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**Collection:** Executive Secretariat, NSC:  
Country File

**Folder Title:** Bolivia (11/30/1984-02/12/1985)

**Box:** RAC Box 26

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

**Withdrawer**

KML 9/2/2011

**File Folder** BOLIVIA (11/30/1984-2/12/1985)

**FOIA**

M10-353/1

**Box Number** 26

DENNISON

14

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
118070	MEMO	NICHOLAS PLATT TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE BOLIVIA (ORIGINAL OF DOC 118071) <b>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</b>	1	2/15/1985	B1
118073	MEMO	NICHOLAS PLATT TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE BOLIVIA <b>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</b>	1	1/30/1985	B1
118071	MEMO	NICHOLAS PLATT TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE BOLIVIA <b>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</b>	2	ND	B1
118072	MEMO	SAME TEXT AS DOC 118071 <b>R 5/18/2015 M353/1</b>	2	ND	B1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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WAS UNKNOWN

RONALD REAGAN LIBRARY  
TRANSFER/PARALLEL FILE SHEET

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PRESERVATION CLASSIFICATION COLLECTION RD/FRD

FROM:

Collection

EXEC SEC NSC HEAD OF STATE

Series

File Folder Title/Casefile #/NSC #

Box Number

Description of Material:

FOLLOWING NSC CASE FILES WERE GIVEN TO ME BY  
DIANE BARRIE FOR TRANSFER TO APPROPRIATE  
EXEC SEC COLLECTION.

8391078 → TRANSFERRED TO EXEC SEC SUBJECT FILE  
"NUCLEAR-INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR  
FORCES (INF) 9/2/83-9/15/83" BOX 56

831090 →  
8500431 → EXEC SEC COUNTRY FILE "BOLIVIA" 11/30/84-  
2/12/85 BOX 26

8406854 → EXEC SEC COUNTRY FILE - "CENTRAL  
TO: AMERICA-GENERAL 9/21/84-10/6/84 BOX 28

Collection:

Series:

File Folder Title/Casefile #/NSC #

Box Number:

Transferred by:

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Date:

5/13/04

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THIRD/FOURTH\* COPY FOR COLLECTION FOLDERS - \* IF TRANSFERRING TO/FROM TWO  
COLLECTIONS

NSC/S PROFILE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

51 4N1  
ID 8500431

RECEIVED 16 JAN 85 18

TO PRESIDENT FROM DE CUELLAR, JAVIER P DOCDATE 07 JAN 85  
PLATT, N 16 JAN 85  
TILLMAN 12 FEB 85

KEYWORDS: BOLIVIA

UN

HS

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

22 9/2/11

SUBJECT: DE CUELLAR LTR TO PRES RE BOLIVIA

ACTION. PENDING STATE DRAFT REPLY DUE: 21 FEB 85 STATUS C FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

STATE

PEARSON

STEINER

MENGES

TILLMAN

COMMENTS

REF# 8501242 LOG NSCIFID ( DR LF )

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

State C 2/22 For Dispatch

DISPATCH W/ATTCH FILE (C)

NSCIS: 0431  
Please dispatch  
to State Secretary.  
Thanks.  
Carol C.

3

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 20, 1985

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

Thank you for your letter of January 7 regarding the difficult problems presently facing Bolivia. I share your concern about Bolivia's alarming economic decline and the potential threat this represents to its fragile democracy. Your renewed efforts to mobilize international support for Bolivia, especially in the critical period until the June Presidential elections, are much appreciated.

As you know, the United States Government has strongly supported Bolivian democracy since the restoration of civilian government more than two years ago. Fostering democracy throughout the hemisphere continues to be a principal objective of my administration.

Consistent with this policy, we have actively supported the Siles Government both politically and economically over the past two years. We have repeatedly expressed, publicly and privately, our strong support for continued constitutional rule and our objections to any attempt by political or military elements to disrupt democratic processes. We will continue to do so.

Over \$200 million in United States aid has been provided to Bolivia since October 1982. We remain prepared, within our budgetary limitations, to consider additional resources. However, our ability to release further aid is influenced by the willingness of the Bolivian government to help itself. We are currently examining the economic measures announced by the Siles government on February 9 and will be factoring them into considerations of future assistance.

Because of the importance we attach to the survival of constitutional order in Bolivia, the U.S. Government is reviewing the possibility of additional resources and will do its share to help ensure free and honest elections.

Sincerely,

*Ronald Reagan*

His Excellency  
Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar  
Secretary General of the United Nations  
New York

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

3  
ID 8500431

REFERRAL

DATE: 22 FEB 85

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: DE CUELLAR, JAVIER

SOURCE: PRESIDENT

DATE: 20 FEB 85

KEYWORDS: BOLIVIA

UN

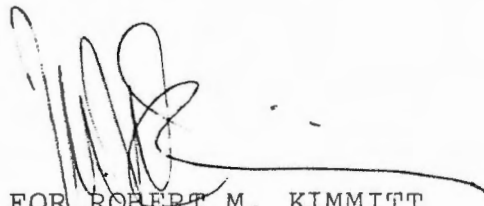
HS

SUBJ: PRES REPLY TO DE CUELLAR 7 JAN LTR

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REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUE DATE:

COMMENTS:

  
FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

0431



Rec'd  
2/19/85  
JAX

6 N

NSC/S PROFILE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8500431

RECEIVED 16 JAN 85 18

TO PRESIDENT

FROM DE CUELLAR, JAVIER P DOCDATE 07 JAN 85

PLATT, N

16 JAN 85

TILLMAN

12 FEB 85

KEYWORDS: BOLIVIA

UN

HS

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

24 9/2/11

SUBJECT DE CUELLAR LTR TO PRES RE BOLIVIA

ACTION. PENDING STATE DRAFT REPLY DUE 01 FEB 85 STATUS X/S FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

STATE

PEARSON

STEINER

MENGES

TILLMAN

COMMENTS

REF# 8501242 LOG NSCIFID ( DR )

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

Tillman	S	2/16	Rec'd State Revised Draft	
McFaulane	X	2/19	FWD to Pres for Sig	
Pros	P	2/20	for sig	UP
	C	2/20	Pres Sgd	JT-MS-RO-
WA STAFFING DESK	-	2/20	For Dispatch	VC-
DISPATCH	ed WDX	2/20	ST. 2/20 Dispatched Original	W/ATTCH FILE 5.7.



1  
0431

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 20, 1985

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

Thank you for your letter of January 7 regarding the difficult problems presently facing Bolivia. I share your concern about Bolivia's alarming economic decline and the potential threat this represents to its fragile democracy. Your renewed efforts to mobilize international support for Bolivia, especially in the critical period until the June Presidential elections, are much appreciated.

As you know, the United States Government has strongly supported Bolivian democracy since the restoration of civilian government more than two years ago. Fostering democracy throughout the hemisphere continues to be a principal objective of my administration.

Consistent with this policy, we have actively supported the Siles Government both politically and economically over the past two years. We have repeatedly expressed, publicly and privately, our strong support for continued constitutional rule and our objections to any attempt by political or military elements to disrupt democratic processes. We will continue to do so.

Over \$200 million in United States aid has been provided to Bolivia since October 1982. We remain prepared, within our budgetary limitations, to consider additional resources. However, our ability to release further aid is influenced by the willingness of the Bolivian government to help itself. We are currently examining the economic measures announced by the Siles government on February 9 and will be factoring them into considerations of future assistance.

Because of the importance we attach to the survival of constitutional order in Bolivia, the U.S. Government is reviewing the possibility of additional resources and will do its share to help ensure free and honest elections.

Sincerely,

*Ronald Reagan*

His Excellency  
Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar  
Secretary General of the United Nations  
New York

**National Security Council  
The White House**

System # I

Package # 431

05 FEB 20 11:17

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Wilma Hall	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	<u>2</u>	<u>986</u>	<u>120 FEB 1985</u>
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____

I = Information	<u>A = Action</u>	R = Retain	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
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cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

**COMMENTS**

2/20 Pres sigd  
date 2/20 yes  
KMS

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

Ih ok!  
to state

**National Security Council  
The White House**

1588 <sup>10</sup>

FEB 19 P 1: 00

System # I

Package # 0431

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane	<u>4</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>A</u>
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	<u>5</u>	<u>20 FEB</u>	<u>D</u>
Situation Room			

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

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_

(Date/Time)

**National Security Council  
The White House**

System # \_\_\_\_\_

Package # \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Wilma Hall	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	<u>2</u>	_____	<u>further action</u>
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
<u>Tillman</u>	<u>3</u>	_____	_____

I = Information	A = Action	R = Retain	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
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cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS

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

**National Security Council  
The White House**

System # I

Package # 0431

FR 112 P 5: 22

1578

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter			
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
Bob Kimmitt	<u>4</u>	<u>K</u>	
NSC Secretariat	<u>5</u>	<u>done Bt</u>	<u>LDX Tab A to</u> <u>Platt for</u> <u>clearance</u> <u>by noon 2/14</u>
Situation Room		<u>2/13</u>	<u>corrected.</u> <u>Also need copy</u>
<u>Nosid</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>done</u>	

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

cc: VP    Meese    Baker    Deaver    Other of State draft

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_

(Date/Time)



13

**National Security Council  
The White House**

System # I

Package # 431

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>		
John Poindexter			
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			

Tillman 2 see type DAB A

I = Information	<u>A = Action</u>	R = Retain	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
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cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

**COMMENTS**

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

0431

WASHINGTON

155 FEB 20 AM 9:51

February 20, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE *RCm*  
SUBJECT: Letter to Secretary General de Cuellar

Issue

Whether to sign a letter to UN Secretary General de Cuellar.

Facts

UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has written to you requesting that attention and resources be directed towards Bolivia as evidence of our commitment to "safeguard democracy in Bolivia."

Discussion

Your letter of response points out that we share his concern about the situation in Bolivia and cites your appreciation for his efforts to mobilize support for Bolivia. Our public support for constitutional order in Bolivia is outlined. The letter cites the economic assistance we have already committed to Bolivia and states that further assistance is conditioned on steps for economic stabilization in compliance with the IMF, but that we are considering further actions.

RecommendationOKNo*RC*

That you sign your letter to Secretary General de Cuellar.

## Attachment:

Tab A Letter to Secretary General de Cuellar

Prepared by:  
Jacqueline Tillman

cc: Vice President

0431

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 24, 1952

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ROBERT C. MCFAHANE

SUBJECT:

Letter to Secretary General de Cuellar

Issue

Whether to sign a letter to UN Secretary General de Cuellar.

Facts

UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has written to you requesting that attention and resources be directed towards Bolivia as evidence of our commitment to "safeguard democracy in Bolivia."

Discussion

Your letter of response points out that we share his concern about the situation in Bolivia and cites your appreciation for his efforts to mobilize support for Bolivia. Our public support for constitutional order in Bolivia is outlined. The letter cites the economic assistance we have already committed to Bolivia and states that further assistance is conditioned on steps for economic stabilization in compliance with the IMF, but that we are considering further actions.

RecommendationOK 78  
No

That you sign your letter to Secretary General de Cuellar.

Attachment:

Tab A Letter to Secretary General de Cuellar

Prepared by:  
Jacqueline Tillman

243496

WASHR  
2017052

# WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

C

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

14 9/2/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MESSAGE NO. 506 CLASSIFICATION \_\_\_\_\_ PAGES 2

FROM ROBERT KIMMITT 456-2224 Gf1/WW  
(NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION PRESUS LETTER TO HIS EXCELLENCY  
DR. JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR Sec. GEN. of the U.N. NSC LOG # 0431

TO (AGENCY) DELIVER TO: DEPT/ROOM NO. EXTENSION

<u>B/STATE</u>	<u>NICHOLAS PLATT</u>	<u>Exec Sec</u>	

REMARKS \_\_\_\_\_

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

UNCLASSIFIED WITH  
CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

February 19, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACQUELINE TILLMAN

SUBJECT: Letter to Secretary General de Cuellar

UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has written to President Reagan requesting that attention and resources be directed towards Bolivia, as evidence of our commitment to safeguard democracy in Bolivia. The letter of response was drafted by State and cleared by Treasury. It points out our concern about the situation in Bolivia and cites our appreciation of his efforts to mobilize support for Bolivia. We stress our public support for constitutional order in Bolivia and outline some of the economic assistance we have already given to Bolivia, saying that further assistance is conditioned on steps for economic stabilization in compliance with the IMF, but that we are considering further actions. Speechwriters concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward your memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Approve ✓ Disapprove       

*Com* *Rob* *CC*  
Menges, Robinson, Cannistraro concur.

## Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum for the President  
Tab A Letter to Secretary General de Cuellar  
Tab II Letter from Secretary General de Cuellar  
Tab III State's memo of January 30, 1985  
State's memo of February 15, 1985  
with new draft letter

UNCLASSIFIED WITH  
CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT





S/S 8504553 17  
United States Department of State  
Washington, D.C. 20520 0431-Add-on  
February 15, 1985 118070

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Bolivia - Response from President Reagan to UN  
Secretary General Perez de Cuellar

In response to the NSC's clearance request on the President's reply to Perez de Cuellar's January 7 letter on Bolivia, we wish to make the following comments:

1. Department believes the second sentence in paragraph four should read "However, our ability to release further aid is influenced by the willingness of the Bolivian government to help itself." We believe this language is more appropriate as the question of specific conditionality precedent to disbursement of U.S. aid is a matter of negotiation between the GOB and the USG.

2. Since the original draft reply was submitted to the NSC, the Government of Bolivia has announced a series of economic measures, including a major devaluation and price increases on basic commodities. We are encouraged by these measures and are studying them carefully to determine the extent to which they meet conditions agreed upon for disbursement of additional resources. The proposed new last sentence in paragraph four reflects these circumstances.

3. Because U.S. assistance cannot guarantee fraud-free elections, we suggest the final sentence in the last paragraph end with "...and will do its share to help ensure free and honest elections."

*for Mckinley*  
for Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

Attachments  
Tab 1 - Revised Draft Reply

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
NLRR M3531 #118070  
BY RW NARA DATE 5/18/15





CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFAIRLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Bolivia - Response from President Reagan to UN  
Secretary General Perez de Cuellar

In response to the NSC's clearance request on the  
President's reply to Perez de Cuellar's January 7 letter on  
Bolivia, we wish to make the following comments:

1. Department believes the second sentence in paragraph  
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influenced by the willingness of the Bolivian government to help  
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question of specific conditionality preceded to disbursement of  
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2. Since the original draft reply was submitted to the  
NSC, the Government of Bolivia has announced a series of  
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measures and are studying them carefully to determine the extent  
to which they meet conditions agreed upon for disbursement of  
additional resources. The proposed new last sentence in  
paragraph four reflects these circumstances.

3. Because U.S. assistance cannot guarantee fraud-free  
elections, we suggest the final sentence in the last paragraph  
end with "...and will do its share to help ensure free and  
honest elections."

05 FEB 15 11:21  
FOR MR. MCFAIRLANE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
STATE DEPT

Attachments  
Tab 1 - Revised Draft Reply  
Tab 2 - Incoming Correspondence

DECLASSIFIED

NRN M0001 # 118070

BY [signature] DATE 1/8/92

CONFIDENTIAL  
DECL: OADR

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
SUGGESTED REPLY FOR THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

Thank you for your letter of January 7 regarding the difficult problems presently facing Bolivia. I share your concern about Bolivia's alarming economic decline and the potential threat this represents to its fragile democracy. Your renewed efforts to mobilize international support for Bolivia, especially in the critical period until the June presidential elections, are much appreciated.

As you know, the United States Government has strongly supported Bolivian democracy since the restoration of civilian government more than two years ago. Fostering democracy throughout the hemisphere continues to be a principal objective of my administration.

His Excellency

Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar,

Secretary General of the United Nations,

New York.

Consistent with this policy, we have actively supported the Siles government both politically and economically over the past two years. We have repeatedly expressed, publicly and privately, our strong support for continued constitutional rule and our objections to any attempt by political or military elements to disrupt democratic processes. We will continue to do so.

Over \$200 million in United States aid has been provided to Bolivia since October 1982. We remain prepared, within our budgetary limitations, to consider additional resources. However, our ability to release further aid is influenced by the willingness of the Bolivian government to help itself. We are currently examining the economic measures announced by the Siles government on February 9, and will be factoring them into considerations of future assistance.

Because of the importance we attach to the survival of constitutional order in Bolivia, the U.S. government is reviewing the possibility of additional resources and will do its share to help ensure free and honest elections.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan



Washington, D.C. 20520

118073

January 30, 1985

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Bolivia - Response from President Reagan to UN  
Secretary General Perez de Cuellar

UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has written to President Reagan alerting him to the difficult economic situation in Bolivia and asking the United States to provide urgent support to the Siles government to help ensure its survival until the June elections.

We share the Secretary General's assessment that the situation in Bolivia is indeed disturbing and the period until the June elections critical. We have already taken steps to provide new resources and to speed up disbursement of assistance programs approved during this last year. Negotiations have begun with the GOB for an additional \$10 million in PL 480 food aid and \$7.5 million in disaster relief funds. If Bolivia would adopt a serious economic program in the next two months, we could make \$25 million in ESF available. Our ultimate goal is to see the GOB undertake meaningful corrective measures to deal with the country's current economic chaos. In the near term, however, we will continue to review conditionality as we balance political considerations with the need to see firm GOB action on the economy so that resources are not wasted.

The attached draft reply from the President to Perez de Cuellar conveys our shared sense of concern about the survival of Bolivian democracy, pointing both to our political and economic support for the Siles regime and our willingness to consider new resources to help democracy survive and to ensure free and honest elections in June.

*Nicholas Platt*  
Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

Attachments

Tab 1 - Draft Cable

Tab 2 - Incoming Correspondence

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M353/1 #118073  
BY *RW* NARA DATE 5/18/15

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

7 January 1985

Dear Mr. President,

When I have spoken with you on world affairs, I have mentioned the serious concern I feel about the grave economic problems confronting Bolivia, which threaten the survival of the democratic experiment that began there only two years ago. I fear that failure to solve these difficulties would not only undermine political and social stability within that country but also have incalculable consequences beyond its frontiers, because of its key position at the heart of Latin America.

At the request of H.E. President Hernán Siles Zuazo, I have been endeavouring to mobilize international co-operation in support of the Government's own efforts to ameliorate the situation. This work has been undertaken by my Special Representative, who has maintained close co-operation with your Government.

Unfortunately, despite our best efforts, the situation has continued to deteriorate alarmingly. The Government, which inherited a disastrous economic situation from its military predecessors, has been unable to enforce successive stabilization programmes on a population already among the poorest in Latin America. It has found itself in an ever-tightening vicious circle: on the one hand, promises of international financial support have not materialised, being conditioned on the prior adoption by the Government of tough economic measures; on the other, the Government is unable to hold the line on such measures without serious risk to its own survival, unless it can convincingly demonstrate to a population which has seen its frugal living standards decline even further, that international support is immediately forthcoming.

His Excellency  
Mr. Ronald Reagan  
President of the United States  
of America  
Washington

22

Matters have recently come to a head. On the political front the Government has been forced by opposition parties to advance the elections by one year to June 1985. It has also virtually lost control of the economy, as evidenced by the onset of hyper-inflation, expected to reach 2,000 per cent for 1984, but now rising to even more astronomic heights. History has demonstrated that no social fabric or democratic structure can long withstand strains of these dimensions. My fear is that unless this runaway inflation can be contained, democracy could come to an end in Bolivia before the elections.

I believe that what is now needed is a political decision on the part of the international community to safeguard democracy in Bolivia, rather than insistence on prior fulfilment of economic criteria that are becoming increasingly unrealistic as the crisis deepens. I am heartened that this thinking is shared by the US State Department and has found practical expression in proposals for immediate support discussed in Washington with the Bolivian Planning Minister just before Christmas.

This does not of course relieve the Government of Bolivia of its obligation to undertake energetic remedial action. The United Nations has lost no opportunity in emphasizing this point to the Government and I believe that President Siles Zuazo is conscious of his historic duty to take urgent and decisive action in the few months remaining to him, regardless of the political cost. Indeed, I understand that a stringent stabilisation programme will come into effect early in January.

If it is to succeed this time, urgent support in the form of cash, food and vital commodities must be available without delay so that President Siles could demonstrate to the people that the further sacrifices demanded of them would not be in vain. Such support would also help bridge the critical weeks of negotiation with the International Monetary Fund for a longer-term arrangement.

It is here that the decisions now being taken by the State Department are so crucial, and I would like to express my appreciation of the policy adopted by your Government, as well as the hope that it will be translated into timely actions in light of the evolving situation in Bolivia.



23

The US action is also a vital example to others. Only the United States could take the first step in trying to resolve this complex and increasingly fragile situation and, on the basis of this initiative, I am renewing my efforts to persuade other members of the international community to follow suit.

I hope, Mr. President, that you will bear with me for bringing this matter to your personal attention. I am confident that you will appreciate that I would not do so, were it not for my conviction that the safeguarding of the democratic process in Bolivia is critical, not only for that country, but for the Latin American continent as a whole.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

  
Javier Pérez de Cuéllar

24  
THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

7 January 1985

Dear Mr. President,

When I have spoken with you on world affairs, I have mentioned the serious concern I feel about the grave economic problems confronting Bolivia, which threaten the survival of the democratic experiment that began there only two years ago. I fear that failure to solve these difficulties would not only undermine political and social stability within that country but also have incalculable consequences beyond its frontiers, because of its key position at the heart of Latin America.

At the request of H.E. President Hernán Siles Zuazo, I have been endeavouring to mobilize international co-operation in support of the Government's own efforts to ameliorate the situation. This work has been undertaken by my Special Representative, who has maintained close co-operation with your Government.

Unfortunately, despite our best efforts, the situation has continued to deteriorate alarmingly. The Government, which inherited a disastrous economic situation from its military predecessors, has been unable to enforce successive stabilization programmes on a population already among the poorest in Latin America. It has found itself in an ever-tightening vicious circle: on the one hand, promises of international financial support have not materialised, being conditioned on the prior adoption by the Government of tough economic measures; on the other, the Government is unable to hold the line on such measures without serious risk to its own survival, unless it can convincingly demonstrate to a population which has seen its frugal living standards decline even further, that international support is immediately forthcoming.

His Excellency  
Mr. Ronald Reagan  
President of the United States  
of America  
Washington

15

Matters have recently come to a head. On the political front the Government has been forced by opposition parties to advance the elections by one year to June 1985. It has also virtually lost control of the economy, as evidenced by the onset of hyper-inflation, expected to reach 2,000 per cent for 1984, but now rising to even more astronomic heights. History has demonstrated that no social fabric or democratic structure can long withstand strains of these dimensions. My fear is that unless this runaway inflation can be contained, democracy could come to an end in Bolivia before the elections.

I believe that what is now needed is a political decision on the part of the international community to safeguard democracy in Bolivia, rather than insistence on prior fulfilment of economic criteria that are becoming increasingly unrealistic as the crisis deepens. I am heartened that this thinking is shared by the US State Department and has found practical expression in proposals for immediate support discussed in Washington with the Bolivian Planning Minister just before Christmas.

This does not of course relieve the Government of Bolivia of its obligation to undertake energetic remedial action. The United Nations has lost no opportunity in emphasizing this point to the Government and I believe that President Siles Zuazo is conscious of his historic duty to take urgent and decisive action in the few months remaining to him, regardless of the political cost. Indeed, I understand that a stringent stabilisation programme will come into effect early in January.

If it is to succeed this time, urgent support in the form of cash, food and vital commodities must be available without delay so that President Siles could demonstrate to the people that the further sacrifices demanded of them would not be in vain. Such support would also help bridge the critical weeks of negotiation with the International Monetary Fund for a longer-term arrangement.

It is here that the decisions now being taken by the State Department are so crucial, and I would like to express my appreciation of the policy adopted by your Government, as well as the hope that it will be translated into timely actions in light of the evolving situation in Bolivia.

20

The US action is also a vital example to others. Only the United States could take the first step in trying to resolve this complex and increasingly fragile situation and, on the basis of this initiative, I am renewing my efforts to persuade other members of the international community to follow suit.

I hope, Mr. President, that you will bear with me for bringing this matter to your personal attention. I am confident that you will appreciate that I would not do so, were it not for my conviction that the safeguarding of the democratic process in Bolivia is critical, not only for that country, but for the Latin American continent as a whole.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.



Javier Pérez de Cuéllar

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Please call Linda  
X. 5694. 27

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~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

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1/28/85 EXT. 23076  
ARA: LKILDAY

NSC:  
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S/S-O  
ARA/AND: FERONDON

E: SBROWN  
T: RBAUERLEIN  
AID/LAC/S: FALMAGUER  
IO:RKIRK

IMMEDIATE USUN NEW YORK

IMMEDIATE LA PAZ

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, EAID, PGOV, BL

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT REAGAN'S REPLY TO THE UN SECRETARY  
- GENERAL'S LETTER ON BOLIVIA

REF: USUN 57

1. PLEASE FORWARD THE FOLLOWING REPLY FROM PRESIDENT  
REAGAN TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL PEREZ DE CUELLAR'S JANUARY  
7 LETTER ON BOLIVIA. NO ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. SECRETARY GENERAL:

- THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF JANUARY 7 REGARDING THE  
DIFFICULT PROBLEMS PRESENTLY FACING BOLIVIA. I SHARE  
YOUR CONCERN ABOUT THE ALARMING ECONOMIC DECLINE THE  
COUNTRY CONTINUES TO EXPERIENCE AND THE POTENTIAL THREAT  
THIS REPRESENTS TO BOLIVIA'S FRAGILE DEMOCRACY. YOUR  
RENEWED EFFORTS TO MOBILIZE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR  
BOLIVIA, ESPECIALLY IN THE CRITICAL PERIOD UNTIL THE JUNE

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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, ARE MUCH APPRECIATED.

- AS YOU KNOW, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN A STRONG SUPPORTED OF BOLIVIAN DEMOCRACY SINCE THE RESTORATION OF CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT MORE THAN TWO YEARS AGO. FOSTERING DEMOCRACY THROUGHOUT THE HEMISPHERE CONTINUES TO BE A PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF MY ADMINISTRATION.

- CONSISTENT WITH THIS POLICY, WE HAVE ACTIVELY SUPPORTED THE SILES GOVERNMENT BOTH POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY OUR STRONG SUPPORT FOR CONTINUED CONSTITUTIONAL RULE AND OUR OBJECTIONS TO ANY ATTEMPT BY POLITICAL OR MILITARY ELEMENTS TO DISRUPT DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES. WE WILL CONTINUE TO REAFFIRM THIS POSITION. DO SO.

- SINCE OCTOBER 1982, OVER 200 MILLION DOLLARS IN UNITED STATES AID HAS BEEN PROVIDED TO BOLIVIA. WE REMAIN PREPARED, WITHIN OUR BUDGETARY LIMITATIONS, TO CONSIDER ADDITIONAL RESOURCES. HOWEVER, OUR ABILITY TO JUSTIFY MORE AID IS INFLUENCED BY THE WILLINGNESS OF THE BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT TO HELP ITSELF. THE SILES GOVERNMENT'S RECORD IN THIS RESPECT IS DISHEARTENING, AND WHILE RECENT CABINET CHANGES MAY SIGNAL CHANGING ATTITUDES, IT IS NOT CLEAR THAT EITHER A SERIOUS STABILIZATION PROGRAM OR AN AGREEMENT WITH THE IMF IS IN PROSPECT.

NONETHELESS, BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO THE SURVIVAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER UNTIL A NEW DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT TAKES OFFICE IN AUGUST, WE ARE REVIEWING THE POSSIBILITY OF ADDITIONAL RESOURCES FOR BOLIVIA, MAINLY IN THE FORM OF FOOD AID. ALSO, IN ADDITION, AND SUBJECT TO BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT DESIRES, WE WANT TO HELP ENSURE FREE AND HONEST ELECTIONS, AND WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO REASONABLE BOLIVIAN ELECTORAL AID REQUESTS CONSISTENT WITH U.S. LAW AND FUNDING CONSTRAINTS.

SINCERELY,

RONALD REAGAN

END TEXT44

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Release further aid is conditioned upon or steps toward a serious stabilization program with the IMF.

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T: RBAUERLEIN  
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IMMEDIATE USUN NEW YORK

IMMEDIATE LA PAZ

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, EAID, PGOV, BL

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-

SINCERELY,

-

RONALD REAGAN

END TEXT44



## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

0431

Washington, D.C. 20520

January 16, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Robert M. Kimmitt  
National Security Council

SUBJECT: Alerting NSC on Presidential  
Correspondence

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to President Reagan from SYG Javier Perez de Cuellar of the United Nations which is transmitted for your information.

This document was received in the Executive Secretariat Information Management Section on January 15, 1985.

*Charles L. Jackson Jr. for*  
Director, S/S-I  
Information Management Section  
Executive Secretariat  
ext. 23836



THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

7 January 1985

Dear Mr. President,

When I have spoken with you on world affairs, I have mentioned the serious concern I feel about the grave economic problems confronting Bolivia, which threaten the survival of the democratic experiment that began there only two years ago. I fear that failure to solve these difficulties would not only undermine political and social stability within that country but also have incalculable consequences beyond its frontiers, because of its key position at the heart of Latin America.

At the request of H.E. President Hernán Siles Zuazo, I have been endeavouring to mobilize international co-operation in support of the Government's own efforts to ameliorate the situation. This work has been undertaken by my Special Representative, who has maintained close co-operation with your Government.

Unfortunately, despite our best efforts, the situation has continued to deteriorate alarmingly. The Government, which inherited a disastrous economic situation from its military predecessors, has been unable to enforce successive stabilization programmes on a population already among the poorest in Latin America. It has found itself in an ever-tightening vicious circle: on the one hand, promises of international financial support have not materialised, being conditioned on the prior adoption by the Government of tough economic measures; on the other, the Government is unable to hold the line on such measures without serious risk to its own survival, unless it can convincingly demonstrate to a population which has seen its frugal living standards decline even further, that international support is immediately forthcoming.

His Excellency  
Mr. Ronald Reagan  
President of the United States  
of America  
Washington

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34

The US action is also a vital example to others. Only the United States could take the first step in trying to resolve this complex and increasingly fragile situation and, on the basis of this initiative, I am renewing my efforts to persuade other members of the international community to follow suit.

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Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

  
Javier Pérez de Cuéllar

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24 9/12/11  
UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

TF

WASHFAX RECEIPT  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

B

S/S #

RECEIVED

85 FEB 15 P 7: 38

WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM

MESSAGE NO. 3808 3808 CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ No. Pages 7  
FROM: Noble Platt S/S 22540 2224  
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)  
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Pres de Cuellar Letter on Bolivia

TO: (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	Extension	Room No.
<u>W. H. Sit Rm.</u>	<u>Robert Kimmitt</u>	<u>2255</u>	<u>West Basement</u>
	<u>TILMAN</u>	<u>5830</u>	
	<u>NORTH</u>	<u>3345</u>	
	<u>CANNISTRARO</u>	<u>7392</u>	

FOR: CLEARANCE ☐ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☒ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

S/S Officer: BMCK  


~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSESubject: Bolivia - Response from President Reagan to UN  
Secretary General Perez de Cuellar

In response to the NSC's clearance request on the President's reply to Perez de Cuellar's January 7 letter on Bolivia, we wish to make the following comments:

1. Department believes the second sentence in paragraph four should read "However, our ability to release further aid is influenced by the willingness of the Bolivian government to help itself." We believe this language is more appropriate as the question of specific conditionality precedent to disbursement of U.S. aid is a matter of negotiation between the GOB and the USG.

2. Since the original draft reply was submitted to the NSC, the Government of Bolivia has announced a series of economic measures, including a major devaluation and price increases on basic commodities. We are encouraged by these measures and are studying them carefully to determine the extent to which they meet conditions agreed upon for disbursement of additional resources. The proposed new last sentence in paragraph four reflects these circumstances.

3. Because U.S. assistance cannot guarantee fraud-free elections, we suggest the final sentence in the last paragraph end with "...and will do its share to help ensure free and honest elections."

Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

## Attachments

Tab 1 - Revised Draft Reply

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECL: OADR

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NLRR M353/1 #118071

BY RW NARA DATE 5/18/05

Drafted: ARA/AND: BAOwens **Bto**  
2/14/85 632-3076 Wang 67D  
Cleared: ARA/AND: FERondon **Bto**  
ARA: JMichel  
ARA: HKopp  
IO/UNP: HSizer  
AID/LAC/: MBrown  
EB/IFD: RSmith  
E: SBrown  
T: BBauerlein  
D: CVVoorst

38

*New letter*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
SUGGESTED REPLY FOR THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

Thank you for your letter of January 7 regarding the difficult problems presently facing Bolivia. I share your concern about Bolivia's alarming economic decline and the potential threat this represents to its fragile democracy. Your renewed efforts to mobilize international support for Bolivia, especially in the critical period until the June presidential elections, are much appreciated.

As you know, the United States Government has strongly supported Bolivian democracy since the restoration of civilian government more than two years ago. Fostering democracy throughout the hemisphere continues to be a principal objective of my administration.

His Excellency

Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar,

Secretary General of the United Nations,

New York.



39

Consistent with this policy, we have actively supported the Siles government both politically and economically over the past two years. We have repeatedly expressed, publicly and privately, our strong support for continued constitutional rule and our objections to any attempt by political or military elements to disrupt democratic processes. We will continue to do so.

Over \$200 million in United States aid has been provided to Bolivia since October 1982. We remain prepared, within our budgetary limitations, to consider additional resources. However, our ability to release further aid is influenced by the willingness of the Bolivian government to help itself. We are currently examining the economic measures announced by the Siles government on February 9, and will be factoring them into considerations of future assistance.

Because of the importance we attach to the survival of constitutional order in Bolivia, the U.S. government is reviewing the possibility of additional resources and will do its share to help ensure free and honest elections.

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Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan



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OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

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**THE WHITE HOUSE**

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ROBERT KIMMITT  
(NAME)

PROPOSED PRES LTR TO SECRETARY GENERAL OF UN PERU IN

NSC LOG # 6422

DELIVER TO:	DEPT/ROOM NO.	EXTENSION
NICK PLATT	EXECUTIVE SECRETARY	S/S
	cc:	S/S-S
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REMARKS FOR YOUR REVIEW BY: [redacted] ON: 20 FEB 1985

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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Over \$200 million in United States aid has been provided to Bolivia since October 1982. We remain prepared, within our budgetary limitations, to consider additional resources. However, our ability to release further aid is conditioned upon additional steps toward a serious stabilization program or an agreement with the IIR. ~~The Siles Government's record in this respect has been disheartening, although recent cabinet changes may signal changing attitudes.~~

Nonetheless, because of the importance we attach to the survival of constitutional order in Bolivia, the U.S. Government is reviewing the possibility of additional resources and will do its share to ensure free and honest elections.

Sincerely,

His Excellency  
Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar  
Secretary General of the United Nations  
New York



WASHFAX RECEIPT  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

RECEIVED <sup>93</sup>

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

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85 FEB 15 P 7: 38

WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM

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S/S #

MESSAGE NO. 3808 3808 CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ No. Pages 7  
FROM: Nicholas Platt S/S 22540 2224  
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)  
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Pres de Cuellar Letter on Bolivia

TO: (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	Extension	Room No.
W. H. Sit Rm.	<u>Robert Kammerhoff</u>	<u>2255</u>	<u>West Basement</u>
	<u>Tillman</u>		
	<u>North</u>		
	<u>Cannistraro</u>		

FOR: CLEARANCE ☐ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☒ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: \_\_\_\_\_  
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S/S Officer: BMCK  




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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Bolivia - Response from President Reagan to UN  
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Executive Secretary

Attachments

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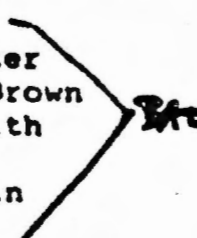
NLRR M353/1 # 118072

BY RW NARA DATE 5/18/05

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECL: OADR

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Drafted: ARA/AND: BAOwens *Bto*  
2/14/85 632-3076 Wang 67D  
Cleared: ARA/AND: FERondon *Bto*  
ARA: JMichel  
ARA: HKopp  
IO/UNP: HSizer  
AID/LAC/: MBrown  
EB/IFD: RSmith  
E: SBrown  
T: BBauerlein  
D: CVVoorst





46  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SUGGESTED REPLY FOR THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL

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Ronald Reagan

SS#8504553

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# WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE



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MESSAGE NO. 464 CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PAGES TWO

FROM ROBERT KIMMITT 456-2224 GF1/WW  
(NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION PROPOSED PRES LTR TO SECRETARY GENERAL OF UN PERU  
CUELLAR NSC LOG # 0431

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO:	DEPT/ROOM NO.	EXTENSION
STATE	NICK PLATT	EXECUTIVE SECRETARY	S/S
		cc:	S/S-S
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			UNA
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<b>URGENT</b>			

REMARKS FOR YOUR REVIEW BY DATE 02-20-85

URGENT

TION: IO  
PIES:

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

Thank you for your letter of January 7 regarding the difficult problems presently facing Bolivia. I share your concern about Bolivia's alarming economic decline and the potential threat this represents to its fragile democracy. Your renewed efforts to mobilize international support for Bolivia, especially in the critical period until the June Presidential elections, are much appreciated.

As you know, the United States Government has strongly supported Bolivian democracy since the restoration of civilian government more than two years ago. Fostering democracy throughout the hemisphere continues to be a principal objective of my administration.

Consistent with this policy, we have actively supported the Siles Government both politically and economically over the past two years. We have repeatedly expressed, publicly and privately, our strong support for continued constitutional rule and our objections to any attempt by political or military elements to disrupt democratic processes. We will continue to do so.

Over \$200 million in United States aid has been provided to Bolivia since October 1982. We remain prepared, within our budgetary limitations, to consider additional resources. However, our ability to release further aid is conditioned upon additional steps toward a serious stabilization program or an agreement with the IMF. ~~The Siles Government's record in this respect has been disheartening, although recent cabinet changes may signal changing attitudes.~~



Nonetheless, because of the importance we attach to the survival of constitutional order in Bolivia, the U.S. Government is reviewing the possibility of additional resources and will do its share to ensure free and honest elections.

Sincerely,

His Excellency  
Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar  
Secretary General of the United Nations  
New York