

Drug
June 28, 1972

A mass of legislation has been enacted by the Democratic Congress, but most of it does not carry the political sex appeal of these principle issues. The President is not likely to overlook the opportunity to expose these shortcomings.

Democrats have a particular talent for killing each other off. Party infighting does not help the Nation or the Democratic Party. The writing of a platform may expose more weaknesses than the party can overcome regardless of candidate, and George Wallace and others are attempting to produce a party platform which is more acceptable to the American public than the one now proposed. Yet, efforts to start pulling responsible party factions together may have come too late to be effective. One thing is certain, the Democratic Party has serious problems ahead for November. America wants responsible programs and responsible candidates which it can confidently support for a better tomorrow. Let us hope it is not too late to repair the damage within the Democratic Party. America needs a strong Democratic Party under sound leadership.

AN OLD-FASHIONED PATRIOT SPEAKS OUT

(Mr. HALL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the Missouri National Guard Association, the non-military forum of over 1,700 active officers, retired officers, active and retired enlisted men of the Missouri National Guard recently held its silver anniversary conference in St. Louis, Mo. At that ceremony Col. Oliver M. Husmann, president of the association for 1971-72, and a prominent St. Louis businessman, gave his report to the members.

The conference warmly received this old-fashioned patriot who spoke out for his organization, to always defend the country. From one who has served his Nation, speaking before those who also shouldered the task of defense, Colonel Husmann eloquently and concisely stated his dedication to the United States, and its traditional spirit of patriotic maintenance of freedom, plus efforts for peace.

I recommend these words of Colonel Husmann to this Congress as an example of the strong devotion to our country that still persists today:

REMARKS BY COL. OLIVER M. HUSMANN

Webster defines a Patriot as "one who loves his country and zealously guards its welfare; especially a defender of popular liberty." This is the kind of patriot I was taught to admire and emulate. The kind who has fought for his country throughout its history. The kind who admits the imperfections of government, but loves his country even more in spite of them.

Today we have a new kind of patriot. The draft dodgers who skulks into Canada, Sweden, or any other country that will grant them asylum. Those who trample and spit upon the Flag. Those who bomb and burn our public buildings and academic institutions. Those who condemn our involvement in Viet Nam and publicly esteem our enemies. Those who question every word uttered by our leaders, but willingly accept as the whole truth any and all charges levied against us by our enemies.

There are many in this country who find favor with this new type of patriot. We find these 'sob sisters' amongst our clergy, among our so-called intellectuals and even amongst our leaders in the Congress and the Senate. They say we should not have become involved in Viet Nam and now because we are so involved, the new type of patriot must be permitted to vent his frustrations as he desires.

The National Guard is made up of men. Men from many walks of life. Men in different stages of maturity. Men of different social antecedents. Men of various religious beliefs. Men with different political convictions. These qualities and characteristics which each individual possesses, must be nurtured, moulded and fused with those of the next man until, as an entity, we can move forward in a concentrated effort toward a common goal. We must resolve to do everything in our power to again convince the people of our country that Webster's definition of a patriot is and always will be correct.

There are too many in this country who have forgotten that the two ideologies—Democracy and Communism—cannot live side by side except by artful truces and so-called cold wars, neither of which can nurture a real, lasting peace. The tentacles of Communism creep insidiously wherever they gain a foothold. Our land, our way of life, our freedom and our liberty, as we know them, are the prizes Communism strives to take from us. Guardsmen must be constantly prepared to fight this threat. We must not permit ourselves to become the weak link in the defense of this great nation.

There is a greater need for the existence of the Guard today than ever before. We must let our fellow citizens know that the enemy wants us to be careless, lazy and uninspired in the desire to defend our country. That he looks upon us with utter contempt when we say we are tired of war. We must make the public realize that America needs its men—soldiers and citizens alike—to work continuously to improve our defensive posture while there is still time. If we wish to maintain for our children the liberty, freedom and safety which we enjoy, we must be prepared to defend these truths to the death. Consider for a moment what life would be like without these privileges we accept so matter-of-factly.

One thing is certain; we have the organization to build such a defense. We have the know-how and the money in this country to develop such a defense. Most important of all, we have US, the National Guard. We can discourage aggression now. All we have to do is feel the urgency, to realize the practicability of being prepared, and to work—as men dedicated to the principle that the freedom we enjoy shall not perish.

Our silver anniversary is an opportune time to rededicate ourselves to the task at hand, to filling our ranks with true patriots, to teaching, to absorbing lessons learned, to building a defense capable of filling the needs of our people, our community and our country.

Guardsmen have taken such dedicated stands many times in history; always in the cause of freedom and liberty. Our citizen-soldiers, our National Guard, is older than the Nation itself. Dedicated men of the early colonies organized units and trained to defend their settlements long before the Declaration of Independence. Many of our present-day Guard units trace their history directly to these early groups of citizen-soldiers.

We need to review the heritage willed us by those who early stood in the defense of our country. We need to relive the struggles of the past, to see in our minds eye and feel in our hearts the valiant stand they took so this nation might be free. We need to think of those who stood with Washington at Brandywine and Germantown. We need to be

reminded of the Guardsmen, militiamen, minutemen, call them what you will, who bled at Bunker Hill. We need to trace their footprints that marked with blood the snows of Valley Forge. We must bend our backs and grasp with freezing fingers the frosted oars with Washington as he crosses the icy Delaware. We must lay siege with him to the heights of Yorktown. We must strive with those who followed Lee, Sherman and Grant. We must feel the fury of the charge at San Juan. We must share with them the blood and sweat of the Philippines and the Mexican Border. Let us follow "Black-Jack" Pershing through the holocaust of WWI. Eisenhower, MacArthur and Patton through the war to end all wars. Let us relive with them Argonne, Chateau Thierry, Corregidor, Normandy and MIG Alley. Finally Korea and Viet Nam. For the first time in history American fighting men find themselves in the unusual position of fighting a battle they cannot win, a war they are not supposed to win. A classic study in frustration.

Is Freedom, Democracy and the American way of life, which was bought at such a tremendous price to be lost to the most deadly enemy that has ever threatened free men? Has the sacrifice they made, been made in vain? Can we not continue the fight, can we not as citizen-soldiers bolster the defenses, man them effectively and surely, against any and all attacks of an enemy? Can we not show a love for our country? A love that surmounts all fears, all weaknesses and dedicates men to preserve with their lives the land they love?

I am not asking that we dedicate ourselves to becoming a nation of warmongers. No, I ask that we dedicate ourselves to work for peace. I firmly believe a strong aggressive, defensive posture is the best offense available to a country whose democratic ideals prevents it from initiating an attack against any enemy unless provoked beyond endurance.

Until we have made our country so impregnable, so invulnerable that an attack would be suicidal, will our enemies keep their distance. Until we have done this, the possibility of America becoming a major battlefield in a new world conflict becomes more apparent with each passing day.

Gentlemen. Now is the time for us to look to our defenses, time to follow the heritage which is ours. The time to demonstrate, once again, to all the world, that democracy is a living thing, transcending all other ways of life, and worth protecting at any cost.

(Mr. PRICE of Illinois asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the body of the Record and to include an address by Mr. HOLIFIELD.)

(Mr. PRICE of Illinois remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

(Mr. BUCHANAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. BUCHANAN'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

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NARCOTICS AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

(Mr. WOLFF asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, at this point in the Record, I would like to insert the texts of several formal statements made before an informal hearing which the dis-

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June 28, 1972

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

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tinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MURPHY) and I held on June 9 in New York City.

The subject of the hearing has international narcotics traffic and I believe that my colleagues in the House will find this information most interesting and useful to their work in finding a solution to this vital problem:

NARCOTICS AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

(Opening statement of the Honorable LESTER L. WOLFF, of New York, June 9, 1972)

Let me open these hearings by stating that they are an extension of the investigations which we have conducted into the question of international narcotics traffic and its control.

The drug problem here in the United States has been steadily increasing over the past decade and now permeates our daily lives. The problem of hard drug addiction is no longer confined to the urban ghettos; it has spread into suburban communities and even into our armed forces.

As members of the Foreign Affairs Committee we bear the heavy responsibility of proposing and enacting legislation to assist in anti-smuggling efforts throughout the world. Such an important responsibility can only be discharged properly based on complete and accurate information. I for one must say in all honesty that I have not had cooperation in obtaining the necessary information. In fact, the reason for this hearing and the ones which will follow is to get at the information which we have thus far found elusive.

I have been told about the impact of our new anti-drug programs in the international sphere on the heroin supply in this country—some sources say it has had some effect, others say it has had no effect. I have been told that we are making strong representations to other governments on this matter, and I have been told by our own agents that they cannot stop the drug traffic overseas because their hands have been tied for political reasons. Despite rosy predictions and statements by high officials in our government, the international traffic in narcotics continues to increase steadily.

I am deeply concerned that our priorities in dealing with foreign governments may be beclouded. Protecting our own people from the scourge of heroin addiction by halting the flow of narcotics at the source must be our number one priority. I feel that there is a question as to whether we are suppressing information related to the involvement of officials of foreign governments in the drug traffic reaching our shores. This perhaps is being done to preserve the sensitive nature of our international relations and we gloss over the massive domestic problem which confronts our nation. In effect we are basing policy decisions not on the national self-interest of protecting our own young people, but of protecting an international situation of questionable priority.

We are conducting this investigation precisely to bridge the gap between rhetoric and reality on this question. The rhetoric about the heroin traffic has been voluminous and emotive; the time has come to get the information necessary to halt this deadly traffic by firm action.

We shall publish the information which we uncover in this continuing investigation in the Congressional Record and we will be calling on the appropriate agencies of the Federal Government to report back to us as soon as practicable on the veracity of the information and on any actions they initiate to deal with the problem. I for one refuse to be satisfied with the contradictory and evasive answers which I have received and I am committed to bring the complete story to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and to the American people.

OPENING REMARKS BEFORE THE HEROIN TRAFFIC HEARING IN NEW YORK

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Good morning distinguished visitors and gentlemen of the press. I have just a few words before we begin today's proceedings.

I think most Americans are well aware of the situation we face today with the massive use of heroin and other drugs among our young people as well as a great number of military veterans.

I, along with the two other gentlemen here, have conducted numerous investigations on the use of heroin among our soldiers in Vietnam and our civilian population and the one fact discovered in all cases was that drugs are grown and refined illegally in foreign countries with the final product then being shipped clandestinely to the United States.

I think this is an important fact to remember because if we are ever going to prevent the use of illegal drugs we must first deal with the countries in which they are grown and processed.

In the course of past hearings, we have gathered a great amount of testimony from many witnesses and all this testimony has served to strengthen my belief that strong measures are necessary to deal with the drug epidemic.

Today, we are going to hear more testimony from several knowledgeable people in the fields of law enforcement, world health and from an author who recently completed a study on the politics of heroin.

Although we are planning more hearings around the country, let us hope that we can begin to further the education of the American public on the menace of drug abuse with the facts presented during this hearing.

ALFRED W. MCCOY

Mr. WOLFF. Alfred W. McCoy is presently a Ph. D. student in Southeast Asian history at Yale University. He has spent the last 18 months researching the international drug traffic and his findings will be published in a forthcoming book entitled "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia," Harper & Row.

Mr. McCoy's findings are based on research, documents, and more than 250 personal interviews conducted in the United States, Europe and Southeast Asia. Sources of information include U.S. military, intelligence, and Embassy reports on narcotics, as well as interviews with U.S. Embassy, A.I.D. and C.I.A. personnel. Mr. McCoy also met with numerous officials of local military, intelligence, and customs bureaus in South Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Hong Kong, and Singapore.

In addition, Mr. McCoy has spent a week living with an opium growing Meo tribe in Laos. I am informed that he has already briefed our Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs on his findings.

TESTIMONY BY ALFRED W. MCCOY BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY REGARDING INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS TRAFFIC, JUNE 9, 1972

Southeast Asia is fast becoming the major source of illicit narcotics for America's growing population of heroin addicts. International criminal syndicates began shifting their major sources of supply to Southeast Asia in the late 1960s when the Turkish government began a drastic reduction of its opium production. If current programs are completed as expected, Turkey will have completely eradicated legal opium production by the end of this year. And within the coming months Turkey's illicit drug traffic will also be eliminated. However, many responsible officials inside the State Department and the US Bureau of Narcotics are very much aware that unless serious preventative measures are taken it is only a matter of time until all of America's heroin supply comes from Southeast Asia. And if the drug traffic in Southeast Asia is ignored all our efforts in Turkey will have been wasted.

President Nixon has told us that there can be no end to the drug traffic in this country until illicit opium production has been eradicated. Even at its peak in 1967-68 Turkey produced an estimated 100 tons of illicit opium, equivalent to only 5% to 7% of the world's total illicit supply. According to the United Nations, Southeast Asia's bountiful Golden Triangle Region—which comprises the rugged mountain areas of northeastern Burma, northern Thailand, and northern Laos—harvests an estimated 1,000 tons of raw opium annually. This is equal to more than 70% of the world's illicit opium supply. By itself northeastern Burma accounts for over 50% of the world's illicit opium. In fact, more recent US Bureau of Narcotics reports estimate that northeastern Burma alone may now be producing 1,000 tons of raw opium annually.

Increasing quantities of Southeast Asian narcotics are entering the international smuggling routes and are finding their way to the United States. Clandestine laboratories located in the tri-border area where Burma, Thailand, and Laos converge are producing a high grade of heroin which is reaching the United States through the West Coast, Europe, and Latin America. Hong Kong's flourishing heroin laboratories use morphine base from Southeast Asia to refine high grade heroin for the American market. Finally, Indochina's Corsican syndicates have been supplying Marseille's heroin laboratories with limited quantities of Southeast Asian morphine base since the early 1950s.

In many ways, Thailand is the key to the drug traffic in Southeast Asia. Most of the region's illicit narcotics transit through Thailand on their way to the international smuggling circuits. Across its northern border march vast mule caravans carrying hundreds of tons of Burmese opium. In fact, most of Burma's opium exports pass through Thailand. Opium refineries located along Thailand's northern border process morphine base and high grade heroin for the international markets. Thailand's ports on the Gulf of Siam serve as loading points for the wooden-hulled trawlers that sail regularly to Hong Kong loaded with morphine base for Hong Kong's heroin laboratories. Moreover, Thailand itself produces an estimated 150-200 tons of illicit opium every year, equivalent to roughly 15% of the world's total illicit supply. Given the importance of Thailand's role in Southeast Asia's drug traffic, it is not too much to say that the success or failure of our government's campaign against the international drug traffic hinges to a large extent on Thailand.

Secretary of State Rogers and Ambassador Unger have stated publicly that the Thai government is giving us its "full cooperation" and is doing everything possible to stem the flow of illicit narcotics across its borders. Despite these claims of progress, the opium caravans continue to cross Thailand's northern frontier unimpeded and the trawlers are still sailing for Hong Kong regularly. Those sympathetic to the Thai government have offered a number of plausible explanations for this failure: the rugged mountains which form the country's northern frontier are almost impossible to patrol; the Thai government has no control over the dozens of armed bands which bring opium across its northern frontier; and the Thai trawlers are extremely elusive and their movements are carefully concealed. However, these explanations are not borne out by the facts of the situation.

In reality, the Thai government has a great deal of control over the situation on its northern border. According to the CIA, some 80% to 90% of all the Burmese opium which crosses into northern Thailand is carried by caravans belonging to Nationalist Chinese irregular units known as the III Army, the V Army, and the 1st Independent Unit. Through an elaborate network of radio

posts and purchasing agents scattered across northeastern Burma, these Nationalist Chinese irregulars buy up most of the available opium every year during the harvest season. Once the opium is collected from the hill tribe farmers, Nationalist Chinese army caravans comprising up to 600 mules and 300 armed men set out from their headquarters in northern Thailand. These caravans move from village to village through the rugged ridges and mountains of northern Burma and often return with up to 20 tons of raw opium. Once the opium is brought into Thailand it is processed, frequently at the Nationalist Chinese military bases, into heroin, morphine and smoking opium.

Even though they are heavily involved in the narcotics traffic, these Nationalist Chinese irregular units are closely allied with the Thai government. They patrol Thailand's northern border with admirable efficiency and collect an "import duty" of about \$5.00 on every kilo of raw opium entering Thailand. In addition, some 1,400 of these irregular troops are providing an invaluable service to the Thai government by battling anti-government rebels in northern Thailand and are used to prevent rebellions in other troubled areas.

The remaining 10% of Burma's opium exports are controlled by Burmese rebels who enjoy the covert support of the Thai government. The Thai government has granted all of these rebel bands closely guarded sanctuaries near its northern border. The Huel Krai camp area in Chinagrai province has long been a major sanctuary area for Burmese rebels engaged in the opium traffic east of the Salween River. The area surrounding the Nationalist Chinese III Army headquarters in Chiangmai Province is the most important sanctuary for Burmese armed bands involved in the opium traffic. Gen. Mo Heng's Shan United Revolutionary Army, Brig. Gen. Jimmy Yang's Kokang Revolutionary Force, Gen. Zau Seng's Kachin Independence Army, Gen. Jao Nhu's Shan State Army and Gen. Kyansone's Pa-O rebels are among those crowded together on a few mountain tops in the Chiangmai Province sanctuary area. The entrances to all of these camps are well guarded by Thai police. But so far there has been no serious effort to slow down the flow of opium crossing the border from Burma.

Similarly, the movement of the Thai trawlers between Bangkok and Hong Kong is one of the most meticulously monitored aspects of the entire international drug traffic. Through their own intelligence nets in Thailand, the US Bureau of Narcotics' agents are sometimes able to learn the precise details about the size of the drug shipments, the name of the trawlers, and their probable departure dates. For example, when I was in Bangkok in September 1971, US agents told me that a trawler had just loaded 1,500 kilos of raw opium and 260 kilos of morphine base for shipment to Hong Kong. However, because of systematic Thai police corruption it was impossible to stop the shipment. As these trawlers move into international seelanes, round the southern tip of Vietnam, and head north through the South China Sea to Hong Kong, they are monitored by US Navy patrol aircraft. Several times during their voyage, each of these trawlers is photographed and carefully studied by US Naval intelligence officials. Yet even with this detailed intelligence the Thai police have been unable to disrupt the trawler traffic in any significant fashion.

US narcotics agents have reported that systematic corruption among the Thai police makes serious enforcement work extremely difficult. According to US agents, almost every major narcotics trafficker has a high level "advisor" on the Thai police force. Before every major shipment of narcotics is moved the syndicates consult the police to make sure there will be no unexpected interference. US agents have learned through bitter ex-

perience that any intelligence they gather on the traffic will find its way to the syndicates if they share their information with their Thai counterparts.

In light of these enormous problems, Sec. of State Rogers' assertion that the Thai authorities are giving us "full cooperation" with our anti-narcotics effort hardly seems justified. In fact, responsible US officials in Washington, D.C. have admitted to me privately in recent weeks that the Thais are still very far from taking serious steps to end the narcotics traffic. These officials report that the sensitive state of Thai-American relations, particularly over the negotiations for the opening of new air bases for the Vietnam War, make it impossible for anti-narcotics work to be anything more important than "one of our top five or six priorities" in Thailand.

Once again we are faced with a situation where our diplomats have chosen to sacrifice anti-narcotics work to political and military objectives. And once again we are faced with a clearcut choice between our fruitless quest for military victory in Indochina and eradicating the international drug traffic. There are enough narcotics in Southeast Asia to fuel our heroin plague for generations to come. Until we make anti-narcotics work our No. 1 political priority in Southeast Asia we will have to learn to live with our heroin problem.

NELSON G. GROSS

Mr. Wolff. Our next witness is the honorable Nelson G. Gross. We are pleased that Mr. Gross who serves as Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State and coordinator for international narcotics matters was able, on very short notice, to rearrange his schedule to appear here today. We look forward to hearing your comments.

STATEMENT BY NELSON GROSS, SENIOR ADVISOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND COORDINATOR FOR INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS MATTERS BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY REGARDING INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS TRAFFIC, JUNE 9, 1972

I welcome the opportunity of appearing today and setting the record straight on the progress and the integrity of the United States Government's anti-narcotics program in Southeast Asia. I shall address my statement essentially to the recent allegations regarding that program made by Mr. Alfred W. McCoy, a student at Yale, and then answer your questions.

With all due respect to Mr. McCoy's obvious interest in seeing the scourge of drug abuse brought to an end, our official information reveals that much of what he has reported is out of date and thus must be labelled misleading and inaccurate. The problem of drug abuse is an emotionally-charged issue. While it may well make good copy in the eyes of a book publisher to charge—as Mr. McCoy has done in sensational fashion—that the Government of the United States "is aiding and abetting the influx of heroin into our nation," nothing could be further from the truth. Equally sensational and, as far as we can ascertain, unsubstantiated, is the charge by Mr. McCoy that high government officials in Thailand, Laos and South Viet Nam "are actively engaged in the heroin traffic and are protecting the region's powerful narcotics syndicates."

Mr. McCoy somehow missed the name of the kingpin of the heroin traffic in Southeast Asia. The man is LO Hsing Han of Burma. His control of the area opium runs the gamut from opium poppy fields, along the smuggling routes, to his heroin refineries.

LO has a virtual monopoly on heroin refining in the section. Many of the refineries driven out of Laos and Thailand have come under LO's control in Burma.

We have discussed the urgent problem posed by LO's operation with the Burmese. But LO operates within insurgent-controlled territory and is beyond the control of the Burmese Government.

I now turn to the three major allegations made by Mr. McCoy in his June 2 statement before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, U.S. Senate.

1. "Much of the heroin entering the United States now originates in Southeast Asia."

Southeast Asia is not a major source of heroin on our market. While the "Golden Triangle" area of Burma, Laos, and Thailand yields an estimated two-thirds of the world's illicit opium supply, most of that output is consumed in traditional Asian markets. The overwhelming majority of the heroin coming to the United States originates in the Middle East and is processed in European labs before being smuggled into our country. We estimate that probably only five percent, certainly no more than ten percent, of the heroin presently flowing to the United States originates in Southeast Asia. Whatever the figure, we are obviously concerned. We are further concerned about the prospect of a swing in international traffickers' interest from the Middle East to Southeast Asia, particularly as the Turkish Government's ban on opium poppy cultivation results in diminished supplies.

2. "The governments of South Viet-Nam, Laos, and Thailand are actively engaged in the heroin traffic."

It so happens that Mr. McCoy selected three of the countries with which we are working very closely. Perhaps progress has not been as rapid as one would like, but drugs have been tolerated over many generations in these countries, and the solution is far from an overnight solution. Trafficking in drugs in Thailand was legal until 1958, and not until last November did the Lao Government move to prohibit drug trafficking. At the moment in Laos, we have two BNDD agents with an additional one expected to arrive, four permanent Customs agents and five additional ones on TDY, two Public Safety Officers with three more scheduled to arrive in the near future, and one AID official.

In Thailand, we have ten BNDD agents, two Customs agents, and one Foreign Service Officer.

And in Viet-Nam, there are ten Public Safety Officers, two Customs agents, and one BNDD agent.

I should like to provide additional comments on each of the three countries:

South Viet-Nam—The U.S. troop withdrawal and suppression efforts have knocked the bottom out of the heroin market in Viet-Nam, causing prices to plummet from \$8,000 per kilo last year to \$3,000 or less at present. All indications are that heroin sellers have had little success in building an alternative market among the Vietnamese to replace their lost G.I. consumers. In such a situation, it is logical that suppliers will be tempted to seek channels to other markets, including the United States. For this reason, our authorities in Viet-Nam have been watching intently for signs of such a development. Our most recent intelligence indicates that there is no organized apparatus smuggling heroin from Viet-Nam to the U.S. Without exception, those implicated in such activities have been low level, individual entrepreneurs who lack an organized distribution system. With the disappearance of the G.I. market, many traffickers in the region appear to be abandoning heroin to return to the traditional opium trade.

The Government of Viet-Nam with the co-operation of the U.S. Mission has made considerable progress in reducing narcotics traffic and drug abuse. The U.S. Mission has been intensely aware of the heroin traffic in Viet-Nam since the drug first appeared in late 1969 and first became available to U.S. servicemen

during the first half of 1970. In March 1970 the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (BNDD) initiated a survey to define the role of Asia in the world's narcotics traffic which laid the groundwork for addressing the basic problems in Southeast Asia of production, distribution, suppression, and rehabilitation. As evidence of the Mission's concern over increasing drug abuse, MACV carried out a nationwide drug survey in July 1970 which indicated that heroin was being introduced in Viet-Nam in considerable quantity. As a result, a MACV drug abuse task force was formed in August 1970, and a comprehensive drug suppression program was developed and carried into effect. Under the program Combined Anti-narcotics Enforcement Committees were established in each military region. A joint American and Vietnamese Narcotics Investigation Detachment was to gather drug intelligence and provide a coordinated investigative capability to eradicate large supply sources of narcotics. Another important feature was the establishment of a joint U.S. Service Customs Group.

On the civil side, the Mission developed a narcotics control action plan which calls for the involvement of all elements concerned with the suppression of drug abuse and trafficking.

As soon as the narcotics problem began to assume serious proportions, high level coordination and planning efforts began between the Mission and the Government of Viet-Nam. Prime Minister Khlem initiated a program to reduce the use of and traffic in drugs throughout the country. Ambassador Bunker and General Abrams met with President Thieu to discuss specific measures, and as a result President Thieu designated a team of experienced intelligence and police officials to develop and carry out an effective action program. He also set up interministerial drug suppression committees at the national and provincial levels, replaced key personnel in the police and other areas affecting narcotics activities, and dictated a nationwide customs crackdown to seal off all airports and harbors through South Viet-Nam. A tax-free reward system was established and a drug education campaign was begun. Prime Minister Khlem was given direct supervision of the national campaign and was instructed to use the coordinating machinery of the pacification program to carry it out.

As a result of these combined U.S. Mission/Vietnamese Government efforts, the number of arrests on narcotics charges went from 2,911 in 1969 to 6,464 in 1971. Heroin seizures throughout Viet-Nam rose from 12 pounds in 1969 to 271 pounds in 1971 and opium seizures increased from 11 pounds in 1969 to 1,071 pounds in 1971. Most important, the big time traffickers no longer find it profitable or safe to operate in the country. Even now, under existing conditions of martial law and the requirements of national defense against the North Vietnamese invasion, joint U.S./South Vietnamese narcotics operations continue.

The arrest last year of two pro-Thieu members of the Lower House is an indication the Vietnamese Government is actively engaged against the heroin traffic. One was dismissed and the other was sentenced to seven years.

Laos—The Narcotics Control Law implemented last November makes any commercial transaction involving opium or its derivatives illegal and for the first time gives the Lao Government a legal basis for interdicting illicit traffic. Strict controls have also been placed on the importation and distribution of acetic anhydride, a chemical required in the heroin refining process. Last November 7, 730 gallons of acetic anhydride—enough to make three tons of heroin—were seized. Also several seizures of opium and heroin have been made. The most recent seizures were 28 kilos of opium on May 26 and 30 kilos of opium and 9 kilos of #4 heroin on June 7. Inspection procedures on domestic and in-

ternational air routes have been tightened up.

In the absence of laws forbidding narcotics trafficking, Lao law enforcement agencies had not been staffed, trained or equipped to interdict the traffic. Therefore, since passage of the law, the Government has concentrated on establishing an equivalent of the BNDD to lead and coordinate narcotics control. It is headed by a military officer who reports directly to the Prime Minister and has jurisdiction over civilian and military enforcement efforts. The Lao national police and customs agency have also established special narcotics control units.

The U.S. Mission was most effective in encouraging the passage of the Lao law. Our narcotics enforcement advisers from the BNDD, Customs, and USAID's Public Safety Division are hard at work advising and training their Lao counterparts in Vientiane and other key points, including Ban Houei Sai in the Golden Triangle. Specialized equipment will be provided to the new narcotics agencies as their personnel are trained to use it.

The production of opium in Laos, which may have been as high as 100 tons a year, has been sharply curtailed, and our intelligence indicates that the flow of opium and heroin through the country have also decreased considerably.

In Mr. McCoy's statement of June 2, he indicated that most of the opium traffic in northeast Laos is controlled by Vang Pao. This statement ignores the fact that most of northeast Laos is controlled by the North Vietnamese. Opium production in those areas of northeast Laos still under Lao Government control could not exceed more than a few tons a year, and these are consumed by the hill tribesmen. As for Vang Pao, he has taken a strong public position against opium cultivation and trafficking by the Meo. He considers opium addiction a serious problem among his people and wishes to prevent further addiction and to rehabilitate those already addicted.

As for Ouan Rathikoun, it may be that he was involved in the opium traffic before it was illegal, but we are not aware of anything more than unsubstantiated allegations concerning his past or present complicity. With regard to his "control" of the "largest heroin laboratory in Laos," once again, all we have is allegation. Mr. McCoy was apparently referring to a refinery at Ban Houei Tap which was abandoned last summer. Equipment and chemicals were discovered in the jungle and seized by a team of Lao narcotics agents. Mr. McCoy quoted a CIA source in stating that this refinery had a capacity of 3,000 kilos of heroin per year. Members of our Mission have examined the site and have estimated that it could have produced less than 1,000 kilos assuming a 24-hour-a-day operation.

With regard to Mr. McCoy's allegation concerning Air America, I should like to quote the following statement released in Washington on June 2 by the Managing Director of Air America:

"Mr. Alfred W. McCoy today told the Senate Foreign Operations Committee: 'In Northern Laos, Air America aircraft and helicopters chartered by the U.S. CIA and USAID have been transporting opium harvested by the agency's tribal mercenaries on a regular basis.'

"This statement is utterly and absolutely false. AA and USAID have cooperated in a security program which effectively prevents the carriage of drugs on any of the airline's equipment. This program is constantly being reviewed to make sure that drug smugglers cannot misuse the company's facilities. There is an intensive program of inspection of both passengers and cargo carried out in close collaboration with local and U.S. authorities. At up-country sites, inspectors inspect all baggage of passengers and crew members departing from their stations. All cargo placed aboard up-country sites is inspected by members of the inspection service. All

baggage of persons departing Vientiane on AA, CASI and Lao air development are inspected. Where boarding passengers refuse to submit to inspection or are found to have contraband in their possession, they are denied the right to board the aircraft and their names are turned over to local Lao authorities. Through these and related measures, attempts by individuals to carry opium on company airplanes have been detected and prevented. These small time smugglers and users are the greatest threat and the security inspection service has constituted an effective deterrent.

"Through its many years in the Far East, AA and its employees have been well aware of the dangers of drug use and the drug traffic. It has been the policy of the company and its many local employees to do everything in their power to oppose any traffic in drugs. To this end there has been close cooperation between the company and U.S. and local authorities concerned with the drug problem.

"If Mr. McCoy or any other individual can bring any proof that any Air America employee has been connected in any manner with the drug traffic appropriate disciplinary action will be taken and the matter referred to the proper authorities."

Thailand—For some years the Thai Government has been engaged in a major effort to settle the Meo hill peoples and to bring them under control. Unfortunately, these RTG efforts have been a major source of Meo resentment toward the Thai and have helped make the Meo receptive to Communist antigovernment propaganda and insurgency. In addition to military efforts to put down the Communist rebellion, the Thai are trying to improve hill tribe welfare. Particularly noteworthy is the interest of the King of Thailand in the welfare of the hill peoples: he is assisting in the development of other cash crops as alternatives to the opium poppy.

Enforcement efforts by the Thai Government are hindered by the impossibility of controlling adequately a long and mountainous border and the complexities of controlling passenger and commercial traffic inside Thailand. In its efforts to control narcotics trafficking, the RTG has initiated a resettlement program for the Chinese Irregular Forces (CIF) under which the CIFs would turn over all their opium stocks to the RTG and cease their involvement with narcotics in return to land upon which to settle. Twenty-six tons of CIF opium were burned by the RTG in March 1972.

During the past year, the Thai have increased their efforts in the drug field with U.S. and UN assistance. A US/Thai Memorandum of Understanding was signed in September 1971 providing for increased Thai enforcement capability through U.S. assistance to Thai police and customs officials. The Thai also signed an agreement with the UN in December 1971 establishing a program to deal with the long-range aspects of the drug abuse problem through crop substitution and addict rehabilitation.

After the US/Thai Memorandum of Understanding was signed, a planning group was forced and has been negotiating specific programs for implementation of the agreement. BNDD has assigned agents in Bangkok and Chiang Mai while U.S. Customs Service personnel are serving in Bangkok. Thai police have recently moved to crack down on local traffickers and several major Thai and American traffickers have been arrested. A promising start has been made and programs begun which have the potential to bring the drug problem under increasing control.

Based on all intelligence information available, the leaders of the Thai Government are not engaged in the opium or heroin traffic, nor are they extending protection to traffickers. There have been reports of corruption among some working level narcotics officials. Police General Prasert, head of the Thai Na-

H 6276

tional Police and a member of the ruling National Executive Council, has stated publicly that he would punish any corrupt official.

3. "The U.S. Government is aware of this traffic, but has not moved to stop it and has consciously concealed evidence of the involvement of our Southeast Asian Allies." Clearly, the U.S. Government is aware of narcotics trafficking in Southeast Asia, but to say we have done nothing to counter it is patently inaccurate. Since the President's message to Congress on June 17, 1971, we have moved urgently to commit Customs, BNDD, CIA, AID, and State Department personnel and resources to the fight against international drug trafficking. Moreover, far from concealing involvement of persons involved in pushing drugs, our Government has been sharing intelligence with friendly governments in a concentrated effort to uncover the various persons and systems which are operating in the area.

We feel that the drug problem is a major facet in our bilateral relations with many countries throughout the world. We have made that point clear to those countries and we are asking them to join with us in the fight. The Governments of Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam have already joined us in the fight and, while we have a long way to go, we feel that during the past year some real progress has been achieved.

WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR, JR.

Mr. WOLFF. We are pleased to welcome the Honorable Whitney North Seymour, Jr. as our next witness. Mr. Seymour has served for the past three years with great distinction as the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York. He has testified on this critical subject before other congressional panels and I feel sure that his remarks will be most relevant and useful to us.

TESTIMONY BY WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR, JR.,
U.S. ATTORNEY, SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

So long as there is any cultivation of the opium poppy anywhere in the world, and so long as the huge profits continue, heroin traffickers will seek out the opium wherever it is grown and bring it into the U.S. market. That does not mean that we should not pursue every available means of control of opium and heroin production. It simply means that we must not be so naive as to assume that this will completely eliminate the narcotics problem.

There is no immediate prospect that the cultivation of the opium poppy will ever be eliminated, for it is needed in large quantities for legitimate medicinal purposes. Indeed, actual elimination of the poppy would do great harm in terms of world health because the supply of morphine as a pain reliever for medical purposes entirely depends upon it as a source of raw material. The only basis on which opium cultivation might be halted is through the development of an inexpensive substitute painkiller for opiates which could be made available in all parts of the world.

The major reporting world producers of legal opium have been India, Turkey, and Russia, in that order. Turkey and Russia produce about equal amounts of opium; India produces about three times the combined total of the other two. Countries producing legal opium in smaller quantities include Bulgaria, Japan, Pakistan and Yugoslavia. Production of legal opium has been increasing in recent years, but even so it is insufficient to meet all of the legitimate needs, and most countries have had to draw on existing stocks. The countries importing legal opium for medicinal purposes have obtained 95 percent of their supplies from India and Turkey.

According to reports filed by participating countries with the International Narcotics Control Board, the total legal manufacture

of morphine in 1970 was more than 176,000 kilograms. The estimated illegal, traffic of pure heroin in the United States is about 10,000 kilograms of pure heroin each year. Since one kilo of pure heroin is roughly equivalent to one kilo of morphine in terms of the opium consumed, it is apparent that only about five percent of the free world's opium supply is being diverted into the U.S. black market. Most businessmen would agree that this is quite a small percentage of loss in terms of ordinary pilferage.

One can be thankful that the controls over legal supplies of opium have been maintained as well as they have. The United States produced 20,000 kilograms of morphine in 1970, twice the amount of the illegal heroin in black market channels, and very little if any of this supply is believed to have been diverted into illegal markets. There is, of course, no diversion of heroin from legitimate channels in this country since there is no legal production or use of the drug in that form.

Other countries which consume a substantial amount of legal opium for medicinal purposes are Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, India, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Rumania, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Russia, England and Yugoslavia. With this much legitimate need, elimination of the opium poppy does not appear to be a realistic goal, at least not until a substitute pain-killer has been developed. The best that can be hoped for is the exercise of adequate controls over production, distribution and demand.

Although the United States is the prize market for illegal heroin because of the almost unlimited dollars that U.S. addicts have available to spend, it is not the only place where illegal narcotics traffic is a problem. Nearly all of the countries in Asia have an illicit traffic in opium. There has also been an increase in illegal opium in European countries. The main area of illicit traffic in heroin and morphine, in addition to the United States, are France, Iran, Southeast Asia and the Far East.

Law enforcement efforts, upon which we have relied primarily to control heroin traffic, must continue to play an important role. The key requirement is to readjust our enforcement thinking to meet the problems which have developed over the course of our experience with the narcotics black market. The heart of these problems is the difficulty of controlling the physical substance of heroin so that it cannot be grown, smuggled and distributed in the black market network without detection. Our present law enforcement machinery is little better than trying to hunt an elephant with a cork gun. If law enforcement is to have any major impact in curbing narcotics traffic, these minimal steps must be taken:

1. The machinery for international control of heroin growth and manufacture must be strengthened. International bodies charged with the responsibility of opium control must be adequately funded and staffed. Their mission should extend to controls over all stages of opium growth, shipment, cultivation, conversion and stockpiling.

2. Effective limitations on illegal opium production and heroin smuggling can be greatly advanced by technological research, if that research can produce practical tracer elements which can be used in fertilizers or sprayed on crops to aid in spotting concealed shipments of heroin. Research might also produce remote sensor devices which can themselves locate concealed shipments of the drug. There are indications that this type of technology could be developed with the adequate commitment of funds. These possibilities should be fully canvassed, for they strike at the very heart of the problem of controlling the illegal movement of heroin.

Law enforcement alone can never fully control the illegal black market in drugs without a major program for preventing addi-

tional addiction and reducing the demand of present addicts. With a significant reduction in the market for heroin, however, the resources of law enforcement could indeed play a much more meaningful role.

The single most important step that can be taken to stop the spread of narcotics addiction and to reverse the trend of continuing expansion of drug abuse is preventive education. It is absolutely essential to persuade the huge body of potential addicts that addiction is dangerous and undesirable. This cannot be done once drug use begins. It must be done beforehand. The potential addict must be satisfied that the only choice, when confronted with an opportunity to use drugs, is to refuse.

DR. RODOLPHE COIGNEY

Mr. WOLFF. Dr. Rodolphe Coigny of the World Health Organization and formerly director of the International Refugee Organization has devoted his entire life to the study of problems in international health.

Dr. Coigny who currently serves as director of the World Health Organization's liaison office with the United Nations received his M.D. from the University of Paris and a Master's Degree in public health from Columbia University. He has served in the world health organization since 1952.

We are grateful to him for taking the time to enlighten us as to the work of the World Health Organization in the matter of drug abuse control.

TESTIMONY BY DR. RODOLPHE COIGNEY

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I am honoured at the invitation extended to me to speak about the role my organization—the World Health Organization—is playing in the fight against the growing menace of drug-dependence around the world.

I used the phrase "drug dependence" deliberately to make the point that it is the area of drug dependence with which we are vitally concerned. The control of international narcotics traffic is not within our competence, although it is an essential part of one and the same problem that brings us all here today.

There is little doubt that drug misuse and abuse, which ultimately leads to drug dependence, has been on the upswing over recent years. This is so not only for narcotics, as opium, heroin, but also—and perhaps I should say particularly so—for the new, psychotropic drugs:

- The amphetamines, or the stimulants;
- The barbiturates, or the sedatives; and
- The hallucinogens, as LSD.

The Global anxiety has been expressed through international agencies calling for action—action on all fronts, against illicit traffic, against illicit supply and against illicit demand of drugs.

The U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs, the U.N.'s Economic and Social Council, the U.N. General Assembly itself, all have spoken strongly to the issue—as has the governing authority of my own organization, the World Health Assembly.

As you know, a U.N. Fund for Drug Abuse Control has been created, financed out of voluntary contributions, to support programmes of such agencies as the World Health Organization, the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization, and others. To this fund, the United States has already pledged a contribution of \$2,000,000.

What then is WHO's role? As mentioned, the suppression of illicit drug traffic and supply is beyond its scope. But, even here, WHO has the responsibility of identifying dependence-producing substances, the availability of which should be controlled; and of defining the degree of control recommended in relationship to the therapeutic usefulness of the drug.

This suggests very strongly that the fight against drugs must be based on a multi-disciplinary strategy. The man from Interpol