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### WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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9/30/2011

File Folder

AT: BOLIVIA

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M10-353/1

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Box Number 1

ID Doc Type	Document Description			No of Pages		Restrictions
120449 CABLE	BRU	SSELS 3828		1	3/16/1982	B1
	R	5/18/2015	M353/1			
120450 CABLE	STATE 075869		1	3/22/1982	B1	
	R	5/18/2015	M353/1			
120451 CABLE	14202	24Z APR 82		1	4/14/1982	B1 B3
	D	11/8/2012	M353/1			
120453 CABLE	LA PAZ 01336		2	3/8/1983	B1	
	R	5/18/2015	M353/1			
120454 MEMO	CHARLES HILL TO WILLIAM CLARK RE REQUEST FOR INFORMATION			1	4/5/1983	B1
	R	5/18/2015	M353/1			

### The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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

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

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# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MESSAGE CENTER

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BRUSSELS 3828

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CONFIDENTIAL BRUSSELS #3828

STATE FOR PM AND ARA AND EUR/NE E. O. 12865: GDS 83/16/88 (HEIMANN, JOHN P.) OR-P TAGS: MASS, BE, BL SUBJECT: PROPOSED SALE OF BELGIAN F184S TO BOLIVIA REFS: A) 81 STATE 3Ø8673, DTG 2ØØ653Z NOV 81; B) STATE 15214, DTG 218451Z JAN 82

- CONELBENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. SUMMARY: COL. MARCEL TERRASSON, CO ELOR TO MINISTER OF DEFENSE VREVEN, PASSED A COPY OF THE TELEX QUOTED IN PARA 3 BELOW TO THE CHIEF, ODC AND ASKED FOR CONFIRMA-TION OF USG POSITION AGAINST TRANSFER OF BELGIAN F184S TO BOLIVIA. END SUMMARY.
- 3. THE FOLLOWING TELEX WAS SENT TO THE BELGIAN MINISTER OF DEFENSE ON 15 MARCH BY A MR. LARRY TRACTMAN (WHO, WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE MOD, AS PLAYING SOME TYPE OF MIDDLEMAN ROLE IN THE BOLIVIAN EFFORTS TO OBTAIN THE BELGIAN F184S). QUOTE: THE PRESIDENT OF BOLIVIA REQUESTED THAT HIS AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON MEET, WITH THE STATE DEPT. TO LEARN WHAT IS NEEDED TO OBTAIN THEIR PERMISSION TO TRANSFER THE 184 AIRCRAFT PACKAGE FROM BELGIUM TO BOLIVIA. THE STATE DEPT. TOLD THE BOLIVIAN AMBASSADOR THAT THE PER-MISSION WAS NEVER DENIED AND THAT THE BELGIAN GOVT NEVER MADE AN APPLICATION FOR THE TRANSFER.

IT SEEMS AS THOUGH THE US STATE DEPT. HAS DIFFERENT ANSWERS TO DIFFERENT PEOPLE ABOUT THE SAME MATTER. IT ALSO SEEMS THAT THE STATE DEPT. IS PLAYING ON WORDS AND TECHNI-CALITIES WHEN THEY TOLD THE BOLIVIAN AMBASSADOR THAT PERMISSION TO TRANSFER THE AIRCRAFT FROM BELGIUM WAS NOT GIVEN BECAUSE THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT DID NOT APPLY FOR THE TRANSFER.

IN ANY EVENT THE BOLIVIAN PRESIDENT AND THE AIR FORCE GENERALS BECAME VERY ANGRY WITH ME BECAUSE I HAD TOLD THEM THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT HAD MADE AN INFORMAL ENQUIRY AND THAT THE US STATE DEPT DID NOT WANT THE AIRCRAFT SENT TO BOLIVIA.

THIS BECAME A BIG PROBLEM OF CREDIBILITY FOR ME AS ONLY TODAY THE STATE DEPT CLAIMED TO THE BOLIVIAN AMBASSADOR THAT THE PERMISSION TO TRANSFER THE AIRCRAFT FROM BELGIUM TO BOLIVIA WAS NOT DENIED.

THE BOLIVIAN AMBASSADOR WAS REQUESTED TO BRING THIS MATTER TO A HIGHER LEVEL AND ON MONDAY HE WILL DELIVER A LETTER TO GENERAL HAIG. WE WERE ALSO ADVISED THAT GENERAL HAIG IS EXPECTING THE LETTER AND WILL ACT FAVORABLY FOR

BOLIVIA IN THIS MATTER.

I WILL BE IN WASHINGTON ON MONDAY TO MEET WITH THE BOLIVIAN AMBASSADOR AND WITH BOLIVIAN AIR FORCE COLONELS AS THEY ARE ANXIOUS TO FINALIZE THIS PURCHASE. THEY ARE MOST ANXIOUS TO BEGIN THE PILOT TRAINING PROGRAM AS DISCUSSED.

HOPEFULLY I CAN MEET YOU ON THE 22ND OF THIS MONTH WHEN YOU ARE IN WASHINGTON AS IT IS VERY LIKELY THAT THIS MATTER WILL HAVE BEEN FAVORABLY RESOLVED BY THAT DATE. BEST REGARDS. END QUOTE.

- 4. COL. MARCEL TERRASSON, COUNSELOR IN THE MOD CABINET HAS ASKED THAT WE CONFIRM WITH WASHINGTON THAT USG POSITION IN REFTELS REMAINS UNCHANGED.
- 5. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE FOR A RESPONSE TO THE MOD. PRICE BT

PRESERVATION COPY

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CONFIDENTIAL

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# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MESSAGE CENTER

PAGE Ø1 EOB573

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E. O. 12065: GDS 3/19/88 (OGDEN, RICHARD M.)

TAGS: MASS, BE, BL

SUBJECT: PROPOSED TRANSFER OF BELGIAN F-104S TO BOLIVIA

REF: (A) 81 STATE 308673, (B) BRUSSELS 3828

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2, USG POSITION ON THE POSSIBLE TRANSFER OF F-104 AIRCRAFT FROM BELGIUM TO BOLIVIA REMAINS AS STATED IN REFTEL A. WE ARE OPPOSED TO THIS POSSIBLE TRANSFER AND HAVE SO STATED THIS POSITION REPEATEDLY TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BELGIUM, GOVERNMENT OF BOLIVIA, AND TO MR. LARRY TRACTMAN. FOR THAT REASON WE APPRECIATE THE FACT THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF BELGIUM HAS NOT OFFICIALLY REQUESTED OUR CONSENT TO THE TRANSFER, SINCE IF IT DID SO WE WOULD BE UNABLE TO GIVE SUCH CONSENT. YOU MAY REITERATE THISPOSITION TO THE MOD. - -

TRACTMAN'S TELEX QUOTED IN REFTEL B CONTAINS FYI: MAJOR MISREPRESENTATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, BOLIVIAN AMBASSADOR DID NOT DELIVER A LETTER ON THISISSUE TO THE SECRETARY OR TO ANYONE ELSE IN THE DEPARTMENT; RATHER ON MARCH 15 HE WAS INFORMED ORALLY BY DEPARTMENT OFFICERS OF USG POSITION AS STATED ABOVE AND SAID HE WOULD CONVEY IT TO HIS GOVERNMENT. END FYI. HAIG BT

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LA PAZ 1336

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#### CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 LA PAZ 01336

FOR THE DEPUTY SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR CORR DIA FOR IR BRANCH; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD E.O. 12356: DECL: Ø3/Ø8/89 TAGS: PREL, EAID, MASS, PGOV, BL, US SUBJECT: REQUESTS FOR WAIVER OF FAA SECTION 620 (Q) AND THE REESTABLISHMENT OF MILGRP AND SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR BOLIVIA REF: A) LA PAZ 646; B) 82 LA PAZ 6360; C) 82 STATE 324246

- 1. (CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT).
- 2. I HAVE LEARNED BY TELEPHONE OF YOUR DECISIONS TO DENY THE EMBASSY'S REQUESTS FOR A WAIVER OF THE PROVI-SIONS OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT (FAA) SECTION 620 (Q) AND THE REESTABLISHMENT OF A MILGRP AND SECURITY ASSIS-TANCE PROGRAM FOR BOLIVIA. I RESPECTFULLY REQUEST A RECONSIDERATION OF YOUR DECISIONS AND STRONGLY URGE THAT YOU GRANT THESE REQUESTS. NOT TO DO SO WILL EXPAND THE ALREADY SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE OF A MINORITY OF RADICAL LEFTISTS AND COMMUNISTS IN BOLIVIAN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY, INCREASE THE POSSIBILITIES FOR THE EVENTUAL ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMUNIST STATE IN THE HEARTLAND OF SOUTH AMERICA, AND UNDERMINE THE POWER AND INFLUENCE OF THOSE COUNTERVAILING FORCES WITHIN THE NATION THAT, WITH ADEQUATE SUPPORT, CURRENTLY HAVE THE ABILITY TO HALT AND REVERSE THE GROWING COMMUNIST STRENGTH WITHIN THE BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT.
- 3. BOLIVIA IS NOT NICARAGUA AFTER THE OVERTHROW OF SOMOZA, AS I OUTLINED IN REF A, AND WE MUST PREVENT DEVELOPMENTS THAT WOULD MAKE IT SIMILAR. THERE ARE THOSE WITHIN THE GOB ITSELF WHO SEE BOLIVIA'S INTERESTS BEST SERVED BY A MODERATE COURSE AND COOPERATION WITH THE U.S. AND WESTERN DEMOCRACIES. THERE ARE LEGITIMATE OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES WITH WELL RECOGNIZED STRONG NATIONAL LEADERS WHO CONTROL THE CONGRESS. A FREE PRESS. A VOCAL PRIVATE SECTOR, THE CHURCH, AND REGIONAL CENTERS OF POWER THAT FIRMLY OPPOSE THE GROWTH OF RADICAL LEFT AND COMMUNIST PARTY POWER WITHIN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. THE BOLIVIAN ARMED FORCES (WHICH DESERVE CREDIT FOR

VOLUNTARILY TURNING POWER BACK TO CONSTITUTIONAL CIVILIAN RULE, LONG A USG OBJECTIVE), DISTINCT FROM THE SITUATION IN NICARAGUA OR CUBA AFTER THEIR "REVOLUTIONS, "REMAIN INTACT. THIS ANTI-COMMUNIST AND STRONGLY ANTI-CASTRO INSTITUTION (MEMORIES OF CHE GUEVARA'S 1967 INVASION OF BOLIVIA REMAIN) HAS THE POTENTIAL TO SERVE AS THE ULTIMATE BRAKE ON A DRIFT TO THE RADICAL LEFT. THE MILITARY OFFICER CORPS IS LOOKING TO THE USG FOR SUPPORT TO HELP THEM PRESERVE THEIR INTEGRITY AND, IF NECESSARY, BE IN A POSITION TO PREVENT A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER. THE ARGUMENT THAT THE SMALL AMOUNT OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE (SIX MILLION DOLLARS OF FY-78 REPEAT FY-78 FUNDS) INVOLVED COULD EVER BE TURNED EFFECTIVELY AGAINST UNITED STATES INTERESTS BY BOLIVIA IS IMPROBABLE.

- 4. THE EMBASSY LAIO OUT (REF B) AND THE DEPARTMENT APPROVED (REF C) A STRATEGY TO UTILIZE OUR ASSISTANCE TO MOVE THE SILES GOVERNMENT IN THE DESIRED DIRECTIONS BY SIGNING PROJECT AGREEMENTS AS PROGRESS IS MADE BY THE SILES GOVERNMENT IN AREAS OF CONCERN TO THE USG, INCLUDING COCA CONTROL. WE HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING THIS, GOING SLOWLY WHEN NEGATIVE ACTIONS ARE TAKEN AND OFFERING INCENTIVES FOR POSITIVE DECISIONS. WITHOUT THE 620 (Q) WAIVER, THE USG'S ABILITY TO FOLLOW THIS EFFECTIVE STRATEGY WILL BE ALMOST DESTROYED, NOT ONLY BECAUSE NEW PROJECTS CANNOT BE SIGNED IN A TIMELY MANNER AS NEEDED BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF LACK OF NEW GRANT FUNDS REQUIRED TO PAY U.S. TECHNI-CLENS AND CONTRACTORS TO KEEP ONGOING PROJECTS VIABLE. OUR AID TO BOLIVIA HAS NOT BEEN SUSPENDED AND TO DO SO. WE BELIEVE, WOULD BE AN ERROR. WE SUBTLY AND PRIVATELY LET GOB DECISION-MAKERS REALIZE THAT OUR DELAYS IN SIGN-ING PROJECTS ARE RELATED TO THEIR BEHAVIOR. TO CRITICIZE OR THREATEN WITH OUR AID IN PUBLIC CAN ONLY STRENGTHEN OUR ADVERSARIES RECOMMENDATIONS TO BREAK WITH THE USG AND FOLLOW THE NICARAGUAN MODEL.
- 5. WE NEED THE 620 (Q) WAIVER TO CONTINUE WITH THIS STRATEGY. I AM BEING TOUGH AND PRUDENT IN DOLING OUT ASSISTANCE PROJECTS AVAILABLE FOR BOLIVIA IONLY ONE THUS FAR), LINKING THEM DIRECTLY TO U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES. TO DENY THE WAIVER WILL EMPTY OUR QUIVER, IMPEDE SUPPORT FOR PRO-U.S. ELEMENTS IN THE SILES GOVERN-MENT, AND HELP OUR ENEMIES. NOT TO ESTABLISH A MILGRP AND SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM WILL WEAKEN THE PRINCIPAL INS-TITUTIONAL BULWARK AGAINST COMMUNISM IN BOLIVIA, AND, EQUALLY IMPORTANT, WEAKEN PRO-DEMOCRATIC, PRO-U.S. INSTI-TUTIONS WHICH MIGHT IN THE FUTURE REQUIRE THE SUPPORT OF

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PAGE Ø1 EOB3Ø2

LA PAZ 1336 ANØ1ØØ17

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 02 LA PAZ 01336

THE ARMED FORCES TO OFFSET THE MUSCLE OF COMMUNIST-DOMINATED LABOR UNIONS AND PEASANT GROUPS THAT COULD BE USED TO DISSOLVE THE CONGRESS AND POLITICAL OPPOSITION IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH A RADICAL LEFTIST ORIENTED STATE.

I URGE THAT YOU RECONSIDER YOUR DECISIONS AND GRANT THE EMBASSY'S REQUESTS ON THESE TWO MATTERS. NOT TO DO SO, I BELIEVE, WILL PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF BOLIVIAN AND INTER-NATIONAL LEFTIST, ANTI-U.S. ADVERSARIES, WEAKEN BOLIVIAN INSTITUTIONS THAT ARE FRIENDLY TO THE U.S., AND ENHANCE THE COMMUNISTS' CHANCES TO CREATE A LEFTIST RADICAL STATE SUS-CEPTIBLE TO SOVIET AND CUBAN MANIPULATION IN THE CENTER OF SOUTH AMERICA. CORR BT

ID 8302268

RECEIVED 05 APR 83 15

CLARK TO

FROM HILL

DOCDATE 05 APR 83

**UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL** OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

24 9/30/11

KEYWORDS: BOLIVIA

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

SECURITY ASSISTANCE

SUBJECT: INFORMATION ON CURRENT POLICY RE BOLIVIA

LOG

DUE: 09 APR 83 STATUS S FILES ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR CLARK

> FOR CONCURRENCE FOR INFO FOR ACTION

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United States Department of State



Washington, D.C. 20520

April 5, 1983

CONFIDENTIAL

## MEMORANDUM 340 MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: Your Request for Information About Bolivia Policy

The NSC staff has requested clarification of our current policy on economic and security assistance to Bolivia.

Bolivia is ineligible for new assistance under the Foreign Assistance Act because of arrearages due on previous USG loans. Pipeline military assistance (FMS and MAP) was suspended, and our MILGP was withdrawn, following the 1980 coup; neither has been renewed because of the new government's erratic performance to date.

In November 1982, the Deputy Secretary approved a phased economic assistance program for Bolivia. The three tranche program is tied to pursuit of moderate political and economic policies, maintenance of a good human rights record and formulation of a narcotics eradication program.

On March 7, the Department reviewed the question of a 620(q) waiver to permit new economic assistance as well as the question of resuming the security assistance program. The Acting Secretary decided to defer action on both in light of the government's failure to meet its earlier commitments to us on effective narcotics control and moderate foreign and domestic policies.

Waiver of Section 620(q) and resumption of a security assistance program now would be premature. However, our assistance program to Bolivia will be closely reviewed, and revised as needed, as our relationship with the GOB evolves.

Charles Hill Executive Secretary

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DECL: OADR

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BY LW MARA BATE 5/18/19