

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2005-1002-F; 2008-1289-F

FOIA Number:
2005-1002-F; 2008-1289-F

FOIA MARKER

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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: National Security Council
Series: H-Files
Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

OA/ID Number: 90010
Folder ID Number: 90010-002

Folder Title:
NSC/DC 023 - May 10, 1989 - NSC/DC Meeting on Counternarcotics Program in Peru, Keywords: Peru
Drugs

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01a. Minutes	Re: Deputies Committee Meeting (6 pp.)	5/5/89	(b)(1)	S
01b. Summary	Re: Deputies Committee Meeting (2 pp.)	5/5/89	(b)(1)	S
~~02a. Memo~~	~~Rand Beers/Richard Lamagna to Robert M. Gates Re: Deputies Committee Meeting (3 pp.)~~	~~5/4/89~~	~~(b)(1)~~	~~S~~
~~02b. Report~~	~~Re: Deputies Committee Discussion Paper Counternarcotics Operations in Peru (7 pp.)~~	~~n.d.~~	~~(b)(1)~~	~~S~~
02c. Report	Re: GOP Military Assistance Funding Requirements (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
02d. Agenda	Re: Deputies Committee Meeting (1 pp.)	5/5/89	(b)(1)	S
03a. Memo	G. Philip Hughes to Distribution List Re: Meeting (1 pp.)	5/3/89	(b)(1)	S
03b. Agenda	Re: Deputies Committee Meeting (1 pp.)	5/5/89	(b)(1)	S
03c. Memo	Richard C. Lamanga to G. Philip Hughes Re: Deputies Committee Notification (1 pp.)	5/2/89	(b)(1)	S
04. List	Re: [Participants List] [50 U.S.C. 403g, Sec 6.] [Personal Information Redacted] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(3), (b)(6)	

Page 1 of 2

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: National Security Council
Series: H-Files
Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: NSC/DC 023 - May 10, 1989 - NSC/DC Meeting on Counternarcotics Program in Peru, Keywords: Peru Drugs

Pinksheet Number: cap1427
OA/ID Number: 90010-002
Date Closed: 10/15/2009
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2005-1002-F
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
05. Planning Sheet	Re: NSC Time Planning Sheet [50 U.S.C. 403g, Sec 6.] [Personal Information Redacted] (1 pp.)	5/5	(b)(3), (b)(6)	

Page 2 of 2

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

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WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 023 - May 10, 1989 - NSC/DC Meeting on Counternarcotics Program in Peru, Keywords: Peru Drugs

Pinksheet Number: cap1427

OA/ID Number: 90010-002

Date Closed: 10/15/2009

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2005-1002-F

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

NORIEGA SEARCH DATA SHEET

DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION

DOCUMENT/FILE

NSC/DC 023

DATE RETRIEVED

2/13/90

BY

JRP

COMMENTS:

DOCUMENT REVIEW

REVIEWED BY

DATE

RELEVANT or NON-RELEVANT

COMMENTS:

COPY REQUIREMENT

YES

NO

(CIRCLE ONE)

TOTAL

DONE

DATE

COMMENTS:

RETURNED TO NSC

DATE RETURNED

8 MAR 90

FILED BY

GAP

DATE

22 MAR 90

COMMENTS:

NORIEGA SEARCH DATA SHEET

DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION

DOCUMENT/FILE

8920440

DATE RETRIEVED

2/13/90

BY

JRP

COMMENTS:

DOCUMENT REVIEW

REVIEWED BY

DATE

RELEVANT or NON-RELEVANT

COMMENTS:

COPY REQUIREMENT

YES

NO

(CIRCLE ONE)

TOTAL

DONE

DATE

COMMENTS:

RETURNED TO NSC

DATE RETURNED

8 MAR 90

FILED BY

GAD

DATE

22 MAR 90

COMMENTS:

~~SECRET~~
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8920440
RECEIVED: 10 MAY 89 11

TO: HUGHES

FROM: BEERS
MILLER

DOC DATE: 10 MAY 89
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: PERU
DC
SOC

DRUGS
MINUTES

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: MINUTES & SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS OF DC MTG ON 5 MAY RE
COUNTERNARCOTICS PROGRAM IN PERU

ACTION: HUGHES APPROVED RECOM 1 & 2 DUE DATE: 11 MAY 89 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BEERS

LOGREF: 8920400

FILES: IFM O

NSCP: DC023

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BEERS
MILLER

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006
By CAP NARA, Date 10/15/09

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: LF

CLOSED BY: LF

DOC 1 OF 1

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~~SECRET~~

RECORD ID: 8920440

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 HUGHES
001

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 89051011 FOR DECISION
X 89061910 HUGHES APPROVED RECOM 1 & 2

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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By CAP NARA, Date 10/15/07

~~SECRET~~

**National Security Council
The White House**

PROOFED BY: Σ4.

LOG # 20440

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM PRS NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG Σ4. A/O _____

SEQUENCE TO

HAS SEEN

DISPOSITION

Dep Exec

1

MR

A

Philip Hughes

3

[Signature]

A

Bob Gates

Brent Scowcroft

Philip Hughes

Situation Room

West Wing Desk

4

Σ7.619

N

NSC Secretariat

Sittman

2

[Signature]

89 MAY 10 AM 11:32

A = Action

I = Information

D = Dispatch

R = Retain

N = No further Action

cc: VP

Sununu

Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

20440

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 10, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR G. PHILIP HUGHES

THROUGH: DAVID C. MILLER, JR.

FROM: R. RAND BEERS

SUBJECT: Minutes and Summary of Deputies Committee (DC)
Meeting, Friday, May 5, 1989

NOTED

At Tab I and Tab II are the Minutes and Summary of the DC meeting held Friday, May 5, 1989.

RECOMMENDATION

1. That you approve and file, for record purposes, the attached Minutes (Tab I).

Approve ✓

Disapprove _____

2. That you approve ~~and distribute to the meeting participants~~ the attached Summary (Tab II).

Approve ✓

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I	DC Meeting Minutes
Tab II	DC Meeting Summary

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White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By CAP NARA, Date 10/16/09

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Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01a. Minutes	Re: Deputies Committee Meeting (6 pp.)	5/5/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 023 - May 10, 1989 - NSC/DC Meeting on Counternarcotics Program in Peru, Keywords: Peru Drugs

Date Closed:	10/15/2009	OA/ID Number:	90010-002
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01b. Minutes	Re: Deputies Committee Meeting (2 pp.)	5/5/89	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 023 - May 10, 1989 - NSC/DC Meeting on Counternarcotics Program in Peru, Keywords: Peru Drugs

Date Closed: 10/15/2009

OA/ID Number: 90010-002

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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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

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NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8920400
RECEIVED: 03 MAY 89 09

TO: GATES

FROM: BEERS
LAMAGNA
MILLER

DOC DATE: 04 MAY 89
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: DRUGS
AGENDA
PCC

PERU
DC

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: BACKGROUND MATERIAL FOR DC MTG ON 5 MAY RE COUNTERNARCOTICS PROGRAM
IN PERU

ACTION: NOTED BY GATES

DUE DATE: 26 MAY 90

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: LAMAGNA

LOGREF: 8920440

FILES: IFM 0

NSCP: DC023

NSR0013

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006
By CAP NARA, Date 10/15/09

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: AC

CLOSED BY: AC

DOC 3 OF 3

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RECORD ID: 8920400

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 HUGHES

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003 GATES

003

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

X 89050210 FOR SIGNATURE

Z 89050309 DONLEY SGD MEMO TO AGENCIES

Z 89050507 ADD-ON / FOR INFORMATION

X 90052413 NOTED BY GATES

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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By cap NARA, Date 10/15/09

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ID 8920400

RECEIVED 03 MAY 89 09

TO

HUGHES

FROM LAMAGNA

DOCDATE 02 MAY 89

MILLER

02 MAY 89

DONLEY

03 MAY 89

KEYWORDS: DRUGS

PERU

AGENDA

DC

PCC

SUBJECT: DEPUTIES COMMIT MTG ON 5 MAY RE COUNTERNARCOTICS PGM IN PERU / AGENDA
/ OPTIONS PAPER

ACTION: DONLEY SGD MEMO TO AGENCIES DUE: STATUS IX FILES IFM 0

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By CAF NARA, Date 10/15/09

COMMENTS

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ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

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DISPATCH W/ATTCH FILE (C)

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The White House**

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	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Dep Exec	<u>1</u>	_____	<u>I</u>
Philip Hughes	<u>2</u>	<u>APX</u>	_____
Bob Gates	<u>3</u>	_____	_____
Brent Scowcroft	<u>4</u>	_____	_____
Philip Hughes	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	<u>5</u>	<u>LMS 5/24/90</u>	<u>R</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
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89 MAY 5 A7:31

A = Action	<u>I</u> = Information	D = Dispatch	R = Retain	N = No further Action
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cc: VP Sununu Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS

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20400 ADD-ON

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 4, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. GATES

THROUGH: DAVID C. MILLER, JR.

FROM: RAND BEERS/RICHARD LAMAGNA

SUBJECT: Deputies Committee Meeting, Friday,
May 4, 1989, 2:00 p.m.

The meeting has been called to discuss policy options for U.S. counternarcotics operations in the Upper Huallaga Valley (UHV) of Peru. We believe that ultimately this proposal will require approval by the President at an NSC meeting. At Tab I is the discussion paper which is intended to highlight key discussion points. Tab II is the agenda for the meeting. You should ask DEA/CIA/State to discuss the current situation in the Valley. ONDCP, John Walters, will present the proposal. You should then open the floor to general discussion. The key issues for decision are outlined below.

Current U.S. Government counternarcotics efforts in Peru, specifically the Upper Huallaga Valley, have been totally inadequate in meeting the goals of coca eradication or interdiction of cocaine base leaving the Valley for conversion laboratories in Columbia. Not only has there been no impact on the cocaine market in the U.S. but more importantly U.S. personnel in Peru find themselves in an increasingly threatening and hostile situation. This has been created by the Sendero Luminoso (SL) who have forged an alliance with drug traffickers in the Valley. The two perceive American counternarcotics efforts as both a threat to their trade and an American imperialist venture. As the current program is ineffective and will likely result in loss of American lives, we are faced with two options. We cannot wait until the completion and adoption of Director Bennett's report to the Congress, due in September, to resolve this issue.

OPTIONS

1. Either completely withdraw from counternarcotics operations in the UHV and revert to a limited intelligence collection mission, managed in a conventional manner from the Embassy in Lima.

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2010-1989-MR

MM 6/7/2016

Handwritten notes in top right corner:
"Death" (boxed)
"GOP Profit. v. ind. + sin."
"Mil. views + Capab."
"Corruption"
"Change 2. What if"

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2

2. Or propose to the Peruvian government (GOP) that they be prepared to adopt an aggressive and vigorous counternarcotics policy which would be supported and sustained by USG aid and implemented by the Peruvian military and Guardia Civil. This would require a substantial commitment of U.S. resources and will on a long term basis.

Most agencies support an expanded program, but have questions regarding the specifics. However, OMB and possibly OSD may oppose any increased effort. OMB believes that the goals are unobtainable, and some in OSD are reluctant to take on a new role in a risky environment.

① OBJECTIVES

Assuming that we wish to undertake an expanded program, the PCC agreed on five objectives which we believe are of higher value than current objectives:

- control municipal airports and close clandestine airfields
- control river traffic for precursors and coca products
- control road traffic for precursors and coca products
- [-- dismantle processing labs
- eradicate crops

We do not believe there is any disagreement with these objectives, but we need to ensure this. Earlier, some agencies preferred to end lab raids and eradication, but reversed field for the sake of consensus. These latter objectives are important because they are police programs, and it is an important to keep the policy engaged in the counternarcotics effort as it is to draw in the military.

THE BASE

② In order to implement the objectives, the PCC has recommended reopening the Santa Lucia base. However, reopening the base will require several significant security enhancements: completing the runway, training the police, completing the defense perimeter, installing secure communications, and putting together a defense and evacuation plan. We will need a Peruvian military commitment to provide general security in the area.

We need agreement by all agencies that these security requirements are necessary before reopening the base for operations. We do not expect any objections.

We need specific agreement that if AID bulldozers currently in the UHV are unusable, we are prepared to air deliver military construction equipment. DOD may be concerned about involvement in the UHV and about how their support is paid for. We need to settle this involvement issue. Funding could be provided by a

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mix of INM and DOD funds, although neither are committed to do this.

THE PERUVIAN MILITARY

Not only do we need the Peruvian military to help protect Santa Lucia, we also require their involvement in the transportation campaign against airfields, rivers, and roads. The Peruvian military would prefer to deal only with the SL, although even against that threat their success is limited. The PCC has proposed a five year \$95 million package to encourage and support Peruvian military counternarcotics activities in association with a general security mission in the Valley.

③ *How get military to play.* We need to determine if agencies are prepared to support and fund such an effort. While State supports this approach, they may suggest that the Peruvian military may not wish to be drawn directly into counternarcotics activities. Funding support from Congress is probably unavailable, however, without a counternarcotics hook. DEA regards the program as a deemphasis of the Peruvian police with whom they work; they would probably prefer that the police run the entire effort. No other agency believes the police can carry out such a mission. DOD wants to work with the Peruvian military; they are wary, however, of being involved in the Valley. On the other hand, without some ability to monitor Peruvian military activity, we have no way to measure performance, insure operational effectiveness, or detect corruption or human rights abuses -- all important Congressional concerns. OMB will want to know how we intend to pay for the FY 89 and FY90 budget.

FUNDING

④ We have identified the funding requirements in these areas: base construction, military assistance, and intelligence. We expect
→ State/INM to pay for base construction out of its current budget.
→ We expect the intelligence community to pay for the intelligence costs similarly, thought you should confirm both assumptions.

The military assistance requires some discussion. The \$96.5M package has been put together on a short fuze based on Embassy Lima and JCS cost estimates in support of the general security and transportation campaign requirements. It has not been fully staffed, and OMB has not reviewed it. Equally important, we have not identified offsets for the FY89 \$7M and FY90 \$15M elements. As we will be unable to settle these issues at this meeting, we would recommend that you ask OMB to chair a working group to frame options for decision, either by a subsequent DC meeting or at a follow-on NSC meeting.

Attachments

Tab I Discussion Paper
Tab II Meeting Agenda

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DEPUTIES COMMITTEE DISCUSSION PAPER
COUNTERNARCOTICS OPERATIONS IN PERU

Introduction. We face a moment of choice with respect to our counternarcotics efforts in Peru. At present, we are engaged in a minimalist effort, which has placed American lives at risk, in support of equally minimalist Peruvian counternarcotics efforts in the Upper Huallaga Valley. That effort is wholly inadequate to the task of dealing with a massive coca growing and transportation network. Compounding the problem is the Sendero Luminoso insurgency, which works with the narcotics traffickers to the extent cooperation serves its purposes and which has created a doubly dangerous security environment. Thus, even to begin to address the problem, we need a program that addresses all the facets of the Peruvian environment. Continuing the program in its current form is not a realistic option.

The following paper is designed to provide you with the background and policy proposals that we believe are needed to deal with the problem. The alternative is withdrawal from the Upper Huallaga Valley.

The Problem. Peru is the single largest producer of coca leaf in the world with 110,000 hectares under cultivation, equating to 220,000 metric tons of cocaine. The Upper Huallaga Valley (UHV) is the single largest producing area in Peru credited with approximately 36% of the world crop, and the single major cultivation source of cocaine entering the U.S. Coca leaf grown in Peru is normally processed there into base and then transported to Colombia by Colombian traffickers where it is processed into cocaine HCl. From Colombia the cocaine is then transported to the U.S. or other consuming nations.

Over the past several years the U.S. has supported with people and money the efforts of the Peruvian police (Guardia Civil or GC) to eradicate the coca leaf manually (State/International Narcotics Matters or INM) and destroy processing labs (DEA). However, recently the security situation in the UHV has deteriorated significantly, limiting the ability to pursue these objectives. The Sendero Luminoso (SL) in league with Colombian traffickers have ambushed police patrols and attacked GC and military garrisons. They have also fired on INM helicopters, which are piloted by INM contract personnel and protected by DEA or GC door gunners, and have attacked the Peruvian eradication workers. More than 25 Peruvians have been killed by the SL in the Valley since January, and two Americans have been wounded. As a result, we have moved all Americans out of insecure facilities in Tingo Maria and have suspended all eradication and interdiction operations in the UHV, pending completion of a secure operations base for the GC and eradication workers (and U.S. support personnel) at Santa Lucia, a small settlement in the

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middle of the Valley.

U.S. counternarcotics assistance programs in Peru have shown little success over the past several years despite the dedicated efforts of a number of Peruvian and U.S. officials. This year for the first time net coca cultivation has not increased. This limited success is only partially the result of our manual eradication program and the introduction of mechanical brush cutters. Aerial spraying was tested in March by the Peruvian government (GOP), and the scientific evaluation will not be completed until the end of the year. GC attempts to disrupt processing labs have had limited results, constrained by helicopter availability, poor training, and poor intelligence. Construction of the base at Santa Lucia has been underway for over a year, with numerous delays from lack of equipment and personnel, caused primarily by U.S. and Peruvian bureaucratic obstacles. Finally, the Peruvian military has shown a strong reluctance to engage either the traffickers or the SL. In short, we have not done much, the GOP has not done much, and many people here and in Peru do not think we are serious.

The Embassy believes that we are now at a critical point in our relations with Peru on the counternarcotics issue. Ambassador Watson believes that we have an opportunity to engage the GOP in a more vigorous counternarcotics effort but that we must reopen operations in the UHV shortly or lose credibility in Lima. However, the GOP is politically weak and notoriously inefficient and corrupt. The Peruvian military and police are underfunded, undertrained, and corrupt. Santa Lucia is not completed or secure according to a recent survey team. Moreover, any increase in the counternarcotics effort, particularly if successful, will increase the already significant risk to U.S. and GOP personnel in the UHV and in Peru generally.

The issue, then, is how to reopen operations in the UHV, engage the GOP in a more vigorous counternarcotics effort, and establish objectives which will have a substantial impact on the flow of cocaine. OR Alternatively, should we accept that the task is too difficult and the risks too great; should we withdraw from interdiction and eradication in the UHV altogether. No one believes that we should continue operations in the current manner.

The Objective. Assuming that we wish to encourage and support an expanded GOP counternarcotics effort, our broad objective in the UHV is to prevent cocaine from leaving the Valley. While we have achieved only limited success with manual eradication and raids on coca base labs in the past, we now believe that we should look at the isolation of the UHV as a vulnerability for the traffickers and focus much more heavily on interdicting the transportation network as well. To do so, we would like the GOP (1) to close the 17 municipal airports and 46 clandestine airfields to trafficking airplanes, (2) to close the river system

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to precursor chemical shipments in and paste shipments out, and (3) to close the roads to the movement of coca leaf, paste, or precursors. We would continue to support efforts (4) to hit operating base labs and (5) manually eradicate coca plants. Eradication is currently the primary measure of success with the U.S. Congress.

To continue and expand our program, we need to accomplish two key tasks: (1) complete the base at Santa Lucia and GC training requirements to continue our existing programs and (2) engage the Peruvian military to help the GC to protect the base and to undertake the transportation network campaign.

The Base. The Santa Lucia base is located in the center of the UHV and will serve as a staging camp for enhanced eradication and interdiction operations. It will beddown the INM helicopters and provide an entry point for resupply of the GOP counternarcotics effort. The base also represents the first phase of any serious effort to undertake the transportation campaign, e.g., support for airfield, river, and road interdiction. While not ideal in location from a security perspective, it can be defended with Peruvian military support. That said, the risk to the base and its personnel will increase in relation to increases in the counternarcotics effort, particularly if successful.

To become operational and more secure, it requires completion of the runway for C-123 aircraft, a completed defensive perimeter, revetting of high value buildings, installation of secure communications, completion of a defense and evacuation plan and provision of additional training for the GC. We will also need a GOP military commitment to provide defense in depth around the base. While Santa Lucia is a relatively small effort, the base will allow us to test Peruvian intentions and capabilities.

At this point the critical element of the effort is completion of the runway, and the missing ingredient is engineering equipment and expertise. There are two options for providing the needed bulldozers. Option one involves moving AID bulldozers located elsewhere in the Valley to Santa Lucia. This movement will require a Peruvian military or police convoy, which has been promised in the next fifteen days. The convoy may well draw an SL attack. The AID equipment has been unused for about a year (because security was unavailable for the AID project) and may not work, but we will not know until we move it. This option is already budgeted.

Option two, the fallback, involves providing U.S. military construction equipment, without U.S. personnel, air delivered to Santa Lucia by C-130. Arrangements would be required with the GOP to permit the air delivery by a military cargo plane into the UHV, and the package would cost about \$400-600K for equipment and transportation. The fund cite for the equipment would be the INM budget; transportation costs could be borne either by DOD or

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We estimate that the airstrip could be ready in 4-6 weeks once the bulldozers are available. However, the airfield needs to be completed before the onset of the rainy season in November. The other requirements can be dealt with in parallel and the resources are available. While we expect construction of the base to continue, we would not contemplate restarting operations until the security requirements mentioned above are complete.

Engaging the Peruvian Military. The GC lacks the personnel and the equipment needed for the transportation campaign, full security at Santa Lucia, and dealing with the SL. Only the Peruvian military can undertake the missions of controlling Peruvian airspace and rivers and providing general security in the Valley. While the Peruvian military has a spotty human rights record and has been corrupted by the traffickers in the past, we, in fact, have no alternative.

Peru declared the UHV to be a military emergency zone because of the insurgent threat, and the military ultimately controls all government activities in the Valley. The GC operates there at the tolerance of the military, and the military has for some time resented U.S. assistance to the GC (\$10M this year) while they have to date received none. The GC are not equipped to fight the SL. We are better off trying to coopt the military and to control their corruption and human rights abuses, as we did in El Salvador, rather than holding them off with the possibility that they will ally with the traffickers instead, as some say they already have in some cases.

Engaging the Peruvian military will require resources both to raise their interest and to provide them with needed equipment and training. After a long hiatus, we have apportioned \$1.5M in military assistance this year, although it has not yet been transferred because of Brooke-Alexander sanctions and bureaucratic disagreements over the intent of the "for counternarcotics operations only" earmark. We believe, however, that \$1.5M is not enough and that we must offer the GOP a five-year program on the order of \$95M in military assistance with an FY89 component of \$7M and an FY90 component of \$15M. These figures are estimates based on work at Embassy Lima and reviewed in Washington. They are explained further in an attachment.

In return we would expect the Peruvian military to use these funds (1) to provide security in the Valley against the SL, including security in the Santa Lucia area, (2) to defend Peruvian sovereignty and airspace against unauthorized intrusions, including trafficker aircraft, and (3) to control Peruvian rivers with respect to unauthorized traffic, including precursor shipments in and paste shipments out. We would seek agreed measures of the success of such interdiction, e.g.,

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aircraft seized or destroyed, precursors seized or destroyed, upon which future funding would be contingent. We would also expect them to work cooperatively with the GC. We would monitor their operational effectiveness as well as their human rights record. Involving the Peruvian military in counternarcotics tasks will not occur simply. In presenting our proposal, we will need to characterize it as part of a general security effort that will support their principal mission of fighting the SL.

For air interdiction, we would fund the establishment of a Peruvian ground security force for municipal airport security. Most of the Colombia trafficker aircraft currently use public airports. We would also fund the maintenance of a helicopter and fixed wing air interdiction force (little or no new equipment). For riverine interdiction, we would supply a small patrol boat flotilla. For road interdiction, we would need additional ground security forces. To provide security for Santa Lucia and the Valley generally, we would also equip and train ground security forces.

The overall ground security force structure would equal nine counterinsurgency battalions, which would take two years to organize, equip and train. To overcome GOP concerns about a large U.S. military presence, we would, at least initially, train the ground security force, together with Peruvian trainers, in the U.S. We would, however, need some, 1-2 per battalion, U.S. military observers/advisors/trainers in Peru with the trained units, but not on field operations, to monitor initial training results/operational effectiveness and to guide follow-on and refresher training. In order to reduce the propaganda value to the SL of U.S. military and other government personnel working in the Valley, we would seek to hold U.S. presence to a minimum.

Intelligence. The current program is already in need of greater intelligence; an enhanced program will require more. To be ready when Peruvian forces will need the intelligence, we will need to begin expanding and improving collection now. The expanded intelligence effort will cost \$750K and will include improved and expanded collection both in and outside Peru as well as expanded processing and analytical support in country. The detailed intelligence requirements will be discussed in a separate attachment.

Obtaining GOP Agreement. To obtain GOP agreement to expanded counternarcotics operations, we will need to characterize our proposal as a critical decision point for the GOP. We will need to point out their loss of sovereignty to the traffickers who violate their borders and airspace with impunity and the threat to stability and social order posed by the traffickers and SL operating separately or in concert.

We also need to deal directly with the issue of lost cash flow from the narcotics trade (approximately \$350M per year). While

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we do not have a specific program at this time, we do believe that any program should be multilateral, that it should focus on general budgetary support vice project assistance, and that it must have real, measurable objectives which the GOP must meet in order to obtain the funds.

Thus the general approach to the GOP would entail an offer of a five year \$95M military assistance package, the continuation of the INM program at \$10-20M per year, and a commitment to work with the Peruvian government to define a similar multiyear, multilateral economic package. We believe that the GOP would accept the general framework of this proposal, although discussions might be necessary regarding some of the details, e.g., the presence of U.S. military advisors in the UHV.

Funding Considerations. Peru is currently under a Brooke-Alexander hold on assistance transfers. However, Section 481(4) of the Foreign Assistance Act allows the transfer of funds for counternarcotics programs "notwithstanding any other provision of law." This provision is what allows the INM program to go forward in Peru, and we would expect to use it for military assistance for counternarcotics purposes, either MAP or INM funds. The economic program would eventually deal with the root of the Brooke-Alexander problem.

Further details of the military assistance package are discussed in a separate attachment. Additional FY89 military assistance funds would be obtained by reprogramming within the MAP account, reprogramming within the INM account, or reprogramming into the INM account. Some believe that for FY89 we should seek new money, outside Gramm-Rudman-Hollings. The FY90 military assistance proposal would need to be communicated to the Hill for consideration in the current budget deliberations.

Congressional Considerations. Before discussing the proposal with the Peruvians, the Administration would need to consult with the Congress. Proceeding with an expanded counternarcotics program in Peru in light of the increased risk to U.S. personnel, possible War Powers considerations in light of the threat environment, increased funding, and the need for considerable flexibility on dealing with the SL as part of the counternarcotics effort will require Congressional agreement.

Withdrawal from the UHV. While the preceding proposal is our best judgment of what is needed to mount an effective Peruvian counternarcotics campaign, we cannot guarantee its success. Even with U.S. willingness to provide the necessary resources, we have no assurance that the Peruvian government will agree to this proposal. We cannot assure that the Peruvian government can execute such a proposal. We have undoubtedly not imagined all the countermeasures which the traffickers can take. We can say, however, that a serious effort, seriously undertaken, will increase the risk to U.S. personnel. Thus the final question is

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whether we are prepared to proceed in the face of these uncertainties and risks. If we are not, then we should not continue to hold at risk those currently in the Valley; and we should withdraw to Lima and collect narcotics intelligence from there.

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Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 023 - May 10, 1989 - NSC/DC Meeting on Counternarcotics Program in Peru, Keywords: Peru Drugs

Date Closed:	10/15/2009	OA/ID Number:	90010-002
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2005-1002-F	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
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DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING

Friday, May 5, 1989

Situation Room

2:00 - 3:00

PERU

Agenda

- I. Introduction.....Robert M. Gates
- II. Current Situation.....CIA/DEA/State
- III. Policy Options.....ONDCP
- IV. Discussion.....All participants
- V. Summary and Conclusions.....Robert M. Gates

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 3, 1989

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Assistant to the Vice President
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MR. H. LAWRENCE SANDALL
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

MR. J. STAPLETON ROY
Executive Secretary
Department of State

MR. JOHN WALTERS
Chief of Staff
Office of National Drug Control
Policy

MS. EMILY L. WALKER
Executive Secretary
Department of Treasury

CAPTAIN ANTHONY MANESS
Executive Assistant to the
Chairman
Joint Chiefs of Staff

COLONEL GEORGE P. COLE, JR.
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

MR. JOHN C. LAWN
Administrator
Drug Enforcement Administration

MR. ROBIN ROSS
Chief of Staff
Department of Justice

MR. FRANK HODSOLL
Executive Associate Director
Office of Management and Budget

SUBJECT: Meeting of the Deputies Committee (S)

There will be a meeting of the Deputies Committee (NSC/DC) on overseas counternarcotics activities on Friday, May 5, 1989, at 2:00 p.m. in the White House Situation Room. The meeting will include principals plus one and will be for the purpose of resolving counternarcotics policy issues on Peru. The agenda is at Tab A. A discussion paper will be provided separately. (S)

M. Douley
for G. Philip Hughes
Executive Secretary

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines
E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), September 11, 2006
By MM NARA, Date 1/13/2014

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

20400

DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING

Friday, May 5, 1989

Situation Room

2:00 - 3:00

PERU

Agenda

- I. Introduction.....Robert M. Gates
(2 minutes)
- II. Current Situation.....CIA/DEA/State
(10 minutes)
- III. Policy Options.....ONDCP
(15 minutes)
- IV. Discussion.....All participants
(30 minutes)
- V. Summary and Conclusions.....Robert M. Gates
(3 minutes)

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White House Guidelines
E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), September 11, 2006
By MM NARA, Date 1/13/2014

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~~SECRET~~

20400

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

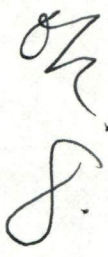
May 2, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR G. PHILIP HUGHES

THROUGH: DAVID C. MILLER, JR.

FROM: RICHARD C. LAMAGNA

SUBJECT: Deputies Committee Notification



SIGNED

Director William Bennett and the Policy Coordinating Committee (PCC) have asked for a Deputies Committee meeting on Friday, May 5, at 2:00 p.m. The purpose of the meeting is to review options for moving forward with our counternarcotics program in Peru. The memorandum at Tab I invites Deputies plus one. A discussion paper will be provided separately. Bob Gates has approved the agenda (Tab A).

David  Pacelli and Randy  Beers concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve  Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I Notice of Meeting Memorandum
Tab A Meeting Agenda

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines
E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4 (b), September 11, 2008
By mm NARA, Date 1/3/2014

REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENTS

To: Officer-in-charge
Appointments Center
Room 060, OEOB

Please admit the following appointments on May 5, 1989
for ROBERT M. GATES of NSC:
(NAME OF PERSON TO BE VISITED) (AGENCY)

SEE ATTACHED LIST

MEETING LOCATION

Building WHITE HOUSE Requested by CATHY MILLISON
Room No. SIT RM Room No. SIT RM Telephone 2224
Time of Meeting 2:00pm Date of request 5/5/89

Additions and/or changes made by telephone should be limited to five (5) names or less.

APPOINTMENTS CENTER: SIG/OEOB - 395-6046 or WHITE HOUSE - 456-6742

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. List	Re: [Participants List] [50 U.S.C. 403g, Sec 6.] [Personal Information Redacted] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(3); (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: National Security Council

Series: H-Files

Subseries: NSC/DC Meetings Files

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: NSC/DC 023 - May 10, 1989 - NSC/DC Meeting on Counternarcotics Program in Peru, Keywords: Peru Drugs

Date Closed: 10/15/2009

OA/ID Number: 90010-002

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2005-1002-F

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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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

OVP

~~Andrew Rosdella~~

STATE

Robert Kimmitt
Michael Skol
James Hoobler

TREASURY

Michael Williams
Thomas Sullivan

DOD

Stephen M. Duncan
Richard D. Brown

JUSTICE

Robin Ross

JCS

Jonathan Howe

~~Lawrence Issa~~

James Burton

CIA

Richard Kerr

(b)(3) [50 U.S.C. 403g, Sec. 6]

OMB

William Diefenderfer
Frank Hodsoll

DEA

John Lawn
David Westrate

NDCP

John Walters
Theodore Grabowski

NSC

David Miller
Nicholas Rostow
David Pacelli

WH

Bob Gates

(b)(6)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8920082
RECEIVED: 27 FEB 89 14

TO: GATES

FROM: HENHOEFFER
WORKING

DOC DATE: 23 FEB 89
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: INTELLIGENCE

DC

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR DEPUTIES COM MTGS DURING PERIOD 24 APR - 12 MAY

ACTION: GATES APPROVED RECOM

DUE DATE: 24 FEB 89

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HENHOEFFER

LOGREF: 8920400 8920440

FILES: IFG O

NSCP: DC023

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
HENHOEFFER
WORKING

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006
By CAP NARA, Date 10/15/09

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: LF

CLOSED BY: CM *[Signature]*

DOC 1 OF 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECORD ID: 8920082

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 GATES

001

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 89022714 FOR DECISION

X 89022716 GATES APPROVED RECOM

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White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By CAP NARA, Date 10/15/09

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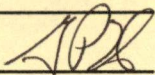
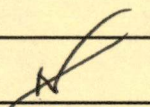
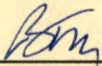
27.

National Security Council
The White House

89 FEB 24 All: 10

LOG # 20082
SYSTEM PRS NSC INT
DOCLOG 27 A/O

SEQUENCE TO HAS SEEN DISPOSITION

Bob Perito			
Philip Hughes	1		A
Bob Gates	2		
Brent Scowcroft			
Philip Hughes			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	3	27.4.27	
NSC Secretariat	4		R

☒ A = Action	☐ I = Information	☐ D = Dispatch	☒ R = Retain	☐ N = No further Action
cc: VP	Sununu	Other		

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

20082

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

February 23, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. GATES

THROUGH: WILLIAM W. WORKING *W.W.*

FROM: MARY HENHOEFFER *M.H.*

SUBJECT: Deputies Committee Meetings

Per your recent request, we plan to conclude the annual review of covert action programs by mid-May. Accordingly, we would like to have dates for three meetings of the Deputies Committee during the period April 24-May 12. We will then prepare a review schedule and arrange for the notification of the participating agencies.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the scheduling of three Deputies Committee meetings.

Approve

8

Disapprove

Do we really need 3?

Sit Room

*26 Apr - 1100
3 May - 1100
10 May - 1100*

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White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By CAP NARA, Date 10/16/09

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05. Planning Sheet	Re: NSC Time Planning Sheet [50 U.S.C. 403g, Sec 6.] [Personal Information Redacted] (1 pp.)	5/5	(b)(3); (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

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La Maza/Beers

NSC TIME PLANNING SHEET

TYPE: ^{DC}
NSC/NSPC/PCG/PRG

DATE AND TIME: 5/5 2:00

LOCATION: Situation Rm

DURATION: 1 hour

5 Counter Narcotics Policy
Issues in Peru

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Participants	Invited	Agency	Number	Confirm
VP	☒	~~John G. Stamos~~ Carne Lord	Andy Riddle	
STATE	☒	Michael Skole James (Jim) Hoobler Robert Kimmitt	(b)(6)	
TREASURY	☒			
~~BAKER~~ (PERSONAL)				
DOD	☒			
JUSTICE	☒	Robin Ross		
~~MEESE~~ (PERSONAL)				
JCS	☒	Jonathan Howell Lawrence ISSO		
CIA	☒	Richard Kerr (b)(3) [50 U.S.C. 403g, Sec. 6]	(b)(6)	
OMB	☒	Bill Diefenderfer Frank Hodson		
DEA ~~USUN~~	☒	John Lawn David Westgate		
~~WALTERS~~ (PERSONAL)				
NAT'L ~~Drug~~ Control Policy	☒	John Walters Grabowski		
~~USIA~~				
NSC ~~IT. DANGER~~ ~~OFF~~		Rostow Miller Facelli	Bush Library Photocopy	

COMMENTS:

☐ Principals

☐ Principals Plus 1