAID SANCHEZ DE LOZADA). THERE ARE FOUR MINISTERS WHOM THE PRESIDENT WISHES TO DROP: FINANCE MINISTER GISBERT, FOREIGN MINISTER ARAOZ (BECAUSE HE LACKS INITIATIVE), MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND CAMPESINO AFFAIRS MAMANI AND MINISTER OF MINES CABRERA.

6. THE PRESIDENT EXPECTS TO MAKE JUAN CARRIAGA,
THE PRIVATE BANK OFFICIAL WHO ACCOMPANIED SANCHEZ DE
LOZADA ON HIS DECEMBER IMF TALKS, MINISTER OF FINANCE.
IN PRINCIPLE, PAZ WOULD LIKE TO MAKE BEDREGAL MINISTER
OF FOREIGN RELATIONS (WHICH BEDREGAL WANTS), AND
SANCHEZ DE LOZADA OR FERNANDO ROMERO (JUST RESIGNED
AS PRESIDENT OF PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURS FEDERATION AND
ONE OF THE ARCHITECTS OF THE NEW ECONOMIC PROGRAM)
MINISTER OF PLANNING. HOWEVER, ROMERO HAS SAID HE
CANNOT ACCEPT A CABINET POSITION BECAUSE IT PUTS HIM IN
AN AWKWARD POSITION WITH HIS PARTY (ADN) AND HIS FAMILY.
AS FOR SANCHEZ DE LOZADA, THE PRESIDENT HAS TO KEEP HIM
AS HEAD OF THE SENATE OR ELSE HE RISKS HAVING A COMBINATION OF IRRESPONSIBLE LEFTISTS (INCLUDING THE MAOIST
SECOND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE ZAMORA) MAKE A

SHAMBLES OF THE GOVERNMENT'S LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM -- A CRITICAL FACTOR SINCE THE GOVERNMENT IS ABOUT TO PRESENT ITS BUDGET AND TAX REVISION PROPOSALS TO THE CONGRESS. IN EFFECT, THE PRESIDENT MAY HAVE TO KEEP BEDREGAL IN PLANNING FOR ANOTHER MONTH OR SO FOR LACK OF A SUITABLE SUBSTITUTE, EVEN THOUGH BEDREGAL HAS ACCUMULATED A HEAVY LOAD OF NEGATIVE POLITICAL BAGGAGE BECAUSE OF HIS SOMETIMES ABRASIVE EXECUTION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC PROGRAM.

7. TIMING AND COMMENT: I WOULD EXPECT TO SEE CABINET CHANGES ANNOUNCED BY THE END OF THIS MONTH. GIVEN THE WAY THE PRESIDENT IS APPROACHING THE PROBLEM, I EXPECT THE CHANGES TO BE ALL TO THE GOOD. IT IS FORTUNATE THAT SANCHEZ DE LOZADA IS NEEDED SO BADLY IN THE SENATE, BECAUSE HIS RECORD AS AN EXECUTIVE IS INDIFFERENT. BT

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#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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PANIC OVER PLUMMETING PESO

8. IN SEVERAL SEPTELS WE HAVE RECORDED THE SHARP DROP IN THE VALUE OF THE PESO (2.5 MILLION PESOS TO THE DOLLAR IN THE PARALLEL MARKET THE AFTERNOON OF JANUARY 10). AS WE HAVE MENTIONED SEVERAL TIMES, BOLIVIAN PUBLIC WATCHES THE EXCHANGE RATE AS A BAROMETER OF THE GOVERNMENT'S SUCCESS OR FAILURE. THE EXACT REASONS FOR THE START OF THE PRESENT SEVERE SLIDE (33-1/3 PERCENT DROP IN TWO WEEKS) ARE UNCLEAR. IT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE BOLIVIAN PUBLIC HAS PANICKED AND STARTED TO RUSH TO BUY DOLLARS WITH EVERY LIQUID ASSET THAT CAN BE MUSTERED, THEREBY ACCELLERATING THE PLUNGE. AS A RESULT, OVERALL CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERN-MENT AND ITS POLICIES HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY ERODED. SANCHEZ DE LOZADA TOLD ME THAT THIS WAS ONE OF THE FACTORS DRIVING THE PRESIDENT TO MOVE SOONER THAN LATER ON CABINET CHANGES.

SANCHEZ DE LOZADA SAID THE PRESIDENT HAD ASKED HIM TO SEEK MY VIEWS ON REASONS FOR THE SLIDE AND WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT. I TOLD HIM THAT THE REASONS ARE COMPLEX, BUT THAT OBVIOUSLY THERE HAS BEEN SOME POOR ADMINISTRA-TION IN THE FINANCE MINISTRY, THE CENTRAL BANK AND IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE BI-WEEKLY FOREIGN EXCHANGE AUCTIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, SINCE MID-DECEMBER THE CENTRAL

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BANK HAS BEEN OFFERING ONLY TWO MILLION DOLLARS PER WEEK TO THE AUCTIONS. NORMAL DEMAND RUNS ABOUT FOUR-FIVE MILLION DOLLARS PER WEEK, WHICH IS A LEVEL THAT BOLIVIA'S CURRENT RESERVES COULD SUSTAIN EASILY.

SANCHEZ DE LOZADA AGREED VIGOROUSLY WITH MY COMMENTS ON POOR ADMINISTRATION AND SAID THE PRESIDENT EMPHATICALLY SHARES THEM. HE SAID THE PRESIDENT PLANS TO DIRECT A MORE REASONABLE OFFER AT THE AUCTIONS, BUT WILL CONTINUE TO LET THE FREE MARKET SET THE EXCHANGE RATE.

NEW NATIONAL STABILIZATION COUNCIL

10. SANCHEZ DE LOZADA SAID PRESIDENT PAZ PLANS TO FORM A NEW NATIONAL "STABILIZATION COUNCIL", PROBABLY NEXT WEEK. SUCH A COUNCIL WAS RECOMMENDED BY HARVARD ECONOMIST SACHS DURING HIS VISIT IN EARLY DECEMBER. THE COUNCIL IS DESIGNED TO BRING THE VIEWS OF A NUMBER OF INFLUENTIAL SECTORS TO BEAR ON THE EVOLUTION AND EXECUTION OF THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAM. IT WILL HAVE NO LESS THAN THREE NOR MORE THAN NINE MEMBERS -- PROBABLY SEVEN. SANCHEZ DE LOZADA AND FERNANDO ROMERO WILL BE TWO OF ITS MEMBERS.

ADN OPPOSTION TO THE "FORCED LOAN" (LA PAZ 285)

11. THE PRESIDENT IS EXTREMELY PERTURBED BY HIS DEMOCRATIC RIGHT ALLY'S STERN OPPOSITION TO THE FORCED LOAN. HE ASKED HOW I READ THE PROBLEM. I TOLD SANCHEZ DE LOZADA THAT MY EMBASSY IS CONVEYING TO ITS ADN CONTACTS THE VIEW THAT THE ADN HAS TO COME UP WITH AN EQUALLY EFFECTIVE AND QUICK WAY TO FILL THE GOVERNMENT'S

IMMEDIATE FINANCIAL GAPS, OR ELSE BACK AWAY FROM TRYING TO BLOCK THE FORCED LOAN. IT IS CLEAR THAT WITHOUT THE INCOME REPRESENTED BY THE LOAN, THE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO RESORT TO UNBACKED CURRENCY EMISSIONS THAT COULD WRECK THE RECOVERY PROGRAM. I ADDED THAT I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT GENERAL BANZER HIMSELF WAS NOT INVOLVED IN SETTING THIS PARTICULAR ADN POSITION. SANCHEZ DE LOZADA SAID MY COMMENTS WERE EXTREMELY HELPFUL.

AGREMENT FOR NEW BOLIVIAN AMBASSADOR

12. PRESIDENT PAZ ALSO HAD ASKED IF I COULD GIVE NEWS BT

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#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, EFIN, BL, EAID SUBJECT: IMPENDING CABINET CHANGES; SLIDING CONFIDENCE

ON AGREMENT FOR AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE FERNANDO ILLANES. THE PRESIDENT IS EXTREMELY ANXIOUS TO GET A NEW, EFFECTIVE BOLIVIAN AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. I TOLD SANCHEZ DE LOZADA THAT I UNDERSTOOD THAT THE PAPERS PROPOSING THAT AGREMENT BE GRANTED ARE NOW IN THE WHITE HOUSE. I COULD NOT PREDICT WHEN THE WHITE HOUSE WOULD ACT, BUT I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE SOON.

U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

13. THE PRESIDENT ASKED SANCHEZ DE LOZADA TO CONVEY THE PRESIDENT'S CONCERN OVER THE DEARTH OF U.S. ASSISTANCE IN THIS CURRENT CRITICAL POLITICO-ECONOMIC PERIOD IN BOLIVIA. SANCHEZ DE LOZADA SAID HE TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT FROM HIS OWN EXPERIENCE IN WASHINGTON, HE KNEW THAT THE U.S. IS VERY SHORT ON RESOURCES FOR AID. HE SAID HE WAS SURE THAT WAS ONE REASON WHY THE U.S. IS SO VIGOROUSLY ENGAGED IN SUPPORTING QUICK ACTION BY THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS ON BEHALF OF BOLIVIA. I TOLD SANCHEZ DE LOZADA HIS ANSWER WAS CORRECT. I ADDED THAT I HOPE TO HAVE SOME GOOD NEWS ON ESF VERY SOON, AND THAT THERE IS A PROSPECT OF ADDITIONAL PL-48Ø RESOURCES THAT MIGHT BE MADE AVAILABLE DURING THE JANUARY-FEBRUARY CRUNCH.

COMMENT

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14. THE PAZ ESTENSSORO GOVERNMENT IS MOVING INTO A PERIOD OF SEVERE POLITICAL CHALLENGE. THE MINE WORKERS' RADICAL LEFT LEADERSHIP IS RAPIDLY REGROUPING FORCES. IN ADDITION TO DEMONSTRATIONS THIS WEEK, I UNDERSTAND MORE ARE BEING PLANNED FOR NEXT WEEK. THE SLIDE IN THE PESO HAS BEGUN TO SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASE THE COST OF LIVING, FURTHER SQUEEZING THE ALREADY-IMPOVERISHED LOWER INCOME SECTORS. NUMBERS OF UNEMPLOYED ARE INCREASING RAPIDLY IN SUCH FEY CITIES AS LA PAZ, ORURO AND POTOSI. TANGIBLE SUPPORT IS NOT COMING FAST ENOUGH FROM THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS — THEY SIMPLY ARE NOT GEARED TO DEAL OUICELY WITH DIFFICULT SITUATIONS. I URGE IN STRONGEST TERMS THAT THE UNITED STATES IMMEDIATELY RELEASE ESF AND PL-480 TITLE 3 MONIES ALLOCATED TO BOLIVIA. THIS TANGIBLE SUPPORT IS NEEDED NOW RPT NOW. ROWELL

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E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, BL, US MASS, MILI, OVIP, SNAR SUBJECT: USCINCSO VISIT TO BOLIVIA: BACKGROUND

AND OBJECTIVES

REF: LA PAZ 461 (DTG 152386Z JAN 86)

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT

SECTION 1. BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

2. THE FIVE-MONTH OLD PAZ ESTENSSORO GOVERNMENT HAS PRODUCED SOME DRAMATIC TURNAROUNDS IN BOLIVIAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE, BUT THE COUNTRY IS STILL FAR FROM RECOVERING FROM BEING THE FOURTH WORST CASE OF HYPERINFLATION IN RECORDED HISTORY. (THE THREE WORST: GREECE 1946; WEIMAR REPUBLIC 1923; AND RUSSIA AFTER 1917 REVOLUTION.) PAZ ESTENSSORO, HAS REIMPOSED EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY AND CREDIBILITY, AND HAS DRAMATICALLY REDUCED THE POWER OF BOLIVIA'S OMNIBUS LABOR CONFEDERATION, THE BOLIVIAN WORKERS' CENTRAL (COB), PAZ ESTENSSORO LAUNCHED A FREE-MARKET ORIENTED ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAM DESIGNED TO CURB INFLATION -- OVER 20,000 PERCENT FOR THE 12-MONTH PERIOD ENDING SEPTEMBER 1985 -- AND BRAKE THE PRECIPITOUS DECLINE IN THE VALUE OF THE PESO. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN YEARS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS PRODUCED A FORMAL BUDGET. THOUSANDS OF PUBLIC SECTOR AND STATE ENTERPRISE EMPLOYEES HAVE BEEN OR WILL BE LAID OFF IN AN EFFORT TO BALANCE THE BUDGET, AND THE REMAINDER HAVE HAD SALARIES HELD TO STARVATION LEVELS. IN THE AREA OF COCA ERADICATION AND NARCOTICS CONTROL, PAZ HAS MADE MORE PROGRESS THAN ANY PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION BUT THE PROBLEM IS STILL OVERWHELMING. THE GOVERNMENT HAS SIGNED FORMAL AGREEMENTS TO COMPENSATE PEASANTS FOR VOLUNTARY COCA CROP REDUCTION AND IS SURVEYING COCA FIELDS FOR FUTURE . ICENSING OR ERADICATION.

3. PAZ ESTENSSORO HAS ACHIEVED A RELATIONSHIP OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND SUPPORT WITH THE BOLIVIAN ARMED FORCES, DESPITE THE HISTORY OF TENSE RELATIONS THAT DATE TO PAZ'S FIRST TERM (1952-56) DURING WHICH THE BOLIVIAN MILITARY WAS PRACTICALLY DESTROYED. THE LEADERSHIP OF THE BOLIVIAN ARMED FORCES SUPPORTS THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND, WE BELIEVE, IS WILLING TO DEFEND THE PAZ ESTENSSORO GOVERNMENT IF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS SHOULD PROVOKE POPULAR DISTURBANCES. THE MILITARY IS MORE RELUCTANT TO ASSUME A ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING, BUT THERE IS A GROWING REALIZATION THAT IT MAY BECOME NECESSARY FOR THEM TO PLAY A ROLE IN THE UNEQUAL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE POWERFUL DRUG MAFIA. THE COMMANDER OF THE ARMED FORCES, ARMY GENERAL LOPEZ LEYTON, HAS TOLD PAZ THAT LEFT-RIGHT DIVISIONS IN THE MILITARY HAVE FADED IN SIGNIFICANCE, AND THE KEY SPLIT IS PRO- AND ANTI-NARCOTICS.

4. BOLIVIA'S FRAGILE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PEACE COULD BE BROKEN AT ANY TIME BY ANY ONE OF A NUMBER OF FACTORS, AND THIS COUNTRY'S NASCENT PROGRESS ALONG THE ROAD TO A TRULY REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS COULD BE IRREPARABLY DAMAGED. THE MAIN POTENTIAL THREATS TO SURVIVAL

ARE:

. -- PHYSICAL INCAPACITATION OR DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT;

ANY ONE OF A VARIETY OF MILITARY INTERVENTIONS TRIGGERED BY ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING:

-- REVIVAL OF MILITANT OPPOSITION TO THE

. GOVERNMENT BY THE COB, ENHANCED SUBSTANTIALLY WERE IT WITH THE SUPPORT OF ORGANIZED

PEASANTS (COCA ERADICATION GREATLY INCREASES

THE RISK);

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FET SECTION 02 OF 04 LA PAZ 00556

USCINCSO FOR SCCS/SCJ5/SCJ2//

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, PREL, BL, US MASS, MILI, OVIP, SNAR SUBJECT: USCINCSO VISIT TO BOLIVIA: BACKGROUND

- -- SUBSTANTIAL CORRUPTION OF THE ARMED FORCES, . THE POLICE AND NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS BY
- NARCOTICS TRAFFICKERS;
- -- A DRAMATIC DECLINE OF PRIVATE SECTOR . SUPPORT FOR AND PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN PAZ . ESTENSSORO AND HIS ECONOMIC PROGRAM;
- -- DISSOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL PACT BETWEEN . THE MNR AND THE ADN; AND/OR
- -- FAILURE OF BOLIVIA'S FRIENDS TO RESPOND IN A TIMELY AND ADEQUATE FASHION TO THE COUNTRY'S DIRE NEED FOR ASSISTANCE.

THE JULY-AUGUST 1985 DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

5. THE JULY 14, 1985, ELECTIONS PRODUCED THE FIRST PEACEFUL, CONSTITUTIONAL TRANSITION TO AN OPPOSITION

POLITICAL PARTY IN BOLIVIAN HISTORY. PAZ ESTENSSORO WAS ELECTED IN A SECOND-ROUND CONGRESSIONAL VOTE BECAUSE HIS PARTY -- THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (MNR) -- MANAGED TO CAPTURE MORE SUPPORT FROM MINOR LEFTIST PARTIES IN CONGRESS, EVEN THOUGH THE CENTER-RIGHT NATIONALIST DEMOCRATIC ACTION (ADN) PARTY OF PRESIDENT HUGO BANZER SUAREZ OUTPOLLED THE MNR IN THE POPULAR VOTE BY TWO PERCENTAGE POINTS. GENERAL BANZER'S RESPECT AND SUPPORT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS MADE POSSIBLE THE INAUGURATION OF PAZ ON AUGUST 6.

G. SUBSEQUENTLY, THE MNR AND THE ADN SIGNED A PACT PLEDGING EACH PARTY TO SUPPORT THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, ANOTHER FIRST IN BOLIVIAN HISTORY. THE PACT HAS HAD SOME ROCKY MOMENTS IN ITS BRIEF HISTORY. BUT IT REMAINS INTACT AND THEORETICALLY GIVES THE EXECUTIVE AMPLE SUPPORT IN CONGRESS FOR ITS FREE MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAM. THE PROGRAM IS LARGELY BASED ON STUDIES AND PROPOSALS PUT TOGETHER BY THE ADN, BUT IT DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSES TRADITIONAL MNR PHILOSOPHY, SHAKING THE RELIABILITY OF THE MNR CONTINGENT IN CONGRESS.

ECONOMIC ------

7. GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (GDP) DROPPED 18 PERCENT OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS, EXPORTS DECLINED FOR FIVE CONSECUTIVE YEARS, THE BUDGET DEFICIT HAD REACHED 28.5 PERCENT OF GDP IN MID-1985, AND ARREARAGES IN SERVICING THE FOREIGN DEBT AMOUNT TO OVER A BILLION DOLLARS. THE AUSTERITY PROGRAM HAS BROKEN THE HYPERINFLATIONARY SPIRAL BY REDUCING INFLATION FROM A 12-MONTH LEVEL OF 23,447 PERCENT AS OF LAST SEPTEMBER TO AN ANNUAL RATE OF APPROXI-MATELY 100 PERCENT OVER THE LAST THREE MONTHS OF THE YEAR. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN FIVE YEARS A FORMAL BUDGET HAS BEEN PRESENTED TO THE CONGRESS WHICH AIMS TO REDUCE THE BUDGET DEFICIT TO A MANAGEABLE 5.6 PERCENT OF GDP. THIS IS TO BE ACHIEVED BY REDUCING THE NUMBER OF PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYEES, HOLDING SALARY INCREASES TO ONLY 30 PERCENT THROUGH THE FIRST HALF OF THE YEAR AND SHARPLY RESTRICTING PUBLIC INVESTMENT.

8. NOTWITHSTANDING SOME INITIAL SUCCESS IN ECONOMIC STABILIZATION, THE GOVERNMENT FACES FORMIDABLE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OVER THE COMING YEAR. DURING THE PAST SIX MONTHS THE PURCHASING POWER OF WAGES HAS FALLEN BY 67 PERCENT ACCORDING TO A RECENT STUDY. SEVERE DEPRIVATION WRACKS THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY IN KEY URBAN AND COMMUNICATIONS CENTERS. PRESSURES FOR

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USCINCSO FOR SCCS/SCJ5/SCJ2//

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, PREL, BL, US MASS, MILI, OVIP, SNAR SUBJECT: USCINCSO VISIT TO BOLIVIA: BACKGROUND

SUBSTANTIAL BUDGET-BREAKING WAGE INCREASES ARE TREMENDOUS, THE COLLAPSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL TIN MARKET HAS EXACERBATED UNEMPLOYMENT AND SLASHED (BY DOLS, 100-150 MILLION) EARNINGS FROM BOLIVIA'S SECOND MOST IMPORTANT EXPORT COMMODITY. UNDER THE MOST FAVORABLE CIRCUMSTANCES, BOLIVIA WILL REQUIRE AT LEAST 224 MILLION DOLLARS IN NEW EXTERNAL FINANCING TO PROVIDE FOR THE MINIMUM AMOUNT OF IMPORTS ESSENTIAL TO ECONOMIC RECOVERY.

NARCOTICS CONTROL EFFORTS

OM THE TOUGH ECONOMIC PROGRAM AND POLITICAL OPPOSITION IT FACES ARE RELEVANT BECAUSE PAZ ALSO VOWED TO BE EQUALLY FORCEFUL WITH HIS SECOND PRIORITY, CONFRONTING BOLIVIA'S NARCOTICS PROBLEMS. IN MID-NOVEMBER, THE GOVERNMENT EMBARKED ON ITS OWN FOUR-COMPONENT ANTI-NARCOTICS PROGRAM:

- (A) A VOLUNTARY COCA ERADICATION EFFORT;
- (B) A TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY TO DEFINITIVELY PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR A LATER STAGE OF INVOLUNTARY ERADICATION:
- (C) AUGMENTED INTERDICTION OF COCA PROCESSING -LABORATORIES BOTH FOR PASTE AND HYDROCHLORIDE;
- (D) EDUCATION EFFORTS TO ENSURE BOLIVIAN PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE COUNTRY'S OWN DANGERS ENCOUNTERED FROM INCREASED DRUG ADDICTION AND THE CORRUPTING IMPACT OF TRAFFICKING.

THE INITIAL LOCATION FOR THE ERADICATION AND CONTROL EFFORT WAS THE CHAPARE WHERE USAID HAS A MAJOR (NARCOTICS-ASSOCIATED) DEVELOPMENT EFFORT TO PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE COCA-BASED ECONOMY.

10. SINCE 1983, USG STRATEGY HAS TREATED CONTROL AND DEVELOPHENT AS ESSENTIAL COMPLEMENTS FOR ELIMINATING ILLEGAL COCA CULTIVATION AND HALTING DRUG TRAFFICKING IN BOLIVIA. IN THIS CONTEXT, J.S. STRATEGY EMPHASIZES THAT THE USAID/BOLIVIA CHAPARE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM CAN ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL IF CONTROL EFFORTS ARE EFFECTIVE. ESSENTIALLY THIS ECONOMIC STRATEGY PRESUPPOSES THAT AS CONTROL EFFORTS SUCH AS ARRESTS, SEIZURES AND DESTRUCTION OF PASTE-MAKING FACILITIES, COCAINE LABORATORIES AND VEHICLES HAVE THEIR IMPACT, MARKET PRICES FOR COCA LEAVES WILL FALL SHARPLY AS THE PRODUCT BECOMES IN OVERSUPPLY. IN ADDITION, WHEN EFFECTIVE ERADICATION PROGRAMS ARE IMPLEMENTED, COCA FARMERS WILL INCUR THE RISK OF LOSING THEIR PRIMARY SOURCE OF INCOME ENTIRELY. THE RISKS OF CDCA GROWING AND PROCESSING HAVE TO BE MADE HIGHER THAN THE ECONOMIC INCENTIVES.

11. TRADITIONALLY THE PRIMARY POLITICAL BASE OF THE FOUR-DECADES OLD MNR PARTY OF PRESIDENT PAZ ESTENSSORO HAS BEEN IN THE NON-URBAN, PREDOMINANTLY CAMPESING (PEASANT) AREAS OF BOLIVIA. THIS WAS TRUE IN THE 1985 ELECTION. THIS FACT WILL CONTINUE TO AFFECT THE COUNTRY'S APPROACH TO NARCOTICS CONTROL. DATING FROM BEFORE THE 1952 REVOLUTION, THE HIGHLY POLITICIZED BOLIVIAN CAMPESINOS HAVE CONSTITUTED A MAJORITY MEMBERSHIP IN THE NATIONAL LABOR CONFEDERATION, THE COB, WHICH HAS OFTEN OPERATED AS AN AUTONOMOUS POLITICAL FORCE IMMUNE TO ORDINARY LAW. FAR MORE POLITICALLY SOPHISTICATED THAN MOST ANDEAN INDIAN GROUPS AND REPRESENTING 60 PERCENT OF THE BOLIVIAN POPULATION, CONCERTED CAMPESINO OPPOSITION HAS TOPPLED MANY BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING SOME WHICH DID NOT DEPEND ON CAMPESINO SUPPORT FOR THEIR ARRIVAL IN OFFICE IN THE FIRST PLACE. A BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH FINALLY TAKES A TOUGH STAND BT

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ET SECTION 04 OF 04 LA PAZ 00556

USCINCSO FOR SCCS/SCJ5/SCJ2//

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, BL, US MASS, MILI, OVIP, SNAR SUBJECT: USCINCSO VISIT TO BOLIVIA: BACKGROUND

AGAINST NARCOTICS THUS WILL FIND CONTROL AND INTERDICTION A POLITICALLY MORE SUSTAINABLE APPROACH THAN CONCENTRATION PRIMARILY ON ERADICATION --AND CONFRONTATION WITH THE CAMPESINOS. KEY

12. IN ITS FIVE MONTHS IN OFFICE, THE PAZ ESTENSSORO GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN SIGNIFICANTLY ASSERTIVE NARCOTICS-RELATED ACTION IN CONTRAST TO ITS PASSIVE PREDECESSOR. IT HAS MANAGED TO PUT A BOLIVIAN STAMP ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE ANTI-NARCOTICS EFFORTS IN THE COUNTRY, AND IT ENVISIONS INVOLUNTARY ERADICATION IN NON-TRADITIONAL COCA GROVING AREAS IN 1986. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE PAT GOVERNMENT'S FEFORIS TO DATE. IT IS NOW IMPORTANT THAT THIS MODEST BEGINNING GAIN MOMENTUM AND THAT INTERDICTION, CONTROL AND ERADICATION EFFORTS BE SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS AREAD. THE GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES THAT THERE IS NO PAINLESS WAY TO ACHIEVE SUCCESS EITHER IN COCA ERADICATION OR NARCOTICS INTERDICTION. FROM OUR SIDE, THIS GOVERNMENT ALSO UNQUESTIONABLY REPRESENTS THE BEST HOPE THE USG HAS EVER HAD TO ATTAIN ITS ANTI-NARCOTICS OBJECTIVES IN BOLIVIA. YOUR VISIT PROVIDES AN IDEAL OPPORTUNITY TO REINFORCE OUR MESSAGE AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS HERE.

SECTION 11. U.S. OBJECTIVES -----

13. U.S. TIES WITH THE PAZ ESTENSSORO GOVERNMENT ARE CLOSE AND COOPERATIVE, DESPITE THE LATENT HOSTILITY INHERENT IN SUCH AN UNBALANCED, DEPENDENT RELATION-

SHIP. PAZ'S RECOGNITION THAT ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT DEPEND TO A LARGE DEGREE ON U.S. ASSISTANCE AND GOODVILL, AND ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A FREE-MARKET ECONOMIC POLICY MORE IN HARMONY WITH U.S. TENETS AND WORLD REALITY HAS MADE IT FAR EASIER TO WORK WITH THIS GOVERNMENT THAN WITH ITS PREDECESSOR. WE ARE FRUSTRATED, HOWEVER, BY THE PAUCITY OF HUMAN AND MATER-IAL RESOURCES AT THIS GOVERNMENT'S COMMAND, AND BY THE RESTRAINTS ON OUR ABILITY TO PROVIDE QUICK ASSISTANCE FOR PROGRAMS OF CLEAR AND IMMEDIATE INTEREST TO OUR MOST IMPORTANT GOALS. THOSE GOALS ARE MUTUALLY INTER-LINKED. FAILURE ON ANY ONE WILL SERIOUSLY JEOPARDIZE THE REST. OUR TOP PRIORITIES:

- -- SUSTAIN AND STRENGTHEN BOLIVIA'S DEVELOPMENT AS A CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY;
- -- PROMOTE ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND SOUND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: AND
- -- ANTI-NARCOTICS; MEANING STRENGTHEN NARCOTICS INTERDICTION, PROSECUTE TRAFFICKERS AND SLASH COCA LEAF PRODUCTION.
- 14. REFTEL (LA PAZ 461 DTG1523Ø6Z JAN) OUTLINES THE OBJECTIVES OF YOUR VISIT. THE PROGRAM ESTABLISHED FOR THE VISIT WILL CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANTLY TO EN-HANCING U.S. INTERESTS IN BOLIVIA. WE LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU ON JANUARY 28. (DRAFT: POL: WLOFSTROM: ECON: WWEST) ROWELL BT

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 82 LA PAZ 88618

DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAO

E.O. 12356: DECLAS: OADR TAGS: PGOV. BL SUBJECT: CABINET CHANGES

1. (C) AT A MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR AND EMBOFFS LATE JANUARY 20, ADN CHIEF GENERAL HUGO BANZER GAVE THE AMBASSADOR A RESUME OF HIS TALKS EARLIER THAT DAY WITH PRESIDENT PAZ ESTENSSORO. BANZER SAID THE CABINET CHANGES WOULD PROBABLY BE ANNOUNCED BY THE MIDDLE OF THIS WEEK. MAJOR ELEMENTS:

- -- MINISTER OF PLANNING: GONZALO SANCHEZ DE LOZADA . (CURRENTLY PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE);
- -- MINISTER OF FINANCE: JUAN CARIAGA (CURRENTLY . PRESIDENT OF THE BANK OF SANTA CRUZ);
- -- MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: GUILLERMO BEDREGAL . (CURRENTLY MINISTER OF PLANNING);
- -- MINISTER OF TRANSPORTATION OR OF COMMERCE AND . INDUSTRY: CARLOS MORALES LANDIVAR (CURRENTLY . PRESIDENT OF THE PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURS CONFEDERA-TION).

(COMMENT: SANCHEZ DE LOZADA TOLD THE AMBASSADOR FRIDAY NIGHT, JANUARY 17, THAT PRESIDENT PAZ HAD INSISTED THAT AFTERNOON THAT SANCHEZ DE LOZADA TAKE THE PLANNING MINISTRY AND BEDREGAL THE FOREIGN MINISTRY.)

2. (LOU) STRUCTURAL CHANGES:

- . A. BEDREGAL WILL CREATE A NEW UNDER-SECRETARY FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. HE WILL TRY TO MANAGE MORE ACTIVELY BOLIVIA'S FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS, INCLUDING SOLICITATION OF CREDIT AND A MORE ACTIVE COMMERCIAL PRESENCE IN KEY COUNTRIES.
- . B. THE PRESENT MINISTRY OF INTEGRATION IS TO BE FOLDED INTO THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING UNDER AN UNDER-SECRETARY FOR INTEGRATION.
- . C. THE PRESENT MINISTRY OF AERONAUTICS IS TO BE FOLDED INTO THE MINISTRY OF TRANSPORTATION.
- 3. (C) MANAGING CONGRESS WITHOUT SANCHEZ OF LOZADA:

ASKED HOW THE GOVERNMENT AND/OR THE ADN-MNR ALLIANCE WOULD CONTROL THE CONGRESS WITH SANCHEZ DE LOZADA GONE FROM THE SENATE PRESIDENCY, BANZER SAID THEY ONLY HAVE TO GET THROUGH A VERY SHORT PERIOD -- THE REMAINING FEW WEEKS OF THE CURRENT SESSION. ONCE THE PROGRAMMED 120 LEGISLATIVE DAYS (INCLUDING PREDICTABLE 30-DAY EXTENSION) HAVE ENDED -- 84 DAYS HAVE ALREADY PASSED -- THE CONGRESS WILL RECESS UNTIL ITS NEXT SESSION STARTS AUGUST 6. AT THAT TIME A NEW SLATE OF OFFICERS WILL BE ELECTED. PRESIDENT PAZ HAS AGREED THAT STARTING IN AUGUST THE ADN WILL HAVE THE PRESIDENCY OF ONE OF THE TWO CHAMBERS. (COMMENT: WE ASSUME THIS WILL PROBABLY BE THE SENATE.)

4 (C) COMMENT: WE UNDERSTAND THAT VICE PRESIDENT JULIO GARRETT AYLLON WOULD CHAIR THE SENATE FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE CURRENT SESSION. THIS COULD BE A MIXED BLESSING. HIS MAIN TASK WOULD BE TO PASS THE GOVERNMENT'S PRIORITY LEGISLA-TIVE AGENDA IN THE SHORT TIME REMAINING IN THE SESSION. HE HAS THE POLITICAL AND LEGISLATIVE SKILLS TO DO THAT. ON THE OTHER HAND, SANCHEZ DE LOZADA HAS COMMENTED MORE THAN ONCE THAT "GARRETT IS AN UNGUIDED MISSILE" AND "NO ONE CAN CONTROL HIM". HIS FIRST PRIORITY APPEARS TO BE PERSONAL -- TO GROOM HIMSELF AS AN EVENTUAL SUCCESSOR TO PRESIDENT PAZ. HE OFTEN ACTS WITHOUT CONSULTING THE PARTY OR THE PRESIDENT, SOMETIMES LAUNCHING OUTRAGEOUS (BUT POPULARLY ATTRACTIVE) INITIATIVES ON THE SPUR OF

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#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT



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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 02 LA PAZ 00610

DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 12356: DECLAS: OADR TAGS: PGOV, BL

SUBJECT: CABINET CHANGES

THE MOMENT -- FOR EXAMPLE, A U.N. STRIKE FORCE TO DEAL WITH THE NARCOTRAFFICKERS, AND A PROPOSAL THAT INDUSTRIAL NATIONS BUY ALL THE WORLD'S COCA OUTPUT. ROWELL

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# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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#### GONFIDENTIALLA PAZ ØØ637

DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV. PINR. BL

SUBJECT: BOLIVIAN CABINET RESIGNS IN PREFACE TO

SHUFFLE

REF: LA PAZ 610

1. (C) AS ANTICIPATED IN REFTEL, PRESIDENT PAZ ESTENSSORO'S CABINET RESIGNED EN MASSE ON THE EVENING OF JANUARY 21 IN A STANDARD PRELUDE TO WHAT PROBABLY WILL BE A MAJOR SHUFFLING OF MINISTERS. THE WHOLE-SALE WITHDRAWAL PROVIDES A COVER FOR REARRANGING THE CABINET RATHER THAN THE POLITICALLY MESSIER APPROACH OF TARGETING INDIVIDUAL MINISTERS FOR REMOVAL. OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS PAZ HAS BEEN CONSULTING WITH HIS OWN MNR PARTY LEADERS AS WELL AS OPPOSITION ADN CHIEF HUGO BANZER TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR THE MOVE.

2. (C) ACCORDING TO EMBASSY SOURCES, PAZ INTENDS TO REMOVE CABINET DEADWOOD AND STRENGTHEN HIS ECONOMIC TEAM. THE GOVERNMENT'S TOUGH ECONOMIC POLICIES HAVE ENCOUNTERED PROBLEMS RECENTLY, IN PART DUE TO MANAGEMENT SLIPPAGE AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL. PAZ ALSO AIMS TO DEFUSE THE PUBLIC SPAT BETWEEN ECONOMIC CZAR GUILLERMO BEDREGAL AND SENATE PRESIDENT GONZALO SANCHEZ DE LOZADA. BEDREGAL WILL REPLACE GASTON

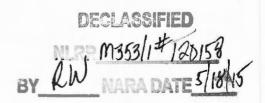
ARAOZ AS FOREIGN MINISTER AND BEEF UP THE MINISTRY'S ROLE IN FOREIGN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS. SANCHEZ DE LOZADA WILL REPLACE BEDREGAL AS MINISTER OF PLANNING. THE NEW CABINET ARRANGEMENT WILL NOT SIMPLY BE A VERSION OF MUSICAL CHAIRS BUT LIKELY WILL FEATURE A NUMBER OF FRESH

3. (U) WE WILL PROVIDE MORE DETAILED REPORT AND COMMENTARY ONCE EXACT ASSIGNMENTS ARE KNOWN.

(DRAFTED BY: FFOULGER) ROWELL BT

FACES IN KEY PORTFOLIOS.

DUIVIA



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### CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENT LA SECTION 01 OF 03 LA PAZ 00688

DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, PINR, BL

SUBJECT: NEW BOLIVIAN CABINET: PRESIDENT PAZ FORGES

A STRONGER TEAM

REF: LA PAZ 637

- 1. (U) PRESIDENT VICTOR PAZ ESTENSSORO ON THE EVENING OF JANUARY 22 SWORE IN HIS RECONSTITUTED 18-MEMBER CABINET. THERE ARE 11 NEW FACES, FIVE MINISTERS WHO REMAIN IN PLACE AND TWO WHO CHANGED PORTFOLIOS.
- 2. (C) MAJOR CHANGES OF INTEREST TO THE U.S. INCLUDE:
- -- GUILLERMO BEDREGAL: TRANSFERRED TO FOREIGN MINISTRY FROM PLANNING. THE FORCEFUL BEDREGAL SHOULD PROVE MORE ACTIVE THAN HIS PREDECESSOR GASTON ARAOZ, PARTICULARLY ON ISSUES SUCH AS BOLIVIA'S NEED FOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND DEBT RELIEF. CONTROVERSIAL BEDREGAL MAY HAVE BEEN KICKED UPSTAIRS AWAY FROM DOMESTIC ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT.
  - -- GONZALO SANCHEZ DE LOZADA: THE FORMER SENATE PRESIDENT REPLACES BEDREGAL AT PLANNING, WHERE HE FACES TOUGH ECONOMIC CHALLENGES. SANCHEZ DE LOZADA WAS PUBLICLY CRITICAL OF BEDREGAL'S

STYLE IN IMPLEMENTING THE GOVERNMENT'S AUSTERE FCONOMIC PLAN AND NOW WILL HAVE THE CHANCE TO TRY HIS OWN APPROACH. HE FIRMLY BELIEVES IN THE EXISTING ECONOMIC PROGRAM AND ITS VALIDITY.

-- FERNANDO BARTHELEMY: REMAINS AT INTERIOR. BARTHELEMY IS A KEY PLAYER IN BOLIVIA'S RECENTLY INITIATED ANTI-NARCOTICS EFFORT. THE EMBASSY HAS EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF A SUSTAINED AND RIGOROUS EFFORT TO PRESIDENT PAZ. OCCASIONS.

-- JUAN CARIAGA OSORIO: A NEW MAN AT FINANCE, REPLACING THE RELATIVELY INEXPERIENCED ROBERTO GISBERT. THOUGH YOUNG (40), CARIAGA HOLDS IMPRESSIVE CREDENTIALS: GENERAL MANAGER OF BANK OF SANTA CRUZ (LA PAZ BRANCH); GOVERNOR FOR BOLIVIA AT LATIN AMERICAN FEDERATION OF BANKS; VICE PRESIDENT OF THE BOLIVIAN BANKING ASSOCIATION; CHARGE AT BOLIVIAN ENDAUGT IN THE U.S. (1976-76); AND MORE. HE IS COMPETENT, SOFT-SPOKEN AND A FRIEND OF THE L.S. HE WILL HEED TO BE TOUGH, HOWEVER, TO STAKE OUT HIS TERRITORY AND DEAL ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH HARD-HITTING BEDREGAL, WHO INTENDS TO ESTABLISH AN UNDER-SECRETARIAT FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. SOME OBSERVERS FEAR HE LACKS THE TOUGHNESS TO STAND UP TO PAZ IF THE PRESIDENT WANTS TO AUTHORIZE SOME BUDGET-BUSTING EXPENDITURES AS ALLEGEDLY HAPPENED EARLY IN JANUARY ON SOME MILITARY PROPOSALS.

-- FERNANDO VALLE: RECONFIRMED AS DEFENSE MINISTER.

ORIGINALLY CONSIDERED A LIGHTWEIGHT, VALLE HAS SETTLED COMFORTABLY INTO THE DEFENSE PORTFOLIO. HE DOES NOT TRY TO BE A COMMANDING GENERAL AND APPARENTLY MANAGES THE MINISTRY ACCEPTABLY. HE SEEMS TO HAVE GOOD RAPPORT WITH THE OFFICER CORPS, PERHAPS BECAUSE (AS ONE OF PAZ'S CLOSE CONFIDANTS TOLD US), HE DOES WHATEVER THEY ASK AND PAZ APPROVES.

ROBERTO GISBERT: MOVES FROM FINANCE, WHERE HE WAS OVER HIS HEAD, TO INDUSTRY/COMMERCE AND

CONFIDENTIAL

### CONFIDENTIAL

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE Ø1 EOB124

LA PAZ Ø688 ANØØ8212

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 03 LA PAZ 00688

DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV. PINR, BL

SUBJECT: NEW BOLIVIAN CABINET: PRESIDENT PAZ FORGES

TOURISM. MOST PUNDITS HAD ASSUMED GISBERT WOULD BE DROPPED, AND HIS RETENTION IS A MINOR SURPRISE. HE LACKS EXPERIENCE, PARTICULARLY IN POLITICS, BUT HE HAS EARNED A REPUTATION FOR EXCEPTIONAL HONESTY AND HE COMES ACROSS AS SINCERE AND WELL-MEANING. PAZ APPARENTLY BELIEVES GISBERT CAN BE BROUGHT ALONG AND SHOULD BE SAVED.

- -- ANDRES PETRICEVIC: NEW MINISTER OF TRANSPORT. PETRICEVIC IS ONE OF THE WEALTHIEST MEN IN THE MNR INNER CIRCLE AND HAS PAZ'S EAR. A BLUSTERY, UNPREDICTABLE TYPE, HE IS NEVERTHELESS FUNDAMEN-TALLY A FRIEND OF THE U.S.
- -- CARLOS MORALES LANDIVAR: AS ENERGY MINISTER MORALES WILL OVERSEE THE BOLIVIAN STATE PETROLEUM COMPANY (YPFB) WHICH GENERATES SOME 90 PERCENT OF GOVERNMENT REVENUES AND IN A SENSE IS THE TAIL THAT WAGS THE MINISTERIAL DOG. THOUGH CARRYING A U.S. DOLS 158 MILLION DEBT, A WELL-RUN, PRODUCTIVE YPFB IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO BALANCE ITS BUDGET. YPFB PRESIDENT RENE GUACHALLA RESIGNED JUST PRIOR TO THE CABINET CHANGE. LEAVING THE FIELD FREE FOR MORALES TO CHOOSE

HIS OWN MAN FOR THIS KEY JOB. MORALES IS AN ARDENT BANZER SUPPORT AND PROVIDES PAZ A CRUCIAL LINK TO THE ADN.

- -- EDIL SANDOVAL MORON: AGRICULTURE AND CAMPESINO MINISTER SANDOVAL MORON IS THE MOST LIKELY CLANGER IN THE GROUP. HE KNOWS NOTHING ABOUT EITHER AGRICULTURE OR PEASANTS, AND THERE IS CHRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE SUGGESTING HE MAY HAVE SKIRTED THE FRINGES OF THE NARCOTICS TRADE IN THE PAST. GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CAMPESINOS AS THE MNR POLITICAL BASE, WE ASSUME PRESIDENT PAZ WILL HANDLE CAMPESINO AFFAIRS HIMSELF. WORKING MAINLY THROUGH INTERIOR MINISTER BARTHELEMY.
- 3. (C) AT FIRST GLANCE, WE BELIEVE PAZ AS FORGED A STRONGER TEAM OVERALL AND FORTIFIED THE ECONOMIC PORTFOLIOS IN PARTICULAR. HE HAS RETAINED HIS STRONGEST KEY PLAYERS AND RECRUITED NEEDED TECHNICAL TALENT WITH GENERALLY SIMILAR PRAGMATIC OUTLOOKS. A PALL HIMARY ASSESSMENT SUGGESTS THAT THIS NEW TEAM SHOULD WORK EFFECTIVELY TOGETHER WITH THE POSSIBLE --AND IMPORTANT -- EXCEPTIONS OF THE OIL-AND-WATER COMBINATION OF BEDREGAL AND SANCHEZ DE LOZADA.
- 4. (U) FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF THE NEW CABINET. WE WILL PROVIDE BIO ASSESSMENT AND FURTHER COMMENT SEPARATELY.

. FOREIGN RELATIONS/

. WORSHIP: .

GUILLERMO BEDREGAL GUTIERREZ

. REPLACES GASTON ARADZ LEVY

INTERIOR/MIGRATION/

JUSTICE: .

FERNANDO BARTHELEMY MARTINEZ

. RECONFIRMED

. DEFENSE:

. . FERNANDO VALLE QUEVEDO

. RECONFIRMED

. FINANCE

. JUAN CARIAGA OSORIO

. PLANHING/

. COORDINATION: .

. .

. GONZALO SANCHEZ DE LOZADA

### CONFIDENTIAL

# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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LA PAZ Ø688

DTG: 232227Z JAN 86 PCN: 856681

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 03 OF 03 LA PAZ 00688

DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, PINR, BL

SUBJECT: NEW BOLIVIAN CABINET: PRESIDENT PAZ FORGES

. EDUCATION/

. CULTURE:

. . ENRIQUE IPINA MELGAR

. RECONFIRMED

. TRANSPORT/

. COMMUNICATIONS: . ANDRES PETRICEVIC

INDUSTRY/ COMMERCE/

TOURISM: . . ROBERTO GISBERT BERMUDEZ

. WORK/LABOR

DE VEL OPMENT: .

. WALTER RIOS GAMBOA

. MINES/

METALLURGY: .

. JAIME VILLALOBOS CHAVEZ

CAMPESINO/

. AGRICULTURE: .

. EDIL SANDOVAL MORON

. ENERGY/

HYDROCARBONS: .

. CARLOS MORALES LANDIVAR

. SOCIAL SERVICES/

. PUBLIC HEALTH:

. . . CARLOS PEREZ GUZMAN

. URBAN AFFAIRS/

. HOUSING: . .

. JUAN FRANKLIN ANAYA

AERONAUTICS: . .

. GENERAL AMTONIO TOVAR

PIEROLA

. RECONFIRMED

. SECRETARY GENERAL OF

THE PRESIDENCY:

. JUAN CARLOS DURAN

. SAUCE DO

. INTEGRATION: . .

. FERNANDO CACERCES DIAS

. RECONFIRMED

. INFORMATION: . . HERMAN ANTELO LAUGHLIN

(DRAFTED BY: POL - F.FOULGER) ROWELL

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120160 CABLE	3 1/23/1986 B1			
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BE T SECTION 01 OF 02 BUENOS AIRES 01959

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: EPET, PREL, AR, BL

SUBJ: ARGENTINE PURCHASES OF BOLIVIAN GAS

REF: STATE 60512

- 1. (SECRET ENTIRE TEXT.)
- 2. SUMMARY. IN RESPONSE TO DEMARCHE BY EMBOFFS, MFA UNDER SECRETARY ALCONADA SEMPE SAID THAT THE GOA, IN ACCORDANCE WITH PRESIDENT ALFONSIN'S DECISION, IS CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN GAS NEGOTIATIONS WITH GOB. ITS OBJECTIVE IS TO REDUCE THE GOA'S CONTROVERSIAL GAS PAYMENTS TO BOLIVIA TO A MORE POLITICALLY DEFENSIBLE FIGURE WHILE COMPENSATING FOR LOST REVENUES BY OTHER FORMS OF GOA ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. END SUMMARY.
- 3. IN RESPONSE REFTEL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COUNSELORS CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTRY UNDER SECRETARY RAUL ALCONADA SEMPE TO DISCUSS GOA GAS PURCHASES FROM BOLIVIA AND ENCOURAGE POSTPONEMENT OF ANY SUBSTANTIAL CONTRACT REVISIONS THAT WOULD REDUCE GOA'S FORFIGN EXCHANGE INCOME IN CONTEXT OF BOLIVIA'S DIFFIGULT ECONOMIC SITUATION. AFTER LISTENING TO EMBOFFS EXPLANATION OF USG POSITION REGARDING ARGENTINA'S SUPPORT FOR BOLIVIAN DEMOCRACY AND IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUATION OF CURRENT LEVEL OF GAS PURCHASES IN THIS CRITICAL PERIOD, ALCONADA SAID THAT HE HAD JUST COME FROM A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ALFONSIN WHERE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN VISITING BOLIVIAN NEGOTIATING TEAM AND GOA ECONOMIC OFFICIAL WERE DISCUSSED. ACCORDING TO ALCONADA, GOA HAS MADE FIRM DECISION TO RENEGOTIATE GAS CONTRACT AND REDUCE PAYMENTS TO BOLIVIA.

REDUCTION IN DIRECT GAS PAYMENTS, HOWEVER, WOULD BE GRADUAL AND COMPENSATED BY OTHER FORMS OF GOA ASSISTANCE (I.E., LOANS, CREDITS, FOOD ASSISTANCE). HE SAID THAT ARGENTINA COULD NO LONGER AFFORD THIS LEVEL OF OUTFLOW OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE (OVER \$400 MILLION IN 1985). HE ASSERTED THAT THEY NEEDED TO PUT THEIR COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH BOLIVIA IN BALANCE. HE NOTED THAT TO DO SO, BOLIVIA NEEDED TO SETTLE ITS INTEREST ARREARS (HE MENTIONED) \$90 MILLION) ON THE OVER \$400 MILLION OF GOA LOAMS TO BOLIVIA DATING FROM THE VIDELA/GARCIA MEZA PERIOD. AND TO BRING THEIR ALADI ACCOUNTS OF OVER \$48 MILLION IN BALANCE. THE GOA INTENDS TO NEGOTIATE A MORE REALISTIC GAS CONTRACT WHICH WILL REDUCE FLOWS BUT IS WILLING TO OFFSET MUCH OF THAT REDUCTION THROUGH COMMERCIAL CREDITS AND LOANS (PRESUMABLY THE MULTICOUNTRY SWAP ARRANGEMENT). HE MENTIONED, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT BOLIVIA NOW BUYS MANY MANUFACTURED GOODS FROM BRAZIL WHICH ARGENTINA ALSO PRODUCES, IMPLYING A GOA LINE OF CREDIT MIGHT MAKE ARGENTINE GOODS MORE ATTRACTIVE.

4. ALCONADA ALSO DISCUSSED THE PRICING FIGURES THE GOA HOPED TO ACHIEVE IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOB. HE NOTED THAT ARGENTINA HAD BEEN PAYING \$4.27 PER CUBIC FOOT FOR BOLIVIAN GAS, MORE THAN TWICE THE WORLD MARKET PRICE (WHICH HE CITED AT \$1.40 PER CUBIC FOOT), AND DOMESTIC GAS COSTS ONLY \$.70 PER CUBIC FOOT. HE CITED \$1.90 PER CUBIC FOOT AS THE TARGET FOR THE NEW GAS CONTRACT. HE DID NOT MENTION WHETHER OR NOT THE GOA INTENDED TO REDUCE THE VOLUME OF PURCHASES AS WELL. AS OF DECEMBER 1985. ALCONADA SAID THAT GOA AND GOB HAD AGREED ON GOA PAYMENT OF \$3.30 A CUBIC FOOT FOR GAS AND THAT

ARGENTINA (WITH NORMAL 60 DAY LAPSE) WAS NOW CURRENT ON ITS PAYMENTS TO GOB FOR 1985. BOLIVIANS IN TURN HAD AGREED TO SPEND 50 PERCENT OF 1985 GAS PURCHASES FOR GOA GOODS PER COUNTER TRADE ACCOUNT.

5. ALCONADA SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS DETERMINED THAT POLITICAL JUSTIFICATION FOR CONTINUING UNREALIST-ICALLY HIGH PAYMENT FOR BOLIVIAN GAS CAN NO LONGER BE SUSTAINED. ALCONADA EMPHASIZED AGAIN, HOWEVER, THAT GOA WANTS TO CONTINUE SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY SO THAT REDUCTION WILL BE GRADUAL AND COMPENSATED --AT LEAST IN PART -- BY OTHER FORMS OF GOA ASSISTANCE. SUCH ASSISTANCE, HOWEVER, CAN NO LONGER BE IN THE

DEGLASSIFIED

# SEGRET

# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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BUENOS AIRES 1959

DTG: Ø52Ø46Z MAR 86 PSN: Ø5728Ø TOR: Ø64/2189Z CSN: HCE576

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S E C DE T SECTION 02 OF 02 BUENOS AIRES 01959

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: EPET, PREL, AR, BL

SUBJ: ARGENTINE PURCHASES OF BOLIVIAN GAS

FORM OF A CONTRACTUAL OBLIGATION FAR ABOVE THE WORLD PRICE AND DIFFICULT TO DEFEND POLITICALLY. IN RESPONSE TO USG CONCERN, HE SAID GOA IS CONSCIOUS OF DANGERS WHICH COULD RESULT FROM ANY REAL REDUCTION OF GOB INCOME AT THIS CRITICAL MOMENT. INDEED, HE SAID THE GOA PLANS TALKS WITH VENEZUELA, BRAZIL AND COLOMBIA TO EXPLORE WHAT ASSISTANCE THESE COUNTRIES CAN PROVIDE TO FILL ANY GAP AND BOOST BOLIVIAN DEMOCRACY. (ALCONADA DID NOT MENTION NOR DID EMBOFFS RAISE ARTICLE IN BA MORNING PRESS REGARDING ANNOUNCEMENT OF USG DECISION TO SUSPEND AID TO BOLIVIA DUE TO NON-COMPLIANCE WITH CONGRESSIONALLY MANDATED TARGETS ON REDUCTION OF COCA CULTIVATION.)

6. ALCONADA PREDICTED CURRENT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN BOLIVIAN AND ARGENTINE OFFICIALS WOULD LAST ANOTHER DAY OR SO. HE SAID BOLIVIANS ARE UNREALISTICALLY SEEKING TO MAINTAIN OR EVEN INCREASE CURRENT PRICE ON GAS PURCHASES. AT WEEK'S END IF TALKS PROGRESS, ALCONADA SAID HE MAY PERSONALLY FLY TO LA PAZ TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOB. (FYI: ALTHOUGH HE MIGHT NOT BE ADVERSE TO CONTACT WITH AMBASSADOR ROWELL, WHOM HE HAS NOT MET, ALCONADA IMPLIED THAT HIS MISSION COULD MAKE ANY MEETING AVKWARD. SUGGEST EMBASSY LA PAZ CONTACT ARGENTINE EMBASSY FOR FORTHER READ OUT ON TALKS IF ALCONADA DOES VISIT LA PAZ. END FYI.)

7. CORDIAL AS ALWAYS ALCONADA SEVERAL TIMES SAID THAT HE APPRECIATED USG'S INTEREST AND CONCERNS ABOUT LEVEL OF GOA GAS PAYMENTS AND

ASSISTANCE TO BOLIVIA. HE PERSONALLY PLEDGED TO CONVEY THESE CONCERNS TO PRESIDENT ALFONSIN. ALCONADA MADE IT CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF HAS DECIDED TO REVISE THE CURRENT SYSTEM OF GOA GAS PURCHASES WHILE COMPENSATING A GRADUAL REDUCTION IN ARGENTINE PAYMENTS WITH OTHER FORMS OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM THE GOA AND HOPEFULLY OTHER LA COUNTRIES SUPPORTIVE OF BOLIVIAN DEMOCRACY.

8. COMMENT. IN SEVERAL PREVIOUS CONVERSATIONS WITH MFA'S DIRECTOR OF SOUTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS, EMBASSY HAD REPORTED GOA'S INTENTIONS TO REDUCE GAS PAYMENTS BEGINNING IN 1986. FROM ALCONADA'S COMMENTS, IT IS OBVIOUS THAT PRESIDENT ALFONSIN, WHO HAS BEEN VERY SUPPORTIVE OF BOLIVIAN DEMOC-RACY, REACHED THIS DECISION. THE OPEN QUESTION AT THIS POINT IS HOW MUCH ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, IN WHAT FORM AND WHEN THE GOA WILL BE WILLING TO PROVIDE BOLIVIA WHEN GAS PAYMENTS ARE REDUCED.

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Document Description	pages tions			
120164 CABLE	2 3/20/1986 B1			
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# SECRET

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 LA PAZ 2388

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S E C R T SECTION Ø1 OF Ø2 LA PAZ Ø2388

EXDIS MILITARY ADDRESSES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: BL, MASS, PGOV

SUBJECT: BOLIVIAN MILITARY DISSUADED FROM POSTPONEMENT OF COMBINED EXERCISE -- THANKS TO USCINCSO

REF: USDAO LA PAZ BL DTG 1822042 MAR 86; MOON/ROWELL TELCONS, 3/19/86

- (SECRET-ENTIRE TEXT).
- I MET PRIVATELY WITH DEFENSE MINISTER FERNANDO VALLE EARLY MARCH 19 TO ENCOURAGE HIM TO DISSUADE THE BOLIVIAN HIGH COMMAND FROM PRECIPITOUSLY ACTING TO POST-PONE OR CANCEL THE COMBINED BOLIVIAN-U, S. EXERCISE SCHEDULED FOR APRIL-MAY, FUERZAS UNIDAS (FU-86).
- VALLE SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED THIS SUBJECT LATE MARCH 18 WITH ARMED FORCES COMMANDER IN CHIEF GENERAL RAUL LOPEZ LEYTON. HE SAID THAT HE (VALLE) HAD JUST RECEIVED EXTRAORDINARY UNITED STATES HELP IN CONNECTION WITH HIS NEED FOR EXAMINATION AND POSSIBLE TREATMENT OF SPINAL COLUMN/HEAD INJURIES RECEIVED IN AN AUTO ACCIDENT TEN DAYS AGO. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WOULD BE AN AFFRONT TO HIM AND TO THE GOVERNMENT IF THE HIGH COMMAND WERE TO TAKE ANY ACTION AGAINST FU-86 ON THE EVE OF HIS TRIP TO THE U.S. LOPEZ CONCURRED.
- VALLE GAVE THE FOLLOWING EXPLANATION OF THE BOLIVIAN MILITARY'S EMOTIONAL DRIVE TO DEFER OR CANCEL FU-86:
- -- THE BOLIVIAN MILITARY ARE EXTREMELY THIN SKINNED (NOTE READ: HAVE AN INFERIORITY COMPLEX) REGARDING
- THE WAY THEY THINK THEY ARE PERCEIVED BY THE UNITED
- STATES AND THE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES.
- ASSOCIATION WITH OR DIRECT SUPPORT BY THE UNITED STATES REENFORCES THEIR SENSE OF LEGITIMACY AND

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DTG: 211329Z MAR 86 PSN: 011088

THEIR CONFIDENCE IN THE RESPONSIBLE ROLE THEY ARE PLAYING. CONVERSELY, ANY SLIGHT UNDERMINES THAT CONFIDENCE AND IMPUGNES THE SENSE OF STATUS AND DIGNITY OF THE ARMED FORCES LEADERS.

- -- FU-86 IS PROBABLY THE ONLY SIGNIFICANT, SHOWY
  RESPONSIBLE MILITARY ACTIVITY SCHEDULED FOR
  CALENDAR-YEAR 1986. IT HAS TWO MAJOR PAYOFFS:
  IT PROVIDES TRAINING AND ASSISTANCE IN MILITARY
  PROFESSIONALIZATION OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT OF NORMAL
  MAP AND IMET PROGRAMS; AND IT PROVIDES SIGNIFICANT
  POLITICAL REENFORCEMENT AND LEGITIMAZATION. THE
  POLITICAL COMPONENT IS AT LEAST AS IMPORTANT TO THE
  HIGH COMMAND AS IS THE PROFESSIONALIZATION ELEMENT.
  THIS IS WHY, DESPITE RESOURCES THAT ARE SO TIGHT
  THAT ALL BOLIVIAN AIR FORCE PLANES ARE GROUNDED,
  THE BOLIVIAN HIGH COMMAND HAS ENTHUSIASTICALLY
  EMBRACED FU-86 UNTIL THIS WEEK.
- -- IN TERMS OF OVERALL SENSITIVITY, GENERAL GALVIN'S
  . VISIT AT THE END OF JANUARY WAS A FIGH POINT AND
  . WAS A MAJOR REINFORCEMENT TO THE P/Z ESTENSSORD
  . GOVERNMENT AND THE FURTHER CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY.
- -- NEWSPAPER STORIES AT THE BEGINNING OF MARCH ALLEGING.
  THAT ALL AID HAD BEEN SUSPENDED WAS A COLD BATH FOR
  THE BOLIVIAN MILITARY. LATER CLARIFICATIONS DID.
  NOT/NOT HELP MUCH, SINCE CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL HOLDS.
  DO AFFECT FY-1986 MAP AND IMET.
- -- WHEN THE USMILGP COMMANDER HAD TO TELL THE HIGH
  . COMMAND THAT COST PROBLEMS WERE FOFCING THE ELIMINATION OF U.S. AIR SUPPORT ELEMENTS FOR THE PROPOSED
  . FIELD EXERCISE (FTX) PORTION OF FU-86, THIS WAS
  . LIKE THE "STRAW THAT BROKE THE CAMEL'S BACK". THE
  . HIGH COMMAND HAD BEEN COUNTING ON THE MORE SPECTACU. LAR ASPECTS OF THE FTX TO BE THE CORE OF THE
  . "POLITICAL/PSYCHOLOGICAL" RETURNS IT HOPED TO GET
  . FROM THE EXERCISE. IN EFFECT, THE HIGH COMMAND IS
  . LEFT WITH NO RPT NO OBVIOUS EXTERNAL EVIDENCE OF
  . U.S. SUPPORT OR APPROVAL (AS THEY SEE IT) TO SHOW
  . THEIR FORCES OR BOLIVIAN SOCIETY AS A WHOLE.
- 5. VALLE SAID HE WOULD MEET AGAIN WITH THE BOLIVIAN HIGH COMMAND AT 9:30 A.M. MARCH 20. FE SAID HE INTENDED TO:

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SECRET

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 LA PAZ 2388 E O B 3 5 1

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CRET SECTION 02 OF 02 LA PAZ 02388

EXDIS MILITARY ADDRESSES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: BL, MASS, PGOV BOLIVIAN MILITARY DISSUADED FROM POSTPONEMENT SUBJECT:

- -- REEMPHASIZE THE POINTS HE HAD MADE TO GENERAL LOPEZ;
- -- STATE THAT PRESIDENT PAZ HAD PERSONALLY INSTRUCTED HIM (VALLE) TO MEET WITH SENIOR OFFICIALS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND DOD/ISA DURING HIS STAY IN WASHINGTON; AND
- DISCUSS THE ISSUE OF NARCO-TRAFFICKING IN RELATION TO GUERRILLA AND TERRORIST MOVEMENTS, POTENTIAL DIRECT MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THE FIGHT AGAINST NARCO-TRAFFICKING, AND THE CRITICAL NEED FOR ASSISTANCE TO ENABLE THE ARMED FORCES TO DEAL WITH THOSE ISSUES.
- THANKS TO OUTSTANDING EFFORTS BY USCINCSO, FOR KEY AIR SUPPORT FOR THE FIELD TRAINING EXERCISE WERE FOUND AND RESTORED MARCH 19. AT MY SUGGESTION (AND WITH VALLE'S STRONG ENCOURAGEMENT), GENERAL GALVIN COMMUNICATED WITH GENERAL LOPEZ LATE MARCH 19 REAFFIRMING STRONG SUPPORT FOR AND HIGH APPRECIATION OF GENERAL LOPEZ AND THE BOLIVIAN HIGH COMMAND AND ARMED FORCES.
- DURING THE HIGH COMMAND'S MEETING WITH VALLE EARLY MARCH 20, I TELEPHONED GENERAL LOPEZ, CONFIRMED THE GOOD NEWS ON AIR SUPPORT, REITERATED TO HIM GENERAL GALVIN'S MESSAGE, AND EMPHASIZED THAT GENERAL GALVIN HAD ACTED TO SHOW HIS OWN PERSONAL AND THE U.S. ARMED FORCES' SUPPORT FOR LOPEZ AND A BOLIVIAN MILITARY WHO ARE DOING SUCH AN OUTSTANDING JOB IN SUPPORT OF DEMO-GENERAL LOPEZ WAS EFFUSIVELY APPRECIATIVE AND CRACY. SAID HE WOULD RETURN TO HIS MEETING AND INFORM THE HIGH COMMAND IMMEDIATELY.

# SECRET

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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8. DEFENSE MINISTER VALLE LATER CALLED ME TO SAY THAT THE REACTION IN THE HIGH COMMAND MEETING WAS EXTREMELY POSITIVE AND ENTHUSIASTIC. HE EXPRESSED HIS OWN DEEP APPRECIATION -- AS A CIVILIAN MINISTER -- TO ME AND TO GENERAL GALVIN.

WE NEED TO REMEMBER THAT THE PRESENT MEMBERS OF THE BOLIVIAN HIGH COMMAND WERE SERVICE COMMANDERS DURING THE DIFFICULT DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION OF 1985. THE PAZ ESTENSSORO GOVERNMENT -- WHICH IS THE BEST BET THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE FOR FURTHER CONSOLIDATING DEMOCRACY, ESTABLISHING A PRIVATE SECTOR BASED ECONOMIC RECOVERY, AND EFFECTIVELY ATTACKING NARCO-TRAFFICKING --DEPENDS ON THE ARMED FORCES FOR A CONTINUED LOYALTY TO DEMOCRACY AND FOR INTERNAL ORDER IN THE FACE OF MOUNTING SOCIAL PROTEST OVER ECONOMIC AUSTERITY. IN ADDITION. THE ARMED FORCES ALREADY HAVE A CRITICAL LOGISTICS SUPPORT ROLE FOR ANTI-NARCOTICS POLICE ON STRIKE OPERA-TIONS, AND SOME MILITARY ELEMENTS IN REMOTE REGIONS MAY TAKE ON A DIRECT INTERDICTION ROLE OF THEIR OWN. FOR ALL OF THESE REASONS, PRESIDENT PAZ ESTENSSORO HAS TWICE PERSONALLY PRESSED ME TO TRY TO DELIVER PROMPTLY MORE MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND TRAINING TO THE BOLIVIAN ARMED FORCES. IT IS A TRAVESTY THAT THIS BOLIVIAN MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT IS TRAPPED, FOR NO FAULT OF ITS OWN, IN A SITUATION IN WHICH IT RECEIVES LESS ASSISTANCE THAN DID THE BOLIVIAN MILITARY UNDER THE SILES ADMINISTRATION. THAT ADMINISTRATION WAS RIDDLED WITH COMMUNISTS AND DID NOTHING EFFECTIVE AGAINST NARCOTICS.

10. I GREATLY APPRECIATE THE SUPPORT WE ARE RECEIVING

FROM USCINCSO. ROWELL BT

# CONFLOENTIAL

# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 81 OF 83 LA PAZ 82439

DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, ELAB, ECON, BL

SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT TAKES OFFENSIVE TO PASS TAX

AND BUDGET PROPOSALS

REF: (A) LA PAZ 237 Ø

(B) LA PAZ 24Ø1

SUMMARY

1 (C) PRESIDENT PAT ESTENSSORO KICKED OFF THE GOVERN-MENT'S CAMPAIGN TO PASS TAX AND BUDGET LAWS WITH A DRAMATIC NATIONALLY TELEVISED SPEACH ON MARCH 20. THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY IS IN THE HANDS OF THE LEGISLATURE," HE SAID. THE LAWS ARE CRUCIAL FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC POLICIES AND AN IMF STAND-BY. INITIAL CONGRESSIONAL REACTIONS RANGED FROM NEGATIVE (PRESIDENTS OF BOTH THE SENATE AND THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES) TO NON-COMMITTAL. TO INCREASE PRESSURE ON CONGRESS TO APPROVE THE PROPOSALS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS TIED ITS OFFER TO INCREASE TEACHERS' SALARIES TO PASSAGE OF THE TAX AND BUDGET LAWS. DESPITE THE INITIAL RECEPTION, PAZ AND HIS ECONOMIC TEAM ARE IN FULL-COURT PRESS TO COMPEL RESPONSIBLE CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION. WE ANTICIPATE THAT REINFORCEMENT IN THE FORM OF ENDORSEMENTS FROM INFLUENTIAL PRIVATE SECTOR GROUPS AND OTHERS WILL MATERIALIZE AS WELL. THE GOING WILL BE TOUGH, BUT

ODDS MARGINALLY FAVOR PAZ. THE EMBASSY WILL ADD ITS WEIGHT TO THE EFFORT AT EVERY APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITY. END SUMMARY.

A WEAK AND CONTENTIOUS CONGRESS MUST ACT

2. (LOU) THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH'S TAX INITIATIVES AND BUDGET PROPOSALS MUST BE APPROVED BY CONGRESS. THIS CONGRESS, WHICH HAS BEEN QUERULOUS AND SLOW TO ACT, IS NOW FACED WITH THE URGENT NECESSITY TO PASS PROMPTLY A TAX LAW AND A BUDGET IN A COUNTRY WHICH IN RECENT YEARS HAS OPERATED WITH NEITHER A BUDGET NOR AN EFFECTIVE OR ENFORCED TAX COLLECTION SCHEME.

GOVERNMENT BEGINS PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN

- 3. (U) PRESIDENT PAZ ESTENSSORO ON MARCH 20 KICKED OFF THE GOVERNMENT'S CASE WITH A POWERFUL AND ELOQUENT NATIONALLY BROADCAST TELEVISION SPEECH ON HIS TAX PROPOSAL. PAZ, LOOKING POISED AND HEALTHY, SAID TAX REVENUES MUST BE INCREASED AND HIS BUDGET PASSED IN ORDER TO FIGHT HYPERINFLATION AND THE POSSIBILITY OF TOTAL BANKRUPTCY. ONE OF THE MOST DRAMATIC MOMENTS OCCURRED WHEN PAZ AVOWED IT WAS UP TO CONGRESS TO PASS THE LAWS NECESSARY FOR BOLIVIA'S SURVIVAL. "THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY IS IN THE HANDS OF THE LEGISLATURE." HE PLEDGED TO CALL AN EXTRAORDINARY EXTENDED SESSION IF NECESSARY TO ASSURE APPROVAL OF THE MEASURES.
- 4. (U) ON THE SAME DAY, FINANCE MINISTER JUAN CARLAGA AND PLANNING MINISTER GONZALO SANCHEZ DE LOZADA HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE WHERE THEY PRESENTED ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE GOVERNMENT'S TAX LAW. CARLAGA SAID THAT:
- . -- THE CURRENT CRITICAL SITUATION WAS CAUSED BY THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT WHICH FAILED TO RAISE MONEY TO COVER ITS EXPENDITURES. IT "PAID" FOR ITS GROWING DEFICITS BY "UNBACKED CURRENCY EMISSIONS."

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 03 LA PAZ 02439

DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR PDLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV. ELAB. ECON. BL SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT TAKES OFFENSIVE TO PASS TAX

- . -- TO SOLVE THE CURRENT ECONOMIC CRISIS IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO RESTRICT PUBLIC EXPENDITURE. RATHER, IT IS NECESSARY TO INCREASE THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO RAISE REVENUES.
- -- PASSAGE OF THE TAX LAW IS NECESSARY FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSED BUDGET.

PRELIMINARY CONGRESSIONAL REACTION: NON-COMMITTAL-

TO-NEGATIVE

5. (LOU) PRELIMINARY (MARCH 21) REACTION TO THE GOVERNMENT'S PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN THUS FAR HAS BEEN MIXED TO NEGATIVE. THE LEFT PARTIES, A MINORITY, PREDICTABLY WERE MOST CRITICAL. THE NATIONALIST DEMOCRATIC ACTION (ADN) PARTY HAS YET TO PROVIDE ITS OFFICIAL REACTION, BUT SENATOR ORMACHEA (A STRONG BANZER BACKER) SPOKE OUT STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF PAZ'S PACKAGE, WHILE ADN DEPUTY WILLY VARGAS COMPLAINED THAT THE MNR HAD NOT CONSULTED WITH THE ADN. ACCORDING TO MID-DAY MARCH 21 RADIO REPORTS, SENATE PRESIDENT ZAMORA (A MAOIST IN MNR CLOTHING) AND CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES PRESIDENT ENCINAS (MIR-MOVEMENT

OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT) AND SOME MEMBERS OF THEIR PARTIES HAVE REJECTED THE TAX PROPOSALS.

6. (C) LABATT DISCUSSED THE MATTER WITH A MIR DEPUTY (WHO IS ALSO A TOP BOLIVIAN WORKERS CENTRAL (COB) OFFICIAL) WHO SAID THAT HE OPPOSED THE GOVERN-MENT'S TAX PROPOSAL IN BOTH HIS CAPACITIES AND THAT THE COB EXECUTIVE BOARD HAD AGREED EARLY MARCH 21 TO REJECT IT. THE COB REJECTED THE MEASURE NOT ONLY BECAUSE THEY ARE DISPOSED TO REJECT ANYTHING THE GOVERNMENT PROPOSES BUT ALSO, SAID THE DEPUTY, BECAUSE! THE PROPOSED INCOME TAX PORTION OF THE BILL IS REGRESSIVE. (COMMENT: WHILE THIS IS TRUE WITH THE INCOME TAX, MAJOR PORTIONS OF THE NEW TAX PROGRAM ARE PROGRESSIVE (SEPTEL). END COMMENT)

TEACHER PAY RAISE TIED TO TAX APPROVAL

- 7. (U) THE GOVERNMENT ALSO ANNOUNCED MARCH 20 THAT IT WILL INCREASE TEACHERS' PAY -- A MAJOR SOURCE OF RECENT DEMONSTRATIONS (REF B) -- JUST AS SOON AS CONGRESS PASSES THE TAX AND BUDGET LAWS.
- 8. (C) THIS ATTACKS THE EFFORT BY THE RENEGADE GOVERN-MENT PARTY (MNR) MEMBERS AND KEY DEPUTY ERWIN RODRIGUEZ (HEAD OF THE CHAMBER ECONOMIC COMMITTEE) TO HOLD UP A DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET OR TAX LAWS UNTIL THE GOVERN-MENT INCREASES TEACHERS' SALARIES (REF A). FURTHERMORE, IT PLACES RESPONSIBILITY FOR INCREASING TEACHERS' SALARIES ON CONGRESS. THE GOVERNMENT ALSO HOPES TO DEFLECT GROWING PRESSURE AND IRE FROM THE GENERAL PUBLIC (AS THE LENGTH OF TIME SCHOOLS REMAIN CLOSED INCREASES) FROM THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO THE CONGRESS.

COMMENT -----

9. (C) JUDGING BY THE INITIAL REACTIONS TO ITS PROPOSALS, THE GOVERNMENT FACS A TOUGH UPHILL FIGHT IN CONGRESS. A TRUE READING OF ADN REACTION WILL HAVE TO AWAIT BANZER'S RETURN MARCH 22 AND HIS SUBSEQUENT CONSULTATIONS WITH PAZ. DESPITE THESE PROBLEMS, PAZ AND HIS ECONOMIC TEAM ARE COMMITTED TO

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DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, ELAB, ECON, BL SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT TAKES OFFENSIVE TO PASS TAX

PASSAGE OF THE MEASURES AND AT THIS POINT THE ODDS ARE MARGINALLY IN FAVOR OF THEIR APPROVAL. WE WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ASSURE THAT RESULT.

(DRAFTED BY: H. O' HARA) ROWELL

### UNCLASSIFIED

# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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USIA FOR AR WHITEHOUSE FOR FOR J. TILLMAN DIA FOR IR BRANCH USCINCSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 12356: N/A TAGS: SNAR, BL, SOCI SUBJECT: HEIGHTENED BOLIVIAN ACTION ON NARCOTICS

SUMMARY

1. BOLIVIAN PRESS HAS PROVIDED EXTENSIVE COVERAGE OF RECENT DECLARATIONS BY INTERIOR MINISTER REASSERTING GOB'S COMMITMENT TO REDUCE EXCESS COCA CULTIVATION AND INTERDICT DRUG TRAFFIC, DECLARATIONS BY OTHER TOP OFFICIALS, INCLUDING BOLIVIA'S NEW AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S., EMPHASIZING IMPORTANCE OF COCA REDUCTION, HAVE ALSO APPEARED IN PRESS LATELY. IN ADDITION, REPORTS OF SUCCESSFUL POLICE OPERATIONS AGAINST TRAFFICKERS ARE SURFACING REGULARLY, AS ARE REPORTS OF A GROWING DOMESTIC DRUG ABUSE PROBLEM.

INTERIOR MINISTER'S STATEMENTS KEEP THE PRESSURE ON

2. LEADING DAILY PRESENCIA OF MARCH 26 CARRIES DECLARATIONS BY INTERIOR MINISTER FERNANDO BARTHELEMEY IN WHICH HE EXPRESSES CONCERN THAT "NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING IS BUYING (PEOPLES') CONSCIENCES, " REFERRING TO THE REFUSAL BY A SANTA CRUZ JUDGE TO TURN OVER TO THE

STATE PROPERTY CONFISCATED FROM A NARCOTICS TRAFFICKER. REGARDING THIS DECISION, THE INTERIOR MINISTER SAID THAT SUCH ATTITUDES "DO HOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO CONFRONT NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING."

3. THE CONFISCATED PROPERTY BELONGED TO ONE GUIVER "PACO" SUAREZ AND CONSISTED OF FIVE SMALL AIRPLANES, A HANGAR AT EL TROMPILLO AIRPORT IN SANTA CRUZ, THREE RURAL PROPERTIES AND 20 KILOS OF COCAINE. ON MARCH 25, RABIO PANAMERICANA OF LA PAZ REPORTED THAT THE INTERIOR MINISTER HAD STATED THAT "THE DRUG TRAFFICKING PROBLEM, IN ADDITION TO HAVING TARNISHED THE COUNTRY'S IMAGE ABROAD... IS DAMAGING THE MORAL AND PHYSICAL STANDARDS OF BOLIVIAN CITIZENS."

IN OTHER STATEMENTS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS RECENTLY, BARTHELEMEY HAS MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- -- THE GOVERNMENT IS AWARE OF THE TREMENDOUS ECONOMIC.
- . INFLUENCE NARCOTICS TRAFFICKERS WIELD AND THEIR
- . ABILITY TO DESTROY THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND
- . DESTABILIZE THE GOVERNMENT IF THEY SO CHOOSE.
- -- BOLIVIA IS TRYING TO COMPLY WITH ITS RESPONSIBILITIES
- . UNDER EXISTING AGREEMENTS TO REDUCE COCA CULTIVATION,
- . BUT THE TASK IS DIFFICULT, GIVEN THAT THE 1983
- . BI-LATERAL ACCORDS SIGNED BY THE PRECEDING GOVERNMENT
- . DID NOT PROVIDE SPECIFICS OF HOW THE REDUCTION PROGRAM
- . WOULD BE CONDUCTED.
- -- IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL USE THE
- . SPECIAL ANTI-NARCOTICS POLICE ("LEOPARDS") IN ITS
- . EFFORTS TO REDUCE EXCESS COCA CULTIVATION IN THAT AREA
- . OF THE CHAPARE WHERE THE CAMPESINOS HAVE REJECTED
- . PARTICIPATION IN THE VOLUNTARY REDUCTION PROGRAM.

#### INTERDICTION EFFORTS SUCCESSFUL \_\_\_\_\_

- 4 PRESS REPORTS OF LATE HAVE ALSO CITED SEVERAL SUCCESSFUL POLICE ACTIONS AIMED AT DISRUPTING NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING HERE. THE MOST NOTEABLE:
- --YESTERDAY'S PAPERS (MARCH 26) REPORT THE
- . CONFISCATION OF THREE TONS OF SULFURIC ACID IN ORURO
- . IN LESS THAN A MONTH. THE ARTICLE STATES THAT THE

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#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: SNAR, BL, SOCI
SUBJECT: HEIGHTENED BOLIVIAN ACTION ON NARCOTICS

- . SULFURIC ACID ENTERS BOLIVIA ILLEGALLY FROM CHILE AND
- . IS SUBSEQUENTLY TRANSPORTED TO THE COCHABAMBA VALLEY
- . WHERE IT IS USED IN COCAINE PRODUCTION.
- -- ON MARCH 25, THE PRESS REPORTED THE SEIZURE OF 187
- . KILOS OF COCAINE BASE, FOUR AUTOMOBILES AND 57 ARRESTS
- . IN THE CHAPARE, THE LARGEST COCA-GROWING REGION IN
- . BOLIVIA.
- -- ON MARCH 21, THE PRESS REPORTED THE SEIZURE OF NEARLY
- . 39 KILOS OF COCAINE BASE (38,950 GRAMS) AND 24 ARRESTS
- . IN THE PRECEDING 48 HOURS BY NARCOTICS POLICE
- . OPERATING IN SANTA CRUZ, COCHABAMBA AND THE CHAPARE.

NEW AMBASSADOR TO U.S. ADDS HIS VOICE

5. RETURNING TO LA PAZ FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE PRESENTING HIS CREDENTIALS AS AMBASSADOR TO UNITED STATES, FERNANDO ILLANES TOLD THE PRESS MARCH 22 THAT THE UNITED STATES "IS INFLEXIBLE REGARDING NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING. BOLIVIA HAS TO COMPLY WITH THE COMMITMENTS IT HAS HADE WITH RESPECT TO COCA REDUCTION." ILLANES CONTINUED: "WHAT WE SEEK IS TO CONVINCE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND ITS CONGRESSMEN THAT BOLIVIA IS TRYING TO COMBAT NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING. IT IS A TASK THAT REQUIRES PERSISTENCE AND TIME."

WORSENING ABUSE PROBLEM PUBLICIZED

6. HEWSPAPERS IN ALL THREE PRINCIPAL CITIES ON MARCH 18 PROVIDED FRONT-PAGE COVERAGE OF A PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN ON DRUGS (KNOWN BY ITS SPANISH ACRONYM, CESE) IN WHICH HE PROVIDED DETAILS OF A WORSENING DRUG-ABUSE SITUATION IN BOLIVIA, INCLUDING INCREASED USE OF COCA-PASTE CIGARETTES BY CHILDREN UNDER THE AGE OF 12. DAILY "OPINION" OF COCHABAMBA CARRIED THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE ON ITS FRONT COCHABAMBA AND LA PAZ. " DAILY "LOS TIEMPOS," ALSO OF COCHABAMBA, CARRIED THE STORY IN THE UPPER RIGHT-HAND CORNER OF ITS FRONT PAGE UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE: "DRUG CONSUMPTION CONTINUES TO GROW.". DAILY "EL DIARIO" OF LA PAZ ALSO PROVIDED FRONT-PAGE COVERAGE. CARRYING THE FOLLOWING THREE-COLUMN HEADLINE: "CONSUMPTION OF DRUGS AMONG BOLIVIANS HAS INCREASED." ROWELL

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SECSTATE FOR DS/CG, DS/OSP, S/CT AND DS/PSD PANAMA FOR ADS AND CO CO D

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: ASEC, PTER, BL

SUBJECT: EXPLOSION ON ROOF OF CHANCERY BUILDING -

UPDATE NO. 1

REF: LA PAZ 2610

- 1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. ALL THROUGHOUT THE MORNING AND THE EARLY AFTERNOON, BOLIVIAN POLICE HAVE BEEN INTERVIEWING THE MANY OCCUPANTS OF THE ADJACENT BUILDING MENTIONED IN REFTEL. NO RESULTS HAVE BEEN REPORTED UP TO THIS TIME.
- 3. EMBASSY WILL REQUEST BOLIVIAN POLICE TO STATION ONE OF THEIR MEN ON THE ROOF OF A BUILDING ADJACENT TO THE CHANCERY. THIS WOULD TEND TO DISCOURAGE A REPETITION OF THIS MORNING'S INCIDENT.
- 4. THE EAC RECOMMENDED TO THE AMBASSADOR THE CANCELLA-TION OF TWO PLANNED EASTER-ORIENTED EVENTS. THE THIRD, THE LA PAZ COMMUNITY CHURCH'S SUNDAY MORNING CHURCH SERVICE WAS NOT CAPABLE OF BEING CANCELLED, IN THE EAC'S ESTIMATE, BUT EXTRA SECURITY PROTECTION WILL BE PROVIDED. A MAJOR CONSIDERATION THROUGHOUT HAS BEEN RUMOR CONTROL AND PUBLICATION VIS-A-VIS THE BEHAVIOR OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY, WHICH THE EAC FEELS IS CURRENTLY UNDER CONTROL.

5. TODAY, IN ORDER TO BREAK THE ROUTINE OF MISSION EMPLOYEES, DEPARTING AT 5:30 PM, THE EMBASSY WILL CLOSE 30 MINUTES EARLIER. ALSO, THE COM'S MOBILE SECURITY DETAIL WILL BE REINFORCED, AT LEAST FOR THE WEEKEND, WITH A LEAD VEHICLE. INCREASED PATROLS BY OFFICERS OF THE SY DETAIL WILL BE CONDUCTED AT THE COM RESIDENCE AND CHANCERY. GSO PERSONNEL ARE NOW EFFECTING THE NECESSARY REPAIRS ON THE ROOF.

- 6. AT APPROXIMATELY 1200 HRS, A TELEPHONE CALLER IDENTIFYING HIMSELF ONLY AS "JAVIER" ALLEGEDLY REPRESENT-ING A GROUP CALLED "COMANDO DEL PUEBLO," TOLD A LOCAL RADIO STATION THAT HIS GROUP WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BOMBING. HE ADDED THAT THE BOMBING HAD BEEN IN RETALIA-TION FOR U.S. POLICY TOWARD LIBYA AND NICARAGUA, AND THAT NEXT TIME, HIS GROUP WOULD HAVE NO RESPECT FOR HUMAN LIFE. THE "COMANDO DEL PUEBLO" GROUP IS NOT KNOWN TO THE EMBASSY, THOUGH THE STATEMENT THAT THERE MAY BE A NEXT TIME IS SOMEWHAT WORRISOME.
- 7. INFORMATION JUST BROUGHT TO OUR ATTENTION REVEALS THAT PHYSICAL EVIDENCE FOUND ON 15TH FLOOR OF ADJACENT BUILDING MENTIONED IN REFTEL, WAS ALMOST CERTAINLY THE SPOT FROM WHICH THE DYNAMITE WAS TOSSED. REPORTEDLY, MATCHES AND UNUSED FUSE MATERIAL WERE FOUND.
- 8. POST FEELS THAT A STURDY WIRE MESH STRUCTURE SHOULD BE BUILT TO COVER THE ENTIRE ROOF OF THE CHANCERY IN ORDER TO PREVENT A REPETITION OF THIS MORNING'S INCIDENT. WE ARE THUS REQUESTING THE SUM OF USD 15,000 WHICH WILL BE NEEDED TO BUILD SUCH A STRUCTURE.
- 9. WILL ADVISE OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. (DRAFTED BY RSO - G. GOLDSTEIN). ROWELL

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E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: BL, ASEC, PTER SUBJECT: STATEMENT ON MARCH 27 EXPLOSION AT EMBASSY

- 1, POST TRANSMITS HEREWITH OFFICIAL STATEMENT RELEASED TO LOCAL AND U.S. PRESS ON THIS MORNING'S EXPLOSION AT THE CHANCERY IN LA PAZ. BEGIN STATEMENT:
- 2. "AT APPROXIMATELY NINE THIRTY THIS MORNING, AN EXPLOSIVE DEVICE -- APPARENTLY DYNAMITE -- WAS THROWN FROM AN ADJACENT BUILDING ONTO THE ROOF OF THE U.S. EMBASSY BUILDING IN LA PAZ. THERE WERE NO INJURIES AND ONLY MINOR DAMAGE TO SOME GLASS WINDOWS ON THE ROOF. THE APPROPRIATE BOLIVIAN AUTHORITIES WERE NOTIFIED AND NORMAL EMBASSY BUSINESS CONTINUES. AT THIS POINT THE PERSON OR PERSONS RESPONSIBLE HAVE NOT BEEN IDENTIFIED. "
- 3. SUBSEQUENT TO THE RELEASE OF THE ABOVE STATEMENT, A LOCAL RADIO STATION RECEIVED A COMMUNIQUE FROM THE SQ-CALLED "LOS COMANDOS DEL PUEBLO," IN WHICH THE GROUP CLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EXPLOSION. THIS COMMUNIQUE FOLLOWS IN ITS ORIGINAL SPANISH AND IN ENGLISH.

4. BEGIN SPANISH: UN GRUPO DE PATRIOTAS BOLIVIANOS HEMOS RESUELTO EXPRESAR NUESTRO REPUDIO HACIA ACCIONES RELICAS QUE EL IMPERIALISMO NORTEAMERICANO HA INICIADO CONTRA EL PUEBLO DE LIBIA A TRAVES DE UN ATAQUE A LAS INSTALACIONES DE LA EMBAJADA DE ESTADOS UNIDOS EN BOLIVIA. ESTA PRIMERA ACCION ES SOLO UNA ADVERTENCIA DE LO QUE ESTAMOS DISPUESTOS A HACER SI LA ADMINISTRACION REAGAN INSISTE EN PISOTEAR LA DIGNIDAD DE NUESTROS PUEBLOS. HEMOS ELEGIDO UN BLANCO QUE PROCURE NO EXPONER LA VIDA DE NINGUNA PERSONA PERO SI LAS ACCIONES CONTRA NICARAGUA, LA INTERVENCION EN EL SALVADOR, LA HOSTILIDAD CONTRA CUBA Y LA AGRESION CONTRA CUALQUIER PAIS EN EL TERCER HUNDO CONTINUAN, GOLPEAREMOS NUEVAMENTE CON MAYOR DUREZA Y NO NOS HAREMOS RESPONSABLES POR LAS BAJAS HUMANAS QUE DERIVEN DE NUESTRAS RESPUESTAS. FIRMA EL COMANDANTE JAVIER, POR LOS COMANDOS DEL PUEBLO. END SPANISH.

BEGIN ENGLISH: WE, A GROUP OF BOLIVIAN PATRIOTS, HAVE DECIDED TO EXPRESS OUR REPUBLATION OF THE BELLICOSE ACTIONS THAT HORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM HAS INITIATED AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF LIBYA, THROUGH AN ATTACK ON THE INSTALLATIONS OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN BOLIVIA. FIRST ACTION IS A WARNING OF WHAT WE ARE PREPARED TO DO IF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION INSISTS ON TRAMPLING THE DIGNITY OF OUR PEOPLE. WE HAVE CHOSEN A TARGET WHICH WILL NOT ENDANGER THE LIFE OF ANY PERSON, BUT IF THE ACTIONS AGAINST NICARAGUA, THE INTERVENTION IN EL SALVADOR, THE HOSTILITY AGAINST CUBA OR THE AGRESSION AGAINST ANY COUNTRY IN THE THIRD WORLD CONTINUE, WE WILL STRIKE AGAIN MORE SEVERELY AND WE WILL NOT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LOSS OF HUMAN LIFE THAT RESULTS FROM OUR RESPONSE, SIGNED BY COMMANDER JAVIER, FOR "THE PEOPLE'S COMMANDOS", END ENGLISH. ROWELL

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DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, ECON, BL SUBJECT: PRESIDENT PAZ AND ADN LEADER BANZER REAFFIRM PLEDGE TO COOPERATE IN CONFRONTING BOLIVIA'S PROBLEMS

SUMMARY

1. (C) IN A TWO-HOUR MEETING ON MARCH 26, PRESIDENT PAZ ESTENSSORO AND OPPOSITION NATIONALIST DEMOCRATIC ACTION (ADN) LEADER HUGO BANZER REAFFIRMED THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE "PACT FOR DEMOCRACY," AND AGREED TO COOPERATE ON PASSAGE OF CRUCIAL BUDGET AND TAX LEGISLATION NOW BEFORE CONGRESS. THE ADM PERCEIVES "SIGNIFICANT DEFICIENCIES" IN BOTH DRAFT BILLS AND WILL PROPOSE CORRECTIVE AMENDMENTS. AN MNR/ADN WORKING GROUP IS TO MEET MARCH 27 TO START DISCUSSING CHANGES IN THE LEGISLATION. THE ADN ALSO INTENDS TO INTRODUCE A STATUTE TO DEAL WITH THE POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE ISSUE OF TEACHERS' SALARIES IN ORDER TO END THEIR CURRENT STRIKE.

2. (C) NONE OF THIS WILL BE EASY. BOLIVIA'S ECONOMIC INERTIA, SELF-DESTRUCTIVE POLITICAL INFIGHTING AND OPPORTUNISTIC LEFTIST OPPOSITION CONTINUE TO COMPLICATE PAZ'S ATTEMPTS TO PURSUE RESPONSIBLE POLICIES (WITH CONSCIENTIOUS BACKING FROM BANZER). STILL, THE POLITICAL COMMITMENT OF BOTH LEADERS IS CLEAR AND UNWAVERING. THEIR COMBINED INFLUENCE SHOULD IN TURN

APPLY THEIR RESPECTIVE PARTIES TO THE DIFFICULT TASK AT HAND WITH A BETTER THEN EVEN CHANCE OF SUCCESS. END SUMMARY.

BANZER DETERMINED AND REALISTIC

3. (C) ADN CHIEF HUGO BANZER MET WITH THE AMBASSADOR, THE PAPAL NUNCIO AND THE AMBASSADORS OF FRG, SPAIN AND ISRAEL AT A RELAXED DINNER ON THE EVENING OF MARCH 26 TO EXPRESS HIS APPRECIATION FOR ASSISTANCE RENDERED ON HIS RECENT SUCCESSFUL VISIT TO EUROPE AND THE U.S. LA PAZ MAYOR RONALD MACLEAN, SEVERAL OF BANZER'S CLOSE ADVISORS AND EDITORS FROM THREE RESPECTED NEWSPAPERS ALSO WERE PRESENT. BANZER CAME TO THE DINNER STRAIGHT FROM A TWO-HOUR TETE-A-TETE WITH PRESIDENT PAZ ESTENSSORO. IN BOTH GROUP CONVERSATION AND PRIVATE ASIDES WITH THE AMBASSADOR, BANZER COMMENTED SPECIFICALLY ON HIS EXCHANGE WITH PAZ AS WELL AS THE SITUATION IN HIS PARTY AND BOLIVIA GENERALLY. BANZER CAME ACROSS AS REALISTIC AND DETERMINED TO TAKE A RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP ROLE IN CONFRONTING BOLIVIA'S MANIFOLD PROBLEMS.

STRONG REAFFIRMATION OF BIPARTISAN COOPERATION

4. (C) BANZER INFORMED THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE AND PAZ HAD CATEGORICALLY REAFFIRMED THE BIPARTISAN "PACT FOR DEMOCRACY." BANZER SAID THAT DESPITE CERTAIN INTERNAL ADN "CONTROVERSIES," WHICH WERE BOTH WELL- AND ILL-INTENTED, THE PACT IS WHAT BOLIVIA NEEDS. FOR THAT REASON IT WILL BE SUSTAINED.

5. (C) BANZER REPEATED HIS CONTENTION THAT THE PACT DOES NOT SIGNIFY CO-GOVERNMENT WITH THE MNR. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE ADN IS BEING CRITICIZED BOTH FROM WITHIN AND WITHOUT FOR ITS ALLEGED COMPLICITY WITH THE MNR. HE ALSO CONCEDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC PROGRAM IS NOT DOING WELL AND THAT THE ADN HAS BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THAT ILL PERFORMANCE. HE MADE A CLEAR DISTINCTION, HOWEVER, BETWEEN GOVERNMENT POLICY MAKING AND THE ADN'S SUPPORTIVE ROLE IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF SOME STATE ENTERPRISES. PAZ AND HIS GOVERNMENT, BANZER SAID, REMAIN FULLY ACCOUNTABLE

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DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, ECON, BL SUBJECT: PRESIDENT PAZ AND ADN LEADER BANZER REAFFIRM

FOR POLICY DECISIONS AND IMPLEMENTATION.

6. (C) (COMMENT: WHILE BANZER'S THEORETICAL DISTINCTION IS PRECISE ENOUGH, THIS NUANCED MIDIFFERENTIATION LIKELY: WILL BE LOST ON THE PUBLIC-AND ON DISSIDENTS IN HIS OWN PARTY WHO PERCEIVE --AND OPPOSE -- INCREASING ADM COOPERATION WITH PAZ AND THE MAR. IN THE END, BANZER'S PERSONAL AUTHORITY RATHER THAN SUCH JUSTIFICATIONS WILL MAKE THE DIFFERENCE WITH HIS OWN PEOPLE. DENIALS OF "CO-GOVERNMENT" AND EQUAL RESPONSIBILITY WILL CONTINUE TO BE PART OF THE ADN CAMPAIGN FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION IN ANY CASE. END COMMENT.)

EROSION OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT

7. (C) BANZER COMMENTED THAT THE PAZ GOVERNMENT HAS SUFFERED AN EROSION OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF POOR ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE. THE GOVERNMENT'S INITIAL PROGRESS ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT AND ITS CREDIBILITY WERE DAMAGED IN DECEMBER AS UNBACKED CURRENCY EMMISSIONS THREATENED THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM AND FORCED EVERYTHING BACK TO SQUARE ONE. ALTHOUGH THE MNR HAD ADOPTED MANY ASPECTS OF THE ADN'S ECONOMIC PROGRAM, PAZ'S SUPREME DECREE 21060 LAST AUGUST ALSO CONTAINED WHAT BANZER CHARACTERIZED AS UNHELPFUL

"EHBELLISHMENTS." FOR EXAMPLE, HE SAID, THE DECREE CALLED FOR AMBITIOUS DE-CENTRALIZATION OF STATE ENTERPRISES THAT THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SIMPLY WAS NOT ABLE TO CARRY OUT IN THE SHORT TERM. HE CITED THE CASE OF COMIBOL (STATE MINING CORPORATION) AS A PRIME EXAMPLE. THIS FAILURE TO CARRY THROUGH SERIOUSLY ERODED PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO CARRY OUT ITS POLICIES. (COMMENT: TO A LARGE DEGREE, THE GOVERNMENT'S INABILITY TO CARRY OUT THE PROPOSED RATIONALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION OF COMIBOL IS DUE TO THE UNEXPECTED CRISIS IN THE WORLD TIN MARKET AND, MORE RECENTLY, DECLINING PETROLEUM PRICES, AND THE CONCOMITANT FALL IN BOLIVIAN REVENUES. END COMMENT.)

TAX AND BUDGET LAWS MUST BE AMENDED AND PASSED

8. (C) BANZER SAID HE TOLD PAZ THAT BOLIVIA MUST HAVE A BUDGET LAW AND A TAX LAW TO INCREASE REVENUES. BANZER, HOWEVER, CITED "SIGNIFICANT DEFICIENCIES" IN BOTH MNR DRAFT BILLS. HE STATED THAT THE ADN WILL PROPOSE CORRECTIVE AMENDMENTS AND WORK WITH THE MNR TO PASS THE MEASURES. PAZ READILY AGREED THAT BOTH BILLS COULD STAND IMPROVEMENT. AN ADMIMNR WORKING GROUP WILL HOLD ITS FIRST SESSION MARCH 27.

LESS PROBLEM WITH BUDGET -- SAYS ADN

9. (C) THE BUDGET, BANZER SAID, WILL BE EASIER TO DEAL WITH, AND CONGRESSIONAL ACTION SHOULD BE COMPLETED ON THAT BILL FIRST. THE PROBLEM WITH THE PROPOSED BUDGET IS THAT IT CONTAINS NO INVESTMENT BUDGET FOR THE STATE PETROLEUM ENTERPRISE (YPFB), THE ONE ENTITY THAT GENERATES REVENUE FOR THE GOVERNMENT. THAT OVER-SIGHT COULD SERIOUSLY HAMPER AND POTENTIALLY DESTROY THE YPFB.

10. (C) BANZER AND OTHERS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IF THE GOVERNMENT'S SHARE OF REVENUES IS CUT, THE GOVERNMENT WILL NEED TO OFFSET SUCH A LOSS BY NEW TAXES, IMPROVED TAX ADMINISTRATION OR CUTS ELSEWHERE IN THE BUDGET. THEY ALSO CONCEDED THAT NEITHER COST CUTTING NOR IMPROVED TAX ADMINISTRATION ARE REALISTIC PROSPECTS IN THE NEAR TERM. YET THEY CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT

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DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, ECON, BL SUBJECT: PRESIDENT PAZ AND ADN LEADER BANZER REAFFIRM

BECAUSE THE PRESENT PROPOSED BUDGET ONLY ASSUMED INCOME FROM BOLIVIA'S EXISTING REVENUE STRUCTURE (AND NOT FROM THE PENDING TAX LAW!, IT SHOULD BE EASY TO MODIFY THE YPFB PORTION AS THE ADN WANTS.

11. (C) (COMMENT: WE THINK THE ADN AND MNR TASK FORCE WILL FIND IT HAS TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES IN BOTH THE BUDGET AND TAX LAWS BEFORE PROCEEDING WITH EITHER ONE IN THE CONGRESS. IF THEY DO NOT, BOLIVIAN MAY RUN INTO TROUBLE WITH THE IMF ON ITS PENDING STAND-BY AGREEMENT. END COMMENT)

TAXES -- IMMEDIATE ADDED REVENUES ESSENTIAL

12. (C) TURNING TO THE TAX LAW, BANZER COMMENTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT DRAFT REPRESENTS A MAJOR REFORM OF THE TAX SYSTEM. THE ADN AGREES IN PRINCIPLE THAT REFORM IS DESIRABLE. THE VALUE-ADDED TAX OF 10 PERCENT CONTAINED IN THE PROPOSED BILL IS AN ESPECIALLY GOOD IDEA, BANZER AND HIS FRIENDS SAID. HOWEVER, FAR-REACHING TAX REFORM IS "TRICKY" AND WILL REQUIRE CONSIDERABLE DEBATE. BOLIVIA'S REVENUE NEEDS ON THE OTHER HAND ARE IMMEDIATE. THE ADN WILL PROPOSE AMENDMENTS TO THE TAX REFORM BILL. IF THIS ADN EFFORT IS NOT QUICKLY SUCCESSFUL, HOWEVER, THE ADN WILL THEN INTRODUCE A SIMPLIFIED SUBSTITUTE TAX MEASURE THAT

FOCUSES ON IMMEDIATE INCREASES IN REVENUE RATHER THAN REFORM OF THE TAX SYSTEM.

SOME TAX BILL PROVISIONS POSSIBILY UNCONSTITUTIONAL

- 13. (C) BANZER SAID THAT THE ADN ALSO IS CONCERNED THAT IMPORTANT PROVISIONS OF THE PRESENT MNR DRAFT MAY BE EITHER ILLEGAL OR UNCONSTITUTIONAL. THE MNR BILL WOULD FURTHER CONCENTRATE TAX AUTHORITY IN THE HANDS OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO THE DETRIMENT OF MUNICIPAL REVENUES. THE ADN WANTS TO RESTORE SUFFICIENT TAX AUTHORITY TO MUNICIPALITIES TO FUND LOCAL NEEDS.
- 14. (C) (COMMENT: THIS ISSUE IS IMPORTANT FOR SEVERAL REASONS. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS, POPULARLY ELECTED LAST JULY FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 35 YEARS, RECOGNIZE THAT TAX AUTHORITY IS ESSENTIAL FOR THEM TO DEAL WITH ENDEMIC URBAN PROBLEMS. INCIPIENT ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION WHICH AIMS TO TRANSFER AUTHORITY BACK TO LOCAL JURISDICTIONS ALSO IS DEAR TO THE ADN. PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT, URBAN CENTERS GENERALLY ARE STRONGHOLDS OF ADN POLITICAL SUPPORT. END COMMENT.)
- 15. (C) BANZER ALSO IDENTIFIED QUIRKS IN THE TAX STRUCTURE SUGGESTED IN THE MNR BILL. HE CITED HEAVIER TAXES ON CERTAIN DOMESTICALLY PRODUCED COMMODITIES, WINE FOR EXAMPLE, THAN ON IMPORTS OF THE SAME GOODS. THIS DISCREPANCY IS UNFAIR BY PENALIZING BOLIVIAN PRODUCTS AND SHOULD BE REDRESSED.

DRAFT EDUCATION BILL ALSO ON TAP

16. (C) BANZER ALSO SAID THAT THE ADN IS DRAFTING A LAW ON EDUCATION TO DEAL WITH THE QUESTION OF PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS' SALARIES IN AN EFFORT TO END THEIR NATIONAL STRIKE. THE PAPAL NUNCIO STRONGLY EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO DEAL QUICKLY AND RESPONSIVELY WITH THIS PROBLEM THAT HAS POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE SOCIAL (AND POLITICAL) IMPLICATIONS FOR BOLIVIA.

COMMENT

17. (C) BOTH PAZ AND BANZER ARE ACTING AS STATESMEN,

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DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, ECON, BL SUBJECT: PRESIDENT PAZ AND ADN LEADER BANZER REAFFIRM

RE-EMPHASIZING THAT THE COOPERATION ENVISIONED IN THE "PACT FOR DEMOCRACY" TRANSCENDS NARROW PARTISAN INTEREST AND AIMS AT ADDRESSING BOLIVIA'S FUNDAMENTAL STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC AND ECONOMIC SURVIVAL. MESSAGE WILL NOT BE LOST ON THOSE CADRES OF THE MNR AND ADN WHO LATELY, FOR A VARIETY OF NARROW REASONS, ACCORD. EQUALLY ESSENTIAL, WE NOW SEE RENEWED ENERGY AT THE TOP OF BOTH PARTIES TO DEAL RESPONSIBILY WITH THE URGENT SPECIFICS OF TAX AND BUDGET LEGISLATION. SUCH DETERMINATION IS ESSENTIAL. THE CHALLENGE REMAINS FORMIDABLE AND TIME IS SHORT.

(DRAFTED BY: F. FOULGER) ROWELL BT

#### CONFIDENTIAL

# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE Ø1

LA PA7 2843

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PUNTIBENTIAL SECTION Ø1 OF 11 LA PAZ Ø2843

DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: ECON, EFIN, BL

SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT FORMULATES SIGNIFICANT TAX REFORM LEGISLATION; SERIOUS ATTEMPT AT RAISING REVENUE

REF: LA PAZ 2657

SUMMARY

1. (C) ON MARCH 18 THE BOLIVIAN EXECUTIVE BRANCH SUBMITTED A NEW TAX PROPOSAL TO CONGRESS. THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ELEMENT IS A NEW TEN PERCENT VALUE ADDED TAX (VAT) ON THE SALE OF ALL GOODS AND SERVICES. THE VAT CONTAINS SEVERAL IMPORTANT INCENTIVES WHICH SHOULD INCREASE COMPLIANCE. NEW MAJOR TAXES ALSO WOULD BE LEVIED ON RURAL PROPERTY INCLUDING SMALL CAMPESINO HOLDINGS. THE RURAL PROPERTY TAX IS PROGRESSIVE AND WOULD BE USED MAINLY FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT. THERE ARE ALSO SOME IMPORTANT MODI-FICATIONS IN URBAN PROPERTY TAXES INCLUDING MORE PROGRESSIVE RATES ON HOMES AND AUTOMOBILES. THE INCOME TAX (RAISED FROM FIVE PERCENT TO TEN PERCENT) WOULD REMAIN FLAT. THE GOVERNMENT HOPES THAT THE PROPOSED TAX REFORM WILL GENERATE REVENUE OF ABOUT TEN PERCENT OF GDP AFTER 12 MONTHS OF IMPLEMENTATION. ON PAPER NEW PROPOSAL REPRESENTS A MAJOR EFFORT AT TAX REFORM. THE BILL IS ONLY NOW BEING REVIEWED BY THE GOVERNMENT'S OPPOSITION PARTNER IN THE "PACT FOR DEMOCRACY", THE ADN (NATIONALIST DEMOCRATIC ACTION). SOME CHANGES ARE LIKELY. END SUMMARY.

TAX BILL GOES TO CONGRESS WITH PAZ' PUBLIC BACKING

- 2. (U) THE TAX PACKAGE CONTAINS 95 ARTICLES WHICH. ACCORDING TO THE GOVERNMENT, OFFER A COMPREHENSIVE REFORM OF THE NATION'S ENTIRE TAX STRUCTURE. IN A LETTER ACCOMPANYING THE TAX PROPOSAL, PRESIDENT VICTOR PAZ ESTENSSORO INFORMED CONGRESS THAT BOLIVIA'S GRAVE ECONOMIC CRISIS COULD ONLY BE SOLVED THROUGH THE IMPOSITION OF A NEW TAX SYSTEM THAT WILL ENSURE A CONSTANT STREAM OF REVENUE AND PERMIT THE FINANCING OF ESSENTIAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES. THE PRESIDENT SAID A VIABLE TAX SYSTEM WILL ENABLE A SHARP REDUCTION IN THE FISCAL DEFICIT, ELIMINATION OF HYPERINFLATIONARY PRESSURES AND STABILIZATION OF THE ECONOMY. PAZ ADDED THAT FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TAX PLAN WOULD PUSH THE BOLIVIAN ECONOMY INTO A SECOND PHASE WHICH WOULD BE CHARACTERIZED BY POSITIVE ECONOMIC EXPANSION AND LONG-TERM NATIONAL RECOVERY.
- 3. (U) A SUMMARY OF THE TAX REFORM PROGRAM WITH GOVERNMENT REVENUE PROJECTIONS FOLLOWS.

TAX REFORM PROGRAM

VALUE ADDED TAX (VAT)

4. (U) THE BILL SHOULD CREATE VALUE ADDED TAX OF

TEN PERCENT ON SALES OF ALL GOODS AND SERVICES IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. IMPORTS ARE ALSO SUBJECT TO VAT. BUSINESSES SHALL ISSUE A RECEIPT SHOWING CUSTOMER PAYMENT OF THE VAT.

5. (U) BY PRESENTING RECEIPTS TO THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE, CONSUMERS CAN DEDUCT VAT PAYMENTS UP TO 100 PERCENT OF INCOME TAX OBLIGATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, AN INDIVIDUAL WHO PAYS 28,000,000 PESOS PER MONTH IN VAT WOULD BE EXEMPT FROM PAYING THE FIRST 248 MILLION PESOS OF ANNUAL INCOME TAX THAT MIGHT BE OWED.

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#### CONFIDENTIAL

# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE Ø1

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DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: ECON, EFIN, BL SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT FORMULATES SIGNIFICANT TAX REFORM

6. (U) THE BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT RESERVES THE RIGHT TO INCREASE THE VAT FROM TEN PERCENT TO TWENTY PERCENT.

FACOME TAXES"

- 7. (U) INCOME IS DEFINED AS WAGES, RENT, INTEREST AND PROFIT. MOREOVER, THIS INCLUDES AS TAXABLE INCOME PREVIOUSLY TAX EXEMPT SOURCES SUCH AS SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS, YEAR END WAGE BONUSES, AND REPRESENTATIONAL EXPENSES. THE NEW INCOME TAX IS A FLAT RATE OF TEN PERCENT.
- 8. (U) INDIVIDUALS EARNING LESS THAN 130 MILLION BOLIVIAN PESOS (65 DOLLARS) PER MONTH ARE EXEMPT FROM PAYMENT OF INCOME TAX.
- 9. (U) INDIVIDUALS AND CORPORATE ENTITIES SUBJECT TO PAYMENT OF VAT CAN DEDUCT VAT PAYMENTS FROM THEIR INCOME TAX OBLIGATIONS.

CORPORATE TAXES

10. (U) A TWO PERCENT TAX WOULD APPLY ON ALL NET FIXED ASSETS OWNED BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR CORPORATE ENTITIES. THE GOVERNMENT DEFINES FIXED ASSETS AS ALL CORPORATE PROPERTY USED IN THE PRODUCTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES (LAND, BUILDINGS, CAPITAL GOODS, EQUIPMENT ETC.). FIRMS WILL BE PERMITTED TO REDUCE FROM THE VALUE OF THEIR FIXED ASSETS ANNUAL RATES OF DEPRECIATION. THEY ARE REQUIRED, HOWEVER, TO REVALUE FIXED ASSETS ON AN ANNUAL BASIS USING SOME KIND OF INFLATION INDEX. THE GOVERNMENT RESERVES THE RIGHT TO RAISE CORPORATE TAXES UP TO THREE PERCENT OF TOTAL VALUE OF FIXED ASSETS.

RURAL PROPERTY TAXES

- 11. (U) LAND TAX CREATION OF NEW TAX ON OWNERS OF AGRICULTURAL LAND. THE TAX IS PROGRESSIVE. THE RATE INCREASES WITH THE SIZE OF THE AGRICULTURAL HOLDING. AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS ARE ALSO DEFINED BY TYPE OF LAND SUCH AS MOUNTAINOUS, VALLEY, SUBTROPICAL,
- 12. (U) FOLLOWING ARE TABLES SHOWING TAX RATES FOR OWNERS OF CULTIVABLE AND PASTURE LAND BASED ON SIZE AND TYPE OF HOLDING.

TABLE 1

SMALL CULTIVABLE HOLDINGS (IN THOUSANDS OF BOLIVIAN PESOS)

|                    | SIZE OF HOLDING |                 |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| TYPE OF LAND       | (HECTARES)      | TAX PER HECTARE |
| SOUTHERN ALTIPLANO | 1-35            | 400             |
| CENTRAL ALTIPLANO  | 1-15            | 800             |
|                    |                 |                 |
| LAKE TITICACA      | 1-10            | 1,000           |
| CLOSED VALLEYS     | 1 – 1 Ø         | 3,000           |

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#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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| PAGE Ø1<br>EOB7ØØ | LA PAZ 2843<br>ANØ03473 | DTG: Ø31756Z APR 86 PSN: Ø36Ø53<br>TOR: Ø93/1911Z CSN: HCE463 | OPEN VALLEYS            | 12-150            | 3,600        |
|-------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| DISTRIBUTION      | : BURG-Ø1 HUGH-Ø1 NORT  | 01 RAY-01 <u>TILL-01</u>                                      | SUBTROPICAL YUNGAS      | 10-150            | 3,75Ø        |
|                   | 7200 112                |                                                               | SUBTROPICAL CHACO       | 80-600            | 2,25Ø        |
| WHTS ASSIGNE      | D DISTRIBUTION:         |                                                               | SUBTROPICAL SANTA       |                   |              |
| SIT:              |                         |                                                               | CRUZ                    | 5Ø-5ØØ            | 4,500        |
| EOB:              |                         |                                                               |                         |                   |              |
|                   |                         |                                                               | //EXAMPLE: THE OWNER OF | 200 HECTARES IN   | THE SOUTHERN |
|                   |                         |                                                               | ALTIPLANO PAYS 200 X 90 | 0,000 1,800,000,0 | DOD PESOS.   |

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AMEMBASSY LIMA 2978
AMEMBASSY GUITO 4659
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO 7Ø79
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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 03 OF 11 LA PAZ 02843

DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: ECON, EFIN, BL

SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT FORMULATES SIGNIFICANT TAX REFORM

OPEN VALLEYS 1-12 2,700

SUBTROPICAL YUNGAS 1-10 3,000

SUBTROPICAL TAKEO 1-80 1,500

SUBTROPICAL SANTA CRUZ 1-50 3,750

TABLE II

MEDIUM CULTIVABLE HOLDINGS (IN THOUSANDS OF BOLIVIAN PESOS)

|                    | SIZE OF HOLDING | TAX PER   |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| TYPE OF LAND       | (HECTARES)      | HECTARE// |
|                    |                 |           |
| SOUTHERN ALTIPLANO | 35-350          | 900       |
| CENTRAL ALTIPLANO  | 15-250          | 1,200     |
| LAKE TITICACA      | 10-150          | 2,250     |
| CLOSED VALLEYS     | 10-80           | 3,750     |

TABLE !!!

LARGE CULTIVABLE HOLDINGS
(IN THOUSANDS OF BOLIVIAN PESOS)

|                   | SIZE OF HOLDING |   | TAX PER |
|-------------------|-----------------|---|---------|
| TYPE OF LAND      | (HECTARES)      |   | HECTARE |
|                   |                 |   |         |
| SOUTHERN ALTIPLAN | NO 35Ø-8ØØ      |   | 1,200   |
| CENTRAL ALTIPLANO | 25.0-8.00       | , | 1,500   |
| LAKE TITICACA     |                 |   |         |
| CLOSED VALLEYS    | 80-230          |   | 4,500   |
| OPEN VALLEYS      | 150-500         |   | 4,200   |
| SUBTROPICAL YUNGA | AS 150-2,000    |   | 4,500   |
| SUBTROPICAL CHACO | 0 6ØØ-2,ØØØ     |   | 3,000   |
| SUBTROPICAL SANTA | 9<br>500-2,000  |   | 5,250   |
|                   |                 |   |         |

TABLE IV

### CONELDENTIAL

# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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MEDIUM PASTURE LANDS (IN THOUSANDS OF BOLIVIAN PESOS) \_\_\_\_\_

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|   | AMEMBASSY BOGOTA 4713                              |
|   | AMEMBASSY BRASILIA 4988                            |
|   | AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 7720                        |
|   | AMEMBASSY LIMA 2979                                |
|   | AMEMBASSY QUITO 4660                               |
|   | AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO 7080                            |
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DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: DADR TAGS: ECON, EFIN, BL

SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT FORMULATES SIGNIFICANT TAX REFORM

SMALL PASTURE LANDS (IN THOUSANDS OF BOLIVIAN PESOS)

| TYPE OF LAND           | SIZE OF HOLDING (HECTARES) | TAX PER<br>HECTARE |
|------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| SOUTHERN ALTIPLANO     | 1-35                       | 50                 |
| CENTRAL ALTIPLANO      | 1-1Ø5                      | 9Ø                 |
| LAKE TITICACA          | 1-10                       | 195                |
| CLOSED VALLEY          | 1-10                       | 150                |
| OPEN VALLEY            | 1-12                       | 150                |
| SUBTROPICAL YUNGAS     | 1-10                       | 120                |
| SUBTROPICAL CHACO      | 1-80                       | 15Ø                |
| SUBTROPICAL SANTA CRUZ | 1-5Ø                       | 150                |

| TYPE OF LAND           | SIZE OF HOLDING (HECTARES) | TAX PER<br>HECTARE |
|------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
|                        |                            |                    |
| SOUTHERN ALTIPLANO     | 35-35Ø                     | 75                 |
| CENTRAL ALTIPLANO      | 15-25Ø                     | 120                |
| LAKE TITICACA          | 18-150                     | 150                |
| CLOSED VALLEYS         | 10-80                      | 225                |
| OPEN VALLEYS           | 12-150                     | 225                |
| SUBTROPICAL YUNGAS     | 10-150                     | 180                |
| SUBTROPICAL CHACO      | 80-600                     | 225                |
| SUBTROPICAL SANTA CRUZ | 50-500                     | 1 Ø5               |

TABLE VI

LARGE PASTURE LANDS (IN THOUSANDS OF BOLIVIAN PESOS) ------

SIZE OF HOLDING TAX PER TYPE OF LAND (HECTARES) HECTARE SOUTHERN ALTIPLANO 1.85 350-800 CENTRAL ALTIPLANO 250-800 150 LAKE TITICACA --------CLOSED VALLEYS 80-230 300

TABLE V

### CONFLOENTTAL

# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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LA PA7 2843

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DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

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SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT FORMULATES SIGNIFICANT TAX REFORM

| OPEN VALLEYS           | 15Ø-5ØØ   | 300 |
|------------------------|-----------|-----|
| SUBTROPICAL YUNGAS     | 150-2,000 | 225 |
| SUBTROPICAL CHACO      | 600-2,800 | 300 |
| SUBTROPICAL SANTA CRUZ | 500-2,000 | 300 |

13. (U) A NEW PROPERTY TAX IS CREATED FOR OWNERS OF CATTLE LAND.

TABLE VII

CATTLE HOLDINGS (IN THOUSANDS OF BOLIVIAN PESOS)

SMALL HOLDINGS MEDIUM HOLDINGS LARGE HOLDINGS

8.648/HECTARE 4.328/HECTARE

5, 400/HECTARE

14. (U) ONLY ONE PERCENT OF THE RURAL PROPERTY TAXES COLLECTED WOULD GO TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. THE

REMAINING 99 PERCENT WOULD BE EARMARKED FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS (ELECTRIFICATION, ROADS, IRRIGATION, BRIDGES) FOR THE TOWNSHIPS WHERE THE TAX IS PAID.

URBAN PROPERTY TAXES ------

15. (U) A NEW PROPERTY TAX WOULD BE LEVIED ON HOMES, AUTOMOBILES, BOATS, AND AIRPLANES. THIS TAX IS SIMILAR TO THE FORCED-LOAN SCHEME INTRODUCED BY THE GOVERNMENT LAST DECEMBER, BUT IT IS A TAX, NOT A LOAN.

TAX ON HOMEOWNERS

16. (U) IN ADDITION, ALL HOMEOWNERS WILL BE SUBJECT TO A PROGRESSIVE TAX BASED ON THE VALUE OF THEIR HOMES. HOMEOWNERS WITH HOUSES VALUED ABOVE 40.000 DOLLARS WOULD BE SUBJECT TO AN ADDITIONAL FIXED TAX BASED ON PROGRESSIVE CATEGORIES OF THE HOMES' VALUE. FOLLOWING TABLE SHOWS TAX RATES FOR HOMES:

TABLE VIII

HOMEOWNER'S TAX TAX ON OWNERS OF AUTOMOBILES, MOTORCYCLES, PLEASURE BOATS, AIRPLANES, HELICOPTERS

17. (U) THE DRAFT TAX ON OWNERS OF THESE ITEMS IS

PROGRESSIVE. OWNERS OF PROPERTY VALUED ABOVE 5. 000 DOLLARS ARE SUBJECT TO AN ADDITIONAL FIXED TAX IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ACTUAL VALUE OF THE PROPERTY. FOLLOWING IS THE TAX TABLE IN U.S. DOLLAR EQUIVALENTS:

TABLE IX

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN VALUE OF PROPERTY AND BASE OF PROPERTY'S TAX CATEGORY//

PERCENT TAX ON

VALUE OF PROPERTY IN U.S. DOLLARS

FIXED TAX

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# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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LA PAZ 2843

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ADDITIONAL SALES TAX ON CONSUMER AND LUXURY GOODS

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 06 OF 11 LA PAZ 02843

DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

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SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT FORMULATES SIGNIFICANT TAX REFORM

| ~~               |     |   |
|------------------|-----|---|
| Ø- 5,000         | -   | 1 |
| The was a second | 5Ø  | 2 |
| 15,000-30,000    | 25Ø | 3 |
| 30,000-60,000    | 700 | 4 |
| ABOVE 60,000     | 900 | 5 |
|                  |     |   |

//FOR EXAMPLE, TAX FORMULA FOR INDIVIDUAL OWNING AIRPLANE VALUED AT 35,000 DOLLARS IS: 35,000 - 30,000 5,000 X FOUR PERCENT (.04) 200 DOLLARS 700 DOLLARS (FIXED TAX) 900 DOLLARS.

18. (U) GOVERNMENT RESERVES DISCRETION TO INCREASE BY 150 PERCENT ALL URBAN PROPERTY TAXES.

COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS SALES TAX

19. (U) THERE WOULD BE AN ANNUAL ONE PERCENT SALES TAX ON THE TOTAL VALUE OF COMMERCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL TRANSACTIONS OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR ENTERPRISES. 20. (U) IN ADDITION THERE WOULD BE SALES TAXES ON SPECIFIC CONSUMER ITEMS SUCH AS BEVERAGES, CIGARETTES, AND LUXURY ITEMS. FOLLOWING IS TABLE ON SPECIFIC COMMODITY SALES TAXES:

#### TARLE X

| PRODUCT                   | SALES TAX PERCENT |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
|                           |                   |
| BEER                      | 30                |
| HARD LIQUORS              |                   |
| (WHISKY, RUM, ETC)        | 30                |
| SINGANI (LIGHT            |                   |
| BOLIVIAN BRANDY)          | 30                |
| WINES                     | 30                |
| ETHYL ALCOHOL             | 5.0               |
| CIGARETTES (LIGHT TOBACCO | 5.0               |
| CIGARETTES (BLACK TOBACCO | D) 5 Ø            |
| PERFUMES AND COSMETICS    | 3.0               |
| FURS                      | 50                |
| JEWELRY AND PRECIOUS STOR | NES 50            |

#### TAX PENALTIES

21. (U) NEW PENALTIES FOR TAX FRAUD:

(A) PRISON TERMS OF ONE MONTH TO FIVE YEARS. BT

## CONELDENTIAL

# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE Ø1 FOB712

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 07 OF 11 LA PAZ 02843

DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: ECON, EFIN, BL SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT FORMULATES SIGNIFICANT TAX REFORM

- . (B) FINES OF 50-100 PERCENT OF AMOUNT OF TAX FRAUD.
- . (C) LOSS OF BUSINESS OR COMMERCIAL LICENSE.

LATE PAYMENT OF TEX EARLISESSEED FO PENALTIES OF 100 MILLION TO ONE BILLION PESOS.

CENTRALIZATION OF TAX SYSTEM

22. (U) WITH THE EXCEPTION OF RURAL PROPERTY TAXES, ALL TAXES CONTAINED IN THIS LAW WOULD GO TO THE NATIONAL TREASURY. THE NATIONAL TREASURY WOULD DISTRIBUTE TAXES COLLECTED IN THE FOLLOWING PERCENTAGES:

- CENTRAL GOVERNMENT 75 PERCENT
- REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS// TEN PERCENT
- MUNICIPALITIES TEN PERCENT
- UNIVERSITIES FIVE PERCENT

//REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS THAT RECEIVE MINING AND PETROLEUM ROYALTY PAYMENTS WOULD HAVE THOSE ROYALTIES DEDUCTED FROM CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TRANSFERS THEY WOULD OTHERWISE BE ELIGIBLE TO RECEIVE.

ABOLITION OF OLD TAXES

23. (U) WITH THE EXCEPTION OF MINING AND PETROLEUM ROYALTY TAXES TO THE REGIONAL CORPORATIONS, ALL EXISTING SALES, INCOME, AND CORPORATE TAXES WOULD BE ABOLISHED. EXISTING MUNICIPAL TAXES ALSO WOULD BE ABOLISHED, ALTHOUGH MUNICIPALITIES CAN CREATE NEW TAXES WHICH ARE NOT ANALOGOUS TO TAXES CREATED BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

IMF STAND-BY CONDITIONED ON TAX REFORM

24. (C) THE DRAFT LETTER OF INTENT AGREED UPON BY THE GOVERNMENT AND THE IMF FOR A STAND-BY AGREEMENT IN MARCH, SPECIFICALLY REQUIRES EFFECTIVE TAX LEGISLATION BEFORE A STAND-BY CAN BE IMPLEMENTED. THE PROPOSED TAX LAW WAS DRAFTED PRINCIPALLY BY AN IMF-FUNDED TEAM CONSISTING OF TWO ARGENTINES.

GOVERNMENT COMMITTED TO TAX REFORM

25. (U) THE GOVERNMENT IS NOW FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT TAX REFORM IS A CRITICAL FACTOR IN ECONOMIC RECOVERY. ONE OF ITS STRONGEST PROPONENTS, FINANCE MINISTER JUAN CARIAGA, STATEO IN A PRESS CONFERENCE ON MARCH 19 THAT, WHILE THE GOVERNMENT HAS AGAIN CON-TROLLED INFLATION SINCE MID-JANUARY, THIS IS IN-SUFFICIENT TO ENSURE FISCAL STABILITY OR ANY KIND OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY. THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO MEET PAYMENTS TO SUPPLIERS HAS BEEN SLOWLY INCREASING THE GOVERNMENT'S CURRENT LIABILITIES. SATISFYING THOSE LIABILITIES WITHOUT ADDED REVENUES WOULD SPUR INFLATION. CARIAGA SAID THAT WITHOUT A TAX REFORM PROGRAM THERE ALSO WOULD BE NO RESERVES AVAILABLE TO PERMIT INCREASES IN PUBLIC SECTOR WAGES.

26. (U) IN THE SAME PRESS CONFERENCE PRESIDENT VICTOR PAZ ESTENSSORO SAID THE TAX REFORM PROGRAM SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS REPRESENTED A TOTAL REFORM OF THE OLD TAX SYSTEM. ACCORDING TO PAZ THE NEW SYSTEM REQUIRES ALL CITIZENS TO MAKE SOME CONTRIBUTION TO

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DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: ECON, EFIN, BL SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT FORMULATES SIGNIFICANT TAX REFORM

THE GOVERNMENT. WHILE NOT A PERFECT SYSTEM, PAZ EXPLAINED THAT IN ESSENCE IT CREATES A MORE JUST AND PROGRESSIVE TAX STRUCTURE IN WHICH INDIVIDUALS WITH GREATER FINANCIAL RESOURCES WOULD CARRY MORE OF THE あいればれ、 アコミン前の下記の 字表系「MADIVIDUALS EARNING UNDER 130,000,000 PESOS (65 DOLLARS) PER MONTH WOULD BE EXEMPT FROM INCOME AND VAT TAX PAYMENTS.

27. (U) PAZ STRESSED THAT THE NEW TAX PROGRAM REMOVES 13 TAXES UNDER THE OLD STRUCTURE THAT WERE NOT EFFECTIVE IN GENERATING REVENUE. THE NEW TAXES WERE CONCEIVED WITH AN EYE FOR FACILITATING ADMINISTRATION AND COLLECTION. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE NEW PROGRAM CREATES INCENTIVES FOR THE INFORMAL ECONOMY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE TAX SYSTEM.

GOVERNMENT'S OPTIMISTIC REVENUE PROJECTIONS UNDER NEW TAX STRUCTURE

28. (C) ECON OFFICERS DISCUSSED THE NEW TAX PROGRAM WITH MINISTRY OF FINANCE SUBSECRETARY FOR FINANCIAL AFFAIRS MARCELO MONTERO ON MARCH 19. MONTERO CLAIMS THAT UNDER THE OLD SYSTEM TAX REVENUES WERE EXPECTED TO BE IN THE RANGE OF ONLY 60 MILLION DOLLARS OR ABOUT 1.7 PERCENT OF GDP FOR 1986. THE NEW TAX STRUCTURE

COULD GENERATE AS MUCH AS 170 MILLION DOLLARS, HE SAID, OR OVER FIVE PERCENT OF GDP DURING FIRST 12 MONTHS OF IMPLEMENTATION. MONTERO ALSO HOPED THAT REFORMS OF CUSTOMS SERVICE COULD RESULT IN ROUGHLY 90 MILLION DOLLARS IN ADDITIONAL REVENUES OVER THE SAME PERIOD. BASED ON THESE ASSUMPTIONS, 12 MONTH REVENUE PROJECTIONS WHICH INCLUDE TAXES, CUSTOMS AND YPFB CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TREASURY COULD YIELD 782.7 MILLION DOLLARS IN REVENUE OR OVER 25 PERCENT OF GDP.

EMBASSY ANALYSIS

CENTRALIZATION LIKELY TO FAIL

29. (C) AS PRESENTED. THE NEW TAX LEGISLATION COULD PROVIDE INVALUABLE NEW REVENUE SOURCES. AT THE SAME TIME IT WOULD REDUCE THE NUMBER OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TAX CATEGORIES FROM SOME 15 TO SEVEN AND IT WOULD ABOLISH ALL MUNICIPAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENT TAXES --LEAVING THE LATTER ENTITIES NO LOCAL REVENUE SOURCES EXCEPT SOME USE FEES. THE INCREASED CENTRALIZATION THEORETICALLY IS SIMPLER AND COULD IMPROVE COLLECTION AND ADMINISTRATION. BUT IT HAS STIRRED UP A HORNET'S NEST OF OPPOSITION AS ALL PARTIES VIEW THE REVOCATION OF LOCAL TAX AUTHORITY AS UNDERMINING THE JUST-RESTORED (1985) SYSTEM OF LOCAL ELECTIONS, LOCAL AUTHORITY AND LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY. CONGRESS WILL RETAIN LOCAL TAX AUTHORITY .

VAT'S THE KEY

3Ø. (C) THE MOST IMPORTANT PROPOSED NEW TAX IS THE VAT. (IN REALITY, OUR INITIAL IMPRESSION IS THAT IT IS MORE A SPANISH-STYLE "CASCADE TAX".) THE GOVERNMENT IS COUNTING ON THIS TAX TO BRING IN ROUGHLY 50 PERCENT OF TOTAL PROJECTED TAX REVENUE. THE VAT PROVIDES IMPORTANT NEW INCENTIVES THAT SHOULD IMPROVE COLLECTION. FIRST OF ALL, ALLOWING INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS TO DISCOUNT VAT PAYMENTS UP TO 100 PERCENT OF TOTAL INCOME TAX OBLIGATIONS, SHOULD ENCOURAGE INDIVIDUALS AND BUSINESS FIRMS TO DEMAND RECEIPTS FROM SELLERS--PROVIDED THE GOVERNMENT HAS SOME WAY TO CHECK ON THE BUYERS' INCOME

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TAX LIABILITIES. DEMAND FOR RECEIPTS COULD FORCE UNDERGROUND BUSINESS OPERATIONS TO THE SURFACE. THE BOLIVIANS HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT VATS INTRODUCED IN VENEZUELA, URUGUAY AND ARGENTINA IN RECENT YEARS MAYER BELL URRY SOCCESSIVE. PROPERLY EXPLAINED, THE VAT COULD BE A POPULAR TAX WITH BOLIVIA'S URBAN, SALARIED MIDDLE CLASSES SINCE IT POTENTIALLY REDUCES THEIR OVERALL TAX OBLIGATIONS. BOTH MAJOR OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE TALKED ABOUT IT FAVORABLY. THE VAT STANDS A GOOD CHANCE OF APPROVAL.

INCOME TAX

31. (C) THE ECONOMIC (####)EEE MENTIONED IN REF,
THE BOLIVIAN WORKERS CENTRAL (COB) HAS PROTESTED
THIS TAX BECAUSE IT IS FLAT (REGRESSIVE). NONETHELESS,
THE ABILITY TO DISCOUNT INCOME TAX OBLIGATIONS THROUGH
PAYMENT OF VAT MAKES THIS TAX ALMOST IRRELEVANT UNDER
THE NEW SCHEME.

CORPORATE TAXES

32. (C) CORPORATE TAXES REMAIN ESSENTIALLY UNCH THE GOVERNMENT HOPES THAT IMPROVED ADMINISTRATION A REDUCED CORRUPTION CAN INCREASE REVENUESFROM T SOURCE. THE IMPORTANT POINT VIS-A-VIS THIS TAX I CLOSE SCRUTINY OF CORPORATE ESTIMATES OF NET FIXE ASSETS.

RURAL PROPERTY TAX

33. (U) IN KEEPING WITH PRESIDENT VICTOR PAZ ESTENSSORO'S BELIEF THAT "ALL" CITIZENS SHOULD PAY TAX OBLIGATIONS, THE RURAL PROPERTY TAX INCLUDES SMALL CAMPESINO PLOTS. PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE SINCE THE 1952 AGRICULTURAL REFORM SUGGESTS THAT CAMPESINOS WILL GLADLY PAY BECAUSE THEY THINK THE TAX RE-LEGITIMIZES THEIR OWNERSHIP OF LAND, AND BECAUSE 99 PERCENT OF THE REVENUE WILL STAY IN THEIR COMMUNITIES.

34. (C) THE STEEP TAXES ON CATTLE GRAZING LAND (BETWEEN TWO DOLLARS AND FOUR DOLLARS PER HECTARE) MAY FACE STRONG OPPOSITION FROM CATTLE GROWERS IN SANTA CRUZ AND BENI DEPARTMENTS. THEY ARE LIKELY TO ARGUE THAT A 18,888 HECTARE CATTLE RANCH IN THESE REGIONS IS CONSIDERED A "SMALL" PLOT, YET WOULD REQUIRE TAX PAYMENTS OF OVER 28,888 DOLLARS PER YEAR. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT ADN CONSTITUENCY (IT INCLUDES GENERAL BANZER) AND WE SUSPECT CONGRESS WILL MAKE SOME CHANGES IN THIS PART OF THE RURAL PROPERTY TAX BEFORE IT BECOMES LAW.

URBAN PROPERTY TAX

35. (C) THE NEW TAX RATES ON URBAN HOMES, AUTOMOBILES

AND LUXURY PROPERTIES ARE NOT MUCH HIGHER THAN THOSE UNDER THE EXISTING TAX SYSTEM. THEY ARE, HOWEVER MORE PROGRESSIVE CONTAINING SHARP INCREASES IN PROPORTIONAL RATES ON HIGHER VALUED PROPERTY.

COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS TAX

36. (U) THESE TAXES, WHICH ARE ESSENTIALLY LEVIED BT

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ON PROFESSIONAL SERVICES SUCH AS MEDICAL CLINICS. LEGAL SERVICES AND THE LIKE, ARE ACTUALLY REDUCED FROM TEN TO FIVE PERCENT. THE REDUCTION IS MORE THAN COMPENSATED BY MAKING THESE SAME SERVICES SUBJECT TO THE NEW TEN PERCENT SAFE

SALES TAX ON CONSUMER GOODS AND LUXURY ITEMS

37. (U) THE NEW SALES TAX RATES ON CONSUMMABLES SUCH AS BEVERAGES, CIGARETTES AND LUXURY ITEMS (JEWELRY, PERFUME, ETC.), ARE NOT MUCH DIFFERENT FROM THE CURRENT LEVELS. SOME OF THE RATES FOR TAXES WHICH THE GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS EASY TO COLLECT, SUCH AS SALES TAXES ON BEER, WINE AND CIGARETTES, ARE INCREASED. THE TAX ON LUXURY ITEMS, WHICH TRADITIONALLY HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY LOW LEVELS OF COMPLIANCE, HAS BEEN REDUCED.

CONCLUSION

38. (C) THE GOVERNMENT PARTY (MNR) AND ITS OPPOSITION PARTNER (ADN) ARE NOW REVIEWING THE PROPOSED LAW. THE ADN IS SKEPTICAL ABOUT RUSHING SUCH EXTENSIVE TAX REFORM. THE ADN (AND THE OTHER MAIN

TOR: 093/1940Z CSN: HCE475 OPPOSITION PARTY, THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT MIR) ALSO ADAMANTLY OPPOSES THE EMASCULATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT REVENUE AUTHORITY. ON THE OTHER HAND, ALL ARE INCREASINGLY ENAMORED OF THE VAT DESPITE ITS REGRESSIVE

> 39. (C) THE GOVERNMENT CLAIMS THAT THE REVENUE IMPACT OF NEW TAX MEASURES SHOULD BE EVIDENT WITHIN TWO MONTHS OF IMPLEMENTATION. WE ARE SKEPTICAL, AND THE IMF APPARENTLY IS DISCOUNTING TAX REVENUE IN ITS FISCAL DEFICIT CALCULATION FOR 1986. THE IMF BELIEVES THAT SIGNIFICANT INFLOW OF TAX REVENUES WILL NOT BE EVIDENT UNTIL LATE 1986, AND HAS THEREFORE CALLED ON THE GOVERNMENT TO IMPLEMENT SHORT-TERM NON-TAX REVENUE MEASURES (E.G. GASOLINE PRICE INCREASES).

TABLE XI

| . WITH NE       | W TAX R | EFORM P | ROGRAM | OVER 12 | MONTH        | PERIOD |      |
|-----------------|---------|---------|--------|---------|--------------|--------|------|
|                 |         |         | OF U.S |         |              |        |      |
|                 |         |         |        |         |              |        |      |
|                 |         |         |        |         |              |        |      |
|                 | JAN     | FEB     | MAR    | APR     | MAY          | JUN    | JUL  |
|                 |         |         |        |         |              |        |      |
|                 |         |         |        |         |              |        |      |
| CUSTOMS         | 5.B     | 6.1     | 7.4    | 8. 1    | 8.2          | 8.6    | 8.8  |
| VAT             | 2.6     | 2.6     | 4.8    | 5.4     | 6.8          | 8.3    | 9.5  |
| VAT             | 2.0     | 2.0     | 4.0    | J. 4    | 0.0          | 0.3    | 3    |
| H OME -         |         |         |        |         |              |        |      |
| OWNERS          |         |         |        |         |              |        |      |
| TAX             | Ø.5     | Ø. 9    | 1.3    | 1.7     | 1.8          | 1.8    | 1.5  |
|                 |         |         |        |         |              |        |      |
| AUTO-           |         |         |        |         |              |        |      |
| MOBILE,         |         |         |        |         |              |        |      |
| OTHER           |         |         |        |         |              |        |      |
| PROPERTY<br>TAX | Ø. 3    | Ø. 5    | a o    | Ø. 8    | Ø. 8         | Ø. 8   | Ø. 8 |
| IAA             | 10.3    | b. 3    | Ю. в   | D. 0    | <i>D</i> . 6 | D. 0   | D. ( |
| CORPORATE       |         |         |        |         |              |        |      |
| TAXES           | 1.5     | 1.5     | 2.4    | 3.1     | 3.2          | 3.3    | 3.   |
|                 |         |         |        |         |              |        |      |
| OTHER           |         |         |        |         |              |        |      |
| BT              |         |         |        |         |              |        |      |

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| DICTRIBUTION. | BURG-Ø1 HUGH-Ø1 | NORT-Ø1    | D 0 V - 04 | T111-01      |             | TAX       | 2. Ø |   |
| BISIKIBUTTON: | /005 A1         | NON I - EI | KAT-DI     | ILLE         |             | AUTO-     |      |   |
|               |                 |            |            |              |             | MOBILE,   |      |   |
|               |                 |            |            |              |             | OTHER     |      |   |
| WHTS ASSIGNED | DISTRIBUTION:   |            |            |              |             | PROPERTY  |      |   |
| SIT:          |                 |            |            |              |             | TAX       | Ø. 9 |   |
| EOB:          |                 |            |            |              |             |           |      |   |
|               |                 |            |            |              |             | CORPORATE |      |   |
|               |                 |            |            |              |             | TAXES     | 3.5  |   |
| OP IMMED      |                 |            |            |              |             | OTHER     |      |   |
| UT\$8162      |                 |            |            |              |             | TAXES     | 1.2  |   |
| DE RUEHLP #28 | 43/11 Ø931855   |            |            |              |             |           |      |   |
| 0 Ø31756Z APR | 86              |            |            |              |             | YPFB      | 44.5 | 4 |

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SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT FORMULATES SIGNIFICANT TAX REFORM

//ASSUMES 85 PERCENT ANNUAL RATE OF INFLATION

TABLE XI (CONTINUED)

. MONTHLY REVENUE PROJECTIONS
. WITH NEW TAX REFORM PROGRAM OVER 12 MONTH PERIOD
. (IN MILLIONS OF U.S. DOLLARS) //

|         | AUG  | SEP  | OCT  | NOV  | DEC   | TOTAL | GDP  |
|---------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|------|
|         | AUU  | OLI  | 001  | 1101 | 52.0  |       |      |
|         |      |      |      |      |       |       |      |
|         |      |      |      |      |       | 100 0 | A 0  |
| CUSTOMS | 9. Ø | 9.3  | 9. 6 | 9,8  | 10.0  | 100.0 | 4.0  |
| ***     | 40.5 |      |      |      | 11 0  | 05 /  | 1 1  |
| VAT     | 10.6 | 10.8 | 11.1 | 11.5 | 11. 6 | 95.4  | 7. 7 |
|         |      |      |      |      |       |       |      |

HOME -

| OWNERS           |      |      |      |      |      |       |       |
|------------------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| TAX              | 2. Ø | 2. B | 2. 1 | 2.1  | 2.2  | 20.3  | Ø. 9  |
| AUTO-            |      |      |      |      |      |       |       |
| MOBILE,<br>OTHER |      |      |      |      |      |       |       |
| PROPERTY         |      |      |      |      |      |       |       |
| TAX              | Ø. 9 | Ø. 9 | Ø. 9 | Ø. 9 | 1.8  | 10.2  | Ø. 4  |
| CORPORATE        |      |      |      |      |      |       |       |
| TAXES            | 3.5  | 3.5  | 3.6  | 3.7  | 3.8  | 36.5  | 1.05  |
| OTHER            |      |      |      |      |      |       |       |
| TAXES            | 1.2  | 1.2  | 1.2  | 1.3  | 1.4  | 13.7  | Ø. 07 |
| YPFB             | 44.5 | 46.3 | 47.2 | 48.1 | 49.5 | 516.7 | 20.02 |
|                  |      |      |      |      |      |       |       |
|                  |      |      |      |      |      |       |       |

TOTAL 71.7 74.0 75.7 77.7 80.5 729.8 32.09

//ASSUMES 85 PERCENT ANNUAL RATE OF INFLATION

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