

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):  
2004-0722-F; 2005-0992-F; 2010-1632-S

FOIA Number:  
S

# FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an  
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential  
Library Staff.**

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

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**OA/ID Number:** 90003  
**Folder ID Number:** 90003-022

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**Folder Title:**  
NSD-17 - July 22, 1989 - U.S. Actions in Panama

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| Stack: | Row: | Section: | Shelf: | Position: |
|--------|------|----------|--------|-----------|
| V      | 0    | 0        | 0      | 0         |

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## Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

| Doc. No. / Type | Subject/Title                                                                  | Date     | Restriction | Classification |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|----------------|
| 01. Memo        | NSD [National Security Directive] 17 with coversheets and attachments. (4 pp.) | 07/22/89 | (b)(1)      | TS             |
| 02. Memo        | Brent Scowcroft to POTUS with coversheets and attachments. (12 pp.)            | 07/18/89 | (b)(1)      | TS             |

Page 1 of 1

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** H-Files  
**Subseries:** NSD Files  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** NSD-17 - July 22, 1989 - U.S. Actions in Panama

**Pinksheet Number:** RML4605  
**OA/ID Number:** 90003-020  
**Date Closed:** 4/26/2009  
**FOIA/Sys Case #:** 2004-0722-F  
**Re-review Case #:**  
**P-2/P-5 Review Case #:**

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                                      | Date     | Restriction | Class.    |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|-----------|
| 01. Memo                 | NSD [National Security Directive] 17 with coversheets and attachments. (4 pp.) | 07/22/89 | (b)(1)      | <i>JS</i> |

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**File Location:** NSD-17 - July 22, 1989 - U.S. Actions in Panama

**Document Partially Declassified**  
**(Copy of Document Follows)**  
 By MM on 11/6/2013

|                                     |                                         |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 4/26/2009       | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 90003-020          |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2004-0722-F | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>                   |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>              |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>                |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b> 2010-1493-MR (500)    |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b> Released in Part |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b> 11/29/2012  |

### 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]  
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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

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

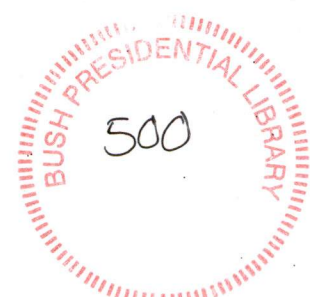
30312

(b)(1)

THE WHITE HOUSE (b)(1)

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1989



NATIONAL SECURITY DIRECTIVE 17

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY  
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
THE DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET  
THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL  
SECURITY AFFAIRS  
THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE  
THE CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

SUBJECT: U.S. Actions in Panama (S)

As a follow-up to the decisions taken at the May 8 National Security Council meeting, announced on May 11, I direct that:

1. The Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff should instruct CINCSOUTH to conduct the program of military actions provided at the end of this NSD. These actions are designed to assert our treaty rights, heighten Noriega's uncertainty, and keep him and his people off guard. (S)
2. The program should be conducted in varying intensity and scope, avoiding predictable escalation and maintaining maximum flexibility for our side. (S)
3. For those actions in the medium and high-risk categories, CINCSOUTH should provide the National Command Authority (NCA) a minimum of 24 hours notification, to insure synchronization with other action programs. (S)
4. The Director of Central Intelligence, in concert with the Secretaries of State and Defense, should pursue a program of

--

[REDACTED] (b)(1)

(S)

(b)(1)

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

Declassify on: OADR

NSC DECLASSIFICATION REVIEW [E.O. 12958 as amended]  
DECLASSIFY IN PART  
by D.Sanborn on 9/18/2012

DOWNGRADED TO SECRET  
by National Security Council  
Date/Initial 9-18-12 [Signature]

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

(b)(1)



~~TOP SECRET~~

SECRET

(b)(1)

(b)(1)

(b)(1)

(TS)

(TS)

5.

(b)(1)

(TS)

6. The Secretary of Defense shall have the flexibility to grant, on a case-by-case basis, exemptions to the earlier directive that all USG personnel living off base be relocated on base, to secure housing areas, or back to the United States. These exemptions will be based on a determination of extreme hardship among command-sponsored personnel, and legal and other constraints involving certain direct-hire civilian personnel. With respect to the latter category (numbering some 1850 people), a gradual approach should be employed to achieve the desired reduction levels. (S)

*W. Bush*

7-22-89

~~TOP SECRET~~

(b)(1)

~~TOP SECRET~~ (b)(1)

~~TOP SECRET~~ (b)(1)  
MILITARY ACTIONS  
(\*indicates new initiatives)

CATEGORY I (Low Risk/Low Visibility)

- Publicize (inform the PDF) that our evacuation of dependents will soon be complete. (S)
- \*Establish controlled U.S.-PDF contacts to promote fissures between PDF and Noriega. (S)
- Increase Public Affairs campaign. (S)
- \*Implement PSYOP campaign. (S)
- Ensure that PDF personnel on U.S. installations are under U.S. forces escort at all times. (S)
- U.S. forces wear uniforms in Panama when conducting official duty. (S)
- Continue efforts to place U.S. Military Police liaison personnel at military police desks of the PDF's 5th Company (Fort Amador) and 8th Company (Fort Espinar). (S)

CATEGORY II (Low Risk/High Visibility)

- \*Conduct ceremonies at Fort Amador. (S)
- Increase Military Police patrols between U.S. military installations. (S)
- Conduct small-scale exercises which profile U.S. security assets in Panama in a highly visible manner. (S)
- \*Deploy CONUS forces of Battalion/Squadron size (7th ID, 101st Air Assault, Ranger Battalions, F-111s, etc.) to conduct intensive training. (S)
- \*Deploy APACHE helicopter battalion to conduct highly visible training. (S)
- Conduct off-shore Navy operations near Panama City. (S)
- Conduct high-intensity night training operations. (S)
- Conduct highly visible joint training exercises to demonstrate U.S. capability. (S)
- \*Conduct a large-scale (brigade-plus with Joint Forces Headquarters unit) C3 exercise in Panama. (S)

~~TOP SECRET~~ (b)(1)

Declassify on: OADR

~~TOP SECRET~~ (b)(1)

(b)(1)

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED] 01 013:21 [REDACTED]

(b)(1)

(b)(1)

- \*Conduct NEO exercise activating all staging areas and NEO cells. (S)
- Construct barricades and fighting positions around defense sites which are visible to PDF. (S)
- \*Visibly pre-position logistical supplies in Panama. (S)
- \*Return all forces to garrison for a 2-3 day period to simulate logistical and operational preparations for a large military operation. (S)

CATEGORY III (Medium Risk/High Visibility)

- \*Increase the number and size of armed convoys and alter their routes which would include areas in the vicinity of key PDF elements (i.e., Battalion 2000 at Cimarron, Dobermans unit at Panama City, Battalion Paz at David, and Panamanian Air Force at Tocumen). (S)
- \*Place operational forces in Fort Amador. (S)
- \*Conduct reconnaissance and surveillance operations (air, land, and water) in the vicinity of key PDF command and control facilities and other areas of high interest to the PDF. (S)

CATEGORY IV (High Risk/High Visibility)

- \*Terminate PDF license for the Fort Amador Sports Facility and return use to U.S. Forces. (S)
- \*Reoccupy and reestablish access to Quarters 1362 (Fort Amador). (S)
- \*Regain official U.S. access to the Fort Amador causeway in order to conduct Canal defense training and then initiate U.S./PDF joint Military Police patrols on the causeway. (S)
- Reoccupy Quarters 323 (Quarry Heights) and Quarters 32 (Fort Espinar). (S)

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

(b)(1)

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

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OUT

| OUT TO            | FILE NUMBER OR NAME OUT | DATE                         | OUT TO | FILE NUMBER OR NAME OUT | DATE | OUT TO | FILE NUMBER OR NAME OUT | DATE |
|-------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|--------|-------------------------|------|--------|-------------------------|------|
| <del>Tilley</del> | <del>NSPD 46</del>      | <del>29 Mar 87</del>         |        |                         |      |        |                         |      |
| <del>Tilley</del> | <del>NSC 120</del>      | <del>16 Mar 87</del>         |        |                         |      |        |                         |      |
| <del>Tilley</del> | <del>JSG 0019</del>     | <del>27 Mar 87</del>         |        |                         |      |        |                         |      |
| <del>Tilley</del> | <del>8002130</del>      | <del>16 Apr 87</del>         |        |                         |      |        |                         |      |
| <del>Van</del>    | <del>NSD 42</del>       | <del>5/5/92</del>            |        |                         |      |        |                         |      |
| <del>Tilley</del> | <del>NSDD 322</del>     | <del>(F87-174) 5/15/92</del> |        |                         |      |        |                         |      |
|                   | NSD 17 LAF              |                              |        |                         |      |        |                         |      |