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THE WHITE HOUSE
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NATIONAL SECURITY DIRECTIVE 18

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT
DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
ADMINISTRATOR OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
ADMINISTRATOR OF DRUG ENFORCEMENT
COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES CUSTOMS SERVICE
COMMANDANT OF THE UNITED STATES COAST GUARD

SUBJECT: International Counternarcotics Strategy (C)

One of the principal foreign policy objectives of this Administration is to reduce, and if possible eliminate, the flow of illegal narcotic substances to the United States. The impact of illegal narcotics use on our society has been and continues to be devastating. Moreover, the violence and corruption of the drug traffickers and their alliance with insurgent groups has had a destabilizing effect on friendly governments. It is thus imperative for our own well-being and the development of democratic and economically stable governments around the world that this problem be dealt with aggressively. To that end, I approve the "United States International Drug Control Policy and Strategies" paper prepared by the Office of National Drug Control Policy for inclusion in the report to Congress in September. (U)

After thorough review, I have decided that the first priority of our international drug control strategy will be to enhance drastically our counternarcotics programs in the Andean region, especially in Colombia, as the home of the major trafficking organizations and number one principal production facilities for U.S. destined cocaine.

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will be the primary focus of our effort. To ensure that our Colombia effort is not thwarted by the shifting of trafficking organizations and infrastructure to locations in Bolivia and Peru, we will mount simultaneous expanded efforts in those two countries. These programs will involve expanded assistance to indigenous police, military, and intelligence officials in all three countries, for the purpose of assisting them to regain control of their countries from an insidious combination of insurgents and drug traffickers and to suppress the flow of narcotics to the United States. In particular, we should pursue the major Andean drug cartels wherever and however they choose to operate with all means available to our government consistent with applicable law. (S)

Should these anti-trafficking programs be successful, there will be a major economic impact resulting from suppression of the drug trade. Under those circumstances, I would be prepared to consider expanded economic assistance to Peru and Bolivia, conditioned on continued counternarcotics performance and sound economic policy. (U)

This effort will require the support of the Andean governments affected, as well as the support of our major allies. To that end, I wish plans to proceed for a summit meeting with the South American countries involved. In addition, I anticipate a request to our economic partners to join with us in the provision of economic assistance to these countries should they prove capable of suppressing the drug trade. (C)

It should be recognized that this will be a long and difficult struggle, working with governments already weakened by the impact of drug traffickers, insurgencies and economic instability. Success will require the enthusiastic support of all agencies, rising above jurisdictional conflicts to pursue our national objective. I will continue to look to the Director of National Drug Control Policy, supported by the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, to ensure effective coordination among all agencies involved in the international counternarcotics effort. Even with these greatly expanded resources, this Andean strategy will succeed only if the programs are effectively coordinated and managed. (U)

I, therefore, direct the following actions under the coordination of the Deputies Committee of the National Security Council:

The Director, Office of Management and Budget, together with the affected agencies, shall prepare amendments to the FY 90 budget to support the first year of a five-year $2 billion budget to support the Andean regional countercocaine strategy pursuant to the attached budget chart at Tab I. The program shall include as a baseline the full amount of our existing FY 90, $119 million Andean counternarcotics budget.
request, subject to final Congressional appropriation. The existing FY 90 program shall be augmented by an additional $142.1 million, divided among military assistance, law enforcement, and intelligence programs. The $142.1 million FY 90 augmentation, except for those funds made available to the Drug Enforcement Administration, shall be drawn from the Department of Defense (including funds available to the intelligence community). There will be no economic assistance component in FY 90 augmentation. The expanded FY 91-94 budgets shall also build on the FY 90, $119 million baseline program and shall include economic assistance funds for Peru and Bolivia, contingent upon NSC evaluation that the counternarcotics programs funded in FY 90 were successful and economic assistance would be consistent with sound economic policy in these countries. The Director of OMB will work with the affected agencies to ensure that the expanded outyear programs, described in the budget chart at Tab I, are accommodated in affected agency budgets. (C)

The Secretary of State, in conjunction with the Secretary of Defense and the Attorney General, shall prepare detailed military assistance and law enforcement programs in support of this strategy drawing on the above budget guidance, and the attached program description at Tab II. (C)

The Director of Central Intelligence, coordinating with the counternarcotics intelligence community, shall similarly develop detailed intelligence programs drawing on the above budget guidance and the attached program description. (S)

The Secretary of Defense, in conjunction with the Secretary of State, shall revise Department of Defense (DOD) policy directives and procedures to expand DOD support of U.S. counternarcotics efforts and to permit DOD personnel to conduct training for host government personnel and operational support activities anywhere in the Andean region. DOD personnel will not accompany host government forces on actual field operations. (C)

The above assigned actions shall be completed by September 1, 1989, and provided to the Office of National Drug Control Policy for final consolidation and presentation to the Deputies Committee. (C)

In parallel, the Director of National Drug Control Policy, the Secretary of State, and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs shall begin consultation with the Congress to develop bipartisan support for this initiative. If necessary, the Secretary of State, in conjunction with the Director of National Drug Control Policy and the Director, Office of Management and Budget, shall prepare legislation to support this initiative and to remove statutory barriers to program effectiveness. (U)
Following initial Congressional consultation, the Secretary of State shall approach the governments of Colombia, Bolivia and Peru with our assistance strategy and a proposal to hold an early Andean Drug Summit. The Secretary of State shall also seek economic assistance for counternarcotics in the Andes from our allies, using the Counternarcotics Experts Group established at the Paris Summit, if feasible. (U)

Attachments
Tab I  The Intensified Anti-Narcotics Budget
Tab II  Phased Three-Country Anti-Cocaine Strategy

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Phased Three-Country Anti-Cocaine Strategy for the Andean Coca Production Region

Drawing more heavily on military, economic, and intelligence assistance, this program expands, and goes significantly beyond, the law enforcement approach of the past. This program attempts a comprehensive and sustained regional approach aimed at striking a significant blow at trafficking organizations and narcotics infrastructure in the principal cocaine countries -- Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia. Colombia is the focal point of this effort. That said, the program will move forward simultaneously in Peru and Bolivia to ensure that trafficking organizations and narcotics infrastructure do not set up easily outside Colombia. As intended in the earlier Peruvian Upper Huallaga Valley study, this effort would seek to isolate growing areas in Peru and Bolivia from final processing sites in Bolivia and Colombia by attacking transportation networks, while at the same time seeking to destroy final processing labs. (S)

Initially an increase in military and law enforcement assistance will be provided. Based on continued evaluations of host government performance in applying these funds to counter-narcotics activities, additional military and law enforcement assistance will be phased in, as well as economic assistance. Economic assistance will not start until FY 1991 at the earliest, and not before initial military and law enforcement assistance has been evaluated by the NSC as effective and proposals for the use of economic aid have been submitted and found to be based on sound economic principles. The economic assistance would be phased, with each increment disbursed only after specific anti-narcotics targets are met. Military assistance will be carefully monitored to prevent human rights abuse and misuse or diversion of equipment. (U)

Each country program must be prepared to address problems with governmental inefficiency that may arise during implementation. While programs would be tailored to fit each country's specific situation, common features include:

--- Increased military assistance to neutralize guerrilla support for trafficking and to assist in the control of narcotics transportation networks. (S)

--- Increased assistance to Andean law enforcement activities directed against processing sites and supply routes, and overall increased investigational activity to be directed against traffickers. (S)

--- Sizeable (but phased) economic assistance programs conditioned to counternarcotics performance and improved economic policy to deal with national and local economic dislocations from lost narcotics dollars. (U)

--- Enhanced intelligence collection and analysis efforts to target traffickers and infrastructure. (S)

Declassify on: OADR