

JUL 31 1972
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STATOTHR

Opinion

U.S. aid for the drug traffickers?

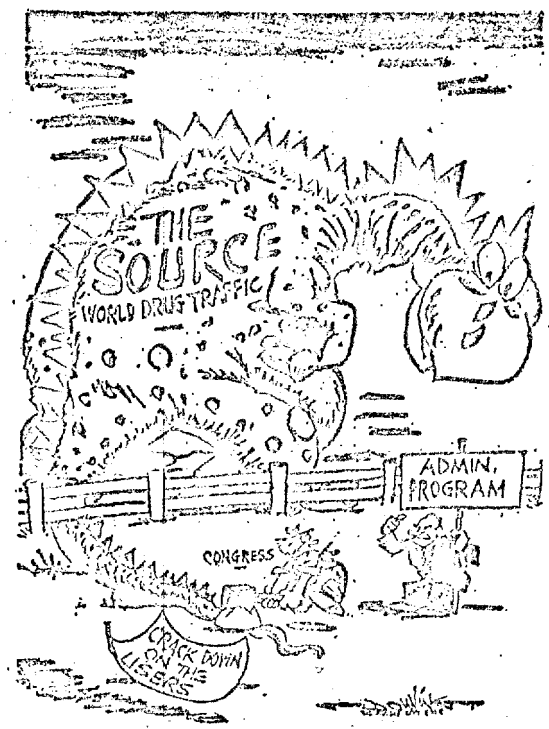
AS PART OF the effort to combat drug abuse—which, according to President Nixon last summer, has “assumed the dimensions of a national emergency”—the administration is committed to an all-out attack on the international narcotics trade. This involves not just the breaking up of the syndicates that process and import the heroin to the United States, but persuading other governments, particularly in Southeast Asia where most of the world’s heroin now originates, to come down hard on the growers and marketeers. But is the Nixon administration trying as hard as it could to cut off this profitable trade at its source?

Disturbing evidence is accumulating that it may not be. There is *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*, to be published this fall but excerpted in the July issue of *Harper's* by a young Yale graduate student specializing in Southeast Asian history and politics. This documents the involvement of high government and military officials in Laos and Thailand in the narcotics trade; it even charges complicity by the Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA has challenged all the author’s allegations, asserting that most of them are without foundation.

‘Lever’ is hard to use

But there is also the study made last winter by top-level officials of the CIA, the State Department and the Pentagon, and just now disclosed. This report concludes that there is no prospect of cutting off the smuggling of narcotics from Southeast Asia because of “the corruption, collusion and indifference at some places in some governments, particularly Thailand and South Vietnam.” This conclusion, too, is being discounted by administration officials, who argue that it is out of date and that “substantial progress” has been made in the past four months.

Yet it would be naive to assume that a situation that was so bad could have improved as significantly and as swiftly as all that. Certainly



Dowling In The Kansas City Star

“The place to start is the other end.”

of the opium poppy. In Turkey’s case the United States is to help in compensating the thousands of peasant farmers for whom poppy-growing has been an innocent livelihood for centuries and who now must switch to other cash crops. Whether the Turkish government or anyone else is compensating the many middlemen who have grown fat off the opium trade is not discussed publicly.

But the United States has another way of persuading reluctant governments to join the anti-drug campaign. Congress tacked on a provision to last year’s foreign aid bill permitting the President to suspend aid to any country that doesn’t take action against the drug traffic. The only problem is that suspending aid to the governments of Southeast Asia would virtually end the Vietnam war overnight.

It’s a dilemma, to be sure. But it’s worth recalling that last winter, when President Nixon was vehemently reiterating this country’s commitment to keeping President Thieu in power in Saigon, even though this was the main obstacle to serious negotiations in Paris, the same regime was one of the major factors being blamed by U.S. officials for the continuation of our own “national emergency” in drugs. And that’s why we ask: Is the administration trying as hard as it could in the war on drugs, or must that effort still rank way below a certain view of a solution for

E - 111,336

JUL 31 1972

Cutting Asian Drug Traffic

Despite repeated statements by officials of the Nixon administration that Southeast Asian governments are cooperating in suppressing the illicit drug traffic, evidence to the contrary continues to pile up.

A report dated Feb. 12, 1972, compiled by the Defense and State Departments and the CIA has been "made available" to the New York Times. It says there is no realistic prospect of stopping the smuggling of narcotics by air and sea in Southeast Asia.

"This is so," the report says, "because the governments in the region are unable and, in some cases, unwilling to do those things that would have to be done by them if a truly effective effort were to be made."

"Government intelligence sources" are quoted as saying the conclusions are still valid.

The report supports the findings of Rep. Robert H. Steele of Connecticut, who made a tour of the drug-supplying countries of Southeast Asia.

It is evident from his findings and several other sources that drug traffickers can and do easily corrupt government agents in Southeast Asia, purchase immunity, and even subvert government channels of transportation to get their drugs out of the countries involved and on their way to markets abroad, chiefly in the United States.

Steele and two other congressmen, Lester L. Wolff of New York and Morgan F. Murphy of Illinois, are sponsors of a bill that would cut off more than \$100 million in aid to Thailand unless

the Thais cooperated more in anti-drug activities.

Wolff testified at a recent congressional hearing that "we think the trade has got so much protection in high places in Thailand that the administration is afraid they'll tell us to take our air bases out if we put too much pressure on them."

Corruption in government is pervasive in Southeast Asia to a degree that even the most cynical American finds hard to appreciate.

Before the withdrawal of ground troops made itself felt in the South Vietnamese economy, the black market in Saigon could supply almost every American luxury item (by local definitions) small enough to be carried by one or two men — all stolen or procured by bribery from American sources and all involving some degree of corrupt protection.

The attack on the illicit drug traffic must be pushed with all our resources. There is no need to rehearse the reasons.

Our most potent resource in Southeast Asia is money. The bill sponsored by Steele and his colleagues (it has been incorporated into the Foreign Assistance act now pending) should be passed and enforced.

And there must also be occasional opportunities for unilateral action against which our Southeast Asian allies could hardly protest in public. If a United States Navy destroyer were to stop and search Thai trawlers (many of which apparently carry cargoes of heroin) and destroy on the spot those found with illicit cargoes, it would be at least more difficult for the drug merchants to get their goods out of their own country. And how could the Thai government protest such a laudable action?

Such action is recommended in the newly leaked report. The report is a International Narcotics Control. No that its contents have been made public, perhaps there will be two beneficiaries to the Cabinet Committee on results:

First, that the United States demonstrate a sincere toughness in dealing this subject with its allies in Southeast Asia.

And second, that the administration no longer try to mislead us with pretensions of cooperation and results.

Harper to Show CIA Proofs of New Book on Asian Drug Traffic

Marchetti Book on CIA Still Under Suit

Harper & Row has decided, after much consideration, to honor a request from the Central Intelligence Agency to see page proofs of Alfred W. McCoy's controversial September 13 book, "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia," and to consider "factual" corrections that the CIA may offer. The publisher, however, has made no advance commitment to accept any requested changes.

In his book, written with Cathleen B. Read, Mr. McCoy, a 26-year-old student in Yale's Ph.D. program in history, alleges that French, Vietnamese and U.S. personnel have used the traffic in opium and heroin in Southeast Asia for their own ends, and that the CIA and other U.S. agencies have either accepted or have responded inadequately to the situation. Mr. McCoy told Congressional committees early in June (including the foreign operations subcommittee, headed by Sen. William Proxmire, D., Wis., of the Senate Appropriations Committee), that he had had more than 250 interviews about the drug traffic, including talks with CIA and South Vietnamese officials, and that President Thieu and Premier Kiem were involved; he gave details of many allegations which appear also in the book. B. Brooks Thomas, Harper vice-president and general counsel, tells *PW* he and the editors have worked closely with Mr. McCoy on the manuscript, have insisted on documentation of all material points, and have had outside experts read it. As a result, Harper & Row is convinced that the book is well-documented, scholarly and deserves to be published.

A chapter from the book, adapted, appears in the July *Harper's* magazine. The magazine has received a letter from the CIA's executive director, W. E. Colby, denying allegations involving the CIA. *Harper's* reportedly plans to publish the letter soon. Mr. Colby and an officer of Air America (a contract airline which does work for CIA in Southeast Asia) also wrote to the *Washington Star*, disputing allegations picked up by a *Star* columnist from Mr. McCoy's findings. In these protests, and in its approach to

Harper & Row, the CIA is said to be departing sharply from its usual policy of silence concerning criticism.

Harper & Row was approached early in June, when a representative called upon Cass Canfield, Sr., former chief executive, now a senior editor for the firm, and said the agency understood the McCoy manuscript contained serious allegations about CIA and other agencies—allegations that he said might be libelous to individuals or severely damaging to the national interest. The representative spoke also to M. S. Wyeth, Jr., executive editor of the trade department. The Harper officials said the manuscript was not yet ready to be read; but that the request would be considered.

In weighing their decision, Harper & Row officials and editors talked among themselves and with respected publishing colleagues, including experts in the field of the freedom to read. On June 30, Mr. Thomas wrote to the CIA asking the agency to state its request, with reasons for it, in writing. The reply, dated July 5, came from Lawrence R. Houston, general counsel of the CIA. He wrote that the CIA was in no way questioning Harper & Row's right to publish the book, but said, "We believe we could demonstrate to you that a considerable number of Mr. McCoy's claims" about the CIA were "totally false" or "distorted" or "based on unconvincing evidence."

Harper & Row then decided to let the CIA see the book—subject to the author's approval, without which, Harper & Row president Winthrop Knowlton told *PW*, the CIA's request would not be accepted. The author finally accepted the decision, to let the CIA look at page proofs only, and to give a quick reply, with Harper & Row reserving all its options and reaffirming its right to publish.

"As head of the house of Harper & Row," Mr. Knowlton told *PW*, "I am sensitive, like all my colleagues in publishing, to the problem of censorship, and if I felt this request involved censorship we would not be agreeing to it. In view of the gravity of the allegations, we simply think this is the most responsible

way we can publish this book."

Ironically, in view of CIA efforts to refute the charges by Mr. McCoy and others, personnel of CIA, State and the Department of Defense completed in February a report to the Cabinet Committee on Narcotics Control which buttressed many of the charges, according to Seymour Hersh in a front page *New York Times* story, July 24. Mr. Hersh reviewed the Harper-CIA discussions in the *Times* of July 22.

The CIA's procedure with respect to Mr. McCoy's book is in sharp contrast to government action on an as-yet-unwritten book, a nonfiction work about the CIA, which Victor L. Marchetti is under contract to prepare for Knopf. In that case, the Justice Department obtained in April a restraining order to prevent Mr. Marchetti from publishing the proposed book, on the ground that it would be likely to divulge currently classified information in violation of a secrecy agreement that Mr. Marchetti had made as a CIA employee. Mr. Marchetti worked for the CIA for 14 years and resigned in 1969. He then wrote a novel, "The Rope Dancer" (*Grosset*), based on his observations.

Judge Albert V. Bryan, Jr., U. S. District Court, Alexandria, Va., in issuing the restraining order, ruled that Mr. Marchetti's agreement with the CIA "takes the case out of the scope of the First Amendment." The American Civil Liberties Union, representing Mr. Marchetti, denies this and argues that the author cannot in fact sign away his First Amendment rights. The Association of American Publishers and the Authors League have filed *amicus curiae* briefs supporting Mr. Marchetti in further court proceedings. (See *PW*, April 24, June 5, June 12.)

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

STATOTHR

Thai Opium Bonfire Mostly Fodder

By Jack Anderson

With enormous fanfare last March, the Thai government announced it had burned 26 tons of opium. The pyre was hailed in Washington and Bangkok as evidence that Thailand at last was getting serious about cutting off the flow of heroin to the U.S.

"This quantity of opium if refined into heroin," crowed the State Department to Congress, "could have supplied one-half the U.S. market for one year." The value of the opium fed to the bonfire was estimated in the hundreds of millions.

Now, the CIA and other federal agencies have quietly informed Washington that something besides opium went up in that bonfire. The real story is that Thailand and, indirectly the U.S., were hornswoggled into believing that 26 tons of opium were burned, when, in fact, most of it was cheap fodder.

The tale of duplicity begins in November, 1971, when the drug-smuggling remnants of Nationalist Chinese troops along the Thai-Burma-Laos border heard the Thai govern-

ment wanted to buy up some opium for a public demonstration.

The aging Nationalist generals weren't born yesterday. Having lived by their wits for 20 years, they saw an opportunity to make a killing.

Instead of loading raw opium, they pushed 100 mules with fodder, other plant matter, chemicals, and about 20 per cent opium.

The caravans made their way down from the remote border areas of Kachin and Shan to the northern drug center of Chiang Mai where the burning was to take place.

As one mule after another was unburdened, the Thais paid off the Chinese—in part, probably, with U.S. aid funds. In all, the cagy dope peddlers passed off five tons of opium as 26 tons and pocketed more than \$2 million from the fantastic hoax.

Either through corruption or stupidity, the Thai officials failed to test the huge mounds of "opium" before they soaked it with gasoline and put it to the torch.

Only as the smell of burning molasses wafted through Chiang Mai did the Thais suspect they had been had. Then,

it was too late to do anything but cover up their goof.

And cover up they did. They hastily recruited gangs of workers to bury the "hundreds of millions of dollars" worth of fodder and opium ashes.

Lives Lost

Two years ago, we reported that thousands of American lives could have been saved in Vietnam if the Army had developed adequate head and body armor.

The brass hats began a furious search for an answer to our charges but found the position, in the words of one general, "too weak to merit a rebuttal."

Disturbed over our disclosures, Sen. Charles Mc. Mathias (R-Md.), requested a General Accounting Office investigation. The GAO report, not yet released to the public, backs us up completely.

Citing a "preliminary analysis" of 2,703 Army and 627 Marine casualties, the report declares that "the Army's nylon vest did not significantly reduce casualties or deaths" and that "the helmet, used by both the Army and Marine Corps, gives marginal reduction of death from fragments but ap-

parently no reduction in casualties."

Not only did the armor provide insufficient protection, we reported originally, but many lives had been lost because the GIs hadn't been trained to wear their battle gear.

Military authorities, in response, steadfastly insisted the helmet and vest were regularly worn. But the GAO, basing its conclusion on the Army's own research, said:

"If the Army vest was worn, about a 40 per cent decrease in wounds in protected areas could be anticipated against all fragmentation weapons and about a 55 per cent decrease against the M-26 hand grenade. . . .

"Under identical heat, humidity, wind and cloud-cover conditions, the Marine Corps use of vests averaged 73.7 per cent while Army usage averaged only 16.1 per cent.

"We believe the Army's low use of the vest in Vietnam relates to a lack of training and emphasis on using it during combat. In contrast, the Marine Corps does use the vest in training and puts emphasis on its use during combat."

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SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
EXAMINER

E - 204,749

EXAMINER & CHRONICLE

S - 640,004

JUL 30 1972

southeast asia

'The Politics of Heroin'

IT WAS the harvest land for raw opium, the infamous "golden triangle." In the corner embracing north-eastern Burma, northern Thailand and northern Laos about 1000 tons of raw opium was produced, about 70 per cent of the world's supply.

From there it eventually found its way to the American market, but that source of heroin, according to Administration officials, had been turned off.

"We think all the countries are cooperating with us and we are quite satisfied with that cooperation," said Secretary of State William P. Rogers to a Senate subcommittee last May.

On the Defensive

How much cooperation, however, was subject to dispute, with the Central Intelligence Agency and eventually the Administration on the defensive last week.

Part of the official worry originated with the soon-to-be-published book by Alfred W. McCoy, a 26-year-old Yale graduate student who spent 18 months investigating narcotics operations in Indochina.

In "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia," McCoy charged that the CIA knew of the narcotics trade but failed to take action and that both CIA and State Department officials had provided political and military support for America's Indochinese allies actively engaged in drug traffic, had covered up evidence of such involvement and had been

actively involved themselves in the trade.

The CIA launched a big effort to refute the charges, calling them unwarranted, unproven and fallacious, and managed to persuade the publishers of the expose, Harper & Row, to permit the CIA to review the manuscript prior to publication.

The book has been based on more than 250 interviewers, some of them, McCoy said, with past and present officials of the CIA.

He said that top-level South Vietnamese officials,

The CIA was accused of drug trafficking

including President Nguyen Van Thieu and Premier Tran Van Khiem, were involved.

The CIA began an unusual public defense by sending two letters for publication to the Washington Post, which had printed some of McCoy's allegations.

The Approach

The CIA began its approach to Harper & Row in learning of McCoy's appearance before a Senate subcommittee.

Harper & Row decided that although "we don't have any doubts about the book at all . . . as one of the oldest publishing houses in

America, Harper & Row has an obligation to itself and what it stands for."

A Harper & Row spokesman added that if McCoy did not agree to the CIA review, it would not publish the book.

Cabinet Report

Then came a Cabinet level report, released last Sunday. Contrary to administration assurances of success in halting drug traffic, it said, there was "no prospect" of slowing the traffic "under any conditions that can realistically be projected."

The report was prepared by officials of the CIA, State Department and Defense Department and noted that "the most basic problem and that one that unfortunately appears least likely of any early solution, is the corruption, collusion and indifference at some places in some governments, particularly Thailand and South Vietnam . . ."

The report also stated that "it should surely be possible to convey to the right Thai or Vietnamese officials the mood of the Congress and the Administration on the subject of drugs."

To which, Lester L. Wolff, a New York Democratic critic of government's handling of Southeast Asia drug traffic, said, "We think the trade has got so much protection in high places in Thailand that the Administration is afraid they'll tell us to take our air bases out if we put too much pressure on them."

30 JUL 1972

Drugs:**Pick Your Expert**

The Federal Government last week seemed to be at war with itself over just how effective President Nixon's war on narcotics has been.

• A report by a Cabinet-level committee dated Feb. 21, 1971, and revealed last week, said that "there is no prospect" of stemming the smuggling of narcotics from Southeast Asia. Prepared by officials of the Central Intelligence Agency and the State and Defense Departments, the report stated that "the corruption, collusion and indifference at some places in some governments, particularly Thailand and South Vietnam . . . precludes more effective suppression of traffic" in narcotics.

• A second report, compiled last month by the Strategic Intelligence Office of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, said that the amount of heroin being smuggled into the United States from Southeast Asia "is greater than previously realized. . . .

the traffic at present is relatively unorganized but has definite potential for expansion as a replacement for Turkish-French heroin." (In agreement with the Nixon Administration, Turkey, which was once thought to supply most of the illicit heroin, has agreed to end opium production—the basis for heroin—by the end of this year. And the French, stepping up their drive on illegal heroin processing, have closed down seven illegal laboratories this year, three just two weeks ago; in the last decade, only six labs were found and closed down.)

• But the conclusions of the two high-level reports were disputed by Egil M. Krogh Jr., President Nixon's special White House aide for narcotics matters. Mr. Krogh said, "There has been substantial progress" in reducing the influx of drugs from Southeast Asia; and another Administration aide said, "We estimate that probably 5 per cent and certainly no more than 10 per cent of the heroin presently flowing into the United States originates in Southeast Asia."

• But if there is a debate over the role of Southeast Asia in the drug traffic, there is little argument that the President's war on narcotics has begun to make some gains at home. A progress report was given to the President last week, and it showed that the number of drug arrests nearly

doubled in the fiscal year ended June 30 over the previous year—from 8,465 to 16,444 — and that the amount of drugs seized had climbed from 1,651 pounds to 3,996. While it was impossible to say that the work thus far has led to a decline in the number of addicts, a Presidential drug enforcement aide said that a reduction "may be seen sometime in the next two or three years."

• And on the city streets, the effect of those arrests and the seizure of such large quantities of narcotics is having its impact. The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs said last week that the supply of heroin on the East Coast has been sharply cut. As a result, wholesale prices in some cities have nearly doubled and the purity of the drug has been reduced by 40 per cent.

• To keep the pressure on, and to step it up, President Nixon himself asked Congress last week to allocate an additional \$135-million for the campaign against drugs, including \$2.5-million to set up a new office of national narcotics intelligence that would be headed by William C. Sullivan, who was forced out of his job as assistant to the director of the F.B.I. last October by the late J. Edgar Hoover. The new office would be the third Federal agency dealing with narcotics abuse.

TORRINGTON, CONN.

REGISTER

JUL 29 1972

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Editorials

Uncle Sam - drug pusher

Acting FBI Director Patrick Gray declared the other day that a shortage of heroin on the street market has developed as a result of the government's crackdown on the drug traffic, "the most intensive drive this nation has ever directed against narcotics racketeers." This might be encouraging news were it not for the fact that while the FBI is trying to crack down on the drug merchants another federal agency has been aiding and abetting them.

A detailed report linking the CIA to the enormously profitable traffic in heroin is presented in the July issue of Harper's magazine. It was written by Alfred W. McCoy, a PhD student in Southeast Asian history at Yale, not as a journalistic expose but as a chapter in a Harper & Row book scheduled for September publication under the title "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia."

It is a shocking indictment that McCoy presents in reciting how, as a result of direct and indirect American involvement, opium production in Southeast Asia is increasing and the export of high-grade heroin is flourishing. Most of the heroin used by American GIs in Vietnam has come from Laotian areas where the CIA is active, McCoy writes, and increasing amounts are being sent to the United States and Europe.

As part of the U. S. effort to bolster Southeast Asia against Communist inroads, the CIA has been working since 1959 with the Meo tribesmen of hilly northern Laos. In forging an effective guerrilla

army, the CIA built up the power of tribal commanders both militarily and economically. But by Laos tradition, economics is opium, starting with poppy farmers like the Meos and extending into the royal Laotian government.

One of the commanders of the CIA secret army, McCoy reports, is General Vang Pao, a major entrepreneur in the opium business since 1961. CIA operatives guided the building of airstrips to link his villages via Air America planes — which, naturally, soon were flying Meo opium to market. CIA and the U. S. Agency for International Development later helped finance a private airline for Vang Pao, who went on to open a heroin processing plant near CIA headquarters.

A year ago, President Nixon declared war on the international heroin traffic, and — under U. S. pressure — opium dens in Laos were shut by the hundreds. But, according to McCoy's report, neither U. S. nor Laotian officials are going after the drug traffickers. He notes that, according to a United Nations report, 70 per cent of the world's illicit opium has been coming from the Golden Triangle of Southeast Asia — northeast Burma, northern Thailand and northern Laos. — "capable of supplying the U. S. with unlimited quantities of heroin for generations."

McCoy's conclusion: "Unless something is done to change America's policies and priorities in Southeast Asia, the drug crisis will deepen and the heroin plague will continue to spread."

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JUL 1972

The Thai Effort

By NELSON GROSS

WASHINGTON—The huge bulk of illicit opium production occurs in Burma, where output probably reaches 400 to 500 tons per year. The kingpin of the heroin traffic in Southeast Asia is Lo Hsing Han of Burma, whose control runs the gamut from poppy fields to heroin labs which he operates in Burma itself. Heroin 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 control of the Government of Burma.

On the transit route it is as difficult for Thailand to intercept shipments of heroin crossing its borders as it is for U.S. officials here to prevent heroin from coming into our territory. This is not to say that a determined cooperative effort is not being made. In fact, the U.S. Government has ten American Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs officials and two American Customs agents stationed in Thailand working full time with Thai agencies.

Efforts have greatly accelerated during the last year. One program now being implemented is a mobile anti-narcotics strike team in Northern Thailand. This is a 25-man group of hand-picked personnel from the police, customs and border patrol. It is trained and supported by the Bureau of Narcotics, concentrating on key choke points along rail and road routes in that area. On June 10 the special operations unit seized 1,600 kilos of opium, two tanker trucks and several containers of chemicals for heroin processing. On July 23 Thai authorities seized 63 kilos of raw opium near Mae Sai, and on the following day the strike team raided a compound south of Mae Sai and seized 2,190 kilos of raw opium, 212 kilos of brand 999 morphine base, 353 kilos of prepared smoking opium and seven kilos of Number 4 heroin. The seizures for two days represent a heroin content of one-half ton.

In its efforts to control the situation, the Thai Government has also initiated a resettlement program for the old Kuomintang Chinese irregular forces by which the Kuomintang would turn over all their opium stocks to the Government and cease their involvement with narcotics in return for land upon which to permanently settle. Twenty-six tons of Kuomintang opium were burned by Thai officials on March 7, 1972.

Another facet of the problem is

smuggling by sea with the use of trawlers moving out from Bangkok to other transshipment points in the region, mainly Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia or the Philippines. This too is a problem for which there is no easy solution. Yet improved detection devices are being utilized which should be increasingly effective. Last Dec. 4 a Thai trawler was seized which contained 2,790 pounds of opium and 420 pounds of morphine (equivalent to 4,200 pounds of opium). And just last month, Hong Kong authorities seized another trawler, with cooperative efforts among Government officials, containing another ton and one-half of opium and derivatives.

In short, much action has developed since signature of the Thai-U.S. memorandum of understanding by Secretary Rogers and the Thai Foreign Minister on Sept. 28, 1971. Enforcement capability has markedly increased. The Thais also signed, and they are the only country as yet to do so, an agreement with the United Nations last December establishing a program to deal with the long-range aspects of its drug abuse problem through crop substitution and addict rehabilitation.

Clearly, the problem in Southeast Asia is a regional one. Our own Government is buttressing its efforts and mounting narcotics control action plans in the countries involved. It happens that Thailand is doing more than most countries in the area, and as much as we could reasonably expect.

This is not to say that our Administration is satisfied. We never can be until we know that narcotics trafficking is ended finally and completely. But an important beginning has been made. Fortunately, excellent relationships with Thai officials mean that much more will be done as capabilities increase. Since Thailand sits astride the trafficking route out of the Burma production and processing area, it can be either a funnel or a barrier to the flow of narcotics into the international trade.

Therefore, we do not believe that unsubstantiated charges or punitive suspension of assistance can possibly stimulate positive action from a close ally. In our judgment, it would be shortsighted to penalize a nation for failing to bring about a total halt to trafficking when we, with vastly more resources, have been unable to do the same within our own borders.

28 JUL 1972

LOUIS AZRAEL SAYS:**'Heroin' Is Heroin Plus Poison**

THERE'S THE BIG CIA — Central Intelligence Agency — and then there's the little local CIA — Columnists' Information Assistants. The second is made up of amateur volunteers who learn something that interests them and, wishing to share it with others, tell a columnist.

Here are some of their recent reports . . .

FROM A MEDICAL AGENT

The "heroin" sold by Baltimore-area pushers is getting more and more dangerous.

So-called "heroin," as illegally sold, has almost invariably been diluted with less expensive substance. Favorite ones were quinine and lactose. Recently, however, the federal government action has greatly reduced the supply of these products.

Dope-pushers, therefore, are mixing heroin with other substances, some of which are poisonous. Many, for instance, use alum which, when precipitated in the lungs, can cause pulmonary embolism.

FROM A SCHOOL AGENT

Sterling S. Keyes, who was Acting Superintendent of Baltimore schools before Dr. Roland Patterson came (and who was strongly urged for the top post) is leaving the city school system for at least a year—perhaps permanently.

He will take a year's leave of absence, without pay, to study for a Ph. D. degree at the University of Pennsylvania. He has received a fellowship in the Ford Foundation's administrative leadership program.

To fill his post as Associate Superintendent for Administration, Planning and Finance—and also the vacancy created by the death of William Pinderhughes, who was Associate Superintendent for Personnel—the school department is on a nationwide hunt.

Though consideration has been given to persons now in the system, school officials have been allotted \$3,000 to travel to other cities to interview possible appointees.

FROM A WASHINGTON AGENT

Maryland residents are gypping the Capitol City out of a lot of money and its officials want to do something about it.

Last year in Washington, 245,576 parking tickets were placed on autos that had Maryland

licenses. Over one-third of these car owners paid no attention; didn't pay.

Virginians were even worse. Of almost 200,000 who got tickets on Washington streets, only 44 per cent paid.

Washington officials, therefore, are trying to arrange a compact by which motorists who owe parking-tag money to either Maryland, Virginia or Washington won't be able to get the following year's auto tags until paying up.

This would catch many more Maryland scofflaws than Washingtonian, since more Marylanders travel to Washington than vice versa. Not for this reason but for others, however, Maryland officials say they are not likely to agree to such a deal in the near future.

FROM A HOUSING AGENT

The last census obtained data on, among many other things, plumbing conditions in houses. Any housing unit which has piped hot and cold water, a flush toilet and a bathtub or shower inside the building is listed as having satisfactory plumbing.

Analysis of Maryland figures shows that only four per cent of housing units in Maryland don't measure up. But . . .

One housing unit in every six on the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland has inadequate plumbing.

And even in Baltimore City, which has almost 290,000 housing units, 4,726 families are living without all of these basic facilities.

STATOTHR

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM Today Show

STATION WRC TV
NBC Network

DATE July 28, 1972 7:00 AM

CITY Washington, D.C.

EXCERPT FROM CHRONOLOG

BARBARA WALTERS: As you know from this week's news reports and from news reports in the past, there is a good deal of concern in Washington about the flow of narcotics from southeast Asia. There have been charges that the drug traffic is protected by Asian allies of the United States which some American officials prefer to ignore.

The issue will be examined in depth tonight in the special hour-long edition of NBC's Chronolog program. And we have an excerpt from that program now.

In this excerpt we first see an opium caravan in northern Thailand. And then NBC correspondent Garrick Utley talks with a Yale graduate student who has written an as yet unpublished book on the subject.

STATOTHR

GARRICK UTLEY: Armed opium caravans also operate in the area, despite the alleged crackdown on smuggling in recent months. These exclusive films were made in Thailand in February by an NBC newsman traveling with the caravan.

It's considered a small pack train, made up of 40 animals and 15 men. These were Shon (?) tribesmen, who were transporting about 200 pounds of opium, described as a partial shipment.

This particular organization is said to deliver 22,000 pounds of opium every year.

At various places along the route a few packages were dropped, deliberately. It was possible that the caravan members could have picked them up on the way back for their own personal profit. But no questions were asked and no explanations were offered.

MAN: Recently Secretary of State Rogers has come forward and testified that we're getting full cooperation from the Thai government. Our U.S. Ambassador to Thailand, Ambassador

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July 28, 1972

Mr. Reuven Frank
President
NBC News
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Frank:

Accuracy in Media wishes to call to your attention a few apparently erroneous statements in the Chronolog program of July 28 on the narcotics traffic in Southeast Asia.

Mr. Utley, the narrator, made the following statement.

"CIA went to the publishing house of Harper & Row to get and to read the manuscript of McCoy's book before its publication date. And surprisingly Harper and Row acquiesced. It surrendered to the threat of prior censorship."

A story on this matter was published in The New York Times on July 22. According to this story, CIA asked to have an opportunity to review the book because it believed that it contained statements concerning the agency that were totally false and without foundation. The CIA letter to Harper and Row stated: "It is our belief that no reputable publishing house would wish to publish such allegations without being assured that the supporting evidence was valid."

B. Brooks Thomas, vice president and general counsel of Harper and Row, said: "We're not submitting to censorship or anything like that. We're taking a responsible middle position. I just believe that the CIA should have the chance to review it."

I am sure that it is known at NBC that manuscripts being considered by reputable publishers are always submitted to experts for review prior to publication. One of the big mistakes McGraw-Hill made with the Irving book on Howard Hughes was that it did not take the precaution of having the book read by people who were sufficiently knowledgeable about the subject of the book. Of course, a publisher is free to accept or reject the suggestions made by the reviewers. We think it would be irresponsible for a publisher to ignore warnings that a manuscript contained serious inaccuracies and to refuse to permit those able to point out the inaccuracies to have an opportunity to do so prior to publication. By taking every precaution to insure accuracy, the publisher helps establish his own credibility, the credibility of the book, and he avoids increasing the amount of misinformation that circulates in public channels. We do not think this has any connection with censorship, which connotes legal compulsion to prevent statements from being published. Since CIA has no legal power to prevent Harper and Row from publishing anything, Mr. Utley's charge that the publisher had submitted to prior censorship seems to be clearly false.

A second statement that was made on this program and program conveyed inaccurate information to the viewer was the following:

"And there was the Thai government's well publicized extravaganza in the golden triangle--the burning of 26 tons of opium. It came just after U. S. Congressman Lester Wolff accused the Thais of inadequate drug control. A skeptic would see it as strong public relations covering up weak law enforcement."

While you now describe this event as "well publicized," AIM has a complaint that this event was almost totally ignored by American TV and newspapers. Did NBC News report the opium destruction to its viewers in March? Do you have any evidence that this was well publicized by the American news media?

If the amount of opium destroyed was in fact 26 tons, this would rate as one of the largest seizures of this drug in history. The U. S. street value of 26 tons of opium converted into heroin would be about \$1.3 billion. To pass such a seizure off as "weak law enforcement" while making much of the seizure in New York of only 260 lbs. of heroin in the Jaguar automobile seems very odd.

A third flaw in the program was the failure to mention anything about the involvement of communist countries in drug production and traffic. Since the program purported to be a presentation of the facts about opium and heroin production and traffic in the Far East, the omission of any mention of opium production in Communist China stood out as a grave deficiency. Fact Sheet 2 of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs states:

In the Far East, opium is cultivated in vast quantities in the Yunnan Province of China and the Shan and Kachin States in Burma. Although much is consumed by opium smokers in the region, considerable amounts of the drug find their way to the United States.

The Report of the Seventeenth Session (1962) of the United Nations' Commission on Narcotic Drugs included specific details about the production of opium in Yunnan Province and its being transported to Burma. Former BNDD Commissioner, Harry Anslinger, is on record in testimony given the U. N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs with detailed information about the involvement of the Chinese Communists in the illicit opium traffic. In addition, there is the statement of the Egyptian newspaper, Al Ahram, that Premier Chou En-Lai told Nasser in 1965 that China was planting the best kinds of opium especially for the American troops in Vietnam. Chou reportedly said that they would seek to bring about the demoralization of the American forces with drugs. In a speech on September 21, 1961, Congressman Francis E. Walter charged that the Chinese were guilty of using "dope warfare" against American troops in the Korean War. It was reported that an opium processing plant was found by American troops in Pyongyang, Korea.

The Washington Intelligence Report for March-April 1972 also points out that North Vietnam is producing opium. A North Vietnamese defector, Nguyen Ngoc Mai, a journalist formerly with the Hanoi newspaper, Tien Phong, described huge poppy fields that he had seen in Ha Giang, Son La, Lai Chau and Cao Bang provinces in North Vietnam. He said half of the raw opium was sent to China for processing and the rest of it was loaded on Soviet ships. According to this Report, The Soviet Union officially reported importing 29,000 lbs. of opium from North Vietnam in 1962, even though North Vietnam was denying that it was producing opium.

It is not necessary to go into all of the evidence of involvement by both Communist China and North Vietnam in the opium and heroin traffic. You can surely find a great deal of information on this subject if you wish to investigate it. In addition to the issue of The Washington Intelligence Report mentioned above, you may want to refer to the Congressional Record of March 29, 1972. Congressman John Ashbrook had a long insertion in the Record beginning on page H 2848 on the role of Communist China in the drug traffic.

It seems that the evidence of Communist complicity is strong enough to cast serious doubt on the accuracy of the remark that your documentary attributed to an unidentified anthropologist to the effect that the communists were "bad for the opium business." On the contrary, they would appear to be very much involved in it.

A few days before you aired your program which was clearly designed to convey the impression that the government of Thailand was not being cooperative in cracking down on opium traffickers, I noted a report in the Washington Post to the effect that Thai agents had seized some \$232 million worth of dangerous drugs in two raids on July 23 and July 24 at Mai Sai. This seizure dwarfs the seizures made in this country over long periods of time. Yet you gave no credit to the Thai government for this outstanding success.

One additional small point. In putting Fred Branfman on the air to make some unsubstantiated charges, you identified him only as a former IVIS worker in Vietnam. I presume that this is the same Fred Branfman who was identified in the Washington Post on July 28 as director of "Project Air War," a research group critical of American involvement in the Indochina war. Mr. Branfman was mentioned in the Post as having distributed material about damage to the dikes in North Vietnam. While Mr. Branfman's very active involvement in anti-war activities does not necessarily discredit him as a witness on the drug problem, it would seem that his activist role ought not to be concealed by NBC, since it is not entirely irrelevant in the evaluation of his statements.

Accuracy in Media would appreciate receiving your comments on this analysis of the errors in the NBC documentary at your early convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Abraham H. Kalish

Abraham H. Kalish
Executive Secretary

cc: Mr. Julian Goodman
Mr. Nelson Gross
Cong. John Ashbrook
Cong. Robert Steele
Cong. Lester Wolff
Mr. Winthrop Knowlton
Mr. Richard Helms

Asian Drug Inflow Found 'Greater Than Realized'

By SEYMOUR M. IERSH
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 27—A secret analysis by the Government's top narcotics enforcement agency has concluded that the amount of high-quality heroin being smuggled into the United States from Southeast Asia "is greater than previously realized."

The new Government report, compiled last month by the Strategic Intelligence Office of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, further showed that narcotics-control personnel was beginning to accumulate evidence linking organized crime to the Southeast Asian drug market.

Another Government study, reported on in The New York Times on Monday, concluded that there was "no prospect" of halting the drug flow from Southeast Asia into the United States. This Cabinet-level study was later discounted by the man who commissioned it—Egil M. Krogh Jr., a special White House aide for narcotics matters.

Mr. Krogh said "these has been substantial progress" in reducing the influx of drugs from Southeast Asia.

The Narcotics Bureau report stated that "the traffic at present relatively unorganized, but has definite potential for expansion as a replacement for Turkish-French heroin."

Officials from the Central Intelligence Agency, State Department, Narcotics Bureau and Defense Department "are presently reviewing the international trade," the report added, "with particular focus on Southeast Asia as an alternate to the Middle East as a source of supply."

White House Thinks Otherwise
Nixon Administration spokesmen have repeatedly maintained publicly, in opposition to statements of critics, that heroin smuggled from Southeast Asia makes up only a small fraction of the total United States annual supply.

Last month Nelson G. Gross, the State Department's senior adviser for international narcotics matters, told a Congressional hearing that "the overwhelming majority of the heroin coming to the United States originates in the Middle East and is processed in European laboratories before being smuggled into our country. We estimate that probably 5 per cent and certainly no more than 10 per cent of the heroin presently flowing into the United States

originates in Southeast Asia."

The Cabinet-level study, while completed last February, was at odds with Administration thinking in its conclusions that there was "no prospect under any conditions that can realistically be projected, of stopping the drug flow from Southeast Asia. It was immediately assailed by Mr. Krogh.

Asked in an interview today about the Narcotics Bureau's analysis, Mr. Krogh acknowledged that "from what I've learned so far, there has to be a strong likelihood" that organized crime is involved in the flow of heroin from Southeast Asia, but he added that the evidence was not yet conclusive.

'Statistics Are Fluid'

He emphasized that the Administration set up its international narcotics program only 18 months ago. Because of this, he said, it would be "impossible" to estimate accurately which area in the world was responsible for which percentage of the heroin reaching the United States. "Statistics at this time are so fluid," he said.

Other officials said that content of the bureau's analysis had been approved by that agency's over-all intelligence board before its dissemination inside the Government.

The Narcotics Bureau, a Justice Department agency, indicated in its study, made available today, that much of the growing amount of heroin from Southeast Asia was being smuggled into the United States by "essentially political Chinese entrepreneurs operating out of Laos, Thailand and Hong Kong. The heroin is sold to ethnic Chinese seamen, many of whom may be organized, who jump ship once their vessels dock in the United States.

Further intelligence may "reveal more precisely the role of Far East heroin in the United States," the document said, "and may reveal the substance of long-standing hitherto unverifiable reports of a 'Chinese-Corsican' connection between morphine base from the Orient and the chemical expertise of the Marseille area. Perhaps this preliminary report will stimulate interest in acquiring more data on the 'Chinese connection.'" Morphine is another product of opium, which is extracted from poppy seeds.

Intelligence reports "over the past year indicate an increase in the number of persons who illegally enter the United States and Canada,"

the document said, adding that the volume and the pattern of techniques used in the delivery of narcotics were not sufficiently known.

"However," the report said, the bureau "views the amount as a serious and increasing threat."

Eight Chinese Arrested

Government intelligence agencies recently set up a joint effort, known as Project Sea Wall, to stem the growing smuggling through United States and Canadian dock areas. Within a month of the program's initiation on April 7,

the report said, eight ethnic Chinese were arrested, most of them carrying one to four pounds of high-quality heroin strapped to their bodies.

One seizure, on April 11, resulted in the arrest of seven Chinese seamen carrying a total of 11 pounds of heroin, the bureau's report said. It added that "further information developed that this 11 pounds was part of a 100-pound shipment which originated in Bangkok and was evidently delivered by a European diplomat assigned to Thailand. Sensitive sources have revealed that more shipments, sponsored by other groups, are on the way; arrests are anticipated in the near future."

Significantly, the report noted that "the smuggling activities of Chinese seamen imply a loose but rather extensive arrangement between the seamen and their United States contacts to carry out the movement of narcotics from Southeast Asia on a continuing basis. These arrangements appear to involve some degree of organization at the receiving end and possibly at the sending end."

The report listed docks in San Francisco, New York, Miami and Vancouver as areas with some degree of organized smuggling, but also said that high-quality Southeast Asian heroin had entered the United States through other ports—among them Seattle, Portland, New Orleans, Baltimore and Philadelphia.

The report contained a number of clues indicating that the amount of organized smuggling could be far higher than even now suspected.

It cited the arrest of a Philippine diplomat late last year in New York City with about 37 pounds of a brand of highly refined heroin known as "double globe" heroin. The diplomat's third trip to the United States, the report said. "At

least one previous time he was accompanied by a known Chinese heroin dealer in Bangkok."

The "double globe" heroin, manufactured in Laos, was widely sold to United States servicemen in South Vietnam in 1970 and 1971.

Marketing Build-up Sifted

At another point, the bureau's analysis said that "sensitive sources also reveal frequent communications between Chinese heroin traffickers in New York, Seattle, San Francisco, Portland and Vancouver, suggesting that an extensive wholesale marketing mechanism exists or is being established."

In recent years, United States narcotics officials have repeatedly said that 80 per cent of all heroin known to be consumed in the United States comes via Marseilles refineries from Turkey's opium-growing areas. Ten to 15 per cent was said to come from Mexico.

The bureau's report tended to support the position of the opium-growing in Turkey and other areas a prime goal of its antinarcotics drive. Officials now expect the opium production in Turkey to end this year.

The Nixon Administration leading critics of the Administration's narcotics drive—Representative Robert H. Steel, Republican of Connecticut, and Alvin W. McCoy, a Yale graduate student who has written an exposé of the heroin traffic in Southeast Asia.

When told of the bureau's report, Mr. Steele commented: "Vietnam is truly coming home to haunt us. No matter what they say, this means that the first wave of this material is already on its way to our children in high school."

Mr. Steele, a first-term Representative who last year helped reveal the extent of heroin addiction among G.I.'s in Vietnam, asserted that Narcotics Bureau attempts to stop smugglers from jumping ship or otherwise getting into the United States were misguided.

"Instead of trying to put up this barrier," Mr. Steele said, "it would be much more economical if we just went to our allies in Southeast Asia—to Thailand, where most of this stuff comes from—and stopped the traffic there."

He specifically cited what he said was the "inability to interfere with the

President Requests \$135-Million to Aid Antidrug Campaign

By DANA ADAMS SCIMIDT

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 27 —

President Nixon asked Congress today for \$135.2-million in supplemental funds for his campaign against drug abuse, including \$2.5-million for a new office of national narcotics intelligence.

Meanwhile, a secret Government report says that the amount of high-quality heroin being smuggled into the United States from Southeast Asia "is greater than previously realized." [Page 3.]

The supply of heroin in East Coast cities has declined sharply in the last year, according to Federal officials, greatly increasing its price. [Page 4.]

Administration sources said that the new office would be established in the Justice Department to coordinate information on drug trafficking from all Federal departments and agencies. It will be headed by William C. Sullivan, whom J. Edgar Hoover forced into retirement last October from his post as assistant to the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. Hoover and Mr. Sullivan, 60 years old, who spent 30 years with the F.B.I., had disagreed on the major goals of the agency and the use of its manpower.

In his new office, Mr. Sullivan would be responsible for "development and maintenance of a national narcotics intelligence system." Other agencies, domestic and international, including the Central Intelligence Agency, the F.B.I., the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs and the Defense and State Department, would be required to feed information to the new office, which is authorized to pass on narcotics information to the agencies that need it.

The new office would be the third agency dealing with drug abuse within the Justice Department. The others are the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs and the Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement. President Nixon requested for funding in 1971. The President asked Congress to impose a \$250-billion ceiling

on Federal spending, deputy White House press secretary, Gerald L. Warren, said. "There are things that are absolutely essential, and we felt that this is absolutely essential."

He said that, when the Administration made its budget requests last January, the best available estimate of the number of heroin addicts in the United States was 315,000. Since then, he said, estimates have risen to 500,000 to 600,000.

The extra funds sought by Mr. Nixon would bring to \$730-million the amount that the Federal Government plans to spend in the current fiscal year to fight drug trafficking at home and abroad; for treatment rehabilitation of addicts, and for training and research.

Where the Funds Go

Of the new funds requested, \$120-million is for treatment and rehabilitation. Half of this would go into Federal research — particularly the search for an "antagonist" to heroin that would block the craving for opiates without being addictive — and for assistance to the projects of the Federal agencies.

The other \$60-million, in treatment and rehabilitation funds would be used in grants to state and local governments to expand addiction treatment facilities. It has been estimated that, although there are about 60,000 patients in 450 methadone treatment programs — Federal, state, local and private — in the United States, as many as 20,000 more are on waiting lists awaiting treatment.

Other new funds requested included \$2.7-million for the Bureau of Customs and \$5-million for the Internal Revenue Service.

A \$5-million fund was requested to approximately double the present research activities of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the Bureau of Customs and the Agriculture Department.

28 JUL 1972

TV Highlights

'Chronolog'

Tonight the entire "Chronolog" program (8:30 p.m., Channel 4) will be devoted to an expanded version of an earlier story on Southeast Asian heroin. Produced by Thomas Tomizawa, the earlier report spotlighted the hill country where Burma, Laos and Thailand meet as the focal point of a growing debate over the narcotics trade.

The expanded report will include Garrick Utley's interview with Alfred W. McCoy, who has spent the last 18 months researching international drug traffic. McCoy's findings will be published soon in a book entitled "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia."

Viewers will also hear from Reps. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), who has been trying to get information on the heroin traffic from the Central Intelligence Agency, and Robert Steele (R-Conn.), who co-authored a report on heroin traffic last year.

Other highlights:

8 p.m. (9) O'Hara: U.S. Treasury (Repeat). Guests

Nancy Wilson and Godfrey Cambridge play performers in a mob-dominated nightclub. They figure in an investigation of suspected bribery.

8:30 p.m. (26) The Space Between Words: "Politics." The program focuses on the Senate's Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity and its attempts to clarify President Nixon's position on school desegregation. Former Attorney General John Mitchell is seen being questioned by both liberal and conservative senators.

9:30 p.m. (4) Thou Shalt Not Kill. Two convicted murderers at the Utah State Prison are interviewed in an attempt to provide insight into the reasons for their crimes. The prisoners tell how they felt about the six persons they murdered in 1966 in Salt Lake City, Utah.

9:30 p.m. (7) The 39th Annual College All-Star Football Game. The Dallas Cowboys meet the best seniors of the 1971 college season at Soldier Field in Chicago.

NORFOLK, VA.
PILOT

M - 127,079
S - 174,257
JUL 28 1972

The Battle Against the Poppy

✓ The Central Intelligence Agency's foray into book criticism was disingenuous. Indeed it denied publicly what it had admitted privately to the President: There is no hope of halting drug traffic in Southeast Asia.

✓ The CIA had turned its dagger against a Yale graduate student, Alfred W. McCoy, whose 18-month study of narcotics operations in

Southeast Asia alleges that the CIA knew of, but failed to interdict, the drug trafficking of our allies. His field work concentrated on the infamous "Golden Triangle," a region embracing northeastern Burma, northern Laos, and northern Thailand, which supplies about 70 per cent of the world's raw opium.

Mr. McCoy said that hundreds of tons of Burmese opium pass through Thai harbors annually en route to international markets. The CIA has chosen to look the other way or participated in the drug traffic, wittingly or unwittingly. Despite the Administration's ballyhooed campaign against international drug smugglers, no pressure has been put on the Asian governments to staunch the flow. In fact many Asian leaders profit handsomely from the trade.

In pressuring Harper & Row for the manuscript of McCoy's forthcoming book, the CIA said his findings are "totally false." But a recently released Cabinet-level report buttresses his views on the indifference, collusion, and corruption of the governments, specifically South Vietnam and Thailand. Incredibly, CIA personnel co-authored the report, completed in February. An embarrassed White House said the report is out of date.

Such lack of Governmental candor is not shocking, considering the bizarre body counts still claimed in Asia. But continued reliance on public relations as a substitute for action to halt the trade will only add to the American body count here at home.

TEMPLE, TEXAS
TELEGRAM

M - 21,141
S - 21,765

JUL 27 1972

Dope Coverup

Congressman Charles B. Rangel, a New York Democrat, recently charged that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is keeping information from the American public about drug traffic in Southeast Asia. Rangel, a member of the House Select Committee on Crime, said the CIA consistently has refused his requests for reports on opium and heroin trafficking in the area, although some are already public knowledge or are available from other agencies.

"This bureaucratic bungling and paranoid quest for secrecy on the part of the Central Intelligence Agency has prevented Congress from effectively determining which of our so-called "Allies" are profiteering in heroin," he said. "Each citizen has the fundamental right to know what is in these reports — which governments allow drug production to flourish at the expense of our children's lives."

Rangel said nine reports he is seeking from the CIA name the individuals, tribes, government officers and places involved in heroin trafficking in Southeast Asia. But, he said, the agency has classified the reports and has refused to give them to him.

Vietnam has cast a dismal shadow over the history of the United States for more than a decade. Americans should not tolerate a government agency suppressing narcotics profiteering by its "allies."

AKRON, OHIO
BEACON JOURNAL

E - 175,468

S - 203,112

JUL 27 1972

What Cooperation?

Discussing the problem of drug smuggling in Southeast Asia, Secretary of State Rogers told a Senate subcommittee in May, "We think all the countries are cooperating with us and we are quite satisfied with that cooperation."

In June, Nelson Gross, the Secretary's adviser on narcotics matters, told another congressional committee, "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 real progress has been achieved."

Yet a report prepared joint by the CIA and the State and Defense departments, a copy of which has been turned over to the New York Times, flatly contradicts the statements of Rogers and Gross.

The report, dated Feb. 21 and still valid, according to informed sources, said there was "no prospect" of curbing the massive smuggling of narcotics in Southeast Asia "under any con-

ditions that can realistically be projected."

The report went on to say that "the basic problem — the one least likely of early solution — is the corruption, collusion and indifference at some places in some governments, particularly Thailand and South Vietnam."

One wonders why Secretary Rogers told Congress the governments of Southeast Asian countries were cooperating if in fact they were not. His own department was one of the sources of information which was directly contrary to his testimony.

Is Rogers afraid the governments of Thailand, Laos and South Vietnam will stop accepting American aid if we hurt their feelings by telling the truth about their collusion in the drug smuggling racket?

Or is the Nixon administration fearful that given the truth about these governments, Congress will be increasingly reluctant to go on supporting them?

S 11840

in proposed ("revenue shifting") has been adapted from the system now in effect in Canada for the division of personal income tax collections between the Dominion and the provincial governments. It involves a substitution of a sharing of the Federal personal income tax base and collection facilities for a sharing of the Federal government's revenues. Its effect is to shift to states a portion of the personal income taxes now collected by the Federal government.

The revenue shifting concept, which can accomplish the main objectives of the Administration's proposal while avoiding its weaknesses, requires legislation which will

(1) effect an across-the-board reduction in Federal personal income tax rates of "X" per cent, "X" being the percentage required to reduce estimated collections for Federal use by the amount of the revenue which is to be shifted to the states;

(2) direct the Internal Revenue Service to collect on behalf of each state from its residents an additional amount equivalent to "Y" per cent of the Federal tax collection, "Y" being the percentage required to equal the amount of revenue to be shifted to the states.

(3) authorize each state to direct the IRS to reduce, increase or eliminate the amount of the state share to be collected on its behalf;

(4) require that tax returns for the Federal and state tax collections be made on a single or joint form in which it is clearly indicated which portion of an individual's tax is being raised on behalf of the Federal government and which on behalf of the state.

D. Illustration of "Revenue Shifting" Mechanics:

The overall objective of the Administration's proposal is to increase state and local revenues by \$5 billion without increasing the existing burden on taxpayers. The revenue shifting proposal can achieve this objective in the manner described below, based on the Tax Foundation's estimate that the Federal government will collect \$93.7 billion in personal income taxes in FY 1972.

1. Federal personal income tax rates are reduced by 5.34 per cent thereby reducing the personal income tax yield by \$5. billion. This will reduce the total Federal personal income tax collections to \$88.7 billion nationally.

2. In addition to the personal income taxes which it is to collect for the federal government, the IRS is directed to collect on behalf of each state (unless such state otherwise directs) an additional increment which in the aggregate would result in the distribution to the states of \$5 billion. Based on this illustration, this would mean that IRS would collect an increment of 5.6 per cent above the amount collected on behalf of the Federal government.

3. Assuming no state specifically directs otherwise, the collection of this 5.6 per cent increment above the personal income taxes collected by the IRS for the purposes of the Federal government would result in a distribution to the states of \$5 billion.

4. Under this proposal, an individual state would be able to authorize the IRS to collect more or less than the 5.6 per cent increment from its residents. Thus a state which elected not to have IRS collect any taxes on its behalf could, in effect, provide a 5.34 per cent tax cut for its residents. On the other hand, another state which is particularly hard pressed for revenue could elect to authorize the IRS to collect more than the increment as an alternative to increasing its sales tax, for example.

E. Advantages of the "Revenue Shifting" Alternative:

1. Because the states have the power to direct IRS to increase, reduce or eliminate the amount to be collected on their behalf, they retain full responsibility for and au-

thority over the taxation of their citizens for state and local needs. No precedent is set for Federal "bail-outs" for states which may have overextended themselves."

2. Because the personal income tax form filed with the Internal Revenue Service will specify how much of the tax is being collected for the Federal government and how much for the state, the taxpayer is spared the illusion that money transferred by IRS to his state is somehow Washington's money and not his money.

3. The states are enabled to share to a greater extent in what has been the Federal government's personal income tax base; and, in addition, they are provided with the convenience and economy of utilizing the existing Federal tax collection machinery.

4. The revenue shifting proposal avoids making the states dependent on the Federal government for another substantial source of income, and therefore avoids the danger of ultimate Federal dictation. Once the plan is in operation, its cost to the Federal government will be negligible, amounting as it will to just the cost of transferring to each state the amount collected on its behalf. Thus the system, once established, would not be endangered by future Congressional economies.

5. It eliminates the invisible subsidies which, under the Revenue Sharing proposals, are paid to some, often "low tax effort" states at the expense of the more urban, industrialized states which are currently experiencing the most critical need for funds.

NARCOTICS AND THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, there are many many reasons why the United States should get out of Vietnam. First and foremost, after more than 40,000 American dead and the expenditure of far more than \$100 billion, there is nothing to be gained from further aid to the South Vietnamese. If they are unable to fight for themselves now, they never will be able to do so.

But there is now a further and more urgent reason. Thousands of American servicemen have been "hooked" on drugs while fighting there. Furthermore, key regions in Southeast Asia are now the centers for much of the drugs that are coming into the United States.

Just as Congress has been told year after year that the war is going well and each day we see how weak and helpless our allies are without our military protection so we have also been told that the battle against drugs has the active and sincere cooperation of our Southeast Asian allies. But it now appears from the evidence presented to my Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and from a series of articles in the New York Times by Seymour Hersh, that our allies in Southeast Asia are harboring a major and growing source of drugs which addict our servicemen and which are sold to our youth at home. I believe that the drug problem alone is sufficient reason to get out of the war and out of Southeast Asia. And now is the time to do it. The war in Southeast Asia is not worth a single drug addicted American.

Critics of our involvement in Southeast Asia have often pointed to the adverse domestic consequences of our military activities there. Our economy continues to suffer from the inflation first brought on by the war. Essential programs for housing, health care, urban

renewal, rural regeneration, and environmental protection are postponed. Reforms in our welfare system, our tax structure, and our system of revenue distribution are sacrificed on the altar of foreign military priorities.

But Mr. President, to me the most bitter consequence of this war is the cruel and callous way in which the interests of our own people are disregarded. The evidence has been mounting over the last 2 or 3 years that a major cause of our drug problem has its foundation in and has been exacerbated by the war in Vietnam.

ISSUE RAISED WITH SECRETARY ROGERS

When I have raised this issue with Secretary of State Rogers and other administration spokesmen as chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, they have assured me that the Governments of Thailand, Laos, and South Vietnam are cooperating fully in the battle against international drug traffickers. Nelson Gross, senior advisor to the Secretary of State and coordinator for international narcotics matters, in a letter to me claimed that the "Governments of Southeast Asia are not engaged in drug trafficking. Indeed, the Governments of Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam have committed themselves and are actively engaged in countering the drug problem in their respective countries." That is what he wrote.

INTERNAL MEMO DENIES PUBLIC OPTIMISM

The administration's public optimism does not square with their nonpublic assessments. Seymour Hersh pointed out in a New York Times article on July 24, 1972 that the administration is quite pessimistic about controlling drug production and distribution from these countries. Mr. Hersh quoted a February 21, 1972 report prepared by the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department, and the Defense Department as saying that narcotics control was unlikely "because the governments in the region are unable and, in some cases, unwilling to do those things that would have to be done by them if a truly effective effort were to be made." Hersh also reported that the document says that the basic problem results from "corruption, collusion, and indifference at some places in some governments, particularly Thailand and South Vietnam."

Paradoxically, the administration has tried to publicly discredit and contradict similar charges when they were presented to my subcommittee by Mr. Alfred McCoy. They failed to reveal a similar conclusion reached by their own agencies.

Why is there such a difference between the administration's public story, on the one hand, and the administration's internal reports, on the other? It certainly appears to be true that control of narcotics in Southeast Asia has taken a backseat to the administration's war policy.

WAR POLICIES NOT WORTH SUFFERING AND BROKEN LIVES

Mr. President, I must reject this kind of policy and I shudder at the suffering and broken lives it has brought about. We may have as many as 560,000 young Americans who are addicted to heroin, and as many as 100,000 addicted veter-

26 JUL 1972

U.S. Aide Hopeful on Asian Drug Curb

By DANA ADAMS SCHMIDT
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 25 — The State Department's leading adviser on narcotics traffic said today that control of the opium exported from Burma through Thailand and from Afghanistan through Iran was "off to a hopeful start."

Nelson G. Gross, the department's senior drugs adviser, who has just returned from Southeast Asia, rejected the view expressed in a confidential Cabinet-level study, reported on in The New York Times Monday, that the outlook for control of the narcotics traffic in Southeast Asia was "hopeless."

Drawing attention to steps taken by the United States, the United Nations and local governments, and including a recent series of large seizures of

opium in Thailand, Mr. Gross called the study, written in February, "completely out of date."

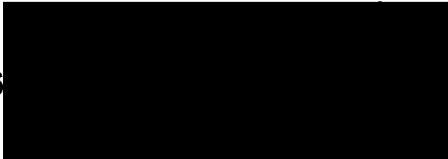
The study was prepared by officials of the Central Intelligence Agency, State Department and Defense Department for the Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control.

Mr. Gross said that American authorities were focusing on the production of opium by Burma and Afghanistan, and traffic through Thailand and Afghanistan, because these would be the biggest sources and routes of exportable opiates after Turkish production ended. The Turks have agreed to ban the growing of the opium poppy at the end of this year.

Turkey formerly produced about 200 tons of opium, much of which was exported illegally through France to the United States. Burma produces about 500 tons and Afghanistan 200 tons, most of which has hitherto been consumed in Asia.

Mr. Gross estimated that traffickers could divert at least 100 tons of Burma's production from Asian markets to the highly profitable trade in Europe and the United States.

"We are trying to anticipate what the operators are going to do," he said, "we have our agents out. Their task is to interdict the traffic before new routes become entrenched, as they were for many years on the Turkey-Marseilles-United States route."



Heroin and the War

STATOTHR

Alfred McCoy, a Yale graduate student who interviewed 250 people, charges that the Central Intelligence Agency has known of Thai and South Vietnamese official involvement in heroin traffic, has covered up their involvement and has participated in aspects of the traffic itself. The CIA has publicly denied these charges, in the process even persuading Mr. McCoy's publisher, Harper & Row, to let it review his book manuscript before publication. But now there comes an internal government report—done by the CIA and other agencies—on the difficulties of controlling the narcotics trade in Southeast Asia. The report states:

"the most basic problem, and the one that unfortunately appears least likely of any early solution, is the corruption, collusion, and indifference at some places in some governments, particularly Thailand and South Vietnam, that precludes more effective suppression of traffic by the governments on whose territory it takes place."

That is to say, a private report by agencies including the CIA confirms the thrust of charges which the CIA publicly denies. The White House contends the report, completed in February, is "out of date."

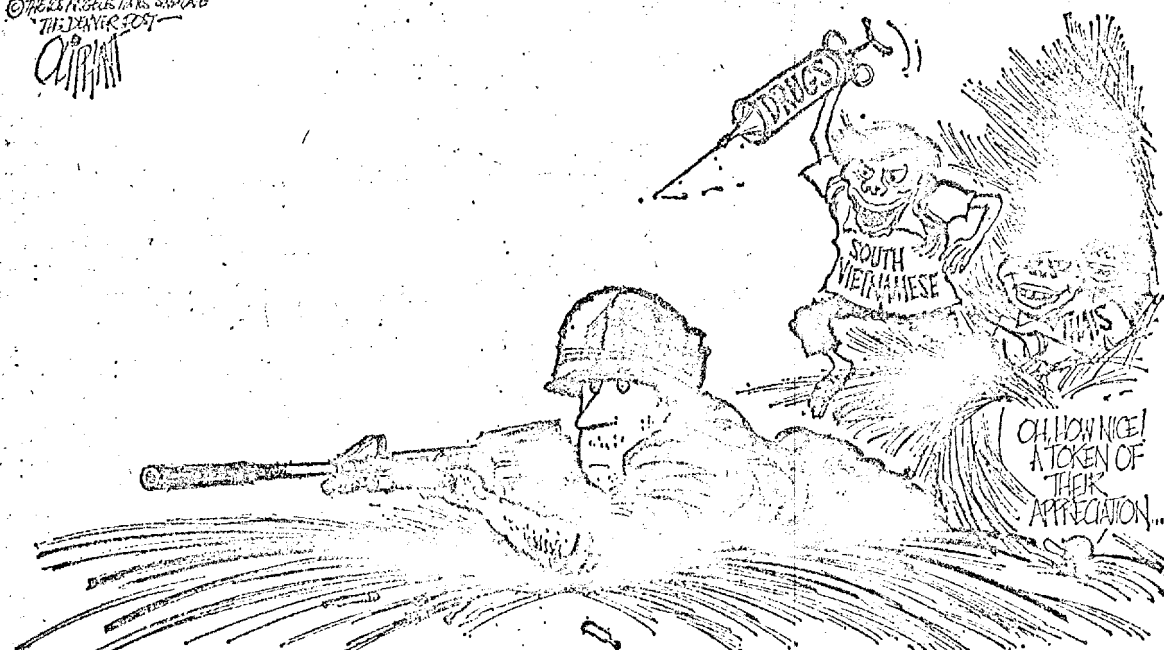
Now, we are aware that the Nixon administration has worked with great vigor and much effective-

ness to curb the international narcotics trade. The fact remains that the largest supplies of the filthiest poison of them all apparently come from or through Thailand and South Vietnam, if one is to take the CIA's private word—as against its public word—on the matter. Nor should it stretch any reasonable man's credulity to understand that the United States has had to accept certain limitations on its efforts to get those governments to stop drug dealing because it has wanted to ensure their cooperation in the war against North Vietnam. In the final human analysis there is simply no place in the pursuit of honor and a just peace in Southeast Asia for an all-out honest effort to control traffic in heroin. This is the infinitely tragic fact flowing from continued American involvement in the war.

Would heroin addiction among Americans have swollen to its current dimensions and would the amount of heroin reaching the United States from South Vietnam and Thailand have reached its current levels if the war—and power politics—had not gotten in the way of effective American pressure upon the governments in Saigon and Bangkok? If President Nixon needs any further reason to make good his pledge to end the war, this is almost reason enough by itself for what it says about the character of regimes this country has gotten into the habit of supporting—lavishly and indiscriminately—in the name of our "national security" and "world peace."

Rear Guard

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"THE DANGER ZONE"
CLIPART



TIMES

JUL 25 1972
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STATOTHR

Money and force might cut Asian drug traffic

Despite repeated statements by officials of the Nixon administration that Southeast Asian governments are cooperating in suppressing the illicit drug traffic, evidence to the contrary continues to pile up.

A report dated Feb. 12, 1972, compiled by the Defense and State Departments and the CIA has been "made available" to the New York Times, and reported in this newspaper. It says there is no realistic prospect of stopping the smuggling of narcotics by air and sea in Southeast Asia.

"This is so," the report says, "because the governments in the region are unable and, in some cases, unwilling to do those things that would have to be done by them if a truly effective effort were to be made."

"Government intelligence sources" are quoted as saying the conclusions are still valid.

THE REPORT supports the findings of Congressman Robert H. Steele of Connecticut's Second District, who made a tour of the drug-supplying countries of Southeast Asia.

It is evident from his findings and several other sources that drug traffickers can and do easily corrupt government agents in Southeast Asia, purchase immunity, and even subvert government channels of transportation to get their drugs out of the countries involved and on their way to markets abroad, chiefly in the United States.

Mr. Steele and two other congressmen, Lester L. Wolff of New York and Morgan F. Murphy of Illinois, are sponsors of a bill that would cut off more than \$100 million in aid to Thailand unless the Thai cooperated better in anti-drug activities.

Rep. Wolff last month testified at a congressional hearing that "we think the trade has got so much protection in high places in Thailand that the administration is afraid they'll tell us to take our air bases

out if we put too much pressure on them."

Corruption in government is pervasive in Southeast Asia to a degree that even the most cynical American finds hard to appreciate.

Before the withdrawal of ground troops made itself felt in the South Vietnamese economy, the black market in Saigon could supply almost every American luxury item (by local definitions) small enough to be carried by one or two men—all stolen or procured by bribery from American sources and all involving some degree of corrupt protection.

THE ATTACK on the illicit drug traffic must be pushed with all our resources. There is no need to rehearse the reasons.

Our most potent resource in Southeast Asia is money. The law sponsored by Mr. Steele and his colleagues (it has been incorporated into the Foreign Assistance act now pending) should be passed and enforced.

And there must also be occasional opportunities for unilateral action against which our Southeast Asian allies could hardly protest in public. If a United States Navy destroyer were to stop and search Thai trawlers (many of which apparently carry cargoes of heroin) and destroy on the spot those found with illicit cargoes, it would be at least more difficult for the drug merchants to get their goods out of their own country. And how could the Thai government protest such a laudable action?

Such action is recommended in the newly leaked report. The report is addressed to the Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control. Now that its contents have been made public, perhaps there will be two beneficial results:

First, that the United States demonstrate a sincere toughness in dealing on this subject with its allies in Southeast Asia.

And second, that the administration be able to tell us with protestations of good cooperation and results.

OMAHA, NEBR.
WORLD HERALD

M - 125,376
S - 273,394

JUL 25 1972

Drug-Smuggling Report Called 'Retrospective'

✓ Reuter News Agency.

Washington—The State Department Monday sought to play down a report that declared it could see no prospect of stemming narcotics smuggling by sea and air from Southeast Asia.

Spokesman Charles Bray emphasized that progress had been made on narcotics smuggling since the report was compiled in February.

He described the document as necessarily more retrospective than prospective in outlook and said it showed how some officials viewed the drug situation.

✓ The report, which was disclosed in Monday's New York Times, was prepared by officials of the Central Intelligence Agency, State Department and Defense Department.

One passage said: "The most basic problem, and the one that unfortunately appears least likely of any early solution, is the corruption, collusion and indifference at some places in some governments, particularly Thailand and South Vietnam, that precludes more effective suppression of (drug) traffic by the government on whose territory it takes place."

The report was in sharp contradiction to the administration, which has stressed U.S. successes in combatting the narcotics trade.

STATOTHR

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM RADIO NEW YORK STATION WOR
 DATE JULY 25, 1972 3:55 PM CITY NEW YORK

JIM MARKS

JOHN WINGATE: Yesterday, Jim Marks, who heads his own consulting firm, on Radio New York, at 6:15 -- and we'll continue it today, in a two-part series -- we talked to 26-year old Alfred McCoy, a graduate student at Yale University, who has written a book about the politics of heroin. He says that with full knowledge of the CIA and the State Department, which must bear a lot of the blame, under both Democratic and Republican Administrations, the heroin trade from Southeast Asia to this country has increased. The CIA, the Central Intelligence Agency, went to his publisher, demanded a right to see the book before its publication, and the CIA now has the book. What do you think of that?

JIM MARKS: Well, I'm in total disagreement with that. I believe in free speech, both in the written and the verbal form, and it has no -- it does not warrant any government or any individual to seek out -- unless it is detrimental to the people and this country.

WINGATE: McCoy is not so much blaming, in a direct way, the CIA as the State Department and various Administrations, which he says could damn well have put the pressure on three countries in Southeast Asia to stop the heroin that might kill your kid on an overdose on the street one day.

MARKS: I am in total agreement with him. I have not read his book; I am unaware ...

WINGATE: You may not have a chance to read it ...

MARKS: Right.

WINGATE: ... the CIA has it.

MARKS: I mean, I do not know what was in that book, I couldn't tell you if it was true or false. However, I am heavily opposed to any country that tries to use America as an outlet to sell something that is going to be misused and cause death or mental retardation.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-016

U.S. Cites Progress In Asian Drug Fight

By Tim O'Brien
Washington Post Staff Writer

The White House said yesterday that the governments of Southeast Asia are making "substantial progress" in stemming the flow of illicit narcotics to the United States.

Presidential assistant Egil Krogh Jr. told reporters that a cabinet-level report citing corruption and indifference in narcotics enforcement by Thailand and South Vietnam is not up to date.

He said the report, compiled by officials with the Central Intelligence Agency, State Department and Defense Department, was submitted last February, "but in the last four months there has been substantial progress."

A few hours later, however, Sen. Vance Hartke (D-Ind.) introduced a last-minute amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act to forbid further economic and military aid to Thailand "because of its major role in the international narcotics traffic."

The Senate defeated the amendment last night on a vote of 67 to 22.

Hartke criticized President Nixon for failing to withdraw aid to Thailand, "despite a provision of the Foreign Assistance Act that allows the President to suspend aid to any nation that doesn't take action" to halt black market narcotics exports.

The President's inaction, he said, is "in the face of hard evidence that Thailand serves as the conduit for the trans-shipment of opium produced in Southeast Asia, the largest opium-growing area in the world."

Recently published accounts of the pessimistic multi-agency study of Southeast Asian drug traffic said governments of the region were unable and sometimes unwilling to halt the flow of opium and other narcotics.

But Krogh argued that the tide "can be stemmed in Southeast Asia." He cited increased seizures of heroin "and other substances" in the region and said the problem was being approached in an atmosphere of "mutual cooperation."

In Vietnam, Krogh said the United States has received substantial cooperation from President Thieu on down.

The State Department joined the White House in seeking to play down reports of Southeast Asian reluctance to crack down on narcotics smuggling. Spokesman Charles Bray said progress has been made since the cabinet-level report was filed in February.

He called the report "more retrospective than prospective" in outlook, and was not a State Department report, but "a report to the State Department."

Meanwhile, the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (BNDD) announced that U.S. agents and Thai police seized about \$230 million worth of opium, morphine and heroin in two days of raids in Northern Thailand.

According to BNDD director John Ingersoll, the raids netted nearly three tons of opium, along with guns and other equipment.

Yesterday morning, federal drug law enforcers told President Nixon, that the Bureau of Customs and the BNDD had a hand in removing more than 470,000 pounds of narcotics "from world illicit traffic" in Fiscal Year 1972. This, they said in their year-end report, more than doubled the confiscated poundage over 1971.

Marijuana constituted about 94 per cent of the seized narcotics. The administration said arrests of drug dealers rose

from 12,497 last year to more than 16,000 during Fiscal 1972. It was reported that the number of addicts seeking methadone treatment has also increased dramatically, though no numbers were cited.

Assistant Treasury Secretary Eugene T. Rossides reported that "the President is pleased that we're on the offensive now, whereas three years ago we were on the defensive."

Myles J. Ambrose, director of the six-month-long Drug Abuse Law Enforcement program, said that "three years ago we were on our own ten-yard line and the other team had the ball. Now we're on the fifty-yard line and we have the ball."

He said that, since its inception last January, his program has produced over 1,000 arrests and identified about 3,000 narcotics pushers.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

JOURNAL-COURIER

JUL 24 1972

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CIA Said Eyeing Student's Book

A Yale University graduate student's forthcoming book on heroin traffic in Southeast Asia is reportedly being reviewed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Alfred W. McCoy, 26, of 29 Lake Place, a Ph.D. student in Southeast Asian studies, spent 18 months in Asia investigating narcotics operations and recently testified before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Aid.

He testified at the time that aircraft chartered by the CIA and the Agency for International Development "have been transporting opium harvested by the agency's tribal mercenaries on a regular basis."

The CIA, with the permission of Harper & Row, the book's publishers, is reviewing the manuscript of McCoy's book with the intention of demonstrating that some of the book's claims are "totally false and without foundation," according to a recent article in The New York Times.

McCoy testified in two Congressional appearances in June that the material in the forthcoming book, "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia", was based on more than 250 interviews, some with CIA officials.

In a chapter of the book printed in the current issue of Harper's Magazine, McCoy charged that "American involvement has gone beyond coincidental complicity; embassies have consciously covered up involvement by client governments, CIA contract airlines have reportedly carried opium and individual CIA men have abetted the opium traffic."

At the time of his Congressional testimony, McCoy was described as a "very thorough scholar and not the antiwar type" by a senate staff member.

In the magazine article, McCoy wrote that during the last several months of 1970, more American soldiers were evacuated "mas casualties from South Vietnam for drug-related reasons than for reasons having to do with war wounds."

He also wrote that farmers in

the Golden Triangle—northeastern Burma, northern Thailand and northern Laos—produce 70 per cent of the world's supply of raw opium and that much of it is being funneled to addicts on New York streets.

"After pouring billions of dollars into Southeast Asia for over 20 years, the United States has acquired enormous power in the region. And it has used this power to create new na-

tions were non-existent, to hand pick prime ministers, to topple governments and to crush revolutions.

"Unless something is done to change America's policies and priorities in Southeast Asia, the drug crisis will deepen and the heroin plague will continue to spread," McCoy wrote.

McCoy could not be reached Sunday night for comment.

KATHRYN KOLKHORST

only delaying the passage of this bill after the long and weary course it has taken. We are only jeopardizing the bill itself.

Senators have now gone on record as expressing their concern about the prisoners war. However, that action is not going to bring the prisoners of war home 1 minute sooner. It is not going to accomplish this perfectly desirable purpose, upon which we all agree. It is not going to have any effect except to delay the bill, tie it up in the other body, tie it up in conference, and possibly cause it to fail.

Therefore, a motion to strike would be perfectly in order.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from South Carolina.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise to support the amendment of the distinguished Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. President, the U.S. Government is committed to bringing a just peace to Southeast Asia. The President has steadily and consistently lessened American involvement in Vietnam. In addition, it is clear that this administration has left no diplomatic stone unturned in its efforts to hasten an end to the war through negotiation. President Nixon, in addition to his historic visits to Peking and to Moscow, publicly announced most generous terms to the North Vietnamese in a serious effort to bring an end to the war. The negotiations have resumed in Paris and the President's top foreign affairs advisers, the Honorable Henry Kissinger, has participated in efforts to negotiate a settlement.

In my judgment, the President is sincere, dedicated, and determined to end the Vietnam war as soon as possible, and in an honorable manner. For those who share this view, it should be apparent that the language in this bill dealing with the war is not only untimely but seriously weakens the President in his efforts to bring this war to a speedy close. If the Senate attempts to run U.S. foreign policy, we must recognize that in neither constitutional nor historical nor practical terms are we as prepared as the executive branch to bring this war to an honorable close. The Congress has no authority or power to appoint a negotiating team to deal with the enemy nor are we as fully informed on a day-to-day basis as is the President.

The power and authority to end this war properly rests with the President and the language in this bill can only have the effect of weakening the President, strengthening the enemy's position in the negotiations, and, in the long run, lengthening rather than shortening the very hostilities we seek to bring to a halt.

Mr. President, it has been apparent that North Vietnam has suffered severe setbacks in its most recent invasion of the South. The communist forces have definitely lost the initiative and are now on the defensive. There are also indications that our air strikes in the North, coupled with the mining of the North Vietnamese harbors, have put additional

pressure on Hanoi. North Vietnam's hopes now rest not with her military efforts but on the discontent and frustration which many Americans feel over this war.

The most effective thing this body can do to hasten an end to this war on conditions acceptable to the American people and necessary for the security of the free world would be to allow the President the free and unfettered exercise of his authority to bring this war to a close.

Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to support the pending amendment so that the United States might present a strong and unified approach to the enemy and hasten the day when this tragic war can be brought to an end with a just, honorable, and lasting peace.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. CASE).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I rise not to make an extended argument. I rise merely to point out that today's votes are a most interesting replay of a scenario that was almost exactly played on the 16th day of May of this year. The only difference was on that day the amendment of the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD), carried, whereas its almost exact counterpart, the amendment of the Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN) today failed. The Case-Church amendment then was the central subject whereas the Cooper amendment as amended took its place today.

There were 47 yeas for the amendment of Mr. BYRD of West Virginia and 43 nays. Today there were 50 yeas against the amendment of the Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN) and 45 votes in favor.

I am now engaged in the interesting comparison of votes by individual Senators on the two occasions. This will prove nothing in particular but it is a matter of interest and curiosity to see who did change and to speculate why. That is light treatment of a most serious subject, Mr. President.

I was the cosponsor with Senator Church of the amendment which unfortunately was defeated on May 16, by having added to it a requirement for a cease-fire. It was practically identical to the amendment which we are in the process of adopting today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for 1 additional minute?

Mr. CHURCH. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. CASE. I think today's Senate action is most timely. I am not going to repeat my oft-stated views on why the Senate should vote an end to American participation in the war. I hold the same views just as strongly as ever.

Today's vote is a most responsible action. It will be helpful in bringing this war to a conclusion and it will help the President to have Congress share with him responsibility for this action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 12 minutes remaining.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I yield 4 minutes to the Senator from California.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, every day someone tells us new stories about what is happening in Indochina, and every other day someone else denies them. We are being asked to vote funds for the war, but we have no way of knowing whether the stories are true. For evidence we see nothing but a Punch-and-Judy show of charges and countercharges.

For example, the Swedish Ambassador to North Vietnam, Jean-Christophe Oberg, charged in June that the United States has deliberately bombed dikes in North Vietnam. A correspondent from Agence France-Presse, Jean Thoraval, recently made this same accusation. Both men based their reports on firsthand observation. Hanoi claims that between April 10 and June 10, U.S. warplanes dropped 665 bombs in 68 different raids against dikes.

Mr. President, no less than 15 million people live on the plain of Tonkin. Their lives and their livelihood depend on dikes. In all, 75 percent of the population of North Vietnam lives in areas susceptible to flooding. So the charge of dike-bombing is very serious.

The Pentagon denies that dikes have been assigned as specific targets. But on July 12, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs agreed that there was "always a possibility" that dikes might be hit anyway. And if they are? Well—just chalk it up to the war. So we are told.

But there is more to the story than that. Military sources already agree that pilots are free to attack military targets which happen to be located on top of dikes. In a new conference on July 6, Secretary Laird stated:

Some of the dikes and dams may be on roadways that are being used or they may be in a position where antiaircraft weaponry is placed, and, of course, our pilots are given the opportunity and they should have this capability to attack North Vietnamese gun emplacements.

At the Connally ranch last April, President Nixon asserted that bombing dikes "is something we want to avoid. It is also something we believe is not needed."

But suppose another General Lavelle feels differently?

Can we say for sure that we are innocent?

To take a related example of the Punch-and-Judy show, just suppose that "accidental" dike-bombing just happens to coincide with deliberate rainmaking. The Foreign Relations Committee plans to hear evidence on this subject this week.

According to New York Times reporter Seymour Hersh, the United States has been seeding clouds in North Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia ever since 1963. Pentagon spokesman Jerry Fried-

STATOTHR 24 JUL 1972

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000100000001-7

Report to U.S. Sees No Hope of Halting Asian Drug Traffic

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 23—A Cabinet-level report has concluded that, contrary to the Nixon Administration's public optimism, "there is no prospect" of stemming the smuggling of narcotics by air and sea in Southeast Asia "under any conditions that can realistically be projected."

"This is so," the report, dated Feb. 21, 1972, said, "because the governments in the region are unable and, in some cases, unwilling to do those things that would have to be done by them if a truly effective effort were to be made."

The report, prepared by officials of the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department and the Defense Department, noted that "the most basic problem, and the one that unfortunately appears least likely of any early solution, is the corruption, collusion and indifference at some places in some governments, particularly Thailand and South Vietnam, that precludes more effective suppression of traffic by the governments on whose territory it takes place."

The report sharply contradicted the official Administration position and Government intelligence sources say its conclusions are still valid today. In May, Secretary of State William P. Rogers told a Senate subcommittee that "we think all the countries are cooperating with us and we are quite satisfied with that cooperation."

Similarly, Nelson G. Gross, Senior Adviser to the Secretary of State and Coordinator for International Narcotics Matters, testified before Congress in June on the subject of narcotics smuggling that "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."

All officials concerned with the drug problem acknowledge that the United States agencies, under personal prodding from President Nixon, have begun an intensive effort to stem international narcotics traffic.

Effort is far less effective today than Administration officials say it is.

Critics' Charges Backed

Two leading critics of what they allege to be the Government's laxness in stopping the flow of narcotics are Representative Robert H. Steele, Republican of Connecticut, and Alfred W. McCoy, a 26-year-old Yale graduate student who has written a book on narcotics in Southeast Asia. The New York Times reported Saturday that Mr. McCoy's allegations concerning the C.I.A. and the drug traffic had been the subject of an intense and unusually public rebuttal by the agency.

The Cabinet-level report, made available to The Times, buttressed many of the charges made by the two critics, particularly about the pivotal importance of Thailand to the international drug smugglers. Thailand is also a major Air Force staging area for the United States.

In a report on the world heroin problem last year, Mr. Steele wrote that "from the American viewpoint, Thailand is as important to the control of the illegal international traffic in narcotics as Turkey. While all of the opium produced in Southeast Asia is not grown in Thailand, most of it is smuggled through that country."

Mr. Steele's report, filed with the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, noted that many American citizens had established residence in Bangkok, and had moved into the narcotics trade. The report added that the inability of the United States to have a few notorious smugglers deported had led some intelligence officials to conclude that the men were paying Thai officials for protection.

Mr. McCoy said in testimony before Congressional committees last month that hundreds of tons of Burmese opium passed through Thailand every year to international markets in Europe and the United States and that 80 to 90 per cent of the opium was carried by Chinese Nationalist paramilitary teams that were at one time paid by the C.I.A.

There are a number of opium refineries along the northern Thai border, he said, and much of the processed high-quality heroin is shipped by trawler to Hong Kong.

"Even though they are heavily involved in the narcotics traffic," Mr. McCoy testified, "these Nationalist Chinese irregular units are closely allied with the Thai Government." He said that Thai Government police in the border area collect an "import duty" of about \$2.50 a

unit of heroin. Their measure cleared the House Foreign Affairs Committee on June 21

Thai-U.S. Agreements Cited

Mr. Gross, the State Department's adviser on international narcotics, said in his Congressional testimony that "during the past year the Thais have increased their efforts in the drug field with United States and United Nations assistance." He cited two agreements, signed in late 1971, calling for more cooperation and more long-range planning between Thai and United States officials to stamp out the trade.

"Based on all intelligence information available," Mr. Gross testified, "the leaders of the Thai Government are not engaged in the opium or heroin traffic, nor are they extending protection to traffickers." He added that the top police official in Thailand had publicly stated that he would punish any corrupt official.

The cabinet-level report, submitted to the Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control, asked "highest priority" for suppression of the traffic by Thai trawlers, noting that each trawler "would represent something like 6 per cent of annual United States consumption of heroin."

The report said that the trawler traffic should have priority because "it is possible to attack the Thai trawler traffic without seeking the cooperation of Thai authorities and running the attendant risks of leaks, tip-offs and betrayals."

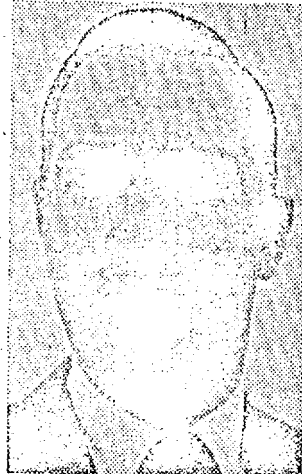
After such a seizure, the report said, the United States Embassy in Bangkok could "repeat with still greater force and insistence the representations it has already often made to the Government of Thailand" for more effective efforts "to interdict traffic from the north of Thailand to Bangkok and also the loading of narcotics on ships in Thai harbors."

At another point in the report, a general complaint was voiced. "It should surely be possible to convey to the right Thai or Vietnamese officials the mood of the Congress and the Administration on the subject of drugs," the report said. "No real progress can be made on the problem of illicit traffic until and unless the local governments concerned make it a matter of highest priority."

Representatives Steele, Lester L. Wolff, Democrat of Nassau County, and Morgan F. Murphy, Democrat of Illinois, have sponsored legislation that would cut off more than \$100-million in foreign aid to Thailand unless she took more action to stem the traffic of heroin. Their measure cleared the House Foreign Affairs Committee on June 21

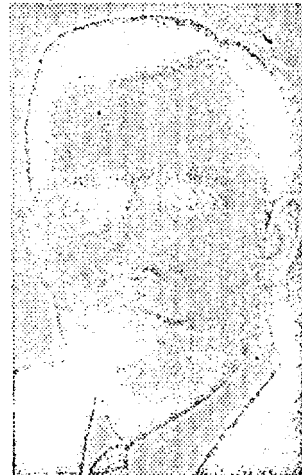
the Foreign Assistance Act, now pending.

During a Congressional hearing into drug traffic last month, Representative Wolff disputed the Administration's contention that it was making "real progress" in stemming the narcotics flow and said, "we think the trade has got so much protection in high places in Thailand that the Administration is afraid they'll tell us to take our air bases out if we put too much pressure on them."



The New York Times

Nelson G. Gross asserted that there has been progress against smuggling.



United Press International

Robert H. Steele charged the Government is lax in halting flow of drugs.

CIA 401 Drug Traffic

Steele, Robert
CIA 4 - Laos
- Vietnam, S
- Chi Com

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R0001000060001-7

22 JUL 1972

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-016

C.I.A. AIDES ASSAIL ASIA DRUG CHARGE

Agency Fights Reports That It Ignored Heroin Traffic Among Allies of U.S.

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 21 —

The Central Intelligence Agency has begun a public battle against accusations that it knew of but failed to stem the heroin traffic of United States allies in Southeast Asia.

In recent weeks, high-ranking officials of the C.I.A. have signed letters for publication to a newspaper and magazine, granted a rare on-the-record interview at the agency's headquarters in McLean, Va., and — most significantly — persuaded the publishers of a forthcoming expose on the C.I.A. and the drug traffic to permit it to review the manuscript prior to publication.

The target of all these measures has been the recent writings and Congressional testimony of Alfred W. McCoy, a 26-year-old Yale graduate student who spent 18 months investigating the narcotics operations in Southeast Asia. His book, "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia," is scheduled to be published by Harper & Row in mid-September—barring delays caused by the intelligence agency's review.

In his book, Mr. McCoy alleged that both C.I.A. and State Department officials have provided political and military support for America's Indo-Chinese allies actively engaged in the drug traffic, have consciously covered up evidence of such involvement, and have been actively involved themselves in narcotic trade.

C.I.A. officials said they had reason to believe that Mr. McCoy's book contained many unwarranted, unproven and fallacious accusations. They acknowledged that the public stance in opposition to such allegations was a departure from the usual "low profile" of the agency, but they insisted that there was no evidence linking the C.I.A. to the drug traffic in Southeast Asia. One well-informed Government official directly responsible for

monitoring the illegal flow of narcotics complained in an interview that many of Mr. McCoy's charges "are out of date." "Go back three or four years," he said, "and no one was concerned about this. It wasn't until our own troops started to get addicted, until 1968 or '69, that anyone was aware" of the narcotics problems in Southeast Asia.

This official said that in the eyes of the C.I.A., the charges were "unfair." He said of the C.I.A., "they think they're taking the heat for being unaware and not doing anything about something that was going on two or three years ago."

Based on 250 Interviews

During two Congressional appearances last month, Mr. McCoy testified that his accusations were based on more than 250 interviews, some of them with past and present officials of the C.I.A. He said that top-level South Vietnamese officials, including President Nguyen Van Thieu and Premier Tran Van Khiem, were specifically involved.

In July, 1971, Representative Robert H. Steele, Republican of Connecticut, said during a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee hearing that the United States Government possessed "hard intelligence" linking a number of high-ranking Southeast Asian officials, including Maj. Gen. Ngo Dzu, then commander of the South Vietnamese II Corps, with involvement in the narcotics trade. Mr. Steele's accusations were denied and mostly ignored.

Mr. McCoy also alleged that Corsican and American syndicate gangsters had become involved in the narcotics trade. He said that such information was known to the C.I.A. In a chapter of his book published in this month's Harper's Magazine, Mr. McCoy further charged that in 1967 the infamous "Golden Triangle"—an opium-producing area embracing parts of northeastern Burma, northern Thailand and northern Laos—was producing about 1,000 tons of raw opium annually, then about 70 per cent of the world's supply.

The bulk of Mr. McCoy's accusations—both in the magazine and during the Congressional hearings—failed to gain much national attention. Nonetheless, the C.I.A. began its unusual public defense after a Washington Star reporter cited some of Mr. McCoy's allegations in a column.

Letter Sent to Paper

Two letters were sent to the newspaper for publication. One was signed by Mr. Colby, the executive director of the C.I.A., and the other by Paul C. Velte Jr., a Wash-

ington-based official with Air America, a charter airline that flies missions for the C.I.A. in Southeast Asia. Both categorically denied the allegations linking C.I.A. personnel to any knowledge of or activity in the drug traffic.

A similar letter of disavowal, signed by Mr. Colby, was sent for publication to the publisher of Harper's Magazine within the last week. Robert Schnayerson, the magazine's editor, said that the letter would be published as soon as possible.

The C.I.A. began its approach to Harper & Row in early June, apparently after learning of Mr. McCoy's appearance before the Senate subcommittee. Cord Meyer Jr., described as a senior agency official, met with officials of the publishing concern and informally asked for a copy of the manuscript for review prior to publication.

On July 5, a formal letter making the request, signed by Lawrence R. Houston, general counsel of the C.I.A. was sent to Harper & Row.

Mr. Houston's request was not based on national security, but on the thesis that "allegations concerning involvement of the U.S. Government [in drug traffic] or the participation of American citizens should be made only if based on hard evidence."

The letter continued: "It is our belief that no reputable publishing house would wish to publish such allegations without being assured that the supporting evidence was valid." If the manuscript were handed over, the letter said, "we believe we could demonstrate to you that a considerable number of Mr. McCoy's claims about this agency's alleged involvement are totally false and without foundation, a number are distorted beyond recognition, and none is based on convincing evidence." A copy of the letter was made available to The New York Times.

Mr. McCoy, in an interview, said that the book had been commissioned by Harper & Row and carefully and totally reviewed by its attorneys with no complaint until the C.I.A. request was made.

B. Brooks Thomas, vice president and general counsel of the publishing house, said in an interview in New York, "We don't have any doubts about the book at all. We've had it reviewed by others and we're persuaded that the work is amply documented and scholarly."

"We're not submitting to censorship or anything like that," Mr. Thomas said. "We're taking a responsible middle position. We should have the chance to review it." If Mr. McCoy

did not agree, he added, Harper & Row would not publish the book.

In a subsequent interview, Robert L. Bernstein, president of Random House and president of the Association of American Publishers, Inc., said that his concern had twice refused official C.I.A. requests for permission to revise manuscripts.

"In general," Mr. Bernstein said, "our opinion would be that we would not publish a book endangering the life of anybody working for the C.I.A. or an other Government agency. Short of that, we would publish any valid criticism."

In a series of interviews with The New York Times, a number of present and former officials of the C.I.A. acknowledged that smuggling and "looking the other way" was common throughout Southeast Asia during the nineteen-sixties. But many noted that the agency had since taken strong steps to curb such practices.

One official, who spent many years in Southeast Asia, said, "I don't believe that agency staff personnel were dealing

in opium. But if you're talking about Air America hauling the stuff around, then I'll bet my bottom dollar that they were in it."

Another former C.I.A. agent described Mr. McCoy's published writings as "1 per cent tendentious and 90 per cent of the most valuable contribution I can think of."

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

U.S., Canada Fight Dope Influx

By Jack Anderson

Chinese dope magnates in Bangkok, Hong Kong and Singapore have joined forces with Mafia overlords from Corsica to flood the U.S. and Canada with heroin.

Millions worth of the lethal powder have already been smuggled into North America in body packs strapped to Chinese ship jumpers and in attache cases of diplomats.

To stop the smuggling, alarmed American agents and Canadian mounties have also joined forces. Their undercover effort is known by the code name, "Operation Sea Wall."

The fascinating story is told in a classified report, which describes how a staggering \$220 million worth of heroin piled up in secret Asian warehouses after the U.S. troop withdrawals from Vietnam.

The departure of their GI customers left the Chinese drug traffickers with a huge surplus of joy dust on their hands. The heroin had been flowing into their warehouses from the "Golden Triangle" of Thailand, Laos and Burma.

At hushed meetings in their lacquered drawing rooms and counting houses, the Chinese concluded they would have to follow their customers home and open new markets in America. Or, as the secret report puts it, they decided "to

try their 'joss' (luck) in a new area."

The Chinese syndicate made contact with the Corsican Mafia, whose smuggling organization had been moving heroin from Europe to New York. A federal crackdown had closed many of their underground routes, so the Corsicans were looking for new connections.

Corsican Connection

They jetted to Asia and struck a deal with the Chinese. The secret report suggests that the Chinese-Corsican talks confirmed "the long-standing, heretofore unverifiable reports of a Chinese-Corsican connection . . ."

Learning of the ominous new entente, federal narcotics czar John Ingersoll took the lead in setting up "Operation Sea Wall" on April 7. He enlisted the assistance of the Central Intelligence Agency, Immigration Service and the Canadian mounties.

Their purpose: "to interdict the flow of heroin from the Far East before it reaches even more serious proportions."

Only four days later, government agents arrested seven Chinese in New York City, six of them ship jumpers. The seven sullen smugglers carried heroin worth \$500,000.

This New York haul, according to the secret report, was a mere fraction of a \$4.5 million shipment "which originated in

Bangkok and was evidently delivered by a European diplomat assigned to Thailand. Sensitive sources have revealed that more shipments, sponsored by other groups, are on the way. Arrests are anticipated."

The Chinese seamen, most of them from non-Communist Asian countries, have been slipping into Canada and the U.S. in increasing numbers. The smugglers sneak ashore from foreign flag ships often with as much as \$100,000 to \$200,000 worth of heroin strapped to their bodies.

"The typical Chinese seaman, who smuggles heroin, brings one to two kilograms each trip," reports the secret document. "He can easily body pack or conceal this amount in his bags. (He) has bought the contraband in Hong Kong, paying \$2,000 to \$3,700 a kilogram."

The Pay-Off

"With the proceeds acquired from accomplishing this task, he can fade into one of the many Chinese communities in the United States." Indeed, the report adds: "In several instances, the heroin was carried to provide payments for shelter and assistance to the illegal emigre."

Hundreds of ship jumpers have paid to get private legislation pushed through Congress, permitting them to remain in the country.

In Miami, a Chinese seaman

was caught with ten kilograms of heroin—about \$1 million worth—last April. It was "packed in plastic bags carrying the familiar 'Double Uoglobe' brand name, indicating it was produced in a heroin laboratory in Laos."

In addition to Miami, Asian heroin has been smuggled into the U.S. through Vancouver, San Francisco and New York. The secret report also cites Seattle and Portland as "probable" operation centers.

In addition to the ship jumpers, says the document, "Bangkok dealers have employed individuals with diplomatic passports to deliver as much as 20 kilograms of heroin at a time to the U.S."

"A case in point is Philippine diplomat Domingo Canieso, arrested . . . in New York City in possession of 17 kilograms of 'Double Uoglobe' heroin, along with his controller from Bangkok, Chou Hsiu-ch'ien.

"This was Canieso's third trip to the U.S. At least one previous time he was accompanied by a known Chinese heroin dealer in Bangkok."

Footnote: The State Department has put out misleading, softsoap statements about the rush of heroin into the U.S. from Asia. It was to counter this Pollyanna attitude that we decided to break secrecy on "Operation Sea Wall."

Letters to the Editor

SIR: I refer to the letter of W. E. Colby, executive director of the Central Intelligence Agency, who rebutted the charges made by some American newspapermen that the CIA was involved in opium trafficking. I do not question Colby's good faith, neither do I say that the CIA, as an entity, traffics in opium; but, I am sorry to say that there is more to these charges than mere "gossip, conjecture and old history."

I also know what I am talking about because I was involved in security matters for the South Vietnamese government under President Ngo Dinh Diem. In effect, one day, the President told me to investigate into the activities of our chief of secret police, chief of our own "CIA" and chief of military security, and to report directly to him, because, as he put it: "I cannot ask my own chiefs of police, 'CIA,' and military security to investigate into themselves."

I found out the corruption of two chiefs, and the President took very drastic measures against them. I have kept the contact with my security agents ever since. They firmly confirm that a few CIA agents in Indochina are involved in opium trafficking. But above all, a line must be drawn between Indochina and the rest of the world, because, due to the fact of the counter-insurgency warfare, the operations of the American CIA in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are extremely important when they are compared to operations of the same agency in other countries. In Indochina, the CIA is a real army with his own aerial fleet. A number of CIA operatives deal directly with Vietnamese, Lao, or Meo warlords or officials at the highest level, with whom they share the proceeds of the opium traffic. For good American citizens in the United States, it is very difficult to imagine the influence and power of these operatives in Indochina. Their power, in fact, is unlimited—they are the true rulers of Indochina; their desires are orders—no Vietnamese, Laotian or Cambodian official would dare resist their orders. Corruption growing from a de facto power affects some of these CIA operatives.

The traffic of opium involves a relatively large number of persons. Outside a few Americans, there are Vietnamese, Laotians and Meo who are involved. Since these persons have their clans, families and friends who live from this traffic, the total number of persons concerned become so great that it is impossible to keep secret the operations.

I also do not question the good faith of CIA Director Richard Helms when he said that "as an agency, in fact, we are heavily engaged in tracing the foreign roots of the drug traffic for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. We hope we are helping with a solution; we know we are not contributing to the problem . . ." However, as I said previously, a line must be drawn and a distinction must be made; for circumstances are not the same—there is not the vaguest resemblance between CIA operatives in Indochina and their colleagues operating in other countries.

In conclusion, CIA Director Helms and Colby, Miss Randal, and McCoy said the truth and did not contradict one another; they perhaps did not talk about the same country.

Tran Van Khiem,

Attorney, Former Deputy,
Vietnamese National Assembly.

Chevy Chase, Md.

STATOTHR

Letters to the Editor

Reply on CIA Drug Charges

SIR: On July 5, W. E. Colby, executive director of the Central Intelligence Agency, responded to a June 29 column by Judith Randal in a letter. He stated that charges of CIA involvement in the narcotics traffic from Southeast Asia were "unsubstantiated." Since I am one of the persons who have made such charges, I would like to give the basis for my findings.

The specific charge is that Air America aircraft chartered by the CIA have been transporting opium harvested by the CIA-supported Meo tribesmen in Laos. I have three sources for this information:

(1) This was told to me by Gen. Ouane Rattikone, former chief of staff of the Royal Laotian Army, who also admitted to me that he had controlled the opium traffic in northwestern Laos since 1962.

(2) Air America's involvement was confirmed by Gen. Thao Ma, former commander of the Laotian Air Force, who refused to carry opium for Gen. Ouane.

(3) I spent six days in August 1971 in the opium-growing Meo village of Long Pot, Laos. (The writer assures us that that is, in fact its name—Ed.) Ger Su Yang, the district officer, told me:

"Meo officers with three or four stripes (captain or more) came from Long Tieng to buy our opium. They came in American helicopters, perhaps two or three men at one time. The helicopter leaves them here for a few days and they walk to villages over there, then come back here and radioed Long Tieng to send another helicopter for them. They take the opium back to Long Tieng."

Verified by Others

This account was verified by other officials, farmers and soldiers in Long Pot. Ger Su Yang also reported that the helicopter pilots were always Americans. Long Pot harvests weighed approximately 700 kilos (1,543 pounds) and could not have been carried without the pilot's knowledge.

In my June 2 testimony before the Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee, I charged that "by ignoring, covering up and failing to counteract the massive drug traffic from Southeast Asia, our government is aiding and abetting the influx of heroin into our nation." I stand by this charge. The U.S. has put top priority on its military and political goals in fighting the war in Indochina. As long as our Asian allies have fought the war, U.S. officials have tolerated governmental corruption. Narcotics trafficking has not been treated differently from stealing U.S. aid, currency manipulation or black marketeering, all of which are rampant.

The CIA has organized a mercenary army of mostly Meo tribesmen in Laos under Gen. Vang Pao. The Meos' cash crop has been opium, and the CIA merely followed their French colonial predecessors' dictum: "In order to have the Meo, one must buy their opium." The CIA may not have bought their opium, but did ship it to market.

Ignored Involvement

More importantly, the CIA, the U.S. Embassy and the whole U.S. apparatus in Laos ignored Gen. Ouane Rattikone's involvement in the narcotics traffic, even while American troops in Vietnam were being decimated by Laotian heroin. His involvement, as well as the location of the heroin laboratories, was common knowledge among even the most junior U.S. officials. As late as June 9, 1972, Nelson Gross, the State Department's drug coordinator, called my charges of Gen. Ouane's involvement "unsubstantiated allegations." However, John Warner of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in a June 19 interview in The Star admitted for the first time that Gen. Ouane controlled and protected the Laotian narcotics traffic for years. Colby quoted Warner in his letter to try to discredit my charges, but conveniently omitted mention that the former chief of staff of the Royal Laotian Army was also the chief narcotics trafficker.

Southeast Asia is fast becoming the major source of heroin for the U.S. market, and high government officials in Laos and South Vietnam are involved in the narcotics traffic. The U.S. government knows this but ignores and covers it up.

The time has come when we have to decide which is more important to our country—propping up corrupt governments in Southeast Asia or getting heroin out of our high schools.

Alfred W. McCoy.

New Haven, Conn.

Editor's Note: McCoy is the author of the Harper's Magazine article, "Flowers of Evil," appearing in its July, 1972, issue, quoted by Miss Randal.

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FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM Empathy

STATION WWDC Radio

DATE July 19, 1972 10:00 PM

CITY Washington, D.C.

AN INTERVIEW WITH FRED BRANFMAN

FRED FISKE: Fred Branfman spent four years in Laos as a volunteer with International Voluntary Services. First two years, wasn't it, Fred?

FRED BRANFMAN: First two years.

FISKE: Then you stayed on for two more years. Move a little closer to the mike, if you will. And the last two years you did what?

BRANFMAN: Well, I gathered research for this book that's just been published, Voices From the Plain of Jars.

FISKE: It's a very interesting book, by the way, Fred.

BRANFMAN: Thank you. And then at the same time I supported myself by working as an interpreter and free lance journalist.

FISKE: You learned the Laotian language the first two years you were there.

BRANFMAN: Yes. I was a volunteer, I had to. Of course I wanted to, but that was part of my job.

FISKE: But you learned it well enough to be somebody's interpreter.

BRANFMAN: Oh, yes.

FISKE: Did you have any basic course?

BRANFMAN: No, when I first got there I studied about six weeks. I never really learned it properly. It's a very complicated language, different letters; it's tonal language, which means that the word "lie" for example -- if you say "lie" or "li" or "li"

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72-4012

17 July 1972 STATOTHR

Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., Editor
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
The Pulitzer Publishing Company
1133 Franklin Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63101

Dear Mr. Pulitzer:

In your editorial of June 27th, you state: "The connection of the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency with the dope traffic in Laos has long been notorious." I write you to state that this allegation is false and unfounded. It is disappointing to see a journal of the Post Dispatch's reputation repeating such an unfounded assertion without a check of its accuracy, any reference to the public record to the contrary, or any apparent effort to specify its sources.

Normally CIA does not respond publicly to allegations made against it. Because of the serious nature of the drug problem in this country, I am writing to you to make the record clear, although the sweeping phraseology of your comment is difficult to counter in detail.

CIA's real "connection" with the 'dope traffic in Laos' has been to work against it. Mr. John E. Ingersoll, Director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, in a letter to Representative Charles S. Gubser of California on May 27, 1971 (reproduced in the Congressional Record of June 2, 1971), stated:

"Actually, CIA has for sometime been this Bureau's strongest partner in identifying foreign sources and routes of illegal trade in narcotics. Their help has included both direct support in intelligence collection, as well as in intelligence analysis and production. Liaison between our two agencies is close and constant in matters of mutual interest. Much of the progress we are now making in identifying overseas narcotics traffic can, in fact, be attributed to CIA cooperation."

- 2 -

Mr. Roland Paul, investigator for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, reported in the April 1971 issue of Foreign Affairs "that due to the long association with the CIA, the Meo tribesmen in Laos were shifting from opium to rice and other crops."

You also allege that "The big shot of the Laotian trade is Gen. Vang Pao, an unsavory character who for the last decade has been commander of the CIA's secret army in northeastern Laos. American diplomatic officials in Laos seem to look the other way; they have confined their recent efforts to promoting Laotian laws against opium addicts." In truth, General Vang Pao is not engaged in the drug trade in Laos. On the contrary, he has, as a leader of the Meo, conducted an energetic program over the years to bring this tribal group to abandon their traditional growth of the opium poppy and develop substitute crops and new forms of livestock to provide daily sustenance and income. He has done this in the course of fighting off a North Vietnamese invasion of the Meo territories in Laos. He has received American assistance in both of these efforts. While vague assertions such as your editorial have been made about him in the past, the U. S. Government personnel in constant contact with him for many years have never found evidence connecting him with trafficking in narcotics.

More than one year ago, in an address before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Mr. Richard Helms, Director of Central Intelligence, stated the following:

"There is the arrant nonsense, for example, that the Central Intelligence Agency is somehow involved in the world drug traffic. We are not. As fathers, we are as concerned about the lives of our children and grandchildren as are all of you. As an Agency, in fact, we are heavily engaged in tracing the foreign roots of the drug traffic for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. We hope we are helping with a solution; we know we are not contributing to the problem."

This statement remains valid today.

Sincerely,

/s/

W. E. Colby
Executive Director

WEC:blp

Distribution: Original Addressee

1 - ExDir

1 - ER

1 - Assistant to the DCI (Thuermer)

1 - OGC

1 - OLC

1 - DD/P

1 - C/NARCOG

1 - SA/DDS

editorials:

From Bangkok To The West

One of the persistent scandals of the demoralizing war in Indochina is the growth of the illicit Asian narcotics traffic of which Americans are the principal victims and for which the United States Government must assume all too much of the blame. The situation is so tragic, and so blatant, that the House Foreign Affairs Committee has voted to cut off all aid to Thailand until its government moves to curb the export of opium.

The measure on which the committee voted was offered by Representatives Wolff of New York and Steele of Connecticut who have visited Thailand and who think that, to put it mildly, the Thais are not doing enough to stop the trade in opium. The substance reaches the United States in the form of heroin; Mr. Wolff says that as much as five tons of heroin, enough to supply the entire addict population of the U.S., leaves Thailand annually.

Of course Thailand is supposed to be a United States "ally" and is increasingly the seat of United States air power as American forces are withdrawn from Vietnam, and that is part of the trouble. Mr. Wolff has said that high-ranking Thai officials are involved in the drug traffic, and he has noted that while opium also comes from Cambodia and Laos these two countries do not have the ability to control it as Thailand does.

The connection of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency with the dope traffic in Laos has long been notorious. The big shot of the Laotian trade is Gen. Vang Pao, an unsavory character who for the last decade has been commander of

the CIA's secret army in northeastern Laos. American diplomatic officials in Laos seem to look the other way; they have confined their recent efforts to promoting Laotian laws against opium addicts.

The United States has seven big air bases in Thailand. They have been absorbing units from Vietnam as efforts are made to comply with President Nixon's troop withdrawal schedules. One base, Nam Phong, is closer to Hanoi than the Da Nang airbase in South Vietnam which recently lost all its remaining fighter squadrons to bases in Thailand. The present announced total of U.S. military strength in South Vietnam, 54,000, does not include 42,000 men on naval ships in the Gulf of Tonkin and 50,000 airmen in Thailand and Guam.

So the U. S. presence in Thailand actually is growing and so is the opportunity for corrupt Thai officials to exploit the situation and develop the drug traffic. Bangkok has long been a center of activity in such international commodities as gold and jewels, and Mr. Wolff says that 11 trawlers now openly transport heroin and opium from Bangkok to Hong Kong. Presumably this comes from northeastern Burma, northern Thailand and northern Laos, the so-called Golden Triangle, and it could not be moved without official connivance.

We feel sure the Thais, who have an authoritarian government, could crack down on this dirty business if they had a mind to, and the United States ought to exert maximum pressure. The idea of cutting off military assistance can at least be clearly understood by the pragmatic Thais.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601

Drug Smuggling: It's the Chinese Connection Now

New Heroin Pipelines Feared as U.S. Agents Clog European Channels

BY RICHARD RESTON
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—The champagne shipment from Le Havre looked like every other champagne shipment.

Nonetheless, U.S. agents knew which corks to pop, and when they did they found the bottles filled with 84 pounds of heroin, worth \$16 million at New York street prices. Agents quickly made three arrests.

Even in an operation full of intrigue, undercover work and tipsters, the haul was an unusual one. But it is the sort of thing that's getting more routine these days. In its drive to break the grip of international drug smugglers, the United States finally can point to a real trend toward success.

For the first time in recent years, the crackdown has been so effective that the price of heroin is up and the quality down in most areas of the country, indicating the supply is more restricted. The street price of the drug in the eastern half of the nation now runs 10% to 50% higher than a year ago.

New Channels Developed

But even as U.S. efforts are paying off, a new problem confronts American authorities—a glut of heroin in Asia and growing evidence new channels are being developed to feed this supply into the states. These channels would bypass the European routes enforcement efforts are beginning to control.

The Asian surplus is a by-product of the Vietnam war. The drug business was built up to prey on American troops. Now, with most of the troops pulled out of the war zone, Asian traffickers are looking for new markets. This country is the logical target.

Documents at the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs already warn of the "Chinese connection." The fear is that the network of overseas Chi-

nese drug smugglers will eventually replace or link up with the old-line "French connection."

Congress Gets Warning

John E. Ingersoll, the bureau's director, recently warned Congress of the danger of incoming Asian heroin:

"As a result of accumulating intelligence, we have reason to believe that certain ethnic Chinese criminal elements in America have geared up an operation to take advantage of the heroin surplus in Southeast Asia.

This problem arises just as U.S. diplomatic efforts begin to pay off elsewhere.

Turkey is getting out of the poppy growing and opium production business. A ban on Turkish opium production went into effect July 1, the result of heavy U.S. political pressure and an American agreement to subsidize any economic dislocation caused by the loss of that country's poppy crop.

This will help. But over the long haul it remains to be seen whether the U.S. effort can stay on top of the scramble by the underworld to offset the Turkish loss.

The pattern of heroin traffic abroad continues to change. New routes are tried as old ones run into difficulty. Latin America, for example, has become a major transshipment channel.

To meet the threat of a possible new flood of heroin into the United States, the Nixon Administration has granted wider responsibility to such agencies as the Narcotics Bureau. Its budget rose in the last four years from \$14 million to \$64 million.

Manpower has more than doubled during this period. Resources are available for technical research on such projects as the use of spy-in-the-sky satellites to locate poppy fields.

115 Special Agents

There are now 115 special U.S. narcotics agents assigned to 47 regional offices in 31 countries.

The Administration also has instructed the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department and Defense Department to assist in the collection of

intelligence information on drug smuggling activity throughout the world.

Washington's objective—now a top priority within the government—is to disrupt as much of the international drug traffic as possible at the point of origin. Drug production and processing areas are under new pressure and this is largely due to improved cooperation between the United States and foreign governments.

Recent intelligence reports and statistics show encouraging results. Seizures of dangerous drugs, arrests and convictions are up.

In 1971 the Narcotics Bureau seized a record \$920 million worth of narcotics and dangerous drugs in the illicit worldwide market. Heroin seizures in 1971 reached nearly 3,800 pounds worth \$740 million, or a 138% increase over the 1970 level.

In almost every drug category, U.S. and foreign narcotics agents seized more drugs in the first three months of 1972 than initial projections had indicated for the entire year.

Logbooks and documents at the narcotics bureau often read like a Hollywood script: Operations Blackjack, Condor and Eagle; the French, Latin American and Chinese connections; the new drug threat from the "Golden Triangle" of Thailand, Burma and Laos.

Agents Overseas

U.S. narcotics agents working overseas are constantly reminded of what they are up against. Reports note seizures of heroin coming into this country in boxes of frozen peas, ski poles, false bottom suitcases, phony holds of cargo ships, automobiles and taped to the skin of special couriers.

Heroin has been detected glued to the back of Polaroid photographs, packed in cuckoo clocks from West Germany and in tin cans. The French have found heroin in tin cans, and the U.S. has found heroin in tin cans. The French have found heroin in tin cans, and the U.S. has found heroin in tin cans. The French have found heroin in tin cans, and the U.S. has found heroin in tin cans.

cal boots sent from Southeast Asia.

The scope of the drug confronting the United States from abroad is immense. Heroin addicts in this country are approaching 600,000.

It is estimated that between 6.5 and 10 tons of heroin are consumed annually in the United States. That equates roughly to between 65 and 100 tons of crude opium, the base for refined heroin.

Total worldwide production of illicit opium is believed to be about 1,300 metric tons.

Of this, approximately 700 tons are produced in the Golden Triangle area of southeast Asia. The remainder comes from India, 250 tons; Afghanistan, 100 tons; Pakistan, 100 tons; Turkey, 50 tons.

The Middle East and Central Asia are responsible for another 1,700 tons of raw opium produced for legitimate medical purposes.

Illegal production of opium, with its heroin by-product, exceeds present U.S. consumption levels. High-grade heroin is now begging for markets throughout the world. The surplus in Asia alone of refined heroin is estimated at 4,000 pounds.

With the impending collapse of the Turkish opium base, the real concern of U.S. narcotics officials is the possible linkup between the Asian drug traffic and French criminal elements.

Pressure on the French-Turkish link has shifted some of the drug traffic to southern parts of West Germany and to areas in and around Amsterdam, according to informed sources.

Recent Testimony

In recent testimony before Congress, Narcotics Bureau Director Ingersoll offered an encouraging view of the battle to break the French connection:

"For the first time, in two decades, the French heroin underworld can no longer operate without

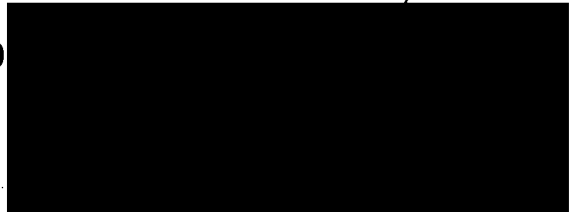
Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001000060001-7

MIAMI, FLA.

NEWS Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80

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JUL 1 3 1972



McGovern confronts demonstrators

By WILLIAM TUCKER
Miami News Reporter

Sen. George McGovern has weathered the first head-on crisis with the most vocal and demanding segment of his followers, coming only a few hours before his nomination.

Noisy members of half a dozen protesting youth groups were not completely satisfied with McGovern's answers in a half-hour face-to-face session in the ornate Doral Beach Hotel lobby. Estimates of their numbers ranged from 150 to 600.

But they did simmer down and disband, ending a 7-hour sitdown in the lobby last night just after the Democratic National Convention opened its presidential nominating session.

McGovern probably could have avoided the showdown on clarification of his war-

ending plans, observers said, had he stood by while security forces removed the early arriving protesters. But at the heart of his successful campaign was a pledge to listen to the clamorous voices of youth and McGovern gave the word to let the protesters stay.

Asked later why he had agreed to the shouted, sharp questioning, McGovern told a reporter:

"We didn't want a repetition of Chicago in 1968. It reminded me of some of the anger, discontent and alienation in the country.

"I felt I might release some of that anger by talking with them. Nobody got hurt, and nobody got roughed up."

To an aide, McGovern commented, "All I can say is we survived." The aide replied that, "There will be no worse audience anywhere in the campaign."

"It's better to hear people out than to drive them out," McGovern said. He gave a Sunday afternoon excursion compared to four years

ago," he said in reference to the Chicago convention riots.

The candidate met the demonstrators wearing an open blue and white shirt and pin-striped slacks.

The youth groups had grown agitated over a report that McGovern was saying he would leave residual troops in Thailand and the Navy in the Tonkin Gulf until the release of all prisoners of war in Indochina had been arranged. They said this was renegeing on his flat pull-out plans.

When they went to the Doral, they added other issues, including legalization of marijuana, amnesty for draft evaders and punishment of police who kill blacks.

The protesters, with the Students for a Democratic Society calling signals, began arriving by bus and auto about 2 p.m. They immediately began chanting, "If George doesn't come, we won't go," and "no more backpedaling, George."

Said Bob Kunst, Miami leader of the Peoples Party, "We're not going through another 1964 when Lyndon Johnson was the peace candidate. There's zero excuse for keeping troops in Thailand and Tonkin."

McGovern and his staff were notified in their 17th floor penthouse base about the goings-on below, and at 3 word came down that the senator would meet with 15 representatives if the rest would leave the hotel. That offer was rejected; all wanted to hear and be heard.

Told by a McGovern aide that the demonstrators were presenting a security problem, SDS spokeswoman Marti Riefe retorted, "Who has the security problem — McGovern or the people of South Vietnam and Thailand?"

Demonstrators were sprawled on the black marble

- The McGovern success story 7A
- The balloting, by states 8A
- Meet George McGovern 9A
- Third Party; maybe, maybe not 9A
- Florida delegation turmoil 9A
- Jack Roberts column 10A
- A look at McGovern's chances now 12A
- Campsite react to vote 11A
- D'Alemberte seeks support 16A
- John Keasler column 22D

floor, munching sandwiches and cavorting beneath a \$30,000 chandelier. The atmosphere was growing heated and hotel employes boarded up the front and cashier's desks and closed the restaurant. The bar off the lobby remained open.

The demonstrators were told that it was McGovern himself who had requested 50 Florida troopers to leave the hotel and not bother them.

At 5 p.m., they were read a statement that McGovern had not altered his position on ending the war. They applauded, but sat pat and set up a clamor for answers to the other issues.

At 6 p.m. the protesters blocked passage through the lobby, plopping themselves in front of elevators and doors to immobilize delegates and the McGovern staff.

The sit-down lasted until 8 p.m. when McGovern campaign strategist Frank Mankeiwicz announced that the candidate would come down for 15 minutes if the demonstrators would leave afterwards.

Finally, at 8:15, McGovern appeared, ringed by 14 Secret Servicemen and looking a little startled by the aggressive attitude of the young crowd whose causes he had championed.

McGovern spoke firmly, although his first remarks were the pandemonium.

"You've been here for a long time because there are things you feel very deeply about," he said. "I'm here to hear what you have to say. It goes without saying that even though we may not be able to agree on everything, every person has a right to be heard."

The clamor grew and no one could hear anyone else until tiny Marti Riefe, hoisted on the shoulders of two fellow SDS leaders and using a megaphone, was allowed to ask the question.

The first question was whether or not he had changed his position on the Vietnam War.

"I pledge that if I become president," McGovern said above the subsiding noise, "every American soldier, every prisoner, every American now involved in Southeast Asia, every American military aircraft flying over Indochina, every bit of aid to the Thieu regime will be withdrawn . . . I have not the slightest doubt that, after 90 days, all American forces will be home and the prisoners will be returned."

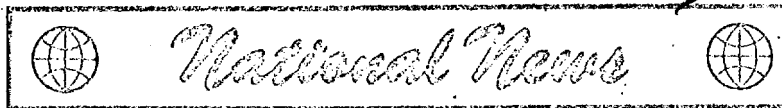
McGovern spoke into a microphone from the 10th step of the carpeted staircase from the Doral lobby to the ballroom. The microphone led to a bullhorn held up by McGovern aides. Below him, Secret Service agents locked arms before the staircase.

McGovern's answer on the null-

12 JUL 1972

STATOTHR

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-016



Charge CIA covers up drug traffic

WASHINGTON — Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-NY) said Monday a "paranoid quest for secrecy" in the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is keeping information about drug traffic in Southeast Asia from the American public.

Rangel, a member of the House Select Committee on Crime, said the CIA has consistently refused his requests for reports on opium and heroin trafficking in the area, although some are available from other agencies.

"This bureaucratic bungling and paranoid quest for secrecy on the part of the Central Intelligence Agency has prevented Congress from effectively determining which of our so-called 'allies' are profiteering in heroin," he said in a prepared statement.

"Each citizen has the fundamental right to know what is in these reports — which governments allow drug production to flourish at the expense of our children's lives."

Rangel said nine reports he is seeking from the CIA name the individuals, tribes, government officers and places involved in heroin trafficking in Southeast Asia. But he said the agency has classified the reports and refused to give them to him.

"It is time for the CIA to stop playing games and to stop covering up for the international merchants of death. . .," he declared.

WASHINGTON POST
11 JUL 1972

CIA Is Assailed By Rep. Rangel On Drug Data

United Press International
Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.) said yesterday "paranoid quest for secrecy" in the Central Intelligence Agency is keeping information about drug traffic in Southeast Asia from the American public.

Rangel, a member of the House Select Committee on Crime, said the CIA has consistently refused his requests for reports on opium and heroin trafficking, although some are already public knowledge or are available from other agencies.

"Each citizen has the fundamental right to know which governments allow drug production to flourish at the expense of our children's lives."

On the clinical side of the AMA

The AMA's 121st annual convention at San Francisco drew a respectable 11,062 physicians to its scientific and postgraduate education programs, but this was more than 2,000 fewer than attended the meeting in the same city four years ago, and more than 3,000 fewer than came there in 1964. The declining importance of the AMA annual was also reflected in fewer industrial exhibits—some big drug houses didn't show—and in a paucity of groundbreaking scientific papers. Here is a selection of reports and exhibits that seemed to arouse the most interest among physicians at this session:

Concrete steps

Methyl methacrylate, the cement applied to total hip prostheses, is equally useful in the surgical treatment of long-bone fractures caused by metastasizing cancer, according to orthopedists at three centers.

In the past two years, 31 patients with metastases, mostly from breast carcinomas, have been operated on at those centers for a total of 32 fractures and two impending fractures. After bone curettage at the site, the bones were fixed with metal nails or rods, or were replaced by Austin Moore prostheses. In each case, the surgeons used generous applications of methacrylate, which has the ability to fill in hollows and hold firmly to both bone and metal.

The result, say Dr. Roderick H. Turner of Harvard, Dr. James O. Johnston of Kaiser-Permanente in Oakland, Calif., Dr. Kevin D. Harrington of the University of California at San Francisco, and Dr. David Green, now of the Bowman Gray medical school, is "re-establishment of skeletal continuity through a combination of materials resembling reinforced concrete."

Freed from what the authors call "the terrifying prospect of enforced immobility and poorly controlled pain" from unfixed pathologic fractures, 29 of the patients were up and walking an average of a week after operation—though in one, the fixation failed and a second operation was needed.

The two who remained bedridden were free of pain. Twelve of the 31 have since died of their disease, but several survivors are now approaching two years of ambulation.

Surgical management of malignant fractures is widely accepted,

the authors pointed out in their talk to the AMA Section on Orthopedic Surgery. But in a significant number of patients, they say, conventional pinning has not been attempted, or has not succeeded in making the patients ambulatory, because the bone was deemed too weak.

A polyurethane polymer called ostamer was tried some 13 years ago as a fixing agent, but there were reports of infection and inflammation at the site. Methyl methacrylate, the authors note, has proved itself "remarkably noninflammatory" during extensive trials in total hip replacement; in their own series, there were no deep wound infections.

Potboiler wins prize in display of intelligence

The CIA surfaced in San Francisco's Civic Auditorium and took a gold medal for the educational value of its exhibit. The prize-winning booth, manned by benign-looking Dr. George P. George and severe-looking John Foulke (right), featured narcotics gear and a miniature pyramid giving off a noxious smoke. This was a weed burner designed to simulate the smell of marijuana—although some medical students who took a whiff found the scent off target. Dr. George had planned to include \$45 worth of the real grass in the exhibit, but federal narcotics men refused to let even the CIA transport it across state lines so a substitute had to be used.

"It's the first time we've ever come out in the open," exclaims Dr. George, who put together the drug-abuse display two years ago at CIA headquarters at McLean, Va., for the instruction of employees. Why did

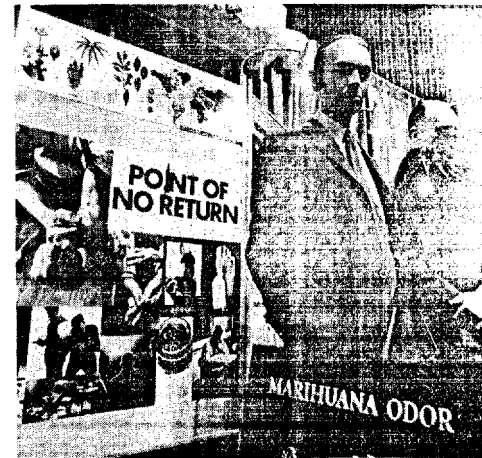
On the screen

One in ten subjects of multiphasic screening at the Kaiser-Permanente facilities in Oakland and San Francisco is found to have some life-threatening disease that is treatable but asymptomatic at testing time.

In reporting this to the AMA Sections on Pathology, Internal Medicine, and Preventive Medicine, Dr. Morris F. Collen of the Kaiser Foundation Research Institute said the cost of the ten checkups required to identify the one treatable positive case amounts to ten times \$40, or \$400—about what it would cost to hospitalize the same diseased patient for four or five days when the condition became symptomatic.

In addition, says Dr. Collen, middle-aged men who have had four straight years of annual multiphasic screening show "a significant reduction in self-rated disability and reported lost time from work." In comparison with a group of Kaiser

continued



the agency decide to blow its cover at the AMA meeting? "We want to show doctors how their local high school, for example, can assemble such a display for under \$400." Can the medical profession expect more such input from the espionage profession? The CIA would like to reveal some of its research on the heart under stress, says Dr. George, "but we haven't gotten clearance yet."

STATOTHR

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM RVR EVENING STATION WRVR/FM
DATE JULY 7, 1972 6:48PM CITY NEW YORK

AIR AMERICA

ADAM POWELL: Back now with RVR EVENING, I'm Adam Powell, and with us once again here in our studio Dul Vesario(?) Vietnam Veterans Against the war, who is taking part in our discussion of the air war. Dul Vesario used to be an operations assistant with Continental Air Services which is far from an airline, it's a long way there. America is used by the CIA for transportation throughout Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam, and also is used as a front of sorts, for agents who do country team work, i.e. organizing mercenaries. America's become something of a fixture, especially in Laos where Congress has said American troops can't get involved. And Dul Vesario also has some information on what other uses Air America and Continental Air Services were put to in terms of transportation of cargo.

DUL VESARIO: Yes, I was there in 1967 as an Operations Assistant, working out of Vienchen Laos(?) and various things I did see, something I didn't even think about until some time around the beginning of this year. But as an Operations Assistant I was able to,--I had to know all about the cargoes of every aircraft that went in and out of Laos, the CIA or the United States mission to Laos, used, where the planes were going and what they were to do with their cargo in Laos. A lot of the cargo, of course, is rice which is dropped to Mao and Yao(?) and black Tai tribesmen in the hills, to support the insurgency warfare, and commando teams in those areas.

But some of the things I did see was a type of cargo that was marked miscellaneous on our manifest, and this comes out as an area the Golden Triangle, which,--some of it is [UNINTELLIGIBLE] which is on the triple border of Thailand, Laos, and Burma.

POWELL: We heard a bit about that last night from the remarks made earlier by a desk officer for the State Department, who refer to this as the largest opium producing area in the world. And he says the United States couldn't really do anything about the opium traffic, or could do very little about it because it was all moving through villages and down roads, and it was hard to monitor it all.

VESARIO: That's not true, it's very easy to monitor with anybody who's ever operated out of there, should know,--I was there earlier than 1967, well 1966, I was up there working with a British friend of mine who's doing a study on the language of the Mao and the Yao, Hilltides(?) and in the course of our studies, we had lived in several Mao and Yao villages, and we had seen the traffic, we had seen the cultivation of the opium, and the traffic, and eventually this, the [UNINTELLIGIBLE] that carried the opium downward, end up in Bonhousai(?) and Bonhousaid airstrip is controlled by the United States, by the CIA.

POWELL: So it would arrive at the airstrip, and never leave, officially.

VESARIO: It would arrive at the town, into various houses, into various warehouses, and so forth, and from there there seems to be a lot of miscellaneous cargo that leaves Bobhousai.

POWELL: On the planes?

VESARIO: On the planes.

POWELL: Operated by the United States?

VESARIO: Operated by the United States.

POWELL: Did you ever see any evidence of five fifteen [UNINTELLIGIBLE] tank division in that area. I've seen and read documentation that there is still a full division of the Nationalist Chinese Army operating along that border, in that area, that are acting as protective agents for the opium traffic there, the cops for that area. Did you see any of that?

VESARIO: Three nights out of Cheng Lai(?) one of the large towns in northern Thailand, as we were making our way to several Mao villages, we were suddenly stopped by two people in military clothing, and the military clothing was new, they were carrying M-1 which was a standard U S weapon at one time, equipment were new, their weather equipment were new, they were Chinese, and they spoke very good English, and they asked us what we were doing in that area, and the seemed about eighteen, nineteen, twenty, early twenties or late teens, and the Cumingtan(?) Division that was left there was supposed to be,-- was a remnant of the old forces that were cut off from the Cheng Kai Shek forces, and were forced to live there on their own. But certainly their supplies were new, their clothing was new, and the people were...

POWELL: Well armed?

VESARIO: Yes.

MAN: And not a guerrilla pattern of supplies, to get new uniforms and equipment, obviously they're being supplied from...

VESARIO: Yes, that's another thing, too, is every,--I don't know the schedule, but there is regular air drops in that area, for the Kumingtan forces.

MAN: By whom?

VESARIO: They're in unmarked planes, and this is something that the air defense of Thailand is supposed to be in cooperation with the United States Air Force, and if they don't know about these planes, then their defense is very very leaky.

POWELL: What is going,--what happened to the cargo, the miscellaneous cargoes, where did they go?

VESARIO: They went from [UNINTELLIGIBLE] which is Bonhoosai, to [UNINTELLIGIBLE] which is Vien Chen.

POWELL: The capitol?

VESARIO: It's the administrative capitol, there are two capitols.

POWELL: And then from there...

VESARIO: From there there would be special handling, from there with special crews, they would sometimes stay on the aircraft, and taken to Lima three nine(?) which is [UNINTELLIGIBLE] a pop saying which is Lima one one(?) Now what I'm saying, all these is code names, is all the flight names given by Air America and Continental, and the CIA, when you refer to sights you refer to them as,-- in Lima number or CRR numbers.

POWELL: There seems to be some evidence, not only from you, but from a number of other people, that Air America was definitely involved in,--was definitely a rather key link in transporting much of this traffic, which was the opium traffic.

VESARIO: Yes, definitely, because there is only three air lines that go in and out of Bonhoosai, Continental Air Services, Air America, and Royal Airlao(?) and the personnel are pretty much interchangeable. When you quit working for Royal Airlao, you go to work for Continental or Air America, and vice versa, and also Royal Airlao is subsidized by the U S Government.

POWELL: So two of the airlines are run by the CIA, and the other one is subsidized by the United States, and there seem to be a number of accounts the way that a lot of the opium that comes out of there, reaches the outside world. I'd like to thank you for being with us. We've been talking to Dul Vesario, Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

STATOTHR

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R0

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

5 July 1972

Mr. B. Brooks Thomas
Vice President & General Counsel
Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.
10 East 53d Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Mr. Cord Meyer has asked me to respond to your letter to him of June 30th in connection with the book, THE POLITICS OF HEROIN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, by Alfred W. McCoy.

As you are no doubt aware, Mr. McCoy testified on 2 June 1972 before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee. His testimony included allegations concerning support of the international opium traffic by U. S. agencies, including the Central Intelligence Agency, and numerous other allegations concerning participation in the opium traffic by both Americans and local personnel in Southeast Asia.

In the light of the pernicious nature of the drug traffic, allegations concerning involvement of the U. S. Government therein or the participation of American citizens should be made only if based on hard evidence. It is our belief that no reputable publishing house would wish to publish such allegations without being assured that the supporting evidence was valid. It was on this basis that Mr. Meyer talked to Mr. Canfield and Mr. Wyeth. It is Mr. Meyer's understanding that they agreed with this position and, therefore, said that a copy of the galley proofs would be made available to us. If this were done, we believe we could demonstrate to you that a considerable number of Mr. McCoy's claims about this Agency's alleged involvement are totally false and without foundation, a number are distorted beyond recognition, and none is based on convincing evidence. We are not alone in this position

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as the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs also considers Mr. McCoy's claims to be essentially based on rumor or hearsay.


Mr. Nelson Gross, the Secretary of State's Senior Advisor and Coordinator for International Narcotics Matters, wrote on 8 June 1972 to Senator Proxmire, the Chairman of the Subcommittee before which Mr. McCoy appeared, and refuted a number of Mr. McCoy's major allegations. In testimony before an informal congressional panel of U. S. Representatives in New York City on 9 June 1972, Mr. Gross again refuted allegations made by Mr. McCoy but in more detail.

Ordinarily this Agency does not respond to public criticism. However, in this case we are under the strongest directives to support the U. S. Government's effort against the international narcotics traffic and are bending every effort to do so. We believe we cannot stand by and see baseless criticism designed to undermine confidence in that effort without trying to set the record straight. This, of course, in no way affects the right of a publisher to decide what to publish. I find it difficult to believe, however, that a responsible publisher would wish to be associated with an attack on our Government involving the vicious international drug traffic without at least trying to ascertain the facts.

I trust I have made quite clear our reason for asking to see the text of Mr. McCoy's book prior to publication and have also given you reason to consider your own responsibilities in this matter.

STATINTL Sincerely,


Lawrence R. Houston
General Counsel

OGC:LRH:jeb
O-Addressee
1-ExDir
1-DDP
1-Asst to DCI-Mr. Thuermer
1-SA/DDS


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JUL 1972

Letters to the Editor

The CIA Responds

SIR: As you are aware, the Central Intelligence Agency seldom responds to criticism of any sort. It cannot remain silent, however, when a newspaper with The Star's reputation prints an article alleging that this agency supports the heroin traffic in Southeast Asia. I refer to the column by Judith Randal in The Star of 29 June.

So serious a charge should be made only on the basis of the most convincing evidence. Miss Randal states only that "reporters have been hearing for more than a year" and then refers to an article in Harper's magazine by a graduate student, Alfred W. McCoy.

Charges of this nature have been made previously and each time have been most carefully investigated and found to be unsubstantiated. The public record on this subject is clear. There is, for instance, a report by Roland Paul, investigator for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in the April 1971 issue of Foreign Affairs, which states: "... due to the long association with the CIA, the Meo tribesmen in Laos were shifting from opium to rice and other crops."

The Congressional Record of June 2, 1971, printed a letter from John E. Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, to Representative Charles S. Gubser of California, which states: "Actually, CIA has for some time been this bureau's strongest partner in identifying foreign sources and routes of illegal trade in narcotics. Their help has included both direct support in intelligence collection, as well as in intelligence analysis and production. Liaison between our two agencies is close and constant in matters of mutual interest. Much of the progress we are now making in identifying overseas narcotics traffic can, in fact, be attributed to CIA cooperation."

Miss Randal's article is also in contrast to the two articles by your staff writer, Miriam Ottenberg, on June 18 and 19, 1972, in which she pointed out: "U.S. narcotics agents are making a sizable dent in the Southeast Asian dope traffic and—despite reports to the contrary—America's Asian allies and the CIA are helping them do it." And she quoted John Warner of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs as saying, "he had seen nothing of an evidentiary nature from Mr. McCoy 'other than gossip, conjecture and old history'."

Narcotics addiction is one of this country's most serious social problems. The Central Intelligence Agency is dedicated to eradicating this menace and, specifically, to interdicting the flow of narcotics entering this country.

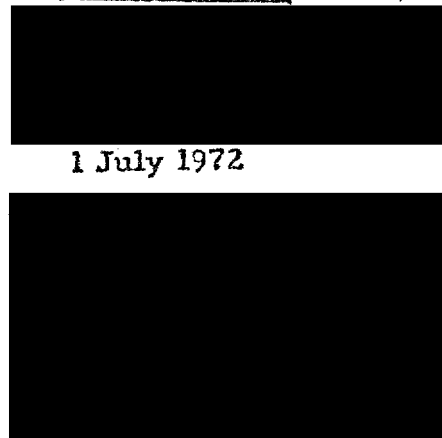
It is difficult to understand why a writer would publish material tending to undermine confidence in this effort without the most convincing proof. More than one year ago, in an address before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Richard Helms, director of Central Intelligence, stated: "There is the arrant nonsense, for example, that the Central Intelligence Agency is somehow involved in the world drug traffic. We are not. As fathers, we are as concerned about the lives of our children and grandchildren as are all of you. As an agency, in fact, we are heavily engaged in tracing the foreign roots of the drug traffic for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. We hope we are helping with a solution; we know we are not contributing to the problem."

This statement remains valid today.

W. E. Colby,
Executive Director,
Central Intelligence Agency.

STATOTHR

Executive Registry
73-3746



1 July 1972

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the Evening Star of 29 June

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by Mr. Alfred W. McCoy.

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Alfred W. McCoy

FLOWERS OF EVIL



The CIA and the heroin trade

Ladies and gentlemen," announced the genteel British diplomat, raising his glass to offer a toast, "I give you Prince Sopsaisana, the uplifter of Laotian youth."

The toast brought an appreciative smile from the guest of honor, cheers and applause from the luminaries of Vientiane's diplomatic corps, assembled at the farewell banquet for the Laotian ambassador-designate to France, Prince Sopsaisana. A member of the royal house of Xieng Khouang, the Plain of Jars region, the Prince was vice-president of the National Assembly, chairman of the Lao Bar Association, president of the Lao Press Association, president of the *Alliance Française*, and a member in good standing of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League. After receiving his credentials from the King in a private audience at the Luang Prabang Royal Palace on April 8, 1971, he was treated to an unprecedented round of cocktail parties, dinners, and banquets. For Sopsai, as his friends call him, was not just any ambassador; the Americans considered him an outstanding example of a new generation of honest, dynamic national leaders, and it was widely rumored in Vientiane that Sopsai was destined for high office some day.

The final send-off party at Vientiane's Wattay Airport on April 23 was one of the gayest affairs of the season. Everybody was there; the champagne bubbled, the canapés were flawlessly French, and Mr. Ivan Bastouil, chargé d'affaires at the French Embassy, gave the nicest speech. Only after the plane had soared off into the clouds did anybody notice that Sopsai had forgotten to pay for his share of the reception.

His arrival at Paris's Orly Airport on the morning of April 25 was the occasion for another reception. The French ambassador to Laos, home for a brief visit, and the entire staff of

the Laotian Embassy had turned out to welcome the new ambassador. There were warm embraces, kissing on both cheeks, and more effusive speeches. Curiously, the Prince insisted on waiting for his luggage like any ordinary tourist, and when his many suitcases finally appeared after an unexplained delay, he immediately noticed that a particular one was missing. Sopsai angrily insisted that his suitcase be delivered at once, and French authorities promised, most apologetically, that it would be sent to the Laotian Embassy as soon as it was found. Sopsai departed reluctantly for yet another reception at the Embassy, and while he drank the ceremonial champagne with his newfound retinue of admirers, French customs officials were examining one of the biggest heroin seizures in French history.

The Ambassador's suitcase contained sixty kilos of high-grade Laotian heroin — worth \$13.5 million on the streets of New York, its probable destination. A week later, a smiling French official presented himself at the Embassy with the suitcase in hand. Although Sopsaisana had been bombarding the airport with outraged telephone calls for several days, he suddenly realized that accepting the suitcase was tantamount to an admission of guilt and so, contrary to his righteous indignation, he flatly denied that it was his. Ignoring his declaration of innocence, the French government refused to accept his diplomatic credentials, and Sopsai remained in Paris for no more than two months before he was recalled to Vientiane.

Fragile flower, cash crop

Alfred W. McCoy, a Ph.D. student in Southeast Asian history at Yale University, has written numerous articles on Southeast Asia and has edited a political history of Laos.

Adapted from a chapter in The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia, by Alfred W. McCoy with Cathleen B. Read, to be published by Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., in September. Copyright © 1972 by Alfred W. McCoy.

Despite its resemblance to comic opera, the Prince Sopsaisana affair offered a rare glimpse into the workings of the Laotian drug trade. That trade is the principal business of Laos, and to a certain extent it depends on the support (money, guns, aircraft, etc.) of the CIA. Unfortunately, the questions raised by the Prince's disgrace were never asked, much less answered. The French government overlooked the em-

July 1972

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601

STATOTHR

ESPIONAGE/BY PAUL MESKIL
AND FRANK FASO

PEKING'S SPIES IN AMERICA

All major political bodies spy on each other, no doubt, but Red China's activity in the United States—intelligence-gathering, smuggling and assassinations—has been the best-kept secret. Up to now

AT 6:30 ON the warm Sunday evening of September 20, 1970, the feature film ended in the Sun Sing Theater in New York City's bustling Chinatown. The house lights went on and about 150 men, women and children filed out of the small, boxlike movie house.

Among them were Jerry Ginn and Larry Wong, both 35 and members of the Hong Kong Seaman's Union (HKSU). They were tailed by Richard Wo (not his real name), an FBI agent investigating a Red Chinese spy ring that was pouring agents, aliens and narcotics into the United States.

Outside the theater, Ginn and Wong turned west on East Broadway and started towards Chatham Square, the crossroads of Chinatown. The setting sun was in their eyes and they probably never noticed the neatly dressed little man approaching them.

He was five-foot-two, 140 pounds, with a hatchet face, eyes like black almonds and bushy black hair combed straight back from a high, bony forehead. He walked up to Ginn and Wong, now about 50 yards from the theater and without a word fired four slugs at the seamen. The shots were almost drowned out by the roar of a subway train on the overhead bridge.

It happened so quickly that even the FBI man was caught by surprise. Instinctively, he reached for his revolver,

Paul Meskil and Frank Faso are investigative reporters for the New York Daily News.

then realized he could not interfere: the case he was working on was too important to lose his cover by making an arrest.

Three slugs hit Ginn in the chest; he was dead when he hit the pavement. The fourth bullet shattered Wong's jaw, but he survived. When the seamen fell, the little man holstered his gun and walked away.

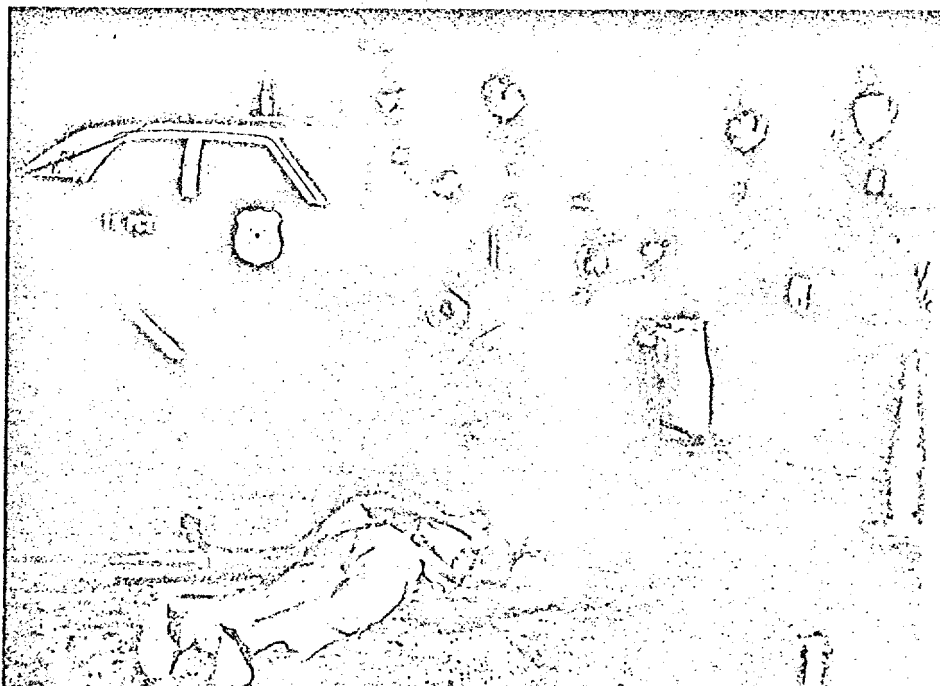
Followed at a discreet distance by the FBI agent and several other witnesses, he soon paused outside a nearby two-story building which is the headquarters of a militant Chinese organization. There some 30 young men and women were attending some sort of meeting on the ground floor when the gunman opened the front door and shouted inside in Cantonese.

As if waiting for his signal, about a dozen youths rushed out and formed a human wall between the killer and his pursuers. Surrounded by the members, the little man continued down the street, turned and vanished from view. Three hours later he entered the bus terminal in midtown Manhattan and caught the 9:45 p.m. Greyhound to Montreal.

Carrying a small black bag containing clothes and other personal effects, plus a U.S. passport identifying him as John Lee, an American citizen and businessman living in Newark, New Jersey, he crossed into Canada without incident and arrived in Montreal at dawn, unaware that his presence there

[Continued]

Peking agent Jerry Ginn got greedy: his bosses eliminated him on a New York street.



ATOTHR CELESTINO MATTA-DUENO

HON. JORGE L. CORDOVA

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 29, 1972

Mr. CORDOVA. Mr. Speaker, thousands of families in the rural areas of Puerto Rico would join me in paying tribute to Mr. Celestino Matta-Dueno, who retired on March 31 after a long and distinguished career as Director of the Farmers Home Administration for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

This is the rural credit service of the Department of Agriculture. Under Mr. Matta-Dueno's guidance it has become a tremendous force for better living conditions in the rural provinces of Puerto Rico, as it has throughout the rural United States.

Largely because of the hard work and leadership of Mr. Matta-Dueno, FHA is one of the finest public service organizations in Puerto Rico. Nevertheless, the many who have benefited from his services regret that he is no longer in an active role. They honor him for his dedication and accomplishments in their behalf.

For 31 years, Mr. Matta-Dueno has been directly involved in improving conditions for the small family farmer. He also has taken a leading part in the development of housing credit and community facility credit now extended to the nonfarm rural population through the Farmers Home Administration.

Mr. Matta-Dueno came to FHA's predecessor agency, the Farm Security Administration, as a farm program specialist in 1941 after graduation from the University of Puerto Rico and 4 years of work as an instructor in vocational agriculture. In 1947, when the agency was reorganized as the Farmers Home Administration, he was named Director of the Farm Production Loan Division for Puerto Rico. A year later he became chief of all FHA program operations in Puerto Rico. In 1961 he assumed the state directorship for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and has held that position for the past 11 years.

Twice in his terms of service he received the Superior Service Award of the Department of Agriculture, a record that very few have achieved.

On the first of these occasions, in 1957, he was honored for his leadership in adapting the FHA program to a Spanish-language basis for serving the people of Puerto Rico, and conducting the programs in such a way that a revolutionary improvement was brought about in the fortunes of many rural families.

Farm families in the hills and obscure rural districts, whose living conditions were sadly substandard and whose practices and resources in agriculture were antiquated, found the credit, training, and counsel they needed for a new beginning, in the FHA supervised credit program as carried out under Mr. Matta-Dueno's direction. A familiar figure, widely known, and respected through the rural districts, he was the principal architect of a FHA field force

that was able and willing to work with the people in their fields and in their homes. By Mr. Matta-Dueno's example, the Farmers Home Administration in Puerto Rico is the extreme opposite of an office-bound bureaucracy; and, I have observed, so it is today throughout the rural United States under the fine national leadership of Administrator James V. Smith.

The second of Mr. Matta-Dueno's Superior Service Awards was conferred last year. He was honored for the continuing expansion and improvement of FHA services in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands during his work as state director since 1961.

Of all the so-called state jurisdictions in the FHA organization, our islands rank at the top in maximum value delivered to the people, to the community, and to the common public interest.

Credit services through the agency in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands increased fivefold, from \$3 million to \$15 million a year, between 1960 and 1970, and rose to the level of \$22 million in fiscal 1971. Beyond the \$9.5 million now outstanding through 2,500 loans to enable small farm families to own or improve the operation of their land, FHA has developed new programs for upgrading rural housing and community facilities, and brought them to a high level of value over the past decade.

Housing credit of \$334,000 was extended to exactly 65 families in 1960. Last year, 1,800 families in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands were served with nearly \$19 million in credit to finance modernized, adequate housing for families of low or modest income in the rural towns and countryside.

In directing the growth of this program, Mr. Matta-Dueno has worked with housing specialists to design a serviceable modern home adequate for a family in the Puerto Rico climate. This cement block home has become a standard for efficient construction at reasonable cost. It has supplanted thousands of frame huts with thatched or tin roofs which once were the common standard for rural housing in Puerto Rico.

Farmers Home Administration loan and grant financing to plan and build rural community water and waste disposal systems was introduced during the 1960's. This program has led to modernization of services in nearly 100 communities that previously relied on much more primitive facilities.

In all, Mr. Matta-Dueno bears the responsibility for over 56,000 loans and grants with a value above \$150 million.

Mr. Matta-Dueno's administration has been marked by excellent and highly productive cooperation with every level of government in Puerto Rico from government to village. He has chaired an inter-governmental committee for this purpose. He also has made his mark as an advocate of better services for rural people by persuading health clinics, banks, and many other lines of business and public institutions to expand their facilities in the small towns.

In all respects the system for delivering credit, personal service and the ways and means of progress in rural Puerto Rico,

as developed under Mr. Matta-Dueno's direction, has been a fine exhibit to the world for the United States.

Representatives from many countries, especially in underdeveloped areas of the world, have studied the workings of the Farmers Home Administration in Puerto Rico. Mr. Matta-Dueno has been loaned as consultant to other Latin American countries that seek to improve their rural credit systems along lines of the Farmers Home Administration. His programs in Puerto Rico also have pointed the way to better service for Spanish-speaking citizens in various parts of the continental United States.

As he retires to private life, we hope and expect that his counsel still can be called upon, for we know his devotion to a better chance, a better life for the rural people of Puerto Rico.

We commend Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz, and Administrator James V. Smith of the Farmers Home Administration, on the choice of Dr. Manuel Soldevila as successor to Mr. Matta-Dueno. Dr. Soldevila also is a product of our University of Puerto Rico. He comes to FHA after outstanding service as a field administrator of agricultural experiment work in Puerto Rico. We are confident of his ability to carry on and continue the development of Farmers Home Administration programs, and to achieve the ever greater goals of service that are set by this fine agency.

CIA DOES NOT SMUGGLE OPIUM

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 29, 1972

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, once again there has been an upsurge in charges alleging direct CIA involvement in drug traffic in Southeast Asia. These allegations have proven false in the past. Last year I personally looked into similar charges and I am satisfied myself that they were without substance. Moreover, in April 1971, Mr. Richard Helms, Director of Central Intelligence, made a public categorical denial of Agency involvement in drug traffic before the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He has personally reaffirmed this denial to me. What the facts actually demonstrated was that the CIA is cooperating closely with other Government agencies in a concerted effort to curb the world drug traffic. The efforts of these U.S. agencies are designed to persuade countries, which for centuries have accepted the growth or local consumption of illicit drugs, to take stringent steps against such practices. They are also cooperating to eliminate the flow of these drugs into the United States.

Most recently, Mr. Alfred McCoy, a graduate student who is about to publish a book on the drug traffic in Southeast Asia, has made the same charges against the CIA. In early June, he aired his charges before a Senate subcommittee and received considerable publicity. Immediately after Mr. McCoy's

Accused Drug King Wants in Latin Jail

Around the Americas

BY LOUIS UCHITELLE
Associated Press Writer

ASUNCION, Paraguay — (AP) — The man the U.S. government says is the kingpin of heroin smuggling from Latin America sits in a jail cell with a painting and photographs on the walls.

He wears an orange, black and white sport shirt, light blue slacks and highly polished loafers.

"Do I look like I deal in narcotics" asks Auguste Joseph Ricord, arms folded across his chest.

The 61-year-old Frenchman looks like a balding grandfather. He's short and wiry, and endless talker who removes his glasses frequently and points with them to emphasize what he considers to be the holes in the case brought by the United States to extradite him.

ONE PARAGUAYAN court rejected the U.S. extradition request. A three-judge court of final appeal is to rule by mid-July. If extradition is granted, a U.S. Air force jet is scheduled to fly Ricord direct to New York City for trial in U.S. District Court on conspiracy charges.

"I do not understand the accusations against me; they are a mystery . . . they are lies," Ricord said in a recent interview. "Paul Boulard asked me if I knew drug people. I said yes. How could I not know them. I have restaurants in Buenos Aires and Asuncion. I could not help knowing people who ate in my restaurants. But I stuck to my business."

Boulard is a special agent of the U.S. Customs Service. According to his sworn testimony on file in the Paraguayan courts to support the extradition request. Boulard's investigation led to Ricord's indictment in March 1971 by a federal grand jury in New York City.

At the request of the U.S. government, Ricord was arrested here a few days later by Paraguayan police, and

Boulard flew to Paraguay to interview him.

"I THOUGHT my real name was Andres," said Ricord, who is alleged to have used Andres as an alias. "He did not even know I own the Paris-Niza Hotel and Restaurant here . . . I am accused by a CIA agent and this man has lied."

For 15 months, Ricord's home has been a 10- by 12-foot cell in a special wing of Asuncion's state penitentiary.

In contrast to the drab surroundings, the walls of Ricord's cell are filled with posters of Paris at night, the Eiffel Tower, a French countryside and Ricord's own oil painting done in jail of a Paris street — nostalgia for France, which Ricord has not seen in 25 years.

A death sentence awaits him there. He was convicted of having collaborated with the Nazi's during World War II. He also has a police record in Argentina, where he lived until moving to Paraguay in 1968.

RICORD'S CELL also has photos of his family, including a snapshot of a woman and girl in bikinis beside the swimming pool at the Paris-Niza Hotel. One is his 15-year-old daughter, Josefina, a schoolgirl in Asuncion, who "believes in my innocence." The other is Ricord's niece, Elena Ana Bonsignour, 33. She brings her uncle meals each day.

Talking about his case, Ricord refers to seven folders containing legal briefs, testimony, court rulings, newspaper clippings, and one special folder labeled "Defense." It contains Ricord's answers to each charge.

U.S. officials assert that Ricord was — and perhaps still is — the czar of a Latin-American drug-running network that accounts for more than half the hard narcotics entering the United States.

The U.S. administration has placed so much importance on narcotics control and Ricord's extradition that the issues threaten to disrupt U.S.-Paraguayan relations for the first time since President Alfredo Stroessner, a staunch anti-Communist, came to power in 1954.

PARAGUAY HAS no narcotics law, but one is now before its Congress. The U.S. Embassy is pressuring for quick passage. The embassy also has delivered to the Foreign Ministry a copy of U.S. legislation enacted in February authorizing President Nixon to withhold aid to any country failing to halt the flow of drugs to the United States.

The United States gives Paraguay \$12 million annually in loans, grants and other assistance, plus \$1.5 million in military aid.

Most Paraguayans acknowledge that smuggling is a major Paraguayan activity, and that small planes loaded with contraband — usually cigars, liquor and appliances — operate from private airstrips in the countryside.

The Ricord case began in October 1970, when U.S. authorities seized 93 pounds of almost pure heroin hidden in a single-engine plane carrying its owner, Cesar Bianchi, and Renato Balestra, both Paraguayans. Bianchi and Balestra decided to cooperate with U.S. authorities, leading to Ricord's arrest.

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WASHINGTON CLOSE-UP

Homage to CIA Drug Fight Ironic

By JUDITH RANDAL

The American Medical Association, which predictably offers few surprises at its annual meeting, achieved the unexpected this year.

As one entered the convention's exhibition hall in San Francisco's Civic Center, one's nostrils were assailed by an odor more appropriate to that city's Haight-Ashbury district — an aroma strongly suggestive of the burning leaves and blossoms of the female Cannabis sativa plant.

The scent fired the curiosity of all in the hall who had ever sampled marijuana and drew from the wife of one physician attending the meeting the remark that she had smelled that odor many times in the back of the school bus she drives.

That was only the beginning of the surprise. Following one's nose, one soon came upon a booth housing an exhibit on drug abuse which featured a display about many drugs, including pot, and a device that generated a synthetic smoke that was close to, if not identical with the real thing.

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There was still more surprise to come in this display, which — it turned out — had won the gold medal in the AMA's coveted Billings Prize competition as one of the outstanding scientific exhibits of the meeting. The exhibitor was no mere doctor or pharmaceutical firm, or even your average, run-of-the-mill science-oriented government bureau. It was that most unlikely of contenders for an AMA award: The Central Intelligence Agency.

Dr. Donald Borcharding of the CIA was on hand to explain the exhibit's origins. Like most agencies, he said, the CIA has an occupational health division whose job it is to promote the well-being of its personnel. When CIA officials at the agency's Langley,

Va., headquarters became worried about pot, LSD, speed, heroin and the like, Borcharding and his colleagues assembled the display.

According to the CIA medic, it was an immediate hit, not only at the Langley "Spook Farm" but also among groups in the community, such as Knights of Columbus lodges and parent-teacher associations. The CIA is thinking about putting together "how-to-do-it" instructions so that other groups can build their own replicas.

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Granted, the crusade against drug abuse needs all the help it can get. But the trouble with the CIA exhibit is that it does not tell things strictly as they are. For example, it implies that the use of marijuana sets the stage for later use of heroin. This issue is by no means settled and, as a matter of fact, there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that alcohol, rather than marijuana, is the first drug to be abused by most people who subsequently become heroin addicts.

In any case, many experts believe that if there is any connection whatever between pot and heroin, it is their illegal status and that if the former were "decriminalized," its link with the latter would tend to disappear.

More important to this discussion than an argument about the casual relationship of the two drugs is the point that the CIA does not come into the campaign with completely clean hands. Reporters have been hearing for more than a year that the agency has been supporting the heroin traffic in the Golden Triangle region of Laos, Thailand and Burma, and that this opium byproduct has been one of the more important cargoes carried by Air America, an airline operating in Southeast

Asia whose charter business is almost exclusively with the CIA. The Golden Triangle region, incidentally, is said to grow 70 percent of the world's illicit opium from which morphine base, morphine and eventually heroin are derived.

For more details on the CIA's complicity in the heroin mess, one might consult an article entitled "Flowers of Evil" by historian Alfred W. McCoy, in the July issue of Harper's magazine. Part of a forthcoming book called "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia," the article spells out in detail how Vag Pao, long the leader of a CIA secret army in Laos, has become even more deeply involved in the drug traffic and what role this traffic has played in the importation of heroin into the United States and its use by our troops in South Vietnam.

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Writes McCoy of the situation: "As a result of direct and indirect American involvement, opium production has steadily increased, high-grade heroin production is flourishing and the Golden Triangle's poppy fields have become linked to markets in Europe and the U.S."

The CIA went away from the San Francisco meeting with a gold medal and, no doubt, a good many doctors who saw the exhibit went away impressed. Some of them probably learned for the first time what pot smells like.

But for others there was a bitter incongruity in the government's super-secret spy arm winning a medal for an exhibit on the horrors of drug abuse. To some it was a little like the Mafia getting a top award for a display of the evils of extortion, prostitution and gambling — and a few of the more socially aware physicians present did not hesitate to say so.

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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 leveled 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—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 cars 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.]

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-

In our own country, we stand in greater need of what we call conscience. Order is Heaven's first law; the Universe, with the infinity of celestial bodies, is regulated by law and maintained in order. The human creature on our own planet—as well as those which may inhabit any like orbs—is endowed with the faculty of reason; with faith, that is to say, reasoned hope; with the belief of the pure in heart that the soul shall have immortal being.

"Hats off to the past, and coats off to the future," must yet be the homely slogan.

I believe that mirth and music are material gifts from Heaven to Man, in compensation for the tragedies of life. Good thought and conduct constitute good morals. Evil is the exact opposite. If we transgress, we are punished, in one way or another.

All the qualities of humanity that are possessed of hope, faith, courage, diligence, reason, love of home and country, vision and noble ideals, must be exercised as indispensable labors in humanity's forward march. Apropos, the spirit of reverence and the Church must perform their necessary roles.

These observations are indeed trite. The multiplication table is trite, but reliance on the mathematics of Newton took the Astronauts to the moon, and thru the voids of space.

Our Baronial Order—whose members are descendants of sureties of A.D. 1215, has great opportunity for noble and patriotic service. It has also great responsibility, and, I believe, is meeting its obligations with fine dispatch.

The Magna Charta is a lengthy instrument of 61 articles. On June 12, 1215, it was adopted to hold in restraint, a cruel, despotic King John of England. Twenty-five sureties were named from the roster of Barons, to require the arbitrary King to pay allegiance to the Great Charter, which relates to benefits and property and other rights to the Barons, as well as the people in general.

Under the benefits conferred by Magna Charta, England, and the course of civil and religious liberty made lasting progress.

The next great document of liberty was the Mayflower Compact, adopted in November 1620 by the Pilgrims in Cape Cod Harbor. It was brief, but of essential character. It provided, in simple words, a comprehensive, organic and formal instrument enabling the establishment of Pilmoth Plantation—on the Plymouth Rock site, binding equally on all; and assuring total equality, and to make all needed laws. Under it, the Pilgrims lived and prospered, with complete civil and religious liberty.

This modest compact proved to be the acorn which rooted and grew to the great oak of our Constitutional government, which we must uphold and sustain.

In conclusion, let me say, as did Tiny Tim in the immortal Christmas Story of Dickens, "Lord bless us all, each and everyone!"

CIA SMUGGLES OPIUM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. ASPIN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, I am releasing today substantial new evidence that indicates U.S. pilots flying CIA operated helicopters have been smuggling opium inside Laos.

What this new evidence indicates is that U.S. pilots using U.S.-owned planes are illegally smuggling opium in Laos, some of which has almost certainly been sold to U.S. GI's in Southeast Asia and some of which has almost certainly been smuggled into illicit U.S. drug markets.

I am releasing today a letter which I have received from Alfred McCoy, au-

thor of a forthcoming book on heroin traffic in Southeast Asia, which details the allegation of United States and CIA complicity in drug traffic. If these allegations are true, then the CIA is implicated in fostering the drug traffic that ruins the lives of tens of thousands of Americans.

According to the information Mr. McCoy has given me, a Laotian district chief and other officials have told him that American helicopters flew Meo officers into Laotian villages where they purchased opium. The opium was also transported out by American pilots and planes to Long Tieng, the CIA headquarters in Northern Laos where it was allegedly refined into morphine and eventually heroin.

The Meo tribesmen, as many of my colleagues know, had been recruited by the CIA and form a mercenary army which fights the Pathet Lao Communist guerrillas. For the Meo, opium is considered an important cash crop.

Mr. Speaker, I have asked CIA Director Richard Helms to thoroughly investigate Mr. McCoy's allegations. Since Mr. McCoy obtained his information late last summer it is imperative to determine whether this kind of drug trafficking is still going on. A principal, unanswered question which the CIA must resolve is "At what level in the CIA were officials aware of this illicit drug traffic?"

It is also becoming increasingly clear, Mr. Speaker, that the Nixon administration is covering up and contradicting itself about the importance of, heroin traffic in Southeast Asia. After Mr. McCoy testified before a Senate committee last month the State Department termed his charges about the involvement of Government officials in Southeast Asia as "unsubstantiated." However, the U.S. Army Provost Marshal reported in 1971 that high ranking members of the South Vietnamese Government were in the top "zone" of the four-tiered heroin traffic pyramid.

Mr. McCoy, quite rightly, also disputes the State Department's claim that "Southeast Asia is not a major source of heroin on our market." This statement by the State Department directly contradicts a General Accounting Office report which states that:

The Far East is the second principal source of heroin entering the U.S.

Mr. Speaker, it is imperative to determine whether the CIA is still involved in opium traffic and who was responsible for the alleged involvement of the CIA with the opium growers of Laos.

My letter to Mr. Helms follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., June 27, 1972.

Mr. RICHARD HELMS,
Director, Central Intelligence Agency,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. HELMS: I am publicly releasing today substantial new evidence that indicates that U.S. pilots flying CIA-operated helicopters have been smuggling opium inside Laos. These allegations are contained in a letter and additional information that I have received from Mr. Alfred McCoy, author of a forthcoming book on heroin traffic in Southeast Asia. If these allegations are true, then the CIA is implicated in fostering the drug traffic that ruins the lives of tens of thousands of Americans.

I am writing to you today to request that

you thoroughly investigate Mr. McCoy's allegations. Since Mr. McCoy obtained his information last summer, it is imperative to determine whether this kind of drug trafficking is still going on. A principal unanswered question which the CIA must resolve is: "At what level in the CIA were officials aware of this illicit drug traffic?"

I hope that you will report to me in full the results of your investigation.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

LES ASPIN,
Member of Congress.

ROONEY REQUESTS HALF BILLION FOR RELIEF OF FLOOD RAVAGED STATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. ROONEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in the wake of probably the most destructive flood in America's history I have today announced that I will request an additional half billion dollars in Federal funds for relief in the five States which have been declared disaster areas by President Nixon.

The \$92.5 million now available to the States in the President's disaster relief fund will not begin to compensate the losses suffered by the five States. If Pennsylvania were to receive the entire \$92.5 million it would cover only about 10 percent of the cost of putting the State back together.

I have introduced legislation to provide relief funds in the amount of one-half billion dollars to the States which have been declared disaster areas by the President. This money would be disbursed by the Office of Emergency Preparedness whose primary function is the administration of the President's disaster relief fund. In past crises involving disaster areas in several States OEP has apportioned financial aid to the States according to the amount of damage sustained in the respective States. This is the only fair and realistic method of tackling the massive cleanup job ahead.

Pennsylvania, hardest hit by the flooding by a wide margin, would receive the lion's share of the supplemental appropriation, and Florida, having the least amount of damage of the five States, would receive the smallest portion. The remaining money would be distributed by OEP to Virginia, Maryland, and New York.

Other Members and I of the Pennsylvania delegation will meet with Governor Shapp today to discuss the crippling effects of the flood.

I hope to explore all avenues of Federal assistance with the Governor and arrive at some concrete goals with regard to the needs of the stricken Pennsylvania communities.

BEEF PRODUCERS GET SHORT END OF STICK

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. SKUBITZ) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, in my opinion the action the President took on

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Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R00

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Chinese Connection Becoming

Best Seller in Heroin

By JERRY GREENE

Washington, June 26 — What used to be a trickle of heroin from Southeast Asia's Golden Triangle into the U.S. has turned into a torrent, and the "Chinese connection" is now the hottest target in the global war against the illicit drug traffic. Red China has no part in the connection.

John Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, is slated to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee tomorrow with a somber account of how Chinese aliens, most of them seamen, are gearing up to smuggle into the U.S. an enormous stock of heroin made surplus since the American market in Vietnam faded in 1971.

Intelligence reports received here by the CIA, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Ingersoll's own bureau, and in Canada by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police provide an outline of the Chinese connection operations. It is expected that Ingersoll will draw heavily on this store of information in his Senate testimony.

The connection web has spread from Bangkok, Singapore and Hong Kong in the Far East to New York, Norfolk, Charleston and Miami on the East Coast; New Orleans on the Gulf of Mexico, and Los Angeles, Seattle and Vancouver on the West Coast. One thread leads through the Great Lakes to Chicago.

It is of interest that the combined intelligence services have found no evidence whatever that Communist China has been involved in the "connection"—in the production of opium, its refinement into heroin or the smuggling.

Rather, the reports indicate, the drug traffic has been organized by what they call "apolitical" Chinese. They are narcotics dealers after a fast buck, eager to cash in on any shortage resulting from an international crackdown on illegal supplies from the Middle East.

The Golden Triangle is a relatively small, isolated mountain region covering parts of Burma, Laos and Thailand.



Ingersoll's band began watching the development 18 months ago, and the director, after obtaining congressional approval for more agents, opened seven new district offices across the Far East.

U.S. and Canadian agencies, with help from officials in Thailand and other Southeastern Asian nations, have joined in a drive against the smuggling operations, with notable results already.

Web Linked to Two Raids in N.Y.

On June 10, Thai and U.S. agents in Bangkok (the U.S. agents had 6.2 pounds per kilo) of opium, and labora-

tory processing equipment for conversion of the poppy fruit to heroin. This was Chinese connection stuff.

There was a direct link to the web in two raids in New York on April 11, when

seven Chinese were arrested with 11 pounds of heroin. Of the seven, six were ship-jumping seamen. The heroin was part of a 100-pound shipment from Bangkok—brought to this country by a European diplomat.

Six days earlier, a Chinese seaman was arrested in Miami, carrying 10 kilograms of high grade heroin. This particular lot was packed in plastic bags bearing the Double Uoglobe label. That was the brand name used by a refinery in Laos tabbed as a major producer in 1970-71. The refinery has been destroyed.

Chinese seamen have been bringing in small amounts of the narcotics for years, using the dope to pay for assistance when they jumped ship and vanished in the various Chinese communities here and in Canada.

The disappearance act is not difficult; the legal Chinese population in the U.S. has swelled from 237,292 in 1960 to 435,062 in 1970. There were 10,467 new Chinese immigrants in 1971 and during that same year, 39,718 Chinese non-immigrants visited the U.S. More than 14,000 of these came from Hong Kong.

The consumption of heroin in the U.S. is estimated at 6.5 tons annually, an amount that represents from 65 to 100 tons of crude opium.

The intelligence reports put the worldwide production of illicit opium at 1,300 metric tons per year, of which 700 tons come from the Golden Triangle alone. Turkey, long considered as a prime source for opium-heroin for the East Coast of the U.S. was rated at a relatively modest 50 tons per year for the illicit traffic. India was chalked up at 250 tons, Afghanistan 150 tons and Pakistan 200 tons.

Legal opium production for legitimate medical purposes, coming largely from the Middle East and Asia, was reported to be 1,700 tons annually.

The comparatively sudden development of the Chinese connection called for fast action on the part of all American agencies—and those of other governments—who had been sadly undermanned to meet the threat.

The Prospects Are Frightening

Until recently, officials calculated that more than 80% of all heroin retailed in the U.S. was produced in the Marseilles area from opium grown in the Middle East. The agencies estimated that 15% of domestic consumption was grown and refined in Mexico, and only 5% was imported from the Far East.

But by the end of 1971, with the rapid withdrawal of American forces having some small effect, the dope deal-

ers in Bangkok, Hong Kong and Singapore had stacked up unsold supplies of No. 4 heroin totaling 2,000 kilograms—90-96% pure and selling there at \$2,000 or \$3,800 per kilo.

What's worrying the heroin hunters now is the possibility they will be hearing of a Chinese-Corsican connection—a linkage between the opium growers of the Golden Triangle and the expert chemists from Marseilles. The prospects are surely frightening.

editorials:

From Bangkok To The West

One of the persistent scandals of the demoralizing war in Indochina is the growth of the illicit Asian narcotics traffic of which Americans are the principal victims and for which the United States Government must assume all too much of the blame. The situation is so tragic, and so blatant, that the House Foreign Affairs Committee has voted to cut off all aid to Thailand until its government moves to curb the export of opium.

The measure on which the committee voted was offered by Representatives Wolff of New York and Steele of Connecticut who have visited Thailand and who think that, to put it mildly, the Thais are not doing enough to stop the trade in opium. The substance reaches the United States in the form of heroin; Mr. Wolff says that as much as five tons of heroin, enough to supply the entire addict population of the U.S., leaves Thailand annually.

Of course Thailand is supposed to be a United States "ally" and is increasingly the seat of United States air power as American forces are withdrawn from Vietnam, and that is part of the trouble. Mr. Wolff has said that high-ranking Thai officials are involved in the drug traffic, and he has noted that while opium also comes from Cambodia and Laos these two countries do not have the ability to control it as Thailand does.

The connection of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency with the dope traffic in Laos has long been notorious. The big shot of the Laotian trade is Gen. Vang Pao, an unsavory character who for the last decade has been commander of

the CIA's secret army in northeastern Laos. American diplomatic officials in Laos seem to look the other way; they have confined their recent efforts to promoting Laotian laws against opium addicts.

The United States has seven big air bases in Thailand. They have been absorbing units from Vietnam as efforts are made to comply with President Nixon's troop withdrawal schedules. One base, Nam Phong, is closer to Hanoi than the Da Nang airbase in South Vietnam which recently lost all its remaining fighter squadrons to bases in Thailand. The present announced total of U.S. military strength in South Vietnam, 54,000, does not include 42,000 men on naval ships in the Gulf of Tonkin and 50,000 airmen in Thailand and Guam.

So the U. S. presence in Thailand actually is growing and so is the opportunity for corrupt Thai officials to exploit the situation and develop the drug traffic. Bangkok has long been a center of activity in such international commodities as gold and jewels, and Mr. Wolff says that 11 trawlers now openly transport heroin and opium from Bangkok to Hong Kong. Presumably this comes from northeastern Burma, northern Thailand and northern Laos, the so-called Golden Triangle, and it could not be moved without official connivance.

We feel sure the Thais, who have an authoritarian government, could crack down on this dirty business if they had a mind to, and the United States ought to exert maximum pressure. The idea of cutting off military assistance can at least be clearly understood by the pragmatic Thais.

21 June 1972

Laser surgery, drug abuse exhibits win top scientific honors,

Billings and Hektoen gold medal recipients are John Foulke, MD, (center), Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C., and Geza J. Jako, MD (right), Boston U. School of Medicine. Congratulating them is Frank P. Foster, MD, chairman of AMA's Council on Scientific Assembly.

Committee on Awards selects winners of Hektoen, Billings medals, other AMA honors

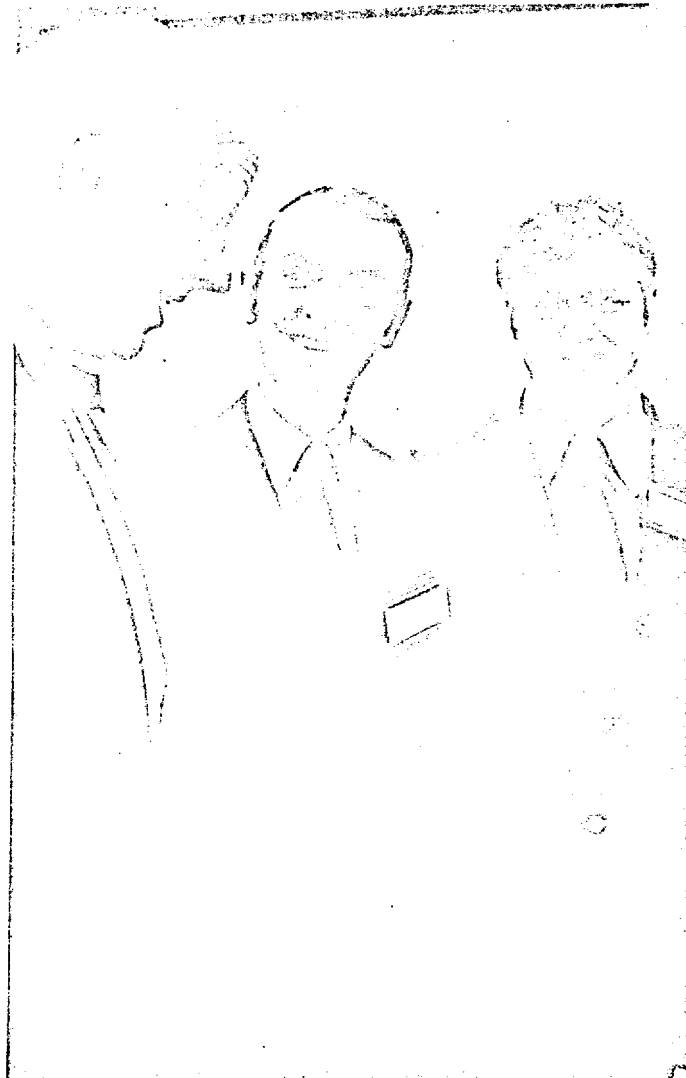
Top exhibits: laser surgery, drug abuse

The winners of the Hektoen and Billings Gold Medals are exhibits on "Laser Surgery in the Larynx" and "Drug Abuse."

The medals are the top prizes given by the Committee on Awards. The Hektoen Medals are given to exhibits that present original research, while the Billings Medals recognize the exhibits whose authors did the best job of presenting information.

"Laser Surgery in the Larynx" (1431) was prepared by Geza J. Jako, MD, and M. Stuart Strong, MD, of the Boston U. School of Medicine, and Thomas G. Polyani, PhD, and Herbert C. Bredemeier of Framingham, Mass. The award-winning exhibit describes microsurgery of the larynx with a carbon dioxide laser and results in treating vocal cord keratosis, carcinoma, and several other conditions.

"DRUG ABUSE," which received the Billings Gold Medal, was developed as an educational aid by George P. George, MD, John Foulke, MD, and Donald Borcharding, MD, of the Office of Medical Services of the Central Intelligence Agency in Washington, D.C. The exhibit describes the medical aspects of abusing various drugs — depressants, stimulants, narcotics, and hallucinogens.



Asian Allies Help Cut Heroin Traffic

By MIRIAM OTTENBERG
Star Staff Writer

U.S. narcotics agents are making a sizable dent in the Southeast Asian dope traffic and—despite reports to the contrary—America's Asian allies and the CIA are helping them do it.

"We have seriously damaged the program of the narcotics traffickers," reported John Warner, chief of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs' strategic intelligence office. "It's becoming increasingly more difficult for them to operate, even though their profits are tremendous."

Warner countered testimony given recently by Alfred W. McCoy, a Ph.D. student, before a Senate Appropriations subcommittee to the effect that the governments of South Vietnam, Laos and Thailand are actively engaged in the heroin traffic and that the U.S. government has not moved to stop it.

"Corruption," Warner acknowledged, "is a way of life in Southeast Asia. It reaches to all levels. But the United States government has made it perfectly clear to all governments in the area that we will not compromise on the narcotics issue."

He cited as an example of increasing cooperation on instance earlier this year when 26 tons of opium were turned over to the government of Thailand by one of the insurgent forces along its border—presumably for reasons of its own.

Until recently, the opium would have found its way back into the traffic. But this

Second of 2 Articles

time, it was burned in the presence of American narcotics agents and samples were taken and analyzed by American chemists.

Even more significant are recent successes of Laos and Thai narcotics investigative units set up with U.S. aid.

Warner explained how they came into being and, in doing so, replied to the charges made by McCoy in his Congressional appearance.

McCoy had charged that the U.S. ambassador to Laos, G. McMurtrie Godley, "did his best to prevent the assignment" of U.S. narcotics agents to Laos.

Actually, Warner said, Godley has been one of the staunchest supporters of the anti-narcotics program in Laos, and requested U.S. narcotics agents as advisers long before they could be sent there. He was instrumental in persuading Laos to outlaw the opium traffic, Warner said.

Godley also persuaded the Laotian government to appoint an honest and competent general to head the new narcotics investigative unit which the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs established and trained, Warner added.

In the short time the unit has been operational, Warner reported, it has made tremendous progress in arresting traffickers and seizing laboratory equipment and the chemicals used to make heroin.

The unit's latest score came on June 7 when it arrested a Meo deputy of the Laotian parliament and seized 10 kilos of No. 4 heroin (the injectable kind), 26 kilos of opium and a number of U.S. Army carbines.

Another special investigative force, trained and equipped by BNDD agents, has just gotten under way at Chingmai in northern Thailand. Chingmai is a road junction in the network of roads leading south to Bangkok.

It's particularly important to U.S. narcotics agents because they hope there to halt the movement of heroin out of the "Golden Triangle," the opium growing area bordering Laos, Burma and Thailand.

The new Thai unit has just scored its first success. On June 10, a joint BNDD and Thai task force raided a compound and seized 1,600 kilos of raw opium and processing equipment, he said.

Warner also reported that the Royal Hong Kong police also have stepped up their anti-narcotics program, making large seizures of narcotics, arresting traffickers and seizing two laboratories this year. At the time, both labs had quantities of heroin, opium and morphine base.

Burma, the other government touched by the opium traffic, has expressed its willingness to cooperate, Warner reported, but Burmese officials frankly admit their control over the border areas are very tenuous. It would require an army to make any impact on the border areas where insurgent forces protect the opium traffickers, Warner said.

In Laos an acknowledged important trafficker has been knocked out of business not by an army but by American diplomacy, Warner said.

Gen. Ouane Rattikone, former chief of staff of the Royal Laotian Army, had consolidated several opium refineries into one, and with his army, controlled and protected the Laotian narcotics traffic for years, Warner said.

"He was forced to retire in July, 1971. We have political clout in the area and Ambassador Godley exerted it."

Warner said similar action would be taken against Vietnamese figures if charges of narcotics trafficking were proven.

"Politics means nothing to us in BNDD," he said. If we had the evidence . . . the President would be informed and I know something would be done about it.

McCoy had said in his congressional testimony that the political apparatus of Gen. Nguyen Cao Ky (the former

president of South Vietnam) "demonstrates the importance of official corruption in Southeast Asia's drug traffic." McCoy also said Ky's sister is tied in with heroin smuggling.

Warner, however, said there is no evidence that Ky is involved.

McCoy, in his Senate testimony, said he had briefed BNDD on his findings and they corroborated much of his evidence. Asked about that, Warner said he had seen nothing of an evidentiary nature from McCoy "other than gossip, rumors, conjecture and old history."

McCoy had accused the CIA of providing substantial military support to mercenaries, rebels and warlords actively engaged in the narcotics traffic and of letting aircraft it chartered be used to transport opium harvested by the mercenaries.

Of those charges, Warner said the American-chartered aircraft now have security forces guarding against the transport of any narcotics.

Since President Nixon asked the CIA to assist in dealing with the Southeast Asian narcotics problem, Warner said, the CIA has been one of the most cooperative government agencies working with BNDD to develop the information on which BNDD and its foreign counterparts can act to interdict the traffic and make cases.

The weeding out of Asian officials heavily involved in the dope traffic, as well as the strikes against the traffickers themselves, are all fairly recent. And so is the BNDD involvement in the Pacific.

It's only in the last two years that American narcotics agents have come into the Orient in force. Since BNDD Director John E. Ingersoll pushed for more agents to fight the Pacific traffic in drugs, regional offices have been set up in Bangkok, Saigon and Tokyo, and district offices in Chingmai, Vientiane, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Hong Kong, Okinawa and Manila.

Coming: A Ton of Trouble

By MIRIAM OTTENBERG
Star Staff Writer

A ton of 96 percent pure Southeast Asian heroin — enough to satisfy more than one-tenth of all American dope addicts for a year — is headed this way as fast as its Chinese owners can gear up their smuggling apparatus to get it out of Asia.

This No. 4 or injectable heroin originally was destined for American troops in Vietnam.

First of Two Articles

But the withdrawal of the troops has left the narcotics smugglers literally holding the bag — in fact, thousands of hermetically sealed bags of heroin.

Presence of the vast oversupply of heroin was disclosed by John Warner, chief of the strategic intelligence office of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.

He said it's still "upcountry" — in the "golden triangle" of the opium trade, where Laos, Thailand and Burma meet. What BNDD hopes to accomplish with intelligence from the Central Intelligence Agency and Thai and Laotian police is to "interdict" or block the movement of the heroin down the line to where it can be shipped to the United States.

"With the withdrawal of our troops and the stricter military controls to locate heroin users," Warner said, "the market for No. 4 heroin dwindled. In the tri-border area, the price has dropped to \$750 a kilo, which is just their break-even point.

"We speculate that some of this heroin is going to find its way to the Western world. Some of it already is being seized in the major United States ports — New York, Miami, San Francisco and Seattle."

Right now, Warner said, there's a sizable oversupply of No. 4 heroin — equivalent to the best out of Marseilles. It's been stockpiled for lack of buyers.

The heroin traffickers, he said, had expected the United States to remain in Southeast Asia for the next quarter of a century. The troop pullout caught them off guard.

"We have pictures showing how they have doubled the plant capacity of their heroin laboratories," Warner said. "They're still producing because they have chemists under contract, but they're trying to sell practically at cost while they try to link up with American and European buyers. We know heroin is still in the pipeline."

The Chinese dominating this traffic are the overseas Chinese, motivated by profit rather than ideology. Warner rejected the oft-expressed theory that the Chinese Communists

are seeking world domination by making the young people of the West slaves to narcotics.

The intelligence chief said Peking officials can claim little influence over the border provinces where opium is the principal and usually only money crop. The tribesmen who grow the opium, he explained, live on both the Chinese and Burmese sides of the border and ignore the central governments of both countries.

Instead, they deal with the various insurgent forces who war with each other to gain control of the area. Opium, in effect, pays for these tribal wars.

The farmers sell the raw opium to the insurgent forces whose leaders differ little from the old Chinese warlords.

Those leaders process the opium into morphine base or into No. 3 smoking heroin or No. 4 heroin. They safeguard it, escorting the shipments from remote areas and transport the finished product to distribution networks in Laos, Thailand, Vietnam and Hong Kong.

Pay With Weapons

The overseas Chinese pay for the heroin principally with guns the warring insurgent forces need to keep going.

One factor leading to increased production in the "golden triangle," Warner said, was the introduction of hermetically sealed packs which made it possible to keep No. 4 heroin from deteriorating.

Production of No. 4 heroin goes back to about 1967. With the increased military presence in Vietnam, Warner said, many of the laboratory operators saw an expanding market for the new product.

Up to then, most of the 750 tons of opium produced annually in the "golden triangle" was consumed by addicts in the area in the form of smoking opium or No. 3 smoking heroin, which addicts put on a piece of tin foil, heated and in-

ther inhaled through a funnel or sucked the smoke through a straw.

When Chinese traffickers started selling No. 4 heroin to American troops, Warner said, they told them it was cocaine — and was not addictive.

The bottom has dropped out of their business just at the time when farmers produced a bumper crop of opium, in March and April.

"The traffickers are still buying this year's opium crop," Warner said, "but we don't know their plans for producing No. 4 heroin. We assume they will produce some but will adjust to the market. We know the price is moving up a little as they see the end of their tremendous oversupply and start gearing up again.

"The Chinese entrepreneurs, however, are not going to overextend themselves now that the troops are no longer there to make it easy for them. They don't like to take chances. They don't like to deal with people they don't know and they don't like to deal with Caucasians."

Forces Stiffened

Being aware of that attitude and concerned about that ton of heroin pointed in this direction, BNDD Director John E. Ingersoll has announced that BNDD is going to increase its forces in the Philippines. Here's his reasoning:

The Philippines are on the route of the traffic moving from Southeast Asia to the United States. Most Filipinos speak English and have good contacts in the United States. They have close commercial ties with the Chinese and language ties with Latin America. They could well emerge as the middlemen of the traffic.

Latin American ties are relevant because Latin America has been the transshipment point for heroin shipped from Europe to the United States.

Despite some testimony on Capitol Hill that much of the massive flow of heroin moving through the Philippines is the way to the United States

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Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001000060001-7

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Letters to The Editor

Letters to the Editor must bear the writer's name, address and phone number. Names will be withheld if the writer so requests. The Editor reserves the right to condense letters.

Words of dissent

EVEN the normally reasonable News occasionally needs a corrective in the form of constructive criticism of its editorial and syndicated statements. Taking only the past month, I believe the following were ill-advised:

1. Items dealing with CIA linkage to dope traffic, and President Nixon's brother's interest in a building manufacturing company, were both tendentious and invidious.

2. Four instances in which conventional ethical standards are criticized or treated with levity — a Beatle's marijuana conviction sarcastically referred to editorially as a heinous crime; an actor at 15 having the pick of the prettiest chicks in a brothel (Gardner column); recommendation of polygamy as an alternative worth examining; (Haggerty column); and a critical reference to upright people (used ironically) who oppose sex education in schools and also regard with distaste the high rate of illegitimate childbirth among today's youth (Furgurson column).

3. Several instances of inelegant political criticism, including columnist Donnelly's sophomoric characterization of the President's interview with a reporter which appeared in Vidal's book.

WILLIAM N. W. KENDALL

10 June 1972

Case 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000100060001-7

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GINSBERG-McGOVERN QUESTION

CIA SMACK SMUGGLING

By FLORA LEWIS

NEW YORK — A weird series of incidents is bringing into focus the question of the CIA's relation to the booming Indochina traffic in heroin and the opium from which it is made.

Ramparts magazine has published a study of the drug trade in Indochina, pulling together many details of the widely but only vaguely known story and making a series of specific charges against top South Vietnamese, Laotian and Thai officials. Further, Ramparts charged that it is CIA operations and subsidies in the area which have made possible the big increase in the supply of heroin from Indochina.

Sen. George McGovern (D.-N.D.) wrote a letter to CIA Director Richard Helms asking six questions about it. One inquired whether the opium production in Laos was conducted with the knowledge of CIA officials, particularly around the CIA's secret army base at Long Cheng in Laos, and if the effect of CIA operations is to "protect the supplies (of opium) and facilitate their movement."

CIA legislative counsel Jack Maury called on McGovern to give oral answers to the questions. He referred to a sheaf of legal-size papers for his information, indicating that the CIA has made a new investigation, but he didn't give McGovern the papers. He denied some of the charges, but said the CIA has been trying to convince the local people not to be in the drug traffic, which obviously implies that the CIA knows about it.

McGovern's query wasn't the first challenge to Helms on the subject. On March 4 Helms went with his wife to an evening event at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington. The star happened to be Allen Ginsberg, the tousle-haired mystic poet. They met at a reception before the poetry reading, and Ginsberg took after Helms for what he says is CIA support of the dope trade.

The poet has been investigating drug traffic for seven years, and he has on the tip of his tongue a lot of precise names and places and figures. For one thing, he said, Long Cheng is a central collecting market for the opium flowing from Zieng Quang Province of Laos down into Vietnam and Bangkok and out around the world back to the United States.

Helms said it wasn't true, so Ginsberg said, "I'll make you a wager." If he lost, Ginsberg promised to give the senator "a vajra" (sic) which he describes as "a Buddhist-Hindu ritual implement of

brass symbolizing the lightning-bolt doctrine of sudden illumination." Helms was to meditate one hour a day for the rest of his life if he lost.

Some time later, Ginsberg sent Helms a clipping from the Far East Economic Review saying that a number of correspondents who sneaked into Long Cheng over the years saw raw opium piled up for sale in the market there, in full view of CIA armed agents. He also sent a note offering Helms suggestions about how to keep a straight back while meditating, the best sitting position and proper breathing.

He has had no acknowledgement from the CIA chief, but says, "I have been tender toward him. It is terribly important to get him into an improved mind-consciousness. Anything that might help save the world situation would be sheer Hari Krishna magic, the hard-headed people have brought us to such an apocalyptic mess."

Helms says that he has received no note from Ginsberg, and only vaguely remembers the bet. He called the charges "vicious," "silly," "ridiculous." He told me, "There is no evidence over the years that any of these people were involved in any significant way. Almost all the opium grown there is in Communist-controlled areas, Pathet Lao areas."

I asked about Thailand, and he said, "I don't control northern Thailand. I don't control the Royal Laotian government; it's an independent country" (whose national budget and army are subsidized by the United States). "I don't know why you want to lay all this on the poor old CIA."

"We are not involved in the drug traffic in Laos or anywhere else. There is no evidence at all. To have evidence you'd have to get somebody in my office and have him say yes, I ran drugs with your approval."

At another point, he said, "Opium's been in that part of the world for centuries," and "most drugs in the United States come from Turkey." He said he didn't know anything about a U.N. report that 70%-80% of the world's supply comes from Southeast Asia.

And at another point he said "that part of the country (Laos) is loaded with opium. It's all over the area."

Maury, he said, had told McGovern that "it's all rot. It's not true." Later, Maury told me that he couldn't say anything about his talk with McGovern and that a written report which he has promised to give the senator "won't be available to you or anybody else for publication."

Meanwhile, the rate of heroin addiction among GIs in Vietnam is soaring dramatically, and drugs continue to pour into the United States.

Certainly, Helms is right when he says

that drug control is not the CIA's responsibility. But two facts are inescapable.

1.—Drugs are flowing into Vietnam and out of Indochina into the world underground network in dramatically increasing quantity. Not only is there a fearful growth in the amount of opium, from which heroin is refined, produced and exported from southeast Asia. Alongside the traditional opium trade, heroin is being produced there. This is new. The proof that it is true is the ready availability of heroin to GIs in Vietnam. Their powder doesn't come all the way from Turkey or France.

2.—The CIA provides virtually all the transportation, the arms, and much of the money on which the people engaged in growing and moving drugs depend on in order to keep going. The CIA isn't there because of the drug traffic. As Helms says, it does not officially condone the traffic. But official CIA operations have made it much easier for the trade to prosper in security.

While the standard American government position is that Turkey is the main source of the heroin reaching the

U.S., there is every reason to question whether this remains true. The United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs has said that 80% of the world's opium supply comes from southeast Asia. Dr. Alexander Messing, a UN narcotics expert, says that "if (the supply of opium from) Turkey were shut down overnight, there is still so much of the stuff around that it would hardly make a difference."

Partly, this is because the main producers of opium are the hill tribes in Laos and northeast Thailand. Many are the Meo people, on whom the CIA relies for its "clandestine army" in Laos. Opium is their one cash crop. The CIA needs the goodwill of the Meos. It does not go out of its way to offend them.

Partly, this is because the very nature of CIA operations in southeast Asia requires the cooperation of high local officials, daredevils, adventurers. Often those who are corrupt cooperate all the more willingly, since it facilitates their illicit enterprises. The CIA doesn't support what they do on the side, but it

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JUN 8 1972

Saigon's Role in Drug Trade Demands Probe

Nothing less than a full scale investigation is demanded. With new and penetrating information which casts a shadow of corruption over the South Vietnamese government, we wonder again what it is that we have sent our soldiers off to fight for—and if what they are fighting for is really worth protecting. We have exported men to die and to kill fighting for a cause. The suggestion that the recipients of our largesse have and are exporting back drugs and drug addicts and are getting rich in the bargain is too much.

McCoy has laid it out for a Senate subcommittee. The question now is what does the Senate do about it? To do nothing would be to bury one more horror tale of this gruesome conflict.

If the testimony of a Yale University graduate student before a Senate panel is even less than 100 per cent factual, the American people have further proof that Vietnam has exported more than unhappiness and divisiveness to this country.

In any case, the story told by Alfred W. McCoy to the Senate Appropriations Committee's subcommittee on foreign operations is too big to be swept under the rug. It calls for full disclosure and the American people are entitled to have it.

What McCoy revealed for the committee is a picture so grim as to be almost beyond belief. It represents a glossary of total corruption tying highest ranking South Vietnamese, American and assorted other Southeast Asian officials to a mammoth international trade in heroin and opium. That isn't all. The Yale student links U.S. and Corsican organized crime syndicates with the whole operation.

There can be no dismissing McCoy as a publicity-seeking crackpot. The public has heard the same story before. The difference is that this time it is sweeping in context. No names have been spared. McCoy's statements are based on an 18-month study and interviews with officials in the U.S., Indochina and Europe.

What emerges is a damning finger pointed squarely at South Vietnam's President Nguyen Van Thieu, former Vice President

Nguyen Cao Ky, Prime Minister Tran Van Khiem and blood relatives in illicit drug trade up to their necks. The word from the Yale man, working on a Ph.D. in Southeast Asian history, is that South Vietnam is the organizational nerve center for international trade in these drugs—and splitting the action with Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and the international crime syndicates.

Dragged into the sordid story, actually a web of intrigue spun around smuggling across borders and buying in the open market, are generals of several nations as well as ranking civilian officials in the Saigon government.

All of this is incredible enough. But credulity is strained almost to the breaking point when McCoy says his investigation revealed (1)—that heroin has been marketed to American GIs and (2)—that equally high-ranking American officials including diplomats it and the CIA know about and have blinked at it for the sake of expediency.

The only thing we find more incredible is the response of one Senate panel member following McCoy's testimony: "He has told us nothing new that we haven't heard before." That response is no longer adequate. In the light of what McCoy has said, it is an insult to McCoy and to the intelligence of the public.

STATOTHR

NEWARK, N. J.
NEWSE - 267,289
S - 423,331

JUN 6 1972

Cahill Asks One Crime Unit

HOUSTON, Tex. — Gov. Cahill has called for a single federal agency to be responsible for fighting organized crime.

The governor made the suggestion at the National Governors Conference here at a session on crime and drug abuse control. Cahill also said he may ask the State Investigations Commission to consider a stepped-up inquiry into drug traffic in New Jersey.

"I'm wondering if the traffic and distribution of narcotics is not most highly organized," Cahill commented, "and if there's a sufficient effort being made to uproot organized crime."

Myles J. Ambrose, special consultant to President Nixon on drug abuse enforcement, noted that several federal agencies, including the Secret Service, the Bureau of Narcotics, the Customs Bureau, the FBI and even the CIA investigate and provide intelligence on the many different operations of organized crime under the overall supervision of the Justice Department.

"That's just my point," said Cahill, a one-time FBI agent. "There is no agency in the government that has jurisdiction over organized crime." He said a single federal agency could be the most effective way to break down the highly organized distribution of illegal drugs.

Now that the witness immunity powers of the State Investigations commission has been upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, Cahill commented that he may ask the commission, an autonomous agency, to concentrate more in the narcotics field.

Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller told his colleagues that despite the expenditure of nearly a billion dollars in New York, there has been "no drop-off in the use of drugs or the spread of crime." There are now 86,351 addicts under treatment in New York in residential and out-patient centers.

"I hate to say this," Rockefeller remarked, "But I have to, in view of the fantastic problem facing the country. Even if we eliminate heroin, addicts can use synthetics . . . We also should admit there is no known cure for heroin addiction."

Because of the huge profits in illegal drugs, Rockefeller described the potential for corrupting law enforcement agencies as "tremendous." The only nation that has succeeded in eliminating the narcotics problem, he said, is Communist China where drug pushers were shot in the

streets. He called for the federal government to assemble the best minds in the country to find a solution as President Roosevelt brought together the best intellects in the world to develop the atomic bomb.

Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe, special consultant to President Nixon on narcotics side-stepped a question on whether marijuana use should be

legalized. President Nixon has announced his opposition to legalization despite a recommendation by a national study commission named by Nixon for legalization.

Dr Jaffe said he believed that there should not be easy access to marijuana, but that ultimately all drug problems and treatment of users should be merged into the mainstream of medicine.

BALTIMORE, MD.
SUN
M - 164,621
E - 189,871
S - 323,624

JUN 3 1972

STATOTHR
Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-0

Indochina called key to drug traffic

BY WALTER R. GORDON
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The author of a forthcoming book on heroin smuggling told a Senate committee yesterday that the focus of opium traffic has shifted to Southeast Asia, where it is controlled by high government officials and abetted, directly and indirectly, by the United States.

Alfred W. McCoy, a 26-year-old doctoral candidate who said he spent 18 months on research, travel and interviews, said heroin traffic in South Vietnam is "divided among the nation's three dominant military factions"—those controlled by the president, Nguyen Van Thieu, the former president, Nguyen Cao Ky, and the prime minister, Tran Thien Khiem.

He did not present any evidence personally linking the three leaders to the heroin trade, however. After the hearing, he commented that Vietnamese leaders traditionally insulate themselves from the dealings of underlings and there was no way of knowing whether the three leaders were involved.

Evidence from research

He added, however, that he had evidence from research and interviews that their organizations played a key role in the smuggling.

"Most of the opium traffic in northeastern Laos," he told the committee, "is controlled by Vang Pao, the Laotian general who commands the CIA's mercenary army."

He said the American government had directly abetted the heroin traffic by allowing smugglers to use the CIA's Air America to transport opium and by employing Burmese heroin smugglers as intelligence agents operating across the Chinese border.

Border crossings halted

He said in an interview that the China border crossings had

been halted under presidential directive but that the Air America operations are continuing.

Mr. McCoy was testifying before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

In response to a question from Senator William Proxmire (D., Wis), the chairman, Mr. McCoy said he believed the only way heroin smuggling could be halted would be for the U.S. to put pressure on Asian governments by cutting off aid.

Senator Gale W. McGee (D., Wyo.), the only other senator present, accused Mr. McCoy of using "the vernacular of Joe McCarthy" when he charged the U.S. was "abetting" the drug traffic merely because it supported and financed those who actually engaged in the smuggling.

Shifted from Turkey

Mr. McCoy insisted that that word was correct but said he had not meant to suggest that American officials were personally corrupt or that the U.S. government intended to encourage drug traffic.

Mr. McCoy said that since the late 1960's the principal area of opium growing had shifted from Turkey to the golden triangle of Southeast Asia, which he estimated now produces 70 per cent of the opium smuggled into the U.S.

The witness said he had spent four months in Southeast Asia last year and had had "hundreds" of interviews in the process of researching the book. He said no official whom he talked to disputed the main points of his Senate testimony.

Example given

The author gave this example of international heroin traffic: a Laotian chief of staff who was said to have admitted to con-

trolling opium in northwestern Laos, allegedly sold the drug to a Chinese racketeer who was "the silent partner in Pepsi Cola's Vientiane bottling plant."

Then, according to the witness, Mrs. Nguyen Thi Ly, the sister of General Ky, bought the heroin and arranged for Vietnamese Col. Phan Phung Tien to fly the drug to Saigon aboard planes of his 5th Air Division.

Mr. McCoy also identified Gen. Ngo Dzu, recently fired as head of the 2d Military Region after suffering defeats at the hands of the North Vietnamese, and Gen. Dang Van Quang, whom he called "Thieu's Kissinger," as major supporters of President Thieu who are involved in the drug traffic.

The principal international agents on the drug traffic, he said, are a group of Corsicans who first settled in Indochina in the Nineteenth Century and who maintain liason with heroin laboratories in France.

Mr. McCoy, a Ph.D. candidate in Southeast Asian history at Yale University, is the author of "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia," which will be published by Harper and Row in July or August.

STATOTHR

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001000060001-7

JUN 1972

Charge CIA and Thieu push heroin to U.S. GIs

Daily World Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 2—Alfred W. McCoy, a Yale student working on his doctorate, told a Senate Appropriations subcommittee today that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and Saigon Dictator Nguyen Van Thieu are directly involved in the shipment of vast quantities of opium and heroin to the U.S.

McCoy, who has authored a book, "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia," debunked President Nixon's campaign against heroin imported from Turkey.

He told the Foreign Operations subcommittee, headed by Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wisc), that the U.S. underworld has totally recouped the loss of the Turkish supply by turning to Southeast Asia sources.

In South Vietnam, McCoy said, the opium and heroin traffic is divided among the nation's three dominant military factions: Pres. Thieu's political apparatus, Prime Minister Kim's political organization, and Gen. Ky's political apparatus.

"Throughout the mountainous Golden Triangle region, the CIA has provided substantial military support for mercenaries, right-wing rebels, and tribal war lords who are actively engaged in the narcotics traffic and in Thailand the CIA has worked closely with nationalist Chinese paramilitary units which control 80 to 90 percent of northern Burma's vast opium export and manufacture high-grade heroin for export to the American market," McCoy testified.

"Some of President Thieu's closest supporters inside the South Vietnamese army control the distribution and sale of heroin to Americans GI's fighting in Indochina."

"Finally U.S. agencies have been actually involved in certain aspects of the region's drug traffic. In Northern Laos, Air America aircraft and helicopters chartered by the CIA have been transporting opium."

JUN 3 1972

Thieu Is Running Dope, Senate Told

Washington

South Vietnam's president, former vice president and prime minister run organizations that split control of their nation's opium and heroin trade, a narcotics researcher charged in Senate testimony yesterday.

The witness, Alfred W. McCoy, said the South Vietnam narcotics ring has links with Corsican gangsters, with an organized crime family in Florida, and with scores of high-ranking military officers in South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand.

McCoy, a PhD candidate in Southeast Asian history at Yale University, testified before the Senate Appropriations Committee's subcommittee on foreign operations. He said he had spent 18 months interviewing officials in the United States, Indochina and Europe.

POLITICS

McCoy accused American officials of condoning and even cooperating with corrupt elements in Southeast Asia's illegal drug trade out of political and military consideration.

At the State Department, a spokesman said: "We are aware of these charges, but we have been unable to find any evidence to substantiate them, much less proof."

These are McCoy's major charges:

- Heroin and opium traffic in South Vietnam is divided among the political organizations of President Nguyen Van Thieu, former Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky and Prime Minister Tran Van Khieu.

- General Ky's sister, Nguyen Thi Ly, travels about once a month to Vientiane, the capital of Laos, to arrange for shipment of packaged heroin to Pakse or Phnom Penh in Cambodia.

- The heroin is then picked up by transport aircraft belonging to the South Vietnamese Fifth Air Division and flown to Saigon.

- Until recently Mrs. Ky's prime supplier was an "overseas Chinese racketeer" named Hsu Tim Heng, who used his position as the silent partner in the Vientiane-Pepsi Cola bottling plant as a cover to import a chemical necessary for the manufacture of heroin, McCoy testified.

- Heng bought raw opium and morphine from General Ouane Rattikone, former chief of staff of the Royal Laotian Army.

- General Rattikone admitted, McCoy said, that he controlled opium traffic in northwestern Laos since 1962 and controlled that country's largest heroin laboratory producing a high-grade drug for the GI market in South Vietnam.

- Most of the opium traffic in northeastern Laos is controlled by General Van Pao, commander of the CIA mercenary army, he said.

- The government of

Thailand allows Burmese rebels, Nationalist Chinese irregulars and mercenary armies to move "enormous hundreds of tons of Burmese mule caravans loaded with opium across Thailand's northern border."

- "Some of President Thieu's closest supporters inside the Vietnamese Army control the distribution and sale of heroin to American GIs fighting in Indochina."

Santo Trafficante Jr., whom he called the heir to a Florida based international crime syndicate, traveled to Saigon in 1963, contacted prominent members of Saigon's Corsican criminal syndicates and arranged increased imports of Asian heroin to the United States.

McCoy accused American embassies in London of trying repeatedly to cover up the involvement of local officials in the drug traffic.

CIA

"In northern Laos," McCoy said, "Air America aircraft and helicopters chartered by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency have been transporting opium harvested by the agency's tribal mercenaries on a regular basis."

He was asked by Senator William Proxmire (Dem.-Wis.), the subcommittee chairman, to produce documentation for several of his allegations and he promised to do so.

Senator Gale W. McGee (Dem.-Wyo.) pressed McCoy on his lack of professional qualifications, implied his material was one dimensional and slanted and likened some of his charges to "McCarthyism."

"I resent your implication, Senator," McCoy replied, insisting his allegations are based on fact.

McCoy told newsmen he was financed in his investigations by the Fund for Investigative Journalism, the publishing firm of Harper and Row and from his own savings.

Associated Press

Viet Heroin Book Author Is Criticized

Sen. Gale W. McGee (D-Wyo.) accused author Alfred McCoy of "McCarthyism" for his testimony yesterday linking U.S. and Saigon government officials to heroin trafficking.

"It seems to me you do strain the truth a little bit," said McGee, who has a doctorate in history. "Just because the CIA or an embassy dealt with some of these people, it doesn't mean somehow they're aiding and abetting."

"I resent your implication, senator," McCoy responded during a hearing of the Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee. He said his testimony and material in a forthcoming book were based on 18 months of research in Southeast Asia and on interviews with U.S. officials in this country.

Besides producing photostats of a U.S. Vietnam Military Assistance Command paper alleging that South Vietnam's Lt. Gen. Ngo Dzu and his father were linked with heroin trafficking, McCoy charged in his testimony that U.S. diplomats have tried to cover up illegal drug activities.

G. McMurtrie Godley, U.S. ambassador to Laos, "did his best to prevent the assignment of U.S. Bureau of Narcotics officials to Laos," McCoy testified.

Thieu, Ky Run Drug Trade, Yale Student Tells Senators

STATOTHR

Associated Press

A narcotics researcher has testified top South Vietnamese leaders control their nation's illegal drug trade and are profiting handsomely from heroin sales to American GIs.

Alfred W. McCoy, 26, said control of heroin and opium traffic in South Vietnam is split among the political organizations of President Nguyen Van Thieu, former Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky, and Prime Minister Tran Van Khieu.

McCoy, a doctoral student in Southeast Asian history at Yale University, testified yesterday before the Senate Appropriations Committee's subcommittee on foreign operations.

McCoy, son of a career Army officer, also said American officials have condoned and even cooperated with corrupt elements of Southeast Asia's illegal drug trade for political and military reasons.

State's Reply

In reply, a State Department spokesman said, "We are aware of these charges, but we have been unable to find any evidence to substantiate them, much less proof."

McCoy said the South Vietnamese narcotics ring has links with Corsican gangsters, with a Mafia family in Florida, and with scores of high-ranking military officers in South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand.

He said he interviewed officials for four months in Southeast Asia, for two months in Europe and for a year in the United States.

High-ranking military and

civilian officials in South Vietnam and other Indochinese countries have been directly involved in distributing heroin to GIs fighting in Vietnam and to addicts in the United States, McCoy said.

He said he confirmed independently an allegation by the National Broadcasting Co. that Gen. Dang Van Quang, a military adviser to President Thieu, is the "biggest pusher" or narcotics in South Vietnam.

Have Denied Charges

In Saigon, Thieu and Ky were not immediately available for comment on the charges involving them. Both have denied similar charges in the past.

McCoy said that Santo Trafficante Jr., whom he identified as the heir to a Florida-based international crime syndicate, traveled to Saigon in 1968, contacted prominent members of Saigon's Corsican criminal

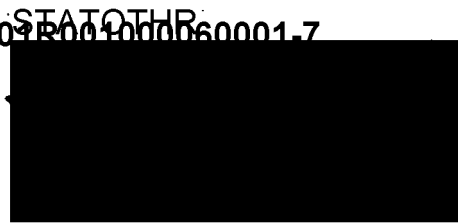
syndicates and arranged increased imports of Asian heroin to the United States.

In Tampa, Fla., a friend of Trafficante confirmed that Trafficante visited the Far East in 1968, but added, "it was strictly for pleasure."

McCoy accused American embassies in Indochina of covering up involvement of local officials in drug traffic, a charge denied by the State Department.

"In northern Laos," McCoy said, "Air America aircraft chartered by the CIA have been transporting opium harvested by tribal mercenaries on a regular basis."

Paul Velte, the line's managing director and chief executive officer, said it is doing all it can in "a security program which effectively prevents the carriage of drugs on any of the airline's equipment."



NEWARK, N.J.
NEWS

E - 267,289
S - 423,331

JUN 2 1972
Other Congress
Developments

DRUG TRAFFIC: A Yale graduate student who has spent the last 18 months researching international drug traffic contended today that the CIA is involved in Southeast Asian heroin traffic.

In testimony prepared for the Senate Appropriations subcommittee on foreign aid, Alfred W. McCoy said that

aircraft chartered in Laos by the Central Intelligence Agency and Agency for International Development "have been transporting opium harvested by the agency's tribal mercenaries on a regular basis."

BEIRUT BOYCOTT: Rep. Bell Abzug D-N.Y., wants Congress to call upon the international airlines to boycott Beirut until the Lebanese government takes "strong and effective" measures to end

the activities of Arab-sponsored terrorist groups on its territories.

VA HOSPITAL: Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., D-N.J., announced today that the Senate Appropriations Committee has approved an increased appropriation to begin work on a new Veterans Administration hospital in southern New Jersey.

General Linked To Drug Ring In S. Vietnam

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writer

Secret U.S. government reports linking South Vietnam's Gen. Ngo Dzu to trafficking in heroin are slated to be examined today at a public hearing of the Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee.

The documentary evidence could stiffen congressional resistance to voting aid money this year to Asian nations which do not crack down on the illegal drug trade—a resistance which manifested itself in narcotics control amendments in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1971. Similar amendments are in the works for this year's aid bill as well.

A confidential memo from the U.S. military command in Vietnam and reports from the Army's Criminal Investigation Division raise fresh challenges to previous U.S. government denials about drug trafficking by Thieu government officials.

John Paul Vann, director of pacification activities in Military Region 2, which includes Kontum, has repeatedly denied that there is any hard evidence implicating Dzu in heroin trafficking.

Alfred W. McCoy, author of a book entitled, "The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia," is slated to make the documents public today when he testifies at a hearing of Sen. William Proxmire's (D-Wis.) Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

The Washington Post has obtained copies of the documents. The hitherto unpublished memo from the military command's assistant chief of staff for Civil Operations and Rural Development is dated June 10, 1971, and states:

"A confidential source has advised this directorate that the father of General Dzu, MR 2 (Military Region 2) commanding general, is involved

in heroin with Mr. Chanh, an ethnic Chinese from Cholon. . . . (Gen. Dzu was recently relieved as commander of MR-2 after battlefield reverses there.)

"General Dzu's father lives in Quinhon. Mr. Chanh makes regular trips to Quinhon from Saigon, usually via Air Vietnam but sometimes by Gen. Dzu's private aircraft. . . .

"The national police in Quinhon, especially those police assigned to the airport, are reportedly aware of the activity between General Dzu's father and Mr. Chanh, but are afraid to either report or investigate these alleged violations fearing that they will only be made the scapegoats should they act. . . ."

The memo was signed by Michael G. McCann, director of CORD's public safety directorate.

These are quotes from the U.S. Army's Criminal Investigation Division reports, with the third one contributed by U.S. customs officials.

• Jan. 6, 1971 — "Source reported to CID that Gen. Dzu and his father were involved in narcotics trafficking. This source said that with a number of other individuals, including the ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam) provost marshal in Quinhon, certain South Vietnamese navy officers and an officer in a South Korean division . . ."

• May 12, 1971— " According to this source, Gen. Dzu's father is working with a former special assistant to President Thieu."

• July 10, 1971 — "Source alleged that Gen. Dzu controlled a sizeable heroin ring through a number of associates, including his mistress, Mrs. Tran Thi Khahn."

Rep. Robert H. Steele (R-Conn.) said on July 7, 1971, before the House Foreign Affairs Committee that "U.S. military authorities have provided Ambassador Bunker with hard intelligence that one of the chief traffickers" of heroin is Dzu. Steele and Rep. Morgan F. Murphy (D-Ill.) in April, 1971, conducted a special study on heroin trafficking for the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

One of their recommendations to stem the heroin trafficking in Asia was to "forcefully exercise" the "special leverages" it has with the South Vietnamese and Laotian governments through "our enormous military, economic and political support . . ."

Rep. Lester L. Wolff (D-N.Y.) has 84 co-sponsors on his pending resolution to cut off economic and military aid to Thailand if the President determines that nation has not taken "adequate steps" to control narcotics trafficking. Wolff is drafting a stronger amendment along this same line for this year's foreign aid bill.

Vann, both in response to Steele's charges last summer and again in a letter to The Washington Post on Oct. 9, 1971, said, "There is no evidence available to me or to Gen. Abrams that would tend to substantiate Congressman Steele's charges."

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Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001000060001-7

The Washington Merry-Go-Round*By Jack Anderson*

Harlem Heroin—Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), worried about drug addiction in his Harlem district, has privately asked Central Intelligence Director Richard Helms for 10 studies the CIA has made on worldwide drug routes to the U.S. When Helms declined, Rangel served notice he would invoke the Freedom of Information Act.

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FAMILY WEEKLY
Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001000

June 1972

Ask Them Yourself

Want to ask a famous person a question? Send the question on a postcard, to "Ask," Family Weekly, 64 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 10022. We'll pay \$5 for published questions. Sorry, we can't answer others.

FOR REP. CHARLES B. RANGEL, N.Y.

You've accused the CIA of aiding and abetting heroin sellers in Asia. What grounds do you have for such a serious charge?—R. D., New York, N.Y.

© Despite public disclaimers by the CIA, many of us in Congress have serious reason to believe that the agency is indeed complicit in the trafficking of deadly heroin to our servicemen in Southeast Asia. Newsmen clandestinely entering the secret CIA base at Long Cheng in Laos have reported raw opium openly piled up for sale in the market there. In addition, we know that the CIA regularly supplies arms, transportation and funds to drug-producing hill tribes in Laos and Thailand in exchange for their allegiance, knowing full well that these tribesmen are cornerstones of the drug trade. Most Congressmen have little idea how the CIA operates and how much money it spends. The CIA budget is carefully disguised and hidden. In fact, a recent Senate Foreign Relations Committee report, "Laos, April, 1971," reads like a jigsaw puzzle, with pieces "deleted at the request of the Department of State, Department of Defense and Central Intelligence Agency." Congress cannot prevent CIA involvement as long as we are deliberately kept in the dark about that agency's operations.

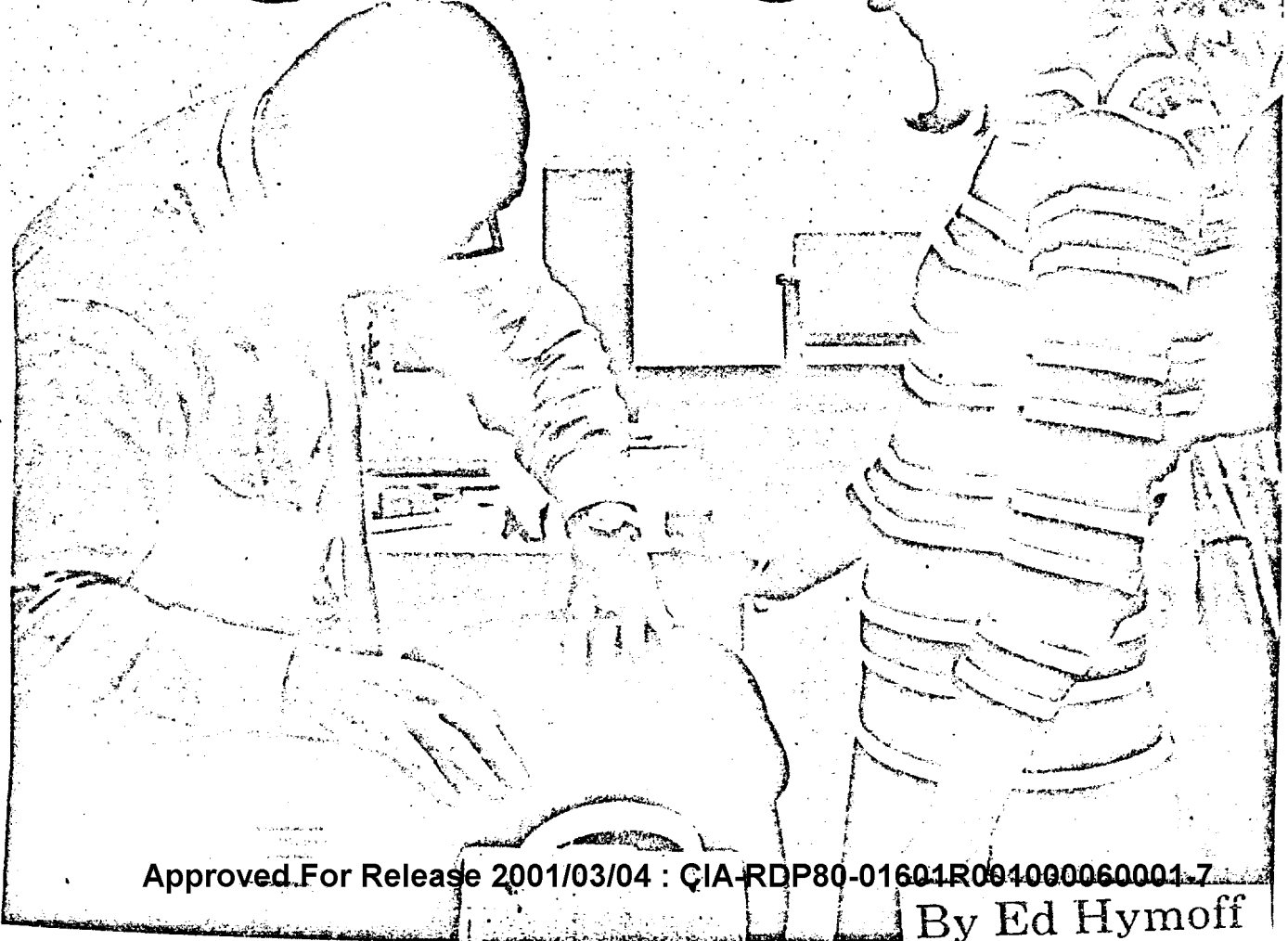
SAGA blows the lid off the South American narcotics pipeline—naming the politicians, generals, and diplomats in Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, Panama, and Bolivia who run the “white gold” death racket—that is controlled by drug traffickers in the Western Hemisphere.

The Latin American

Heroin

Connections

STATOTHR



File

HOLD FOR RELEASE 9:30 A.M., MAY 27, 1971

92d Congress }
1st Session }

COMMITTEE PRINT

THE WORLD HEROIN PROBLEM

REPORT OF SPECIAL STUDY MISSION

COMPOSED OF

MORGAN F. MURPHY, Illinois, *Chairman*

ROBERT H. STEELE, Connecticut

PURSUANT TO

H. Res. 109

AUTHORIZING THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO CONDUCT THOROUGH STUDIES AND INVESTIGATIONS OF ALL MATTERS COMING WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF THE COMMITTEE



MAY 27, 1971

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1971

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must be concluded that production is increasing in direct proportion to the growing demand among Americans in South Vietnam.

The major flow of illegal traffic

The major flow of the traffic from the producing areas of Burma, Laos, and Thailand is directed through the Mekong River Valley in the latter two countries. Major cities in these two countries, such as Luang Prabang, Vientiane, and Bangkok, serve as final markets, heroin processing centers, and transshipment points, principally to South Vietnam and Hong Kong.

The first major collections of the raw opium in Burma are made by Koumintang irregulars and guerrilla armies of the Shan tribal insurgents who themselves convoy the product southward for delivery to wholesale operators in the cities. The latter arrange for conversion to heroin and for the domestic and export distribution of both opium and heroin. Often these wholesalers are prominent local businessmen.

In Laos, Government armed forces are major wholesalers of opium and heroin and have been directly involved in large-scale smuggling activities.

The major conduit, however, is Thailand.

From the American viewpoint, Thailand is as important to the control of the illegal international traffic in narcotics as Turkey. While all of the opium produced in Southeast Asia is not grown in Thailand, most of it is smuggled through that country. Some of this is processed into heroin which is smuggled to the United States by couriers on commercial or military aircraft. Some is mailed to the United States by U.S. military personnel using both commercial and military postal services. Most, however, is smuggled into South Vietnam through both Laos and Thailand.

Recently American citizens, mostly ex-military, have moved to Thailand and have entered the business of smuggling heroin to the United States.

According to U.S. narcotics agents, the Bangkok operation is led by an ex-U.S. serviceman, William Henry Jackson. Jackson operates a place called the Five Star Bar in Bangkok, which is patronized chiefly by black U.S. servicemen. According to the narcotics agents, Jackson is assisted by other ex-military men, some of whom have moved from Europe to Bangkok. According to the agents, the Jackson group recruits patrons of the Five Star Bar as heroin couriers to the United States and utilizes other active duty military personnel to ship heroin to the United States through the Army and Air Force Postal System.¹

Jackson is now wanted in the United States in connection with a heroin seizure case, and American authorities are working with the Thai Government to have him deported.

BNDD agents in Bangkok are of the opinion that Jackson is probably paying a Thai legislator for protection.

Bangkok is also the source of heroin for another major system engaged in smuggling heroin into the United States—the Okinawa sys-

¹The Bureau of Customs announced on May 6, that it made 248 seizures of narcotics through Army and Air Force post offices from the beginning of March through April 24, 1971. It also announced that it had seized 17 pounds of heroin in a piece of military mail from Bangkok, Thailand, on April 5. The package, seized at Fort Monmouth, N.J., contained heroin valued at an estimated \$1.75 million on the street.

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tem. This system is composed of U.S. military and ex-military per-
sonnel allied with a few Okinawans. Efforts to contain this system are
hampered by the inability of authorities on Okinawa to initiate ade-
quate customs procedures at the civilian airports. Most U.S. authorities
are convinced that this will change once Okinawa reverts to Japan and
Japanese law enforcement officials assume customs responsibility for
Okinawa.

These Americans who are engaged in this most despicable crime of
modern times carry U.S. passports with all of the privileges attend-
ant. They are enemies of the American people who do not deserve the
rights accorded to law-abiding citizens, and serious consideration
should be given to withdrawing the passports of these international
criminals.

Above all, the United States Government should inform the Thai
Government that a refusal to deport known U.S. heroin traffickers
could prejudice Thai-American relations.

Smuggling into South Vietnam

Heroin is smuggled into South Vietnam in a variety of ways. Some
is carried in commercial aircraft, some is air landed or air dropped.
Some is probably carried overland by North Vietnamese or Vietcong
using trail areas used for transporting supplies, and some is carried
in South Vietnamese vehicles and aircraft.

It is believed that the Laotian and South Vietnamese Air Forces are
deeply involved in this activity. Heroin has also been smuggled in Air
America aircraft although there is no evidence that any official of a
U.S. agency has ever been involved in the smuggling of heroin into
South Vietnam.

It is also possible to rent private aircraft in Southeast Asia and
the use of private aircraft for smuggling purposes is increasing.

It is assumed by the U.S. military that this activity reaches high
levels of command, to include the politicians, both in Laos and in
South Vietnam. We were told that there is information available that
high-ranking Vietnamese officials, including military, are mixed up in
drug operations.

Heroin is smuggled into South Vietnam from Bangkok by Thai
soldiers either returning from leave or those beginning a tour of
duty in South Vietnam. Many of these soldiers travel in U.S. mili-
tary aircraft. Unfortunately, there are no adequate customs pro-
cedures in effect and the Thai soldier enters South Vietnam unchecked.
Some is also carried in Thai aircraft, both military and commercial,
and some is thought to be mailed by Thai military personnel through
the postal system which the United States operates for the Thai
military serving in Vietnam. As one American official told us, "This
is an ideal situation for shipping heroin to Vietnam." Finally, some
heroin is thought to be carried in by American military personnel re-
turning from R. and R. Recent evidence indicates that Hong Kong
may be a limited source of the heroin reaching U.S. troops in South
Vietnam.

Once the heroin reaches South Vietnam from these various sources,
it becomes readily available in the streets of Saigon. The street peddler
who sells heroin is the low man on the totem pole. The structure of

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Paraguay Drug Traffickers Named

By Jack Anderson

In the impoverished little land of Paraguay, there is an old saying about dictator Alfredo Stroessner that "never a bird falls without his knowing about it."

This reputed omniscience has kept the burly El Presidente in full control of Paraguay for 18 years while his opponents have died mysteriously or fled into exile.

Thus, the American embassy in Asuncion was astonished when Stroessner, of all people, confessed to our Ambassador Raymond Ylitalo that he would like more information about the narcotics traffic in Paraguay. Stroessner claimed he wanted to stamp it out.

The efficient Ylitalo forwarded the request to the State Department, and the Central Intelligence Agency obligingly included it in a detailed, secret summary of drug operations in Paraguay.

The memo declared that Stroessner was up to his jackboots in smuggling, though there was no proof he dealt in drugs. His tight little dictatorship, however, was described as "the Heroin Crossroads of South America," with much of the dope going to the U.S.

We published the secret details on April 22. The dictator promptly sent word to us through his Ambassador to Washington, Dr. Roque Avila, that he was surprised at the allegations and asked for the

names of those behind Paraguay's drug trade.

We have now supplied Avila with the names. The CIA memo, for instance, mentioned a "secret police" official who reportedly was "heavily involved in the (drug) traffic." The CIA didn't name him, but we told Avila the suspect is none other than Stroessner's trusted chief of investigative police, Pastor Coronel.

Generals Involved

The CIA also alleged—again without names—that "two... important generals" were deep in narcotics.

We identified one as Gen. Andres Rodriguez, the sternly handsome commander of 3,000 American-equipped troops based near Asuncion. His troops stand guard over contraband warehouses, and he controls aircraft for smuggling.

The other is Gen. Patricio Colman, a light infantry commander, whose troops put down an armed liberation movement in 1960, slicing off tongues, ears, heads and other parts of prisoners. Colman thereafter gained a smuggling franchise, considerable wealth and control of cross-country buslines.

We have also uncovered the identities of other high Paraguayan figures, who are directly controlled by Stroessner and are responsible for the drug trade. These men,

whose names we have also given Avila, include:

- Sabino Augusto Montanaro, grey-haired interior secretary, and his right-hand man, National Police Chief Gen. Francisco Britez. No large-scale dope trade in landlocked Paraguay would be possible without their acquiescence.

- Gen. Leodegar Cabello, the spiffily-uniformed defense minister, who is aware of the narcotics dealings of Gens. Rodriguez and Colman and is suspected of sharing their loot.

- Gen. German Martinez, a pale, garrulous artillery commander who controls contraband in and around Paraguari. With his smuggling proceeds, he has purchased model farms and raises thoroughbred cattle.

- Vice Adm. Hugo Gonzalez, chief of Paraguay's river gunboat navy, who earned his exalted rank by babysitting Stroessner's children. His gunboats protect the dope trade along the Paraguay and Parana rivers separating Paraguay from Brazil and Argentina.

- Air Force chief Gen. Vicente Quinonez, who supervises Asuncion airport and dozens of smaller fields. These are also used for drug shipments.

- Raul Sapena Pastor, the secretary of state, who personally approves every official

and diplomatic passport. He has granted passports to known smugglers. Even diplomatic pouches are used for smuggled goods.

These are some of the names my associate, Les Whitten, provided Ambassador Avila during an hour-long meeting with him at the modest Paraguayan Embassy. The envoy insisted he knew nothing about their alleged dope activities.

Footnote: On March 20, President Nixon called narcotics America's "number one domestic problem." Three days later, the U.S. gave 12 helicopters to Paraguay. U.S. military aid to the "Heroin Crossroads of South America" runs around \$2 million a year.

Connally's Mission

Sources close to Treasury Secretary John Connally say his secret mission after leaving the cabinet will be to rally the Lyndon Johnson wing of the Democratic Party into the Nixon camp in November.

Richard Nixon and John Connally have developed a close personal bond. Both are backroom operators and political infighters. They practice the same pragmatic politics.

During their political bull sessions, Mr. Nixon and Connally foresaw the increasing possibility that George McGovern could win the Democratic presidential nomination.

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CHARLESTON, S.C.
POST

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MAY 18 1972

Where It Comes From

A record-setting heroin capture made by city police ties in with news from Miami that the Southeastern part of the United States is being increasingly flooded with imports of hard drugs.

A New York Times story printed last week discussed how enterprising Frenchmen, South Americans, Puerto Ricans and Cuban refugees are turning South Florida into the "premier American entry point" for smuggled heroin and cocaine — which then moves outward across neighboring states. Former members of a Free Cuban Brigade which the U.S. trained for an abortive landing at the Bay of Pigs 10 years ago are said to be prominent in the trade. They use the skills learned from the CIA and the U.S. Army in jungle training camps long ago.

It is important for Americans to be able to identify with accuracy the sources from which drugs flow into their own country lest they be caught looking in the wrong direction — toward China for instance. Letters to the editor in which readers warn of Chinese Communists trying to soften brains by selling drugs to U.S. citizens not infrequently cross our desks, but the evidence points in another direction.

A little bit of the right kind of reading would show Americans that it has been white people who historically have victimized Orientals with opium and its derivatives, not the other way around.

Western troubles with China today stem in large part from a war fought by Englishmen a hundred years ago to force Chinese to accept cargoes of opium produced in India.

According to figures produced for editors by State Department narcotic officials at a recent "background" briefing, there is no discernible traffic in hard drugs out of the Peoples Republic of China.

Something like 80 per cent of the heroin in this country has been coming from Turkey — though that may be changed by new agreements with the Turks. About 15 per cent comes from Mexico and the rest from Southeast Asia.

Until recently most of the hard stuff moved into the northeastern U.S. via processing plants in Marseille, but new pressures on "manufacturers" have resulted in rerouting to South America — which seems to account for the upsurge of imports at Miami.

17 MAY 1972

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R

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The Southeast Asian Connection

By HANS J. SPIELMANN

BANGKOK, Thailand—The world's attention in recent months has been turned toward the Mideast—Turkey, principally—as the source of illicit supplies of heroin. But the fact is that the fabled "Fertile Triangle" of Southeast Asia — Thailand, Burma and Laos—continues to produce two-thirds of the world's known supply of opium, from which heroin is derived.

The figures alone are eye-catching: in 1970 Thailand's hill tribes contributed 185 metric tons of raw opium to the world's supply, Burma 1,000 tons, Laos 100.

It is true that most of the opium, or about 800 tons, is consumed by Southeast Asians from Rangoon to Hong Kong. Nonetheless, about 400 tons continue to leave the area, bound for addicts around the world. The buyers, not all Americans by any means, range from soldiers in Vietnam to junkies along New York's Eighth Avenue.

So vast are these supplies (U.S. addicts, for example, consume annually the heroin derived from "only" 120 metric tons of opium), so limitless the profits, that governments, armies and revolutionary fronts have played parts in the production and trade through the years. They continue to do so, and even the United States Central Intelligence Agency has had its days in the poppy fields.

"They have been growing poppies for 150 years."

The Vietnam war and the complex and confusing movement of "foreigners" back and forth through Southeast Asia has created a boom in the illicit production of raw opium. Today, in Thailand alone, it is estimated that half of the 350,000 hill people in the elevated areas of the north participate in growing poppies.

Thirty per cent of these workers are addicts themselves, but they turn a tiny profit by the standards of the million-or-billion-dollar deals we are accustomed to associating with narcotics. The average worker earns about \$100 a year and has, incidentally, no real knowledge of what he is doing. That is to say, the hill people do not even know that they are producing an illicit product for a world market; they have been growing the poppies and using the opium in lieu of pain-killing medicines for about 150 years.

The production of opium only became illegal in Thailand in 1958, as did trafficking and smoking, and the hill people really could not understand that they were outlaws. Not to worry, as things developed: production went on unabated.

As it is now, there is a sort of Common Market in opium operative in Southeast Asia. National boundaries are crossed by an assortment of rogues who, while moving tons of the stuff, "lose" only 2 or 3 per cent as bribes and tributes and so forth.

The operation begins with the fields in the high country (over 3,000 feet above sea level for the high-quality poppy) of Thailand, Laos and Burma.

The hill people themselves have neither the courage, contacts nor funds to enter into the distribution, so they await the sharp lowlanders. These townsmen come around at harvest time, looking down their noses at the hill people whom they consider to be inferior, and buy the opium at very low prices.

The best buy is in Burma, where a kilo of raw opium sells for \$15; in Laos it's \$30, and in Thailand \$40.

Opium is gathered in the villages and then in ever-larger towns by smugglers, who may be described in the first dealings as petty, but who become rather more than that as the opium changes hands and the supplies pile up. Then highly disciplined paramilitary types take over, with toughness and sure-handedness.

Among these is an outfit known as the Shan of Northern Burma—relatives of the Thais—whose dream, at least back in Burma, was the establishment of an autonomous Shan State. But its fighting wing, the Shan Liberation Army, has generally abandoned politics as it observed the fertile fields of Shan asylum in northern Thailand.

Units of the front transport the opium grown in Burma (and this is the mother lode—700 metric tons for export) to bases in Thailand. Of course, as units cross the Burmese-Thai border, back and forth, back and forth, the talk is all politics and the dream of statehood, but it's camouflage for the real action, which is the opium.

The Shan has somewhat complex, but strict, working arrangements with the notorious Kuomintang (whose parent organization is Nationalist Chinese) troops of the Fertile Triangle. Sometimes the Shan and the Kuomintang trade arms and ammunition, and medicines—often purchased from U.S. stocks in Laos—for opium.

The Kuomintang troops also keep up political appearances, when the real idea is opium. They say that they carry out pro-U.S. espionage in Burma, and even claim forays into China for "anti-Communist" activities. But these units are no longer used and supplied by the United States or Taiwan, as they once were, although they maintain radio contact with each other.

The Kuomintang is said now to have 10,000 men under arms, chiefly in Thailand, but in Burma and Laos as well.

Frequently, Kuomintang caravans of between 300 and 500 men, plus horses and mules carrying contraband for trade, can be seen working toward the north of Thailand and Laos toward Burma. They are supplied along the way with food by villagers eager to please such impressive forces, and eager to make extra money or to acquire some unusual luxuries.

Once they make their contacts—either with Shan troops or with smugglers—the Kuomintang caravan can pack up as much as fifteen tons of opium for the return trip southward. It is said that these troops and their "allied contractors" transport between 450 and 500 tons of raw opium southward each year. Their profit mark-up is 200 per cent.

One arrangement that the Kuomintang and the Shan have is that each Kuomintang convoy that goes into certain poppy-growing territory actually controlled by Shan troops must pay tribute. This amounts to about \$1.50 a kilo, and entitles the caravan to a transit letter and Shan escorts back to territory controlled by the Kuomintang. (In other areas Shan convoys must pay tribute to Kuomintang soldiers—the reverse situation.)

As noted, there are a great many addicts in Southeast Asia, and the Kuomintang troops sell off a good deal of the opium back in Thailand. They get four to six times what they paid. But most of it is headed for export—for quick dashes across more borders, to airports and train stations, to seaports, to Bangkok, Singapore, Hong Kong, Vientiane and Saigon. And on and on.

In the last five years, the Kuomintang, discovering among other things that some of the opium it was transporting was bringing in 2,500 times more profit to the ultimate dealer than to its troops, began processing the opium itself. Kuomintang thereby increased its own profits, never inconsiderable, at least threefold.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001000060001-7

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Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R



Jack Anderson

Smugglers Using Thai Connection

DESPITE furious denials by the Thai government, evidence is mounting that members of Thailand's 16-man ruling council have been corrupted by international dope smugglers.

As far away as this oriental intrigue is, it directly affects the alarming rise of crime on America's streets where addicts rob, house-break and shoplift to feed their gnawing heroin habits.

Reports from the Central Intelligence Agency, and the State, Justice and Defense departments, all agree that more and more heroin is pouring into the United States from Thailand, one of America's closest allies.

"Historically, this area has not been an important source of opium-based narcotics for the U.S. market. This is no longer the case," bluntly states a classified CIA report now in our hands.

Buttressing the CIA are other U.S. intelligence sources who allege that at least two of the 16-man Thai National Executive Council protect dope smugglers.

The official U.S. sources also describe in detail heroin trade involvement of a top Bangkok police commander, a former parliamentarian, a Thai border patrol major and a colonel in a northern Thai army division.

The police official, say the sources, is owner of a well-known Bangkok massage parlor-brothel where heroin is readily available from employees. Run by a woman friend of the police official—who himself maintains an office in the building—the bordello is called "The Smack Parlor" by its American patrons. "Smack" is slang for heroin.

While this and other dope hangouts have long operated openly under the noses of Thailand's rulers, the lucrative up-country opium trade has been changing dramatically since this January.

Crude morphine base from the Thai-Burma-Laos border is no longer processed almost exclusively in the laboratories of Bangkok.

Instead, Royal Laotian Air Force fliers and a few pilots of the CIA-run Air America now airlift much of the morphine to warehouses in the "Golden Triangle" along Thailand's northern border.

The warehouses are dutifully protected by corrupt senior officials of the Royal Thai Army and the Thai border patrol who take a cut of the profits.

When the warehouses are bulging with illicit morphine base, chemists from Taiwan fly in, the sources say. They are ceremoniously welcomed by remnants of the old Nationalist Chinese divisions driven from Red China and now living off the land in Thailand.

No longer under Taiwan's control, the Nationalist veterans now support themselves in the dope trade. The Chinese chemists work night and day for 30 days, earning as high as \$10,000 for converting the morphine base to pure heroin.

Then the Royal Laotian Air Force and an occasional Air America pilot, who pretends he is unaware of his cargo, ferry out the newly processed white powder. This time it goes to distribution points in Bangkok, Vientiane and other Southeast Asian cities.

From there, it is transhipped to the United States. American intelligence officers are even fearful some may get aboard Air Force KC-135 tanker planes which fly directly to the United States from Thailand. The planes or crews are rarely checked properly by U.S. customs.

In Hong Kong, an important trans-shipment point, British officials are also scething over the corruption of the Thai government officials. Some proof of this dismay is contained in a cautious, classified cable from David Osborn, American consul in Hong Kong, to Secretary of State William Rogers.

Dated March 27, the cable urges secrecy, then confides: "Hong Kong narcotics officials have long-standing belief that Thai officials have

been involved in drug traffic for some years."

Yet, despite all this evidence of official Thai corruption, the United States continues to supply Thailand with millions in American arms. And the Thai government smugly dismisses this column's documented reports of heroin in high Thai places as "slandorous accusations."

FOR A welcome change, the government is going to get some return from one of its administrative grills. White House photographer Ollie Atkins accompanied President Nixon to Red China and helped put together a book called "The President's Trip to China." Atkins' share, instead of going into his pocket, will go to the federal treasury along with a check from his publisher for the pictures. Another Atkins book, "Eye on Nixon," will provide royalties to the American Red Cross.

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6 MAY 1972

The Washington Merry-Go-Round**Heroin Traffic Shifts South of Border****By Jack Anderson**

For decades, international heroin gangs have sent their deadly wares from Marseilles' back-alley laboratories directly to Mafia distributors in New York City.

But crackdowns have now made this direct trade dangerous for the Corsican criminals in France and their Cosa Nostra counterparts in the New York City area.

Increasingly, they are shipping the addictive white powder through Latin America and the Caribbean, where bribery, bootlegging and buccaneering have been respected pursuits since the days of Blackbeard, Henry Morgan and Captain Kidd.

The Central Intelligence Agency, which only lately has gotten into dope counterspying, has summarized the problem in a 20-page secret report circulated to a few federal agencies.

Area by area, here is the CIA's picture of this new dope circuit:

Central America—Mexico produces "15 to 20 per cent (perhaps up to 25 per cent) of all heroin used in the United States . . . most notorious of the illicit drug centers in Mexico is Culiacan, capital of the state of Sinaloa.

"It has been called the Heroin Capital of Mexico. Many of the well-to-do townspeople, including those now engaged

in legitimate businesses, are said to have gotten their start dealing in narcotics."

The home-grown Mexican heroin is sent to San Diego, Los Angeles, Seattle, Denver, Phoenix, Albuquerque, Houston, Fort Worth and Dallas.

Mexican Fixes

Our own investigation has turned up a government-protected dope "shooting parlor" in Juarez, Mexico. Young American addicts from El Paso, some on military drug withdrawal programs, simply cross into Mexico to get a "fix."

Panama, whose foreign minister Juan Tack was recently exposed by us as sanctioning dope traffic, is "one of the great contraband centers of the world," reports the CIA. Heroin pours in from Lima and Santiago, cocaine from Guayaquil and Quito, in Ecuador, and from Colombia. European and Asian dope exporters also use Panama as a transshipment point.

Costa Rica opium crops have been discovered recently "in gardens, in a cemetery, and on the slopes of Irazu Volcano." There are unconfirmed reports of clandestine labs.

The Caribbean — Nicaragua may be a "transit point for heroin shipped north from South America via Panama to the United States," says the CIA.

Puerto Rico and the Virgin

Islands have heroin operations run by "Cuban exiles and Puerto Ricans in the United States (who) act as middle men . . . while Argentinians, Chileans, Uruguayans, and nationals of other transshipment countries act as couriers."

Guadeloupe, Curacao, Aruba and Trinidad are also named by the CIA as "stepping-stones" for shipment of heroin, cocaine, hashish and marijuana to the U.S.

South America—"Big-time operators with international connections and innumerable small-scale smugglers called 'hormigas' (ants) cross the sieve-like borders with impunity," alleges the CIA.

"The busy ports of Barranquilla, Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Valparaiso, Antofagasta, Callao, Guayaquil, and Buenaventura act as funnels. . . . Smuggler planes, ranging from Piper Cubs to DC-3s, and even to four-engined Lockheed Constellations . . . are used," says the secret CIA report.

Official Corruption

"Most of the drug traffic in South America involves marijuana, which is grown extensively in Colombia, Brazil, and Paraguay and coca leaves and cocaine produced in Bolivia, Peru, Chile and Ecuador."

But there is also some opium production in Colombia and Ecuador.

"An Italian shipping line is

currently involved in smuggling heroin from Marseilles, France, to Valparaiso, Chile, via Panama," says the CIA without naming the shipping line.

Power Plans

The Interior Department, which is supposed to market low-cost power from federally owned dams on the Missouri River, connived with the big private monopolies to drown out small consumer-owned plants.

Assistant Interior Secretary James Smith, a former private utilities man himself, quietly committed the department to the controversial Mid-Continent Area Power Pool (MAPP). This is a scheme for pooling electricity cooked up by Northern States Power, one of the fattest of the fat cats in the private power field.

The Smith plan would put more than 10 per cent of the federal power plant capacity in the area into the big companies' power pool, even though the federal power is supposed to serve consumer-owned systems.

Under MAPP, the little consumer systems would be allowed to pay dues and sit in on meetings, but would be denied the vote on issues vital to the pool.

Smith was so enthusiastic about MAPP that he accepted the idea without detailed analyses by Interior's lawyers and engineers.

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Brezhnev Assures Kissinger on Ties

By Jack Anderson

Kremlin czar Leonid Brezhnev used tough language to impress upon Henry Kissinger in Moscow that Russia will continue to support North Vietnam.

But Brezhnev assured the President's peripatetic foreign policy adviser that the Vietnam war need not stand in the way of better Soviet-American relations.

The conversations continued, off and on, for four days. Sources privy to the secret details tell us Brezhnev was furious over U.S. suggestions that the Soviets had equipped Hanoi for an invasion of South Vietnam.

President Nixon himself served an oblique warning upon the Kremlin that "great powers cannot avoid the responsibility for the use of arms by those to whom they give them."

Brezhnev offered no apologies for furnishing Hanoi with the T-54 tanks, heavy artillery and other sophisticated weapons that have shown up on the fighting fronts. The North Vietnamese have used these heavy arms to spearhead their new offensive.

Brezhnev not only acknowledged that Soviet military shipments to Hanoi have been increased, but he made it

plain he would risk alienating the U.S. before abandoning North Vietnam.

He suggested that a Vietnam settlement can still be negotiated. However, there was no Soviet offer to soften Hanoi's terms. Brezhnev and Kissinger merely agreed that the two superpowers shouldn't let the Vietnam war disrupt their efforts to seek a Soviet-American detente.

Back at the White House, Kissinger apparently has persuaded the President not to let the Vietnam fighting jeopardize relations with the Russians. Nixon's first reaction after the new North Vietnamese offensive was to hit back. He said privately that he wasn't going to permit the U.S. to be pushed around.

But the original hard U.S. line, at least so far as Russia is concerned, has now been softened.

Answer to Thailand

The government of Thailand has accused us of "slandering accusations" for reporting how prominent Thais help to hustle heroin to U.S. markets.

Through its embassy in Washington, Thailand angrily charged that our recent column on the Thai drug trade was based "merely on hearsay."

In fact, our report was

based upon a thorough field investigation by American narcotics and intelligence agents. The Central Intelligence Agency has published five reports dealing wholly or in part with the Thai dope trade. These reports, classified "Confidential" and "Secret," substantiate our charges.

The Thais claim, for example, that they "began an intensive campaign against dangerous drugs more than ten years ago." They say the Bangkok government has taken "effective measures" against drugs. A program to get hill tribesmen to stop growing opium, they add, has "met with success."

These statements are flatly contradicted by the five CIA documents, dated from October, 1970 to October, 1971.

Far from showing progress in the last ten years, Thailand and its two neighbors, Burma and Laos, have "evolved in the past ten years from a major center for the growing and production of intermediate narcotics products to a major center for producing finished heroin."

As for the alleged success in preventing tribesmen from growing opium, the CIA states: "Government measures to curtail the growth of the opium poppy among the hill

tribes in . . . Thailand have been ineffective."

Thai law authorities, whom the government claims have cracked down on the drug traffic, are actually in cahoots with the smugglers.

Declares the CIA: "Officials of the RTA (Royal Thai Army), the BPP (Thai border police) and Customs at the several checkpoints on the route to Bangkok are usually bribed . . ."

There are, says the CIA, a multitude of civilian and military officials in Burma, Laos and Thailand "who take their cut to ensure safe passage of the opium . . ."

The CIA operatives, unlike the Thai authorities, have carefully pinpointed poppy fields, distribution points, processing centers and smuggling routes in Thailand.

Concludes the CIA: "Opium or morphine base is delivered to laboratories in Bangkok for further refinement into morphine or heroin . . . Most of the refined produce is then smuggled aboard Hong Kong-bound vessels—either Thai merchant ships at the Cho Phraya River docks in Bangkok or Thai deep sea trawlers.

"Such craft may then deposit the illicit cargo on one of the several hundred small islands ringing Hong Kong for later retrieval by a Hong Kong junk."

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NEW ORLEANS, LA.
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MAY 4 1972

Antiwar Demonstrators March

About 100 anti-war demonstrators marched from Beaugard Square to Lafayette Square today where they gathered under an oak tree and listened to speeches condemning President Nixon's recent "re-escalation" of the air war in Vietnam.

The procession bristled with signs that said things like "Smash Imperialism, No Women and Children," or "Who Profits From This War?"

The marchers chanted slogans such as "Stop the War Now," and "Prices up, Wages Down, Why war?"

Willie Gunther, a Vietnam veteran, led the list of speakers recounting that when he

worker as cryptographer in Vietnam he discovered some "truths" about the war "that the people of the United States are not being told about the war."

He said the government "is telling a lie," when it says North Vietnam is invading South Vietnam. He said the North Vietnamese troops coming south are merely advisers and support troops to the Viet Cong.

Gunther said the President's attempt to suppress the Pentagon Papers indicates that Nixon does not want the American people to know the truth. "Because if the American people knew the truth, Nixon would have the same

problem with them as with his own troops."

He said that since he arrived in Vietnam hard drug use has escalated and that the Central Intelligence Agency, working with poppy growers in Cambodia who are friendly to the U.S., is running "junk" in Vietnam.

He said studies by the Army have shown that troops on hard dope don't resist the army and that one general has recommended that hard drugs be allowed into domestic and foreign posts to keep GIs from protesting the war.

State Rep. elect Johnny Jackson told the group the continuing Vietnam war is symptomatic of the U.S. con-

tinuing to hold the wrong priorities, particularly in regards to the black and poor communities.

Steve Cohen, who said he is with a group called "Air War," spoke of the anti-personnel bombs he said are being used in Vietnam.

He said the U.S. has used a progression of more and more destructive anti-personnel bombs. He said that recently the Flechettes, which are tiny nails with fins on the back, which could be dispersed from a bomb, strike humans and cause gaping wounds, have been replaced by plastic pellets which Cohen said are "even more nefarious."

Behind the Unplugging of the French Connection

STATOTHR

By Stanley Karnow

Washington Post Staff Writer

"When you work for an intelligence agency, sometimes you have to use means that are not within the normal run-of-the-mill business for the average individual."

Roger DeLouette

On April 5, 1971, an alert young woman customs inspector discovered 96 pounds of contraband heroin hidden inside a Volkswagen camper bus being imported into the United States from France. The police promptly arrested Roger Xavier Leon DeLouette, apparently a French tourist, who had come to Port Elizabeth, N.J. to claim the vehicle.

The seizure of \$12 million worth of narcotics—and the arrest of the smuggler—was hailed as a major victory in the war against the drug traffic. But as it unraveled, the case would prove to have a deep and dramatic dimension that transcends the ordinary annals of crime.

For DeLouette, a distinguished-looking man of 48 who received a minimum five-year sentence last week, worked for the Service de Documentation Exterieur et de Contre-Espionage (SDECE), the French equivalent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. And his disclosures, contained in a 368-page interrogation transcript now public, could have far-reaching consequences.

His disclosure that he was functioning under official auspices injects an element of doubt into the Nixon administration's claim that the French government is giving the United States its "fullest cooperation" in the struggle against the illicit narcotics trade.

DeLouette's participation in the drug traffic has also touched off internal squabbles in France among political rivals who periodically point to the repeated scandals involving SDECE to revive long-standing grudges

against each other.

Above all, the French agent's revelations underline the extent to which France's official spy organization has been engaged in narcotic, counterfeit currency and other shady operations, often for political purposes.

Originally called the Bureau Central de Renseignement et d'Action (B.C.R.A.), the espionage outfit was founded during World War II to manage the French resistance against the German occupation of France. In later years, however, it gradually took on an assortment of other activities.

According to Pierre Thyraud de Vosjoli, the SDECE representative in Washington until 1963, the organization was responsible during the Algerian war for the assassination of Algerian nationalists in Switzerland. Vosjoli has also alleged the SDECE agents killed Enrico Mattei, the Italian petroleum magnate, whose North African oil holdings threatened French interests. Mattei died when his private airplane crashed outside Milan in October 1962.

A major scandal trashed SDECE's reputation in 1965, when the organization's agents were implicated in the kidnapping of Mehdi Ben Barka, a leftist Moroccan politician, who had reportedly been earmarked for liquidation by figures close to Hassan II, the king of Morocco.

The disappearance of Ben Barka focused attention on Jacques Foccart, one of de Gaulle's senior aides, who was charged with having assigned various underworld characters to SDECE. Vosjoli has also accused Foccart of working for the Soviet secret service.

Soon after his arrest last year, DeLouette said under questioning that his narcotics smuggling gambit had been organized by SDECE's chief of operations, Col. Paul Fournier, who was later identified as Paul Fer-

rer. A New Jersey grand jury indicted Fournier, but the espionage official refused to face trial. Fournier also refused to take a lie-detector test.

The DeLouette affair, when it broke, inevitably aroused political passions in France. Col. Roger Barberot, a leftwing Gaullist with intelligence links, asserted that SDECE was deeply involved in narcotics and other operations. His charge was echoed by the prestigious Gen. Pierre Billotte, de Gaulle's wartime chief of staff, who called for the organization's dissolution.

In reply, French Defense Minister Michel Debre defended SDECE, which his ministry manages. Debre claimed that DeLouette had "hurled grave accusations" against his superiors to "lighten the sentence that awaits him." Debre further compared DeLouette's accusations to the stuff from which "fictional serials" are made.

As DeLouette related his story during three days of interrogation in Newark, N.J. last month, he had performed part-time jobs for the French intelligence service as far back as 1946, when he was still in the army.

During those years, DeLouette said, he learned of several of the agency's functions. In 1953, he recalled, SDECE employees in French Indochina transported opium by helicopter "in order to obtain money for operations about which I don't know anything."

On another occasion, DeLouette recollected, he observed intelligence agents at the SDECE headquarters in Paris walking on counterfeit Guinean currency to make it look old. The currency was put into circulation in Guinea, he said, and "the operation was a success."

incomplete as received

children. He also had a mistress, Marie-Jose Robert, who was pregnant at the time of his arrest.

If his testimony can be believed, DeLouette's desperate need for money made him available for unsavory SDECE assignments. As a consequence, he said, he was asked in mid-1970 by Col. Fournier to undertake the job of smuggling more than \$17,000 in counterfeit American dollars from France into Italy.

The aim of this operation, as DeLouette explained it, was to plant the counterfeit currency on an American living in Algeria and alert the Algerian police to its whereabouts to have the American eliminated. The possession of counterfeit currency carries a death sentence in Algeria.

The currency was delivered to DeLouette by a SDECE employee at a rendezvous in a Paris cafe. DeLouette then went to Modane, a Riviera town on the French side of the Italian border, where he was given further instructions by another operative by the name of Marcel.

But when he reached his contact point in Italy, DeLouette testified, he was met by an Italian agent who advised him that the operation had been cancelled. DeLouette thereupon returned to Paris, where Fournier told him to hold on to the money for a subsequent trip.

DeLouette put the counterfeit dollars in a bureau drawer in his mistress's apartment, where it was found after his arrest in New Jersey in April.

In the meantime, according to his testimony, DeLouette's financial condition was deteriorating. As he told it, his requests for SDECE jobs were repeatedly rejected until Dec. 5, 1970, when Fournier telephoned to offer him a very

28 APR 1972

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80

**The Washington Merry-Go-Round****CIA Finds Bulgaria Involved in Drugs****By Jack Anderson**

Communist Bulgaria is Russia's favorite satellite in the Balkans. And like Russia, Bulgaria interminably lectures the world about the virtues of "socialist morality."

Its puritanical-pretending leaders, however, have turned Bulgaria into a lucrative drug paradise for international narcotics gangsters.

A classified Central Intelligence Agency document calls Bulgaria the "new center for directing narcotics and arms trafficking between Western Europe and the Near East." Some of this dope, the CIA believes, winds up on the streets of New York City.

The CIA, whose activities in Communist lands usually involve cloak-and-dagger espionage work, has turned to narcotics investigations in Bulgaria. Its findings are described in a brilliantly written, 38-page report dated last December.

The study, stamped "Confidential," is titled, "The French-Turkish Connection: The Movement of Opium and Morphine Base From Turkey to France."

While the study deals with the narcotics trade throughout Europe, its major surprise is

that Bulgaria, whose Marxist morality is legendary in Europe, has become "a safe haven from where major narcotics operations are directed."

"The role of Bulgaria in the field of international narcotics has increased tremendously in the last several years," says the "intelligence memorandum" from the CIA's Office of Strategic Research.

Red Heroin Trade

"French and UK (British) police officials have also voiced their belief that Bulgarian government officials may be actively involved in selling seized Turkish narcotics to French traffickers."

While Turkish and Iranian trucks routed through Bulgaria are rigorously inspected, says the CIA document, "Bulgarian trucks hired to haul Turkish cargoes reportedly are normally excluded from inspection."

The document also declares: "If a narcotics smuggler is caught in Bulgaria, he reportedly pays a small fine for the violation and then is given the opportunity to repurchase his seized shipment of narcotics for a certain percentage of its estimated value. The appre-

hended smuggler thus loses only a small part of his courier's fee and a few hours of his time."

By this means Bulgaria reaps millions in underworld narcotics money, which indirectly supports the braggadocio of their broadcasts, newspapers and U.N. diplomats about "socialist morality" and the virtues of clean Communist living.

Deadly Dirt

Health, Education and Welfare officials temporarily blocked one of their most prominent pediatricians from warning the Senate that lead from car exhaust can poison ghetto children.

The pediatrician, Dr. Jane Lin Fu, was contacted by the Senate Environmental subcommittee, now holding hearings on federal standards for lead in the atmosphere.

Dr. Sin Fu cautioned the subcommittee staff that much lead from car exhaust sifts down into city dirt. Since under-nourished ghetto youngsters often eat this lead-poisoned dirt, their bodies have far more dangerous lead levels than they would get merely from breathing the air. At the staff's request, Dr.

Lin Fu agreed to write a letter to Sen. Phil Hart (D-Mich.) the subcommittee chairman, outlining her fears. She said, however, she would first have to clear her letter with HEW.

As the hearing date approached, subcommittee staffers anxiously called the office of Dr. Joan Zapp, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Health Legislation. Zapp "clears" the statements, a euphemism for censorship, before they are sent on to Congress.

His secretary, Natalie Ruvel, promised that the important but controversial letter would be ready in time. But on the morning of the hearings, Zapp's secretary informed the subcommittee the statement could not be cleared.

She confessed to them that it would "embarrass the Environmental Protection Agency." When we questioned her, however, she said she was not sure she mentioned EPA by name. She said she told the staffers that the Lin Fu letter contained "gratuitous statements."

Our inquiries apparently have broken the letter loose. "If the committee wants the letter, they'll have it," Zapp told us. "We didn't have time to clear it for the hearing."

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SMUGGLER LINKS SPIES TO HEROIN

Testimony in Jersey Hearing Accuses French Agents

Special to The New York Times

NEWARK, April 21.—French intelligence agents engage in such illicit activities as drug smuggling when they need money to finance special assignments, according to a former French agent who was sentenced Monday to five years in Federal prison for smuggling \$12-million worth of heroin into this country last year.

The former agent, Roger Xavier de Louette said he was acting on orders of superiors in the Service de Documentation et de Contre-Espionage, the French counterpart of the Central Intelligence Agency, when he brought the drugs into this country for delivery to a contact in New York.

In order to support his claim, de Louette told United States and French authorities of other alleged exploits of French agents, including opium trafficking in Indochina in 1953. His claims are contained in 368 pages of testimony he gave here during three days of interrogation last month at the request of the Federal Government.

The transcripts became public when they were admitted into the sentencing hearings by Judge Frederick B. Lacey in United States District Court. United States Attorney Herbert J. Stern, who joined in the questioning of de Louette, objected to admission of the transcripts on behalf of the French Government.

'Irregular Means'

The testimony was elicited by Chief French Magistrate Gabriel Roussel in what de Louette's American lawyer, Donald A. Robinson, described as a "nose-to-nose and eyeball-to-eyeball" interrogation. Mr. Robinson said Mr. Roussel was trying to discredit de Louette's claim concerning the French intelligence agency's involvement in the heroin case.

After charging that the French agency uses "irregular means" to raise money for special assignments or to use in political campaigns inside France, de Louette said through an interpreter:

"One example which comes back to me. In 1953, in Indochina a helicopter that was available to the service several times transported opium in order to obtain money for operations about which I don't know anything."

When asked who told him of this, de Louette replied, "The pilot, himself, several years later." He refused to give the pilot's name.

Mentions Cuba

De Louette also said his S.D.E.C.E. assignments in Cuba in 1968, when he was attached to an agricultural development project, were financed in part by "semi-irregular" means. When pressed by Mr. Roussel for a definition of "semi-irregular," de Louette said "the service will be able to give you more precise information."

De Louette told law enforcement officials a S.D.E.C.E. agent who used the code name Col. Paul Fournier promised him \$50,000 to smuggle 96 pounds of heroin into the United States under the floorboards of a Volkswagen campcar. The plot was revealed when the heroin was found by a United States customs agent at Port Elizabeth on April 5, 1971.

De Louette also said the same "Colonel Fournier" recruited him to carry \$17,000 in counterfeit United States currency into Modena, Italy, in June, 1970. A contact was to receive it and take it into Algeria, but he never showed up, de Louette said.

De Louette said he returned to his Paris apartment with the bogus money and called Colonel Fournier, who then asked him to take it directly to Algeria.

De Louette said he had refused, since he had heard of an American who had been caught selling counterfeit in Algeria and who was given the death penalty. De Louette said he did not know who the man was, or whether the sentence had been carried out.

De Louette said he had hidden the money in a secret desk drawer after Colonel Fournier instructed him to hold onto it for possible future assignment. The money was found by the French police after de Louette's arrest in the United States and he faces counterfeiting as well as drug charges in France.

CRANSTON) is now recognized for 15 minutes.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that two of my assistants may have the privilege of the floor during this debate on Vietnam: Murray Flander and Ellen Frost.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, my purpose, and the purpose of other Senators participating in arranging this discussion of hostilities in Vietnam, was merely to focus the attention of the Senate and, hopefully, through that process the attention of the country, on the tragic developments in Southeast Asia.

I have done my best to insure that there will be a presentation of views from various stances supportive of present policies and the questioning of present policies in Vietnam during the course of this discussion.

The rules and procedures of the Senate as to the allocation of time to each Senator may make this presentation slightly jerky and perhaps a bit disorderly at times, but I am hopeful, as are others who hold varying and contrary views of what is occurring in Vietnam, that we will have a real presentation of the various alternatives, the various views, and the various questions that so many of us have in differing ways about Vietnam.

The first question is: Is this war really winding down? Is the administration successful in winding down the Vietnam war?

It seems to me that this war is winding up and winding sideways, to the air, the set, and to neighboring parts of Indochina, rather than winding down. It is still very much an American war.

The total number of plane losses and combat casualties has jumped to new and staggering heights. The number of helicopters and fixed-wing planes shot down over Vietnam has climbed to at least 7,419. This figure pushes the cost of lost airplanes to a shocking \$7 billion.

According to a study prepared by the Indochina Resource Center and Project Air War, one American has been shot down and either captured or listed as missing in action once every 3 days since President Nixon took office.

The number of B-52's in the area has climbed to 130, surpassing the 1968 peak. At least 20 U.S. Marine F-4 fighter-bombers have been sent from Japan. Another 20 F-105 Thunderchief fighter-bombers have been sent from the United States. The Air Force's 20th Tactical Air Support Squadron, comprised of spotter and attack planes, will not be leaving Vietnam as planned. The total number of attack planes is now about 600.

Elsewhere, thousands more Americans still form part of the war effort in addition to those inside Vietnam. Some 45,000 air personnel fly bombing missions over Vietnam from bases outside Vietnamese borders.

In the coastal waters, the American armada is swelling toward 47,000 men on almost 50 ships. Naval strength includes two cruisers, at least a dozen de-

stroyers, and four—and soon to be six—aircraft carriers. An amphibious landing force from the 7th Fleet, comprised of a helicopter carrier and 2,000 men, has been shifted to Vietnamese waters.

The number of ships and Navy personnel now off the coasts of Vietnam is the highest since Lyndon Johnson left office. The number of B-52's now flying combat missions in Indochina is the highest since Lyndon Johnson left office. Hanoi and Haiphong are being subjected to American air attacks for the first time since Lyndon Johnson left office. In fact, this is the first time in the history of this increasingly futile and tragic war that those population centers have been attacked by our heavy strategic bombers.

The recent intensification of the air war over North Vietnam shows no more signs of halting the fighting in the South now than in the past. The Department of Defense has estimated that Communist forces require only 15 to 30 tons of imported material per day to maintain a moderate level of fighting in the South. This amount can be carried in 10 to 15 trucks, 75 to 150 bicycles, or on human backs.

While the air war is becoming more impersonal and remote for Americans, the same cannot be said for those on the receiving end of the bomb delivery system. Planes are still routinely armed with antipersonnel and incendiary bombs which inflict hideous suffering. Antipersonnel bombs include: Pineapple bomblets, each bearing 250,000 steel pellets; Guava bombs, with each sortie releasing 400,000-500,000 ball bearing pellets; and Flechette or nail bomblets, each of which contains several hundred 1-inch barbed nails capable of shredding muscles and tissues and difficult to remove.

Incendiary bombs include not just the infamous napalm, but white phosphorus and NPT as well. White phosphorus continues to burn slowly inside the body and can usually be extinguished only when it reaches the bone. Needless to say, the pain is unspeakable and totally unjustifiable. NPT, or napalm-phosphorus-thermite, is the most destructive of all and can be applied to a large area. On the ground, so-called "area denial" mines can be laid by the thousands. The Dragontooth and Gravel mines will not destroy a truck tire, but they will blow off a foot. The Spider mine or WAAPM—wide area antipersonnel mine—has eight fine wire which, when tripped, hurl ball bearing-like pellets for approximately 197 feet.

Yet what can all of this accomplish? According to the Pentagon papers, a CIA bombing study dryly concluded as early as May 1967 that "27 months of American bombing have had little effect."

There is no historical evidence that massive bombing has ever succeeded in breaking the morale of troops fighting elsewhere. A careful and scholarly study of the social impact of bomb destruction reports that—

Studies made of troop morale after news had reached them of casualties and other air-raid losses during World War II disclosed no evidence that the efficiency of troops had been substantially reduced or that desertions had increased.

This statement is from a book by Mr. Fred Ikle entitled "The Social Impact of Bomb Destruction," which was published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

Bombing North Vietnam has simply not worked. There is a slight difference in the strategic situation now, with a more massive use of troops and more concentration of forces, but bombing targets in North Vietnam certainly does not relate to the immediate events on the battlefields far from those areas.

The failure of bombing raids can be documented elsewhere in Southeast Asia as well. According to figures gathered by Project Air War, 150,000 tons of bombs have been dropped on Cambodia since May 1970, but guerrillas control from 70 percent to 90 percent of the territory. In Laos, bombing undertaken since May 1964 has included a devastating 500,000 sorties dropping 1.5 million tons of bombs. And yet Communist forces control at least two-thirds of Laotian territory today.

What justification is there, then, for this heavy bombing today?

Nowadays all operations in the Indochina theater are primarily justified in the name of protection of our troops. That is what Secretary Laird said yesterday. That is what President Nixon has said in recent days.

This protection apparently is being used primarily as a legal reason and not as a strategic reason. There are questions as to what legal justifications there are now that we have repealed the Gulf of Tonkin joint resolution providing for resorting to this force throughout Southeast Asia.

At the current stage of the fighting, the threat posed to the vast bulk of American forces cannot possibly provide an excuse for extending the bombing to the 20th parallel. The purpose of these raids is clearly punitive, not protective.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, will the distinguished Senator from California yield?

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I am delighted to yield to my distinguished friend, the Senator from Utah.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I first want to congratulate the Senator from California for bringing this matter before the Senate.

It seems to me that there is no more timely or important discussion that we could be holding at this time in the Senate than the discussion of what is now going on in Indochina, and particularly in North Vietnam. It is my understanding from watching the television that the great emphasis that is being placed on the bombing of Haiphong and Hanoi is that it is done in order to protect our troops and, for that reason, is fully and thoroughly justifiable because it is protecting American lives.

I, of course, have observed the map of Vietnam a number of times. In fact, I visited Vietnam about 4 years ago and observed the Tet offensive when it was raging at its height. However, in miles, how far away would Haiphong and Hanoi be from the nearest American troops? Does the Senator have any idea of that distance?

Mr. CRANSTON. The distance is over 250 miles.

Lao Spies Help War On Opium Heroin Makers' Supplies Reduced

By ARNOLD ABRAMS
Miami Herald-Newsday Wire

VIENTIANE, Laos —

American-directed teams of native spies are being staked along the mountain trails of northern Laos as part of a \$1 million campaign to stop the opium traffic from the opium fields of Laos, Thailand and Burma.

The anti-drug campaign is being waged by a task force that includes a narcotics attache from the American Embassy here and at least 10 U.S. Customs officers who act as advisers to local authorities at border crossings and airport facilities. Embassy officials say they harbor no illusion about stopping the flow of narcotics from the jungle area known as the "golden triangle."

"ONLY A FOOL would say we'll be able to do that," one American said. "But if we can reduce the traffic and cause some opium dealers some trouble, we'll be doing something."

Some experts believe that Vientiane and Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, now rank as the world's largest producers of heroin, an opium derivative, and provide most of the heroin used by American servicemen in Vietnam.

Little of the traffic from the golden triangle gets to the United States, federal officials say, but that could change. "As we cut off other sources (such as Turkey), the triangle is a ready-made source of opium," said Robert Nickoloff, action regional director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. "It's just a matter of developing the trade routes."

As part of the campaign, spy teams of Lao tribesmen trained by the Central Intelligence Agency are providing authorities here with information about drug-smuggling routes and the location of narcotics refineries. That information has led to a series of ambushes against drug-hauling convoys and raids on two large refineries.

IN BAN Houei Sai, a narcotics traffic center about 225 miles north west of Vientiane, a refinery was destroyed by a mysterious fire last year, and last month a raid by Lao police netted large amounts of chemicals and semirefined heroin. American involvement in both actions was said to be significant.

The teams have conducted more traditional spy work, infiltrating South China's Yunnan province to spy on Chinese political and military activities. The Nixon Administration ordered those operations stopped last summer. "They (the spies) are well trained for reconnaissance work," one high-ranking source said. "It makes no difference whether they are gathering intelligence on drug traffic within Laos or military traffic outside it."

Despite the successes of the spy teams, here remain huge obstacles to the success of the American anti-drug campaign. One is the involvement of high-ranking Lao military and government officials in drug traffic. Laos' "Mr. Big" allegedly is Ouan Rathikoun, a former army chief of staff, but many prominent figures still in office also have a hand in the action.

THE VICE president of the National Assembly, for example, recently was stopped by airport police in Paris with a suitcase full of heroin. For political reasons, French authorities released the Lao-tian official, who claimed he had been framed. Knowledgeable observers here were certain, however, that it was less a matter of framing than a bribe backfiring.

Another obstacle is the fact that opium is the stuff of life for the fiercely independent mountain folk of eastern Burma and northern Thailand, who grow most of the opium that passes through Laos. It is their principal cash crop and is used in trade for household and farm utensils, salt, kerosene and silver for ornamentation. Opium profits buy modern weapons — automatic rifles, grenade launchers, machine guns

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Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-0

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
CHRONICLE

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APR 13 1972

CIA Spy Teams Are Hitting the Opium Trail in Laos

By Arnold Abrams
Chronicle Foreign Service

Vientiane, Laos

American-directed spy teams, which used to conduct reconnaissance missions in southern China, have turned their attention to a new target: opium traffic in northern Laos.

The teams, trained and supported by the Central Intelligence Agency, are providing authorities here with information about drug-smuggling routes and the location of narcotics refineries.

The results of such efforts, according to well-informed sources, have included a series of ambushes against drug-hauling convoys, and raids on two large refineries.

Although still reluctant to provide detailed information, American officials are more willing to discuss the teams' new missions than their old ones, which involved infiltrating south China's Yunnan province to spy on Chinese military and political activities.

The Nixon Administration ordered those operations stopped last summer.

The teams, consisting of native hill tribesmen, operate from CIA outposts in northern Laos. "They are well-trained for reconnaissance work," says one high-ranking source. "It makes no difference whether they are gathering intelligence on drug traffic within Laos or military traffic outside it."

In addition to being a major source of opium grown by hill tribesmen, this landlocked mountain kingdom

provides transport routes for opium harvested in the "golden triangle" — a heavily jungled area where the borders of Burma, Laos and Thailand converge.

Spy teams and CIA-trained guerrilla units now are being staked along rugged mountain trails traditionally used by mule and coolie convoys to haul poppy produce down through Laos. A major target area is Ban Houei Sai, a narcotics traffic center about 225 miles northwest of Vientiane.

One refinery there was destroyed by a mysterious fire last year; more recently, a March raid by Lao police netted large amounts of chemicals and semi-refined heroin. American involvement in both moves reportedly was significant.

Such missions are part of an anti-drug campaign in Laos by a task force from several U.S. government agencies.

Key force members include a narcotics attache in the American embassy and at least ten U.S. customs officers acting as advisers to local authorities at border crossings and airport facilities.

The American campaign, in which Lao officials were pressured last fall to pass their country's first anti-drug laws, will cost close to \$1 million. Nevertheless, embassy officials say they harbor no illusions about stopping narcotics traffic here.

"Only a fool would say we'll be able to do that."

says one American. "But if we can reduce the traffic, and cause opium dealers some trouble, we'll be doing something."

A major obstacle remains the involvement of high-ranking Lao military and government officials in drug traffic. This country's "Mr. Big" allegedly is Ouan Rathikoun, former army chief of staff, but many prominent figures still in their posts also have a hand in the action.

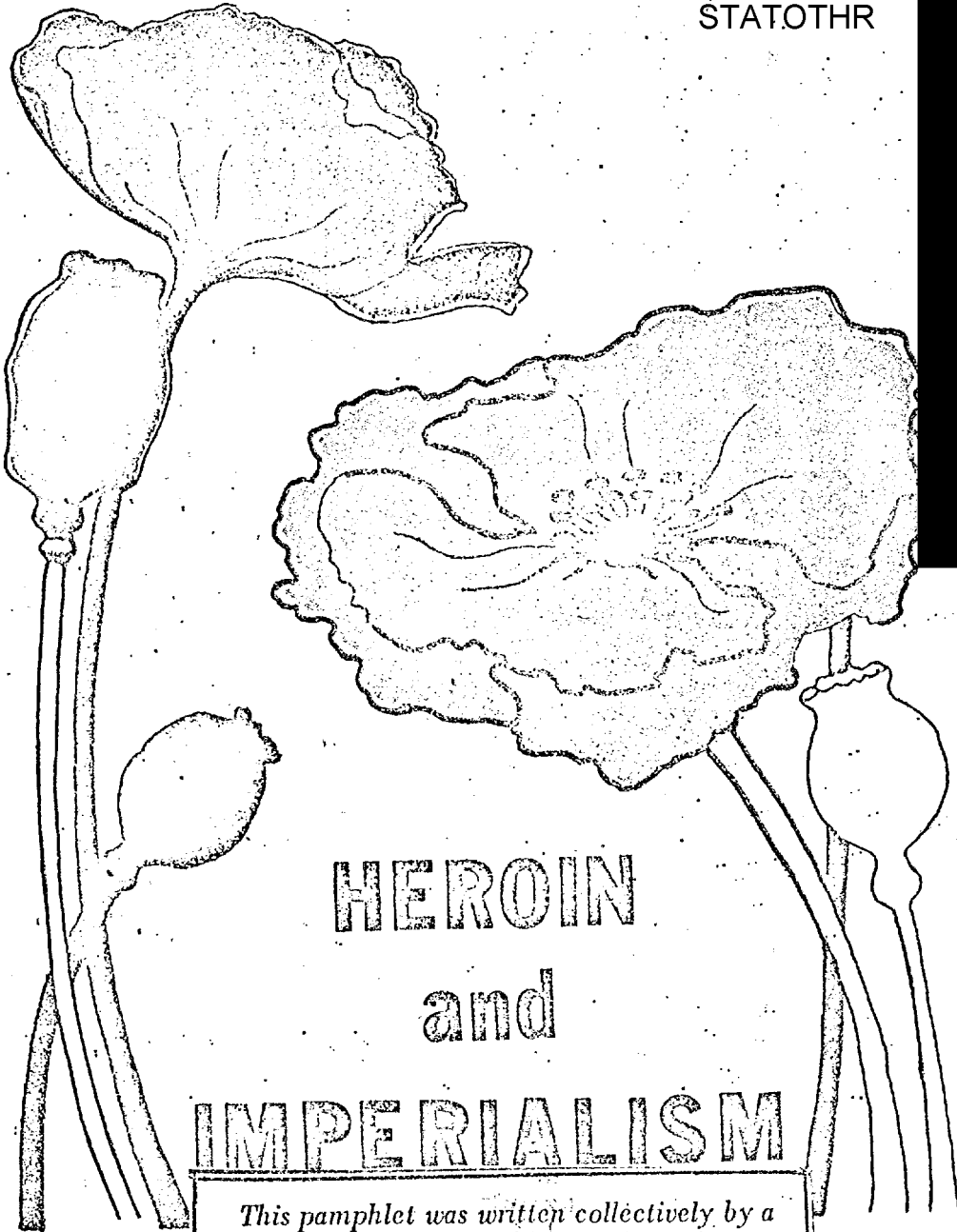
The vice president of Laos' National Assembly, for example, recently was caught by airport police in Paris with a suitcase full of heroin.

April, 1972

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R0010

the opium trail

STATOTHR



HEROIN

and

IMPERIALISM

This pamphlet was written collectively by a study group supported by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars. The group included Pat Haseltine, Jerry Meldon, Charles Knight, Mark Selden, Rod Aya, Henry Norr, and Mara. Thanks to all who helped, especially Jim Morrell, Tod McKie, and Jancis Long.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001000060001-7

Second Edition

April, 1972

continued

CIA... Dope Pushers

SAN FRANCISCO-Earth Magazine has announced the preparation of a law suit against a CIA-controlled airline it accused in its March issue of flying heroin out of Southeast Asia with the knowledge of that clandestine government agency.

San Francisco attorney Ron Leachman says the suit will charge Air America, a corporation set up by the Central Intelligence Agency, with allowing its facilities to be used for the trafficking of opium from the "fertile triangle" of poppy fields in Laos, Burma and Thailand.

The current issue of Earth documents in a feature article by University of California Prof. Peter Scott, the connection between the CIA, Air America and the heroin trade, Scott charges that "the opium-based economy of Laos is being protected by a coalition of opium growing CIA mercenaries, Air America planes and Thailand troops."

The article charged that much of the heroin wound up being used in Vietnam by U.S. troops or went to the streets of America.

At a press conference announcing the publication of the article, Earth editor James Goode angrily pointed out how corruption abroad has brought disaster back home:

"The CIA helped put our kids in Vietnam and CIA heroin traffic turned them on to smack," he said at the press conference. "And we're paying the CIA \$6 billion a year for these services."

The impact of this trafficking on American youth cannot be underestimated. In the article, Scott quotes Eliot Marshall's estimate in the New Republic

that 25% of all heroin in the U.S. comes from the fertile triangle region of South-east Asia

A further amplification of the problem came from research done by Mike Benner of WRIF news in a recent broadcast about the Earth magazine exposures.

He said, "Studies on the heroin problem in the United States have indicated that up to five billion dollars is spent annually on heroin by an estimated five hundred thousand addicts. More than half of the money spent each year on the purchase of heroin - two and one-half billion dollars - is

U.S. Government studies have indicated that as much as 50% of the crime in metropolitan areas is caused by addicts and medical officials report that heroin presently causes more deaths to people between the ages of 18 and 35 than war, cancer or car accidents."

Most observers feel that the CIA involvement in the heroin trade has not come about through a desire of the U.S. government to poison its troops and young people. But rather through a trap of political alliances with the dealers and marketers of opium, who were often the only forces in Southeast Asia willing to support the U.S. political and military adventures in that region, an area controlled by remnants of the Chinese Nationalist Army.

Several recent calls for attacks on the trade by the government are not being taken too seriously and Hubert Humphrey even suggested having the CIA itself hunt down the smugglers. Don Strachen writing in the

Staff newspaper in Los Angles suggested that this was like asking the Nazi S.S. force to investigate atrocities at the Auschwitz concentration camp.

Earth Magazine and attorney Leachman want GI's vets or other persons with personal knowledge of the drug trade and who would be willing to help them in the suit against Air America, to contact Earth Magazine, The Agricultural Bldg. The Embarcadero at Mission, San Francisco CA 94115 or phone (415) 989-4300. Copies of the above mentioned article can also be gotten from that address.

Secret of the Golden Triangle

JULY 1970 *New Times* carried an article by J. Anderson entitled "Opium, Gold and Politics" discussing drug addiction in the U.S. and the international narcotics traffic. The article showed that one of the main sources of the opium smuggled into the U.S. and other countries of the "free world" was Northern Laos and adjoining sections of Burma and Thailand. It also recalled that the problem had been discussed time and again in the U.N. and that President Nixon had called abuse of drugs "a serious national threat." That was more than two years ago. Has anything changed since then?

Many Middle East countries, and especially Iran and Turkey, have established strict control of the cultivation of the basic raw material—the opium poppy and introduced severe penalties for trafficking in drugs. As a result production has shifted more and more to Southeast Asia, in particular the area at the junction of the Burman, Laotian and North Thai frontiers, in close proximity to the South Chinese province of Yunnan. More, the narcotics industry in this area has advanced to a higher stage. It formerly it exported the semi-manufacture—opium—now it trades mainly in the finished product, heroin, the most dangerous of all the drugs which dooms its victims to an early death and brings fantastic profits to the traffickers. The production of heroin out of raw opium has been put on a large-scale footing in the northeast corner of Burma where the remnants of the Kuomintang 93rd Yunnan Division which fled from China have been shel-

tering since 1949. The division commander, General H. My, who with the help of the CIA and the Chiang Kai-shek authorities managed to keep together the core of his force, has set up near the village of Takhylok no less than 50 laboratories for the purpose. Though primitive, these jungle-hut distilleries using the simplest equipment make up the world's biggest heroin producing centre and yield an income which has given the area the name of "Golden Triangle."

Correspondent Jean Pouget of the Paris *Le Figaro* who visited the fringes of the triangle (to try to get into it is to court death) estimates that it processes roughly 1,000 tons of raw opium annually. This can be converted into 100 tons of heroin, enough for 100 million 1-gramme packets or 1,000 million doses.

The Takhylok "firm" works not only on local raw material from Burma, Thailand and Laos. It is connected by a direct road with Kunming, the chief city of the Chinese province of Yunnan.

Jean Pouget asked a Laotian how the Chinese People's Republic army engineers building a highway from Yunnan to Phongsaly province in Laos regarded the Kuomintang ex-soldiers in these parts.

"Their attitude is that of elder brothers towards younger," he was told with a touch of humour. "Whether you are a Maoist or a nationalist makes little difference. You are above all Chinese, a member of a superior race."

Another interesting sidelight. The U.S. officials Pouget talked with during his first visit to Laos in April 1971 all confirmed that the drug traffickers operated under the protection of the Peking authorities. The *Chicago Tribune* recently reported that China annually exports illegally 2,000 tons of opium valued at \$500 million. The opium poppy is cultivated on an area of some 1,235,000 acres, mostly in Yunnan and Kweichow provinces and the Kuanghsi autonomous area.

How the heroin gets to the market is wrapped in deep secrecy. It is known, however, that there are several landing strips in the Takhylok area which systematically receive planes and helicopters, mostly piloted by Americans. They bring in canned foods, beverages, and medicaments, and leave heavily laden with crates of heroin. The

U.S. journalist David Feingold in his recent book "Opium and Politics in Laos" says that some aircraft waiting for Air America, a CIA outfit, carry narcotics to Saigon. It is also said that "unidentified" planes drop the bales containing heroin by parachute in the Tonkin and Siam gulfs to be picked up by waiting ships.

There is also the overland route across the Thai frontier to Bangkok. The traffic is so profitable that a single truckload delivered to the Thai capital is enough to pay for the truck.

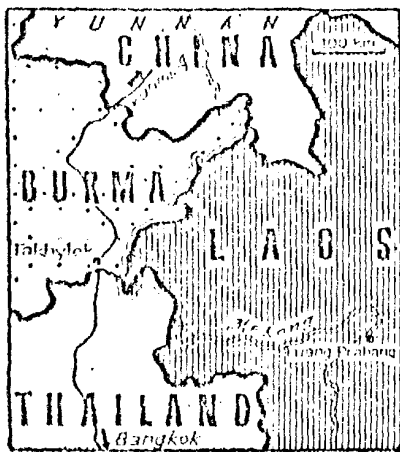
According to a report submitted in early March in Washington by Federal narcotics co-ordinator and State Department aide Nelson Gross, the chief distributing centre in the illicit opium traffic from Burma, Laos, Cambodia and the Chinese province of Yunnan is Thailand. High-placed Thai officials, the report says, are involved.

Another outlet is Hongkong. Tat-Shing Leung, head of the International Affairs Department of the Hongkong and Kowloon trade unions and member of the Hongkong Government Labour Advisory Board, told our correspondent that narcotics from Bangkok are shipped through Hongkong to the U.S. and Western Europe despite the efforts of the Hongkong authorities to stop the smuggling. As for drugs from South China, this, he said, is often talked about though he personally had no definite evidence.

What is the situation in the U.S. today? On March 2 Senator Charles H. Percy said that according to the Federal Bureau of Narcotics there now are 560,000 regular heroin users in the U.S., as against 315,000 in 1969. The Senator believes, however, that the actual figure is higher. Information at his disposal, also obtained from official sources, suggests that the number of heroin addicts in the U.S. runs to 700,000.

The special United Nations conference on strengthening the international narcotics control system which closed in Geneva on March 25 adopted a number of amendments to the 1953 narcotics convention enlarging the powers of the International Narcotics Control Board. But as necessary as such international measures are to combat the illicit transportation and trade in narcotics, it is obviously impossible to put an end to drug addiction without stamping out the "Golden Triangle" and similar centres.

Y. ROSEN



Television Followup

Chronolog

NBC News' monthly primetime magazine took on a noble challenge Friday (24) with an extensive segment on the secret war being waged against the North Vietnamese in northern Laos. Unfortunately the subject apparently was much too tough to handle by the networks' traditional standards of ambivalent journalism.


From what has previously been learned about the secret war, mainly via print, it's a subject which cries out for an adversary approach. But, from all appearances, NBC News was the guest of the Central Intelligence Agency, the organizer, advisor and total bankroller of the "secret irregular army" and sole operator of the clandestine airlines servicing the war—and the network was a polite guest indeed. "Chronolog" host Garrick Utley, in fact, gave the CIA a resounding standup testimonial for its endurance in holding the line, a job handed the spooks, he averred, by the U.S. government.

The segment was launched with an extensive look at the embattled mountain tribesmen, a lead which strongly tended to disguise the over-riding importance of 80,000 mercenaries, the clandestine airlines and saturation bombing by the U.S. in support of the war. The North Laos Communist government, clandestine participation by U.S. special forces and heavy narcotic shipments by the CIA airlines were never mentioned in the piece. (Those opium shipments of the Laotian tribesmen's main commerce were barely hinted at when the NBC cameras for the briefest moment focused on a gag poster in a bar frequented by Americans which carried the

slogan, "Fly Heroin Airlines.")

Oversights were often obvious, as when field reporter Bob Rogers, interviewing a mercenary, failed to ask what he was being paid. Bill.

STATOTHR



EARTH The CIA put your brother in Vietnam.
CIA heroin traffic turned him on to smack.
You are paying the CIA
\$6 billion a year for these social services.
March 1972 **EARTH** magazine

His curiosity piqued by Sunset Strip billboard, Diehl investigated the charges with expert on spies, Ladislav Farago

BOOK TALK

Sniffing Around U.S. Spy Network

BY DIGBY DIEHL

• A sensational billboard on Sunset Strip a few weeks ago caused me to look into the March issue of *EARTH* magazine with considerable interest—and great skepticism. Another attack on our government within the government, the Central Intelligence Agency, was leveled in a message 48 feet long, heralding an article by Berkeley professor Peter Dale Scott about CIA involvement in heroin traffic in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Although Scott does not "prove" his charges conclusively, his research is impressive and the bulk of circumstantial evidence as well as peculiar coincidence would certainly lead me, if I were a congressman, to ask just what the CIA is up to running Air America, the largest airline in Southeast Asia, and being inconspicuously conspicuous around the opium triangle. *EARTH*'s editor, Jim Goode, says, "All this is terrifying. It has to be stopped and the only way to stop it is to make the CIA—specifically, its secret unauthorized war in Laos—accountable to the public. When a 'secret' agency is allowed to operate beyond the reach of the law, it becomes a criminal agency."

Goode sounds shrill and unrealistic until you recall weird scenes like the Bay of Pigs and read a few more facts. The CIA employs 18,000 people "directly," only we don't know exactly what 6,000 of them do because they're involved in Clandestine Services. The \$6 billion annual budget of this organization is spent in ways mainly unknown by the American taxpayer . . . unknown, for that matter, by chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee Allan Ellender who says, "It never dawned on me to ask about it."

My curiosity piqued, I talked to the foremost civilian expert on secret intelligence operations, Ladislav Farago, who is also the author of the current best-seller *THE GAME* (Doubleday, \$11.95). Farago has spent most of his life working in American intelligence services and studying espionage

age. "The spying operations of the CIA are a big silly joke; they're all playing Alice in Wonderland games," he says, roaring with laughter like a Hungarian Santa Claus.

"We're spending something like \$2.9 billion bribing prime ministers in Asia and buying armies in Burma and it's all nonsense. Counterinsurgency is not the business of the United States. Nixon would be better served by getting the facts than by the CIA overthrowing governments."

Actually, according to Farago, the CIA and other intelligence operations do have valuable information-gathering services, mostly run by civilian scholars. "These are useful and necessary services: mainly reading newspapers and official reports from other countries. But the rest could be canned. The United States could have a very adequate intelligence operation for under \$100 million. To be informed would be cheap; to play games is expensive."

A comic aspect of the intelligence problem is that even when a spy does come up with information, who knows if he can be trusted? "As I point out in 'The Game of Foxes,' the Germans and the Allies had so completely penetrated each other's information lines with double agents that no one knew what was really happening. Hitler's own men invariably gave him false information because they didn't like him. Of course, they couldn't have known for sure what they were giving him since the British were running the German spy network in England. Then again, the Roosevelt-Churchill hotline was tapped. Sure, a spy can be important—but you never know to how many people."

History proves over and over that the spy game is a waste of time and money, says Farago. "When I worked in naval intelligence in 1935-37, the information published in the New York Times was superior to what was coming through our office. The Korean invasion of June, 1950, wasn't announced to President Truman by our vast spy network; it came over the Associated Press wire. And, of course, the CIA's 'secret' Bay of Pigs was one long farce. Eisenhower turned down the idea in September, 1960, but Allen Dulles (then CIA head) and Richard Bissell (then chief of staff) sold it to Kennedy. It was so cleverly planned that virtually every major news source from the New York Times to the Nation knew about it in advance."

In 1943, Ian Fleming (who was then with British Intelligence and went on to write the James Bond

thans under Pathet Lao control. Congressmen McCloskey and Waldie found, in a U.S. information survey initially concealed from them by the Embassy, that 76% of the 190 respondents from 96 villages had had their homes bombed. In addition 97% had seen a bombing attack and 61% had seen a person killed. Congressmen McCloskey and Waldie also conducted their own interviews, and all 16 refugees queried, from 7 different villages, testified to the aerial destruction of every single dwelling in their hamlets.

A report by U.N. expert Georges Chapeller in December 1970 stated that in the Plaine des Jarres "by 1969 the intensity of the bombings was such that no organized life was possible in the villages . . . Jet planes came daily and destroyed all stationary structures. Nothing was left standing. The villagers lived in trenches and holes or in caves. They only farmed at night. All of the interlocutors without exception had their villages completely destroyed. In the last phase, bombings were aimed at the systematic destruction of the materials bases of the civilian society.

At one time there were more than 50,000 people living in the Plaine des Jarres. There is virtually no life there now.

One village chief indicated that in 21 hamlets not one home was left standing. In his own village 45 percent of the 2600 inhabitants never left their trenches.

A sample of 25 villages from the Plaine des Jarres revealed casualty rates of 5-10 percent from the bombing. It is estimated that 50 civilians are killed for every Pathet-Lao casualty.

In 1963 Jacques Decornoy, the Southeast Asian desk editor for *Le Monde* traveled through Pathet Lao controlled areas. According to his interviews, 65 villages in the Sam Neua district alone had been destroyed by U.S. air power. Traveling through the devastated areas he depicts it as "a world without noise for the surrounding villages have disappeared. The inhabitants themselves living in the mountains."

Such testimony is of course contrary to our government's official position that "never before has such care been taken to spare civilians in bombing raids."

The picture burnt into one's imagination is that of hundreds of thousands of Laotians desperately huddling in caves and trenches as U.S. planes roar overhead. Again it is the enormity of the suffering endured by these poor people which blinds us to our own policy. I will rerun the picture, because we must break through the psychic numbness we have developed.

There are hundreds of thousands of poor peasants, noncombatants, living underground in fear of U.S. air power in Asia. There are entire areas of former civilization reduced to near cave man standards by the most advanced nation in the history of the earth. For what? no matter for what, it is indefensible.

At Nuremberg Teleford Taylor, chief U.S. Prosecutor, argued that where the military profits of any policy are dwarfed by the civilian casualties, such a policy is indefensible. The massive air war by the U.S. against the peoples of Indochina is indefensible. Every B-52 raid, every A-119 K stinger drop is criminal.

The situation in Laos is not appreciably different from what is currently occurring in Cambodia. As the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees noted, the same pattern of destruction is being repeated relentlessly throughout Indochina. It is up to the Congress to terminate it. The President has made it clear that he intends to continue the bombing, stating in February this year, "I will not place any limitations on the use of air power."

Secretary of Defense Laird has indicated that we intend to maintain a naval and air presence in Southeast Asia indefinitely after

the last ground troops are withdrawn. The Pentagon, which seems to have statistics available for all categories and contingencies, lacks even an estimate of the likely civilian casualties this presence will cause. Such considerations do not seem to have a high priority in current American decision making. The so-called "gook rule" which haunted the Calley trial has far more profound implications for the air war.

On the afternoon that the U.S. helicopters and attack planes accompanied the South Vietnamese into Laos the President issued a statement on our environmental crisis. Within it he quoted from T. S. Eliot's "Murder in the Cathedral." "Clean the air, clean the sky, wash the wind . . ." It would have been revealing for the President to have quoted further: "The land is foul, the water is foul, our beasts and ourselves are defiled with blood.

A rain of blood has blinded my eyes . . . Can I look again at the day and its common things and see them all smeared with blood through a curtain of falling blood? We did not wish anything to happen."

Let us stop the bombing, withdraw our troops and begin to "take stone from stone and wash them."

Mr. GRAVEL, Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD excerpts from remarks I made to the Fund for New Priorities dinner in New York City on January 14, 1972.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CONTINUING AIR WAR
(Excerpts from remarks by Senator MIKE GRAVEL)

The Nixon Administration's recent resumption of heavy bombing of North Vietnam once more raises a basic moral question: what right do our leaders have to kill and maim men, women, and children halfway across the globe who pose no threat to this Country?

As usual, the Administration is claiming that it is bombing only "military" targets. This may or may not be true. One remembers, after all, that the Johnson Administration claimed the same thing.

Even if the Administration is bombing only "military" targets this time, there can be no doubt that it also is causing serious civilian casualties. In a rural country like North Vietnam most so-called military targets such as bridges and factories are located in and around heavily populated civilian areas. Hanoi reports that in the most recent raids bombs fell on a hospital, and even military sources admit that American jets hit North Vietnamese army barracks as they went after nearby airfields.

The Cornell Air War Study quotes a memorandum by former Defense Secretary McNamara, in which he estimated that the bombing was causing 1,000 civilian casualties every week during the sustained raids of 1967. An equivalent casualty rate in the U.S. would be more than 600,000 per year.

Interviews with U.S. pilots indicate that most of the bombs we drop on North Vietnam are anti-personnel ordnance such as pineapple or guava bombs. These bombs contain hundreds of steel pellets.

One sortie of this type of bomb sends over half a million of these pellets spewing over an area half a mile long and an eighth of a mile wide.

During the Christmas raids alone it was announced that American planes flew over 1,000 sorties against North Vietnam. It is, therefore, not hard to believe the following Associated Press dispatch, dated December 29: "Hanoi claimed that in Thanh Hoa Province on Sunday the U.S. planes killed 24 civilians and wounded 47. A broadcast said most of the casualties were caused by steel

pellet anti-personnel bombs dropped on workers in the fields."

It's not a very pretty thing what our bombers are doing to these people.

But it's still going on right now. This month alone another 50,000 tons of anti-personnel bombs, napalm, and white phosphorous are raining down upon not only the people of North Vietnam, but Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam as well.

We won't be told of the victims, of course. To the extent we learn anything it will be of "protective reaction" strikes, "interdiction" missions, and the bombing of supply depots.

But there are human beings under those bombs, and they will continue being killed and maimed until we, the American people, demand an end to this bombing.

In just the eight months since President Nixon told the American people in his April address to the Nation that "Vietnamization has succeeded", there have been an additional 1,302 Americans killed in the Indochinese War, and 4,870 more wounded. Deaths among allied forces in that same period have risen 15,595, and the Pentagon estimate of the number of new deaths among those people it chooses to call the "enemy" is 56,030. That last figure is no doubt conservatively low.

These numbers tell of the failure of Vietnamization, not its success.

An Orwellian transformation is taking place in our military policy in Indochina. Due to public pressure American ground troops are slowly coming home, but they are leaving an automated war behind. Computer technology and a small number of troops manning aircraft and artillery are creating a U.S. destructive presence that may literally hover over Southeast Asia for years to come. In the midst of this the public is confused, pacified by the diminishing troops levels, yet vaguely troubled by continuing reports of devastation.

In his mid-December newsbriefing Secretary of the Air Force Seaman sought once again to play down the air war. The basic point Seaman tried to make was that the air war was not escalating, that in fact it had been wound down. As such, his remarks represent a relativistic apology for the continuing raids, a logic more appropriate for 1984 than 1972—the logic of permanent war.

It is an insult to the American people to portray the air war as fading away when in 1971 somewhere between 750,000 and 800,000 tons of bombs were dropped over Indochina. Though down from the peak years of 1968 and 1969, this figure represents:

- nearly 40% of all the U.S. air ordnance expended during the Second World War,
- nearly 80% of all the air ordnance expended during the three year Korean War,
- the equivalent of 37 Hiroshimas, or roughly one every nine days.

Most importantly, the Nixon Administration has made it clear that the bombing is to continue indefinitely even after the last American ground troop comes home (if he ever does). Even if reduced by 50% the air war still would continue at an average level greater than that of the Korean War.

But there are many indications that the reductions in the bombing are bottoming out. Pentagon sources, for example, indicate that B-52 strikes, though currently down 60% from their peak in 1968, are to continue indefinitely at their present rate of 1,000 per month. And although tonnage figures registered a 30% decline from 1969 to 1970, they dropped only 23% from 1970 to 1971.

At a time when the Harris Poll indicates that 65% of the American people feel the war is "immoral", and oppose by a 57 to 29 margin continued American bombing in order to achieve political ends, it is indefensible to continue the strikes at any level.

In regard to Secretary Seaman's "wound down war", it is worth noting that the Senate Refugee Subcommittee found that, "In this year, 1971, more civilians are being killed

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000100060001-7

Letters

THE FRENCH DRUG TRAFFIC

TO THE EDITOR:

Although fascinating to read, "The French Connection — In Real Life," by Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre (Feb. 6), presented a misleading and inaccurate account of several critical aspects of the war against heroin as it relates to France.

First, by the omission of any reference to the recent transfer of John Cusack back to the United States, the article paints a rosy picture of French-American cooperation. The truth is, however, that Cusack was relieved of his position as European desk chief of the U. S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs following vocal dissatisfaction in Paris with Cusack's public criticism of French antidrug efforts. In January I spoke with French and American narcotics agents in France, and the Americans were without exception totally demoralized by Cusack's removal.

The article, furthermore, dismissed charges that there is any official complicity in the trafficking of narcotics without making any more than a passing reference to the Delouette case. Briefly, the arrest of Delouette and his guilty plea in connection with the seizure of 96 pounds of heroin in New Jersey last April was accompanied by the revelation that the S.D.E.C.E.—the French counterpart to the C.I.A.—was believed involved with heroin. The indictment of Col. Paul Fournier, a high S.D.E.C.E. official, and his unwillingness to come to the United States for trial on narcotics charges lends credence to the possibility of high-level involvement. Further, a French consulate official in New York has refused to testify before the Federal grand jury in Newark on the Doulette-Fournier affair.

The French concern over drug use in France which the

article cites as rooted in the August, 1969, overdose death of a 17-year-old girl, Collins and Lapierre would have us believe, is two and a half years old. That in itself is not a long tradition of interest. In a meeting with the Secretary of the French Embassy in Washington just two days after the article appeared, Congressman Ben Blackburn and I were told that official concern dates back only a year and a half.

There is a curious reference in the article to an "intense Latin sense of neighborhood" which severely inhibits police infiltration and surveillance. Although this is certainly true, there is no mention of the fact that the same small-town neighborliness has permitted the clandestine processing laboratories to operate with relative impunity. The residents of French villages and towns, especially in the area surrounding Marseilles have been less than cooperative in reporting suspicious narcotics-related activity to the police. The rapid spread of heroin addiction in France may change that, but for the present it imposes a major obstacle for both French and American drug officials.

I do not doubt the sincerity of the new heads of the French narcotics law enforcement effort, Marcel Morin and François le Mouel. When I met with them last month, I was convinced that they are dedicated to the eradication of heroin trafficking, but they had been on the job for only a short time and we in Harlem will be looking for results. CHARLES B. RANGEL, Member of Congress, 18th Congressional District, Washington, D.C.

Larry Collins replies: I should like to make a number of comments on Congressman Rangel's letter concerning the article, "The French Connection—In Real Life," which I co-authored with my partner Dominique Lapierre.

First, Congressman Rangel, calling the article "misleading and inaccurate" in several

aspects," alleges John Cusack was relieved of his duties as European chief of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs because of French vocal dissatisfaction at his public criticism of France's anti-drug action.

In August, 1971, Cusack was ordered to Marseilles with Embassy approval to give interviews to two local papers, *Le Provençal* and the *Meridional la France*. Their purpose was to inform the Marseilles public, in print, that the U.S.B.N.D.D. was ready to pay substantial sums for tips leading to drug arrests.

During the course of a long lunch with the *Meridional's* Marco Ceomei, Cusack, apparently believing the interview aspect of the conversation over, gave vent to some of the frustrations he had felt during his stay in France. Ceomei told me in December that Cusack told him during the interview that he was going home at the end of the year. In his story Ceomei naturally fastened on the critical comments Cusack had made and their publication did indeed greatly distress the French who had just decided to make drugs their major police concern. It certainly made it difficult for Cusack to fulfill his primary function in Paris, coordinating Franco-American drug efforts; nevertheless, he remained in his job another four and a half months. The embassy affirms his transfer at the end of 1971 had been scheduled for months and categorically denies it was due to the French reaction to his published interviews last summer.

Second, Congressman Rangel criticizes us for making only a passing reference to the Delouette case with, he says, "the revelation the French S.D.E.C.E... was believed involved with heroin." We did, indeed, make only passing reference to the case since it had already been well covered in the media and we felt we had nothing new to add. However, since it represents the only case in the world that frequently disturbs

Franco-American drug efforts, the two countries' differing systems of jurisprudence, it perhaps deserves comment here.

The only testimony advanced by Delouette in his accusations against Col. Paul Fournier is his lie-detector corroborated testimony. Both the French legal and medical professions reject lie-detector testimony as unreliable and subject to manipulations. Delouette's testimony has,

therefore, no legal standing in a French court. Second, French law, to the intense regret of French cops, provides for the role of the state's witness only in cases involving counterfeiting and espionage. This has prevented the French from granting Delouette immunity to prosecution.

This is not to say that official agencies like the S.D.E.C.E., long accustomed to operating in a parallel fashion in the name of legality, may not be involved in drugs. After all, some of our C.I.A. men have been caught running dope in Asia.

Third, insofar as the point of departure of France's interest in drugs is concerned, the article states, "the first intimation" of its spread to France came two and a half years ago but makes it clear that the real turnabout came last spring.

Fourth, Congressman Rangel cites a "curious reference" to Marseilles' Latin sense of neighborhood but says we neglected a "small-town neighborliness" which permits the labs to operate with relative impunity. Well, first of all, nobody, unfortunately, knows where the labs are—in the city or in the countryside. Of the four labs busted in two decades two were in the country and two were in Marseilles itself. Secondly, in all four cases, the operators were careful to establish over a considerable period of time a mode of living which made it quite impossible for their neighbors to suspect them of any ill-doings. The occupants of the lab uncovered in Janu-

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The CIA-A Pusher

TO THE EDITOR:

In reading different periodicals, particularly one by Richard Morris, I find there are three communities of America: famine, misery, and government incompetence. Narcotics entering the black community is one of the many instruments of oppression that has stifled the mental and physical capabilities of many blacks in America.

It (narcotics) is a multi-billion dollar commodity. So with the highly advanced technology of America that allows us to venture in outer-space or show full-length movies of the privacy of the late Martin L. King's sex life... Then I am convinced that there is no way the drug traffic can flourish in this county without the full knowledge of the law enforcement and political officers.

When I read articles that tell me that Southeast Asia is the world's opium producing giant with a yearly production of an estimated 1,200 tons which constitutes 80% of the supply to the world and Burma alone delivers 400 tons of opium to the world, or that the CIA base in Long Cheng is reported to be the central collecting point for the majority of opium exported outside of Southeast Asia, or even that methadone is a replacement for heroin so the government can reap some of the profits, then I begin to wonder about our so-called democratic state of order which is supposed to create conditions where by my fulfillment and progressiveness as human beings will be recognize and respected.

Although I am no expert on drug addiction, as far as consumption is concerned, I have been exposed to the sickness and it has brought me to agree with Richard Morris, that it is conditions within the social order of things which turns one to drugs as a solution or pleasure. These conditions being famine and misery. Morris states that famine is when the normal urge for food cannot be sufficiently satisfied the result to the physiogomy of the human being is disorganization and a general lack of initiative to indulge in any other activity

Other than securing food to adequately arrest the hunger pangs. Famine coupled with filthy and over-crowded living conditions has a tendency to make people irritable, anti-social, immoral, unethical and apathetic. Misery results from socially introduced emotional problems stemming from just ordinary conditions of every American ghetto: disease infested living quarters; rats dashing across the bedroom floor; an army of roaches scurrying up the kitchen wall; a recently used toilet that doesn't flush; three families in a one family apartment and a perennial shortage of money.

These favorable conditions which are created by America's system of capitalist democracy and racism should be dealt with as severely as the black pusher who spends his prime in prisons because he's trying to survive. When this country deals with the CIA, the FBI, local police and politicians who profit from the self and distribution of illicit drugs, then I can see America well on its way to eliminating drugs.

Yours truly,
Henry Robinson
13409 Forest Hill Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio 44112

CIA reported shifting attention in Laos from Communists to opium

BY MICHAEL PARKS
Sun Staff Correspondent

Vientiane, Laos — American intelligence agents here are turning their attention from Communists to drug runners, according to informed sources.

The United States Central Intelligence Agency has been given a top-priority assignment,

American officials say, of discovering the routes used to smuggle opium from northern Burma through Laos to Thailand and pinpointing opium refineries in the area.

One result was a mysterious fire that destroyed a key refinery for turning opium into heroin last year.

A recently reported series of ambushes on mule trains and caravans bringing opium from Burma and Thailand are also attributed by knowledgeable observers here to the American anti-drug campaign.

Knowing smiles

When questioned directly about the fire at the refinery near the Laotian town of Ban Houei Sai or the caravan raids, American officials only smile knowingly and shrug their shoulders.

Other intelligence sources report, however, that some of the small guerrilla teams that used to probe China's Yunnan province for the Central Intelligence Agency have been shifted to tracking and occasionally attacking the opium caravans.

Last summer, American officials were discussing the possibility of bombing an opium refinery at Houei Tap, near Ban Houei Sai.

"There are so many bombing sorties that one could easily go astray, if you know what I mean," said one U.S. Embassy official.

Eventually, officials here now say, bombing was discarded as "imprecise."

"Besides, everyone would know we did it," an American here said recently. "With a fire, people are not sure. It may be a business rival."

The American Embassy, which for years had condoned and indirectly helped Laotian traffic in heroin, morphine and opium as a part of the war against the Communists, has now brought in a task force of U.S. Customs and drug officials to help the Vientiane government enforce its first drug law. Their budget may run to \$1 million a year.

The Customs officials are helping tighten inspection of cargoes on domestic and international air flights, the principal avenue for the drugs to move from northern Laos down to Bangkok, Thailand.

Some of the inspections on flights of Air America and Continental Air System planes, which are under contract to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, are too cursory to be effective, and some planes still escape inspection completely, as do most military flights.

In addition, private planes still land at Vientiane's airport from Thailand and Cambodia to pick up mysterious cargoes and fly off again, having avoided both Customs inspections and filing of flight plans and manifest by bribing the airport officials with \$200.

Americans here hope that pressure from the prime minister, Prince Souvanna Phouma, and his intelligence chief, General Khamou, will reduce this traffic.

An agent from the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs has been assigned to work with General Khamou and coordinate the American and Lao efforts.

American advisers working with the Lao national police have also been ordered to press for enforcement of the new Lao drug law, enacted under U.S. pressure last summer.

The law prohibits the processing and transportation of heroin, opium and related drugs, and the cultivation and use of opium, a traditional crop among hill tribes, is restricted. A second law, passed recently, bars unauthorized importation of chemicals used to refine opium.

The U.S. efforts are directed less at stopping the cultivation of opium than in reducing the large volume of drugs flowing through Laos to Thailand, Cambodia, South Vietnam and Hong Kong.

Details of the budget for the anti-drugs program, which is being coordinated with similar efforts in neighboring countries, are still being worked out, but U.S. officials frequently mention \$1 million as the total annual cost.

EDITORIAL COMMENTARY

"Pentagon" Revisited

CBS Is Still Doing Business at the Same Old Stand

ACCURACY in Media (Warner Bldg., Washington, D.C., 20004) is a non-profit, tax-exempt organization launched a few years ago "by a group of concerned citizens who had become increasingly fearful that the content and presentation of the news by many sections of the media were undermining the democratic process and threatening our freedom." A.I.M. boasts a National Advisory Board comprising such prestigious figures as Morris L. Ernst, Eugene Lyons and Edgar Ansel Mowrer. In pursuit of its goal (which is aptly described by its name), A.I.M. since its inception has issued perhaps two dozen "critiques, articles, editorial replies, bulletins, reports and news releases", as well as filed several complaints with the Federal Communications Commission charging violation of the Fairness Doctrine. Letting the chips fall where they may—a warm reference to its activities in the March 29, 1971, issue of Barron's evoked a courteous response and a correction of two factual errors—A.I.M. has not blinked at taking on some of the leading lights of the liberal establishment.

* * *

Perhaps its chief claim to fame has been its confrontations with the Columbia Broadcasting System. Taking dead aim in 1970 at one of CBS' famous "documentaries," dealing with Castro's Cuba, Accuracy in Media listed 10 major doubtful statements, including: "For Cuba's poor, things are a good deal better than they used to be . . . the Cuban poor man doesn't want to leave . . . there is a quiet equality of the races now . . ." Noting in meticulous detail that real life refuses to follow the script, A.I.M. solicited comment from Richard S. Salant, then and now president of CBS News. Nine times out of 10, in the organization's view, his answers failed to meet the objections. Painfully aware of the mounting national interest in his network's efforts, Mr. Salant lately has grown more responsive. Thus, the CBS point-by-point response to the special program, "The Selling of the Pentagon," which finally surfaced in mid-

December, nine months after its promised appearance, addresses itself—albeit inadequately, in the main—to 13 of the 23 issues raised by A.I.M. and a host of other critics. Again, in its eagerness to refute the devastating proof of network bias which emerges from the recent best-selling book, "The News Twisters," by Edith Efron of TV Guide, CBS hastened to release a rebuttal on the day of publication.

Lesser communications media, as we have observed before, occasionally run a correction or retraction, but CBS is made of sterner stuff. "We are proud of 'The Selling of the Pentagon,'" Mr. Salant told a nationwide television audience a year ago. "We are confident that when passions die down, it will be recognized as a vital contribution to the people's right to know." Recognition—in the form of the George Foster Peabody, *Saturday Review* and National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences awards for distinguished journalism—followed with almost indecent speed. Nor has CBS lacked for support—notably from a professor of sociology at City University of New York and a vice president of United Press International—with respect to the "News Twisters."

Yet on both occasions, so the facts suggest and the critics affirm, the network has staged a really poor show. Thus, while professing continued pride in its brainchild, CBS, by A.I.M. count, "actually concedes that five points of criticism are to some extent justified . . . and makes de facto admission of error in two other cases." As for Miss Efron's best-seller, professional statisticians have defended her methods and endorsed her findings. On even a casual inspection—and the author has prepared an 87-page report, as she testified recently before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, "in which I identify every misrepresentation; restore every violated context; present the stories CBS sought to conceal"—the CBS description of a "carefully calculated

smear" and "fraud." Last summer, the House Interstate and Commerce Committee voted to cite CBS for contempt of Congress (the full House killed the move). Evidently CBS' real contempt is for truth.

Regarding the controversial documentary, CBS explains that "decisions were made by intelligent, conscientious journalists applying the best professional judgment with the intent only to condense and focus a vast amount of material . . . no one has refuted its basic veracity." Accuracy in Media—and Barron's—disagree. As A.I.M. points out, "CBS now actually concedes that five points of criticism were to some extent justified. It admits that the editing of one of the answers Assistant Secretary of Defense Henkin gave to a CBS question might not have conveyed accurately what Mr. Henkin actually said. CBS also admits that it was wrong in saying of defoliated areas that 'nothing will grow there any more.' It agrees that it should have mentioned that one of the Pentagon films it criticized was actually produced by CBS. CBS also concedes that it greatly exaggerated the number of offices in the Pentagon, and allows that it should not have used language that implied that it had to track down the Industrial War College team that was putting on a National Security Seminar in Peoria, Ill.

"In addition, CBS makes *de facto* admissions of error in two other cases. In the broadcast, CBS had said that a still unpublished report of the prestigious 20th Century Fund had estimated real total spending by the Defense Department on public affairs at \$190 million, compared with the budget figure of \$30 million. CBS now concedes that the report of the 20th Century Fund had been published at the time the broadcast was made and that it contained no such figure. CBS tries to wriggle out of this embarrassing situation by showing that such a figure was used in some of the research done for the study. However, it was also clear that the figure was not used in the

BOSTON, MASS.

GLOBE Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R00

M - 237,967

S - 566,377

MAR 2 1972

Mitchell says law against excessive busing can win court OK

By Martin F. Nolan
Globe Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Attorney General John N. Mitchell yesterday predicted that a constitutional statute could be passed to curb what he called "excessive busing."

The Attorney General, in his last day in office before becoming manager of President Nixon's re-election campaign, also said that a Cabinet level committee on busing will have its recommendations ready for President Nixon this week.

In an invitational session with newsmen reviewing his last three years as Attorney General, Mitchell also:

—Warned Democrats to be "very careful" before accusing the Nixon Administration of doing little to halt the rise in crime.

—Labeled "a lot of rhetoric" fears that civil liberties have been diminished in America during the past three years.

—Reaffirmed his faith in J. Edgar Hoover as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

—Claimed that the Nixon Administration has brought to an end "almost an American pastime of kicking the hell out of the police."

On busing, Mitchell said that he "as a lawyer" is opposed to a constitutional amendment on the subject, an option being considered by many Republicans in Congress.

The Cabinet level committee on

Mitchell said, will have its report to the President in "a week to 10 days."

"These will be option papers where he will make his own decisions," Mitchell

said. "This matter has been under consideration all the time we have been in Washington, and I expect some consideration by the President before this week is out."

As to the possibility of drafting a law that would meet court objections, Mitchell said: "It is my opinion that a statute can be drawn that will be constitutional, which will eliminate the problem that has arisen about this ordering of the court of excessive busing."

The meeting with newsmen was held in the office of communications director Herbert G. Klein. Of the 40 reporters present, about half were conservative columnists normally friendly to the President.

When one of them, Holmes Alexander, asked about the difficulty facing Federal narcotics agents by opium raised in China, Mitchell challenged him and said:

"I don't want to be argumentative about it, but the government for three years has been trying to find out where the opium comes from, and the CIA and many others have been un-

able to determine how much opium does come from the People's Republic of China."

Most of the opium used for heroin, Mitchell suggested, is grown in Laos, Cambodia and Thailand, "in areas that are under the control of the insurgents there."

"I wish could tell you that the tide of rising crime in America has been reversed, but I would be exceeding the facts to say that, he said. "I can say without a doubt, that the increase has slowed.

"Those people on the

other side who may want to use this as an issue had better be very careful, he added. "The only way they can do it is to demagogue it.

As for the future of Hoover, Mitchell said: "As long as J. Edgar Hoover has the physical and mental capacity to do the job, I think he should remain there. No one could do the job as well.

Mitchell also claimed strides in the Nixon Administration aid to local justice systems, including prison reform.

"It doesn't relate just to

the police," he said. "It relates to reports and the prosecutors and so forth. But before this Administration, it was almost an American pastime to be kicking hell out of the police."

"This Administration has upgraded the police, provided for greater police education. We have also made sure that each police department has a community relations department to open up negotiations with the inner city so that when a squad car goes into a ghetto, it doesn't go in as an invading enemy."

"Earth" Mag. Says U.S. Spy Agency

CIA AGENTS PUSH DOPE

WASHINGTON, D.C.—If, and we have every reason to believe it's true, the charges made in the March, 1972 issue of "Earth Magazine," that the CIA is now, and has been in the past, dealing in the dope traffic, it's deplorable. Drugs and its danger was brought to the attention of the American people of the National HERALD-DISPATCH newspapers in 1960. We pointed out in our initial drive against dope, the fact that it destroys American youth.

Hence, if the CIA as charged and documented by "Earth Magazine" is dealing in the dope traffic, they are singularly destroying a whole generation of American youth. Dope destroys the brain cell, it renders the individual, regardless of race, creed, or national origin, useless and powerless to think clearly. Dope, as it was fed to American soldiers in Asia is despicable and deplorable. In Asia America's finest young manhood was destroyed before being sent into battle in a senseless, useless, racist war.

In the article titled "The Selling of the CIA" text by Morton Kondracke, offers documentation, photographs of former CIA spies. The spy was quoted, and we have no reason to believe that Earth is lying on the CIA, that its history is a sordid one.

The HERALD-DISPATCH has been aware for a number of years that the CIA has had stooges in the universities and colleges throughout the nation where they recruit brilliant young students. These students were used as spies to overthrow the African and Asian countries, to murder, assassinate, and destroy people.

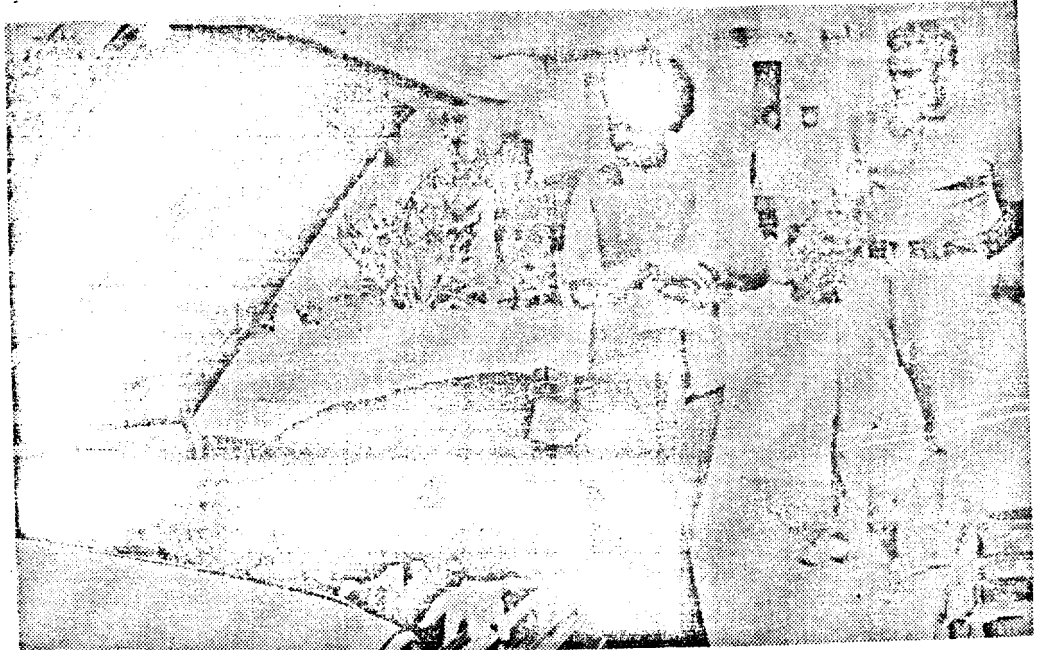
"Earth" cites facts that the CIA is involved in the opium traffic with the "fertile triangle" in the border areas of Laos, Burma, Thailand and the Yunnan province of southern China. They say, "about twenty-five percent of the heroin sold in America comes through this Southeast Asian channel. Ironically, the American taxpayer foots a six billion dollar a year bill for running the dope—the CIA, an organization which answers to nobody, is intricately involved in the flow of opium out of the Asian hills and into the United States. U.S. tax money

Started Air America, largest airline in Southeast Asia, used to supply and maintain opium growers, and also used for smuggling opium out of the triangle to Saigon and Hong Kong. The CIA claims other reasons for their huge operations, but as "Earth" magazine points out in Berkeley professor Peter Dale Scott's thorough article, the agency is party to pushing dope around the world.

Scott's article, supported by over 80 footnotes, is especially sobering in that it reveals a set of international alliances ranging from Chiang Kai Shek's brother-in-law to members of the Royal Laotian family to Wall Street lawyers and bankers, all of whom have either profited from the opium traffic or who have sanctioned its operation by their silence.

In tandem with Scott's article are: "CIA DOPE CALYPSO," a new poem by Allen Ginsberg; "A SHORT HISTORY OF CIA INTERVENTION IN SIXTEEN FOREIGN COUNTRIES," which runs down CIA action from the Congo to Costa Rica; and "THE SELLING OF THE CIA," in which Victor Marchetti, a sometime master spy, tells how the CIA "liberals" came to power, how they justify murder assassinations and why they must be brought under control."

CAN BLACK CITIZENS BLAME CIA'S ACTIVITIES FOR MISFORTUNE?



2 MAR 1972

STATOTHR

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R00

Metropol spy crime fighters urged

Special unit would use 'spy kits,' super cameras in area-wide crime battle

By DIANE BAUER

The Metropolitan Council of Governments is about to ask for federal funds to set up a super police force made up exclusively of spies in search out and destroy drug traffic and organized crime in the Metropolitan area.

Agents for the Metropol, working out of a CIA-type secret headquarters somewhere in the suburbs, would build a network of paid informers, set up a data bank, and use sophisticated electronic spy equipment.

COG will soon ask for \$2.5 million in federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funds to set up what it officially calls the Metropolitan Washington Organized Crime Intelligence Unit (MIG).

Metropol's effectiveness would not be evaluated by numbers of arrests or convictions but by "successful elimination of criminal groups."

"Suppression" of organizations would not necessarily be gained "thru traditional means of arrest and prosecution . . . but may be achieved by making the illegal operations so expensive and hazardous" that operations are suspended.

Twenty per cent of the first year's budget, \$94,990, would go to paid informers "to provide motivation for sources to cooperate."

A \$1,100 salary bonus would go to each area police chief for cooperating with the program.

SNOOPER KIT

About \$50,000 is requested for spy equipment, including three "SKS Intelligence Kits" at \$3,200 each, two \$1,500 telephoto cameras, a decoder, a \$1,000 paper shredder, closed circuit TV, 12 recorders with voice-activated microphones at \$450 each, \$20,000 worth of radio transmitter-receivers and a surveillance van.

Despite Defense Department promises a year ago after Sen. Sam Ervin's hearings on military snooping — that the Army would get out and stay out of domestic spying, MIG would ask to have ARMY CID men as top advisers and on its staff.

MIG headquarters would be located outside the District to help "maintain an innocuous appearance."

The strike force would attack illegal drug traffic first because it is "the most obvious product of organized criminal activity . . . in the eyes of the average citizen."

MIG would be geared to get assistance and information exchanges from the Internal Revenue Service, the Bureau of Customs, Postal Service, Department of Justice, LEAA, the FBI, the Armed Forces and the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.

Altho an accountant would probe financial transactions of suspected persons and groups, and MIG would tap the IRS for help, no mention is made of how MIG would get around federal laws forbidding the use of IRS information by other agencies.

Its data bank system is planned to connect with other data systems including the FBI's NCIC, the Washington area's WALES, Maryland's MILES, and SEARCH, an interstate computer hookup.

MIG agents would be recruited from the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Army's CID, the Office of Naval Intelligence, the Air Force's OSI and the National Security Agency to glean intelligence from data involving organized crime and what the proposal calls the "enemy order of battle."

The staff would also include investigators from all local police departments, including the District, Montgomery, Prince Georges, Arlington, Fairfax, Prince William and Loudoun counties plus Alexandria, Falls Church and Fairfax City and the Maryland State Police.

CIA and Mercenary Air Forces

CIA and local Asian air forces are playing a growing role in the air war as the Administration seeks to minimize overt American involvement. There is abundant documentation pointing to the participation of these air forces in opium smuggling as well as in combat. (See Ramparts, 4/71 for a fuller account.)

Local Asian air forces--supplied, maintained and directed by American "advisors"--are doing an increasing amount of the bombing. The size of the Vietnamese Air Force (VNAF) has increased dramatically, and the Royal Lao Air Force (RLAF), the Royal Thai Air Force (RTAF), and the Cambodian Air Force at slower rates. Although all the aircraft are piloted by Asians, Americans do everything else, from directing bomb loading to spotting for strikes.

Air America and Continental Airlines, privately owned, profit-making companies, operate under CIA direction and wage much of the supportive air war in Laos and Cambodia. The "charter" companies' planes perform troop transport and supply functions, spot for bombers, and engage in rescue operations for downed pilots. Air Force helicopters, helicopter gunships and giant C-130 cargo planes are "rented" to Air America for \$1 a year in Laos.

ASIAN AIR FORCES

American aid to VNAF, FY 1970-72: \$922 million
American aid to RLAF, FY 1970-72: \$128 million
(DoD, CR, 8/3/71)

"The Nixon Doctrine . . . was premised on the assumption . . . of increased U.S. military assistance."
(Undersecy. of State U. Alexis Johnson, FY 1972 DoD Authorization Hearings).

"An important factor in carrying out the Nixon Doctrine will be our military assistance program. We are requesting 48 million for development and 70.4 million for procurement of the International Fighter. In addition, we are requesting 10 million for initial spares. This aircraft is needed to provide an air defense capability for [our] Asian allies."
(Secy. of Air Force Robert C. Seamans, FY 1972 Senate DoD Appropriations Hearings)

Sen. Symington: "Are we going to continue to put these billions into Southeast Asia? Is that the overall plan in the U.S. today?"

Secy. Seamans: "For the foreseeable future we are going to continue to spend sizeable dollars in Southeast Asia."
(Ibid.)

VIETNAMESE AIR FORCE

"South Vietnamese military officers continue to deal in large quantities of heroin and to transport it around South Vietnam in military aircraft."
(Rep. Robert H. Steele, House Subcommittee on Europe, 7/7/71)

"The South Vietnamese Air Force is the sixth largest air force in the world."
(Michael Getler, Post, 1/14/72)

VNAF INVENTORY

Year	Fixed Wing Attack Aircr.	Heli-copters	Total, inc. Cargo, recon.
1/69	approx. 100	approx. 125	approx. 575
1/72	(total FW & heli. 750+)		1,000+
1/73*	300-400	500-600	1,200

*projected
(1969 and 1973 figures, Cornell study. 1972 figures, DoD)

VNAF PERSONNEL

1968:	20,000 (slightly under)
1972 (Jan.):	45,000
1973*:	50,000

*projected
(Ibid.)

VNAF ATTACK SORTIES

Year	Indochina	Laos	Cambodia
1968	2,250/mo.	none	none
1970	3,150/mo.	none	820
1971*	3,490/mo.	40	1,100

*as of July, 1971
(Cornell study)

"Mr. Seamans acknowledged that the Vietnamese 'will never be able to build the capability to do all that the United States Air Force has been doing in Laos. The Vietnamese Air Force . . . does not possess either B-52s or F-4s, the jet planes that do most of the trail bombing, and there are no plans,' Mr. Seamans said, 'to give it any.'"
(Craig Whitney, NYT, 12/6/71)

C I A DOPE CALYPSO

by Allen Ginsberg (for Peter Dale Scott)

IN NINETEEN HUNDRED FORTY SIX
CHINA WAS WON BY MAO TSE-TUNG
CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S ARMY RAN AWAY
AND THEY'RE WAITING THERE IN THAILAND TODAY

SUPPORTED BY THE C I A
PUSHING JUNK DOWN THAILAND WAY

FIRST THEY STOLE FROM THE MEO TRIBES
UP IN THE HILLS THEY STARTED TAKING BRIBES
THEN THEY SENT THEIR SOLDIERS UP TO SHAN
COLLECTING OPIUM TO SELL TO THE MAN

PUSHING JUNK IN BANGKOK TODAY
SUPPORTED BY THE C I A

BROUGHT THEIR JAM ON MULE TRAINS DOWN
TO CHIENG MAI THAT'S A RAILROAD TOWN
SOLD IT NEXT TO POLICE CHIEF BRAIN
HE TOOK IT TO TOWN IN THE CHOOCHOO TRAIN

TRAFFICKING DOPE TO BANGKOK ALL DAY
SUPPORTED BY THE C I A

THE POLICEMAN'S NAME WAS MR. PHAO
HE PEDDLED DOPE GRAND SCALE AND HOW
CHIEF OF BORDER CUSTOMS PAID
BY CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE'S U.S. AID

THE WHOLE OPERATION NEWSPAPERS SAY
SUPPORTED BY THE C I A

HE GOT SO SLOPPY & PEDDLED SO LOOSE
HE BUSTED HIMSELF & COOKED HIS GOOSE
TOOK THE REWARD FOR AN OPIUM LOAD
SEIZING HIS OWN HAUL WHICH SAME HE RESOLD

BIG TIME PUSHER A DECADE TURNED GREY
WORKING FOR THE C I A

THE WHOLE OPERATION FELL INTO CHAOS
TIL THE U.S. INTELLIGENCE CAME INTO LAOS
I'LL TELL YOU NO LIE I'LL SPREAD NO RUMOR
OUR BIG PUSHER THERE WAS SOUVANNA PHOUMA

THREE STRONG PRINCES IN A POWER PLAY
BUT PHOUMA WAS THE MAN FOR THE C I A

TOUBY LYFONG HAD WORKED FOR THE FRENCH
BIG FAT MAN LIKED WINE AND WENCH
PRINCE OF THE MEOS GREW BLACK MUD
OPIUM FLOWED THROUGH THE LAND LIKE A FLOOD

COMMUNISTS CAME AND CHASED THE FRENCH AWAY
SO TOUBY TOOK A JOB WITH THE C I A

AND HIS BEST FRIEND GENERAL VANG PHAO
RAN OUR MEO ARMY LIKE A SACRED COW
HELICOPTER SMUGGLERS FILLED LONG TIENG'S BARS
IN XIENG QUANG PROVINCE ON THE PLAIN OF JARS

IT STARTED IN SECRET THEY WERE FIGHTING
YESTERDAY
CLANDESTINE SECRET ARMY OF THE C I A

ALL THROUGH THE 'SIXTIES THE DOPE FLEW FREE
THRU TAN SON NHUT SAIGON TO MARSHALL KY
AIR AMERICA FOLLOWING THROUGH
TRANSPORTING CONFITURE FOR PRESIDENT THIEU

ALL THESE DEALERS WERE DECADES AND TODAY
THE INDOCHINESE MOB OF THE C I A

-- January 5, 1972

EARTH
March 1972**Heroin traffic:**

Some amazing
coincidences linking
the CIA, the Mafia,
Air America,
several
members of
the Brook Club,
Chiang
Kai-Shek,
the Kuomintang,
Prince Puchatra
of Thailand,
many banks and
insurance companies
— practically
everyone except
Richard Nixon.

Wasn't he asked?

by Peter Dale Scott

Professor Samuel Eliot Morison, a 1903 Theodore Roosevelt national law and mor- US Navy to support the "re Panama from Colombia. The to the Canal Zone treaty, is de "Panama businessmen, agent [which stood to gain \$40 mill the treaty] and United States a to add that the "agents" of Company were New York in Seligman and their Washington who organized and financed suite in the Waldorf-Astoria.

In some ways, the Panar partition is an instructive pre involvement in Indochina.² Le be different today; for many preparing for revolution and lawed, under sections 956-60 In theory, at least, responsibi of American "interests" is ne But in fact, the CIA still ma J. & W. Seligman and similar

These contacts have been from Wall Street which succ CIA into its first covert ope who created the CIA in 19 unhappiness at the deflection gence function: "I never had any thought . . . when I set up the CIA that it would be injected into peacetime cloak-and-dagger operations."³ His intentions, however, counted for less than those of Allen Dulles, then a New York corporation lawyer and President of the Council on Foreign Relations. The Administration became concerned that the Communists might shortly win the Italian elections:

Forrestal felt that a secret counteraction was vital, but his initial assessment was that the Italian operation would have to be private. The wealthy industrialists in Milan were hesitant to provide the money, fearing reprisals if the Communists won, and so that hat was passed at the Brook Club in New York. But Allen Dulles felt the problem could not be handled effectively in private hands. He urged strongly that the government establish a covert organization with un- vouchered funds, the decision was made to create it under the National Security Council.⁴

continued



EARTH NEWS

Said Goode: "I find it inconceivable that the hierarchy of the CIA and other agencies within our government have not cracked down on this source of smack."

Goode was asked about a suggestion voiced earlier this week by Senator Hubert Humphrey that the CIA be assigned the task of investigating and stopping the flow of illegal heroin.

Del Rosario, a former marine who served in Vietnam in 1964 and 1965, said that the opium growing was permitted by the Laos and Thailand governments as long as there was no outside pressure exerted. He explained that, occasionally, a complaint would be lodged about the amount of growing and smuggling, and that then the government would move in and demand a temporary halt to the opium cultivation.

Earth magazine charged that the Central Intelligence Agency is intimately involved in the smuggling of millions of dollars worth of heroin into the United States each year.

The magazine's editor James Goode announced at a press conference in San Francisco that the March issue of *Earth* documents a web of alliances which connect opium-growing Southeast Asian farmers to the CIA-sponsored Air America Airlines and big money interests in the eastern United States. Goode said that heroin-smuggling entanglements are carefully spelled out in an article written by University of California English professor Peter Dale Scott; Scott's eight-page article traces the connection between opium growers, CIA operatives, flights of CIA-controlled airlines and the eventual delivery of heroin to the U.S.

Goode further charged that the CIA-supported Meo tribesmen and other opium growers located in Southeast Asia's "fertile triangle" are responsible for anywhere "from 25 percent to 80 percent of all heroin traffic reaching the United States."

The magazine editor stated that Scott's article was "clearly the most dramatic documentation of CIA complicity in heroin trafficking yet published;" but he added that the CIA's involvement in smack smuggling has been suspected and reported about for years, adding: "Yet nothing has been done."

Goode announced that he was making all of his evidence immediately available to United States Senators - and that he is calling for a Senate investigation of the CIA's role in the underground heroin market.

Studies on the smack problem in the United States have indicated that up to \$5 billion dollars is spent annually on heroin by 500,000 American addicts. More than half of the money spent each year on the purchase of heroin - or \$2.5 billion - is obtained through theft by addicts. Medical authorities report that heroin presently caused more deaths to people between the ages of 18 and 35 than do wars or cancer or car accidents.

"That's like appointing the SS to investigate atrocities at Dachau or Auschwitz," Goode said.

A 28-year-old Seattle resident who worked as a "civilian aide" to Continental Air Services in Thailand and Laos testified in San Francisco that he witnessed opium being loaded aboard CIA-sponsored aircraft.

Enrique B. del Rosario said he watched as cargo, labeled as "miscellaneous," was put aboard Air America planes at the Ban Houie Sai base in Laos, and at two other bases in Thailand. Del Rosario said he had served as a "civilian understudy" at the bases in Southeast Asia between 1966 and 1970.

When asked if he was actually employed at the time by the CIA, del Rosario declined to answer, insisting that he was not "permitted to." He added that his wife and two children are currently in Thailand - and said that he did not want to say anything "which might jeopardize their safety."

However, del Rosario admitted that he had worked very closely with the Meo tribesmen and other CIA-supported tribes, and that he had seen literally "hundreds of acres of cultivated opium fields planted by the tribesmen." Del Rosario said that the opium was later harvested, and that he watched as Air American planes landed at Thai and Laos bases and loaded the "miscellaneous" cargo aboard.

CIA DENIES

The Central Intelligence Agency has refused to comment on charges voiced by *Earth* magazine that the CIA "is deeply involved in the smuggling of heroin into the United States."

A spokesman for the CIA, assistant director Angus Thuermer, insisted to *Earth News* that the intelligence agency "never comments on any charges or complaints made against the CIA." Thuermer added, however, that CIA director Richard Helms had specifically denied any CIA connection to the trafficking of heroin during a speech he made to newspaper editors in Washington, D.C. early last year. At that time, Helms, in reply to charges that the CIA was involved in moving opium from Southeast Asia to the United States, said: "We know we are not contributing to that problem."

(Ed. Note: Further information on CIA involvement in the opium trade is contained in an article by Enrique B. del Rosario in this issue of THE SOUND.)

STATOTHR

CIA HOOKED

E. B. del Rosario
Wash.-Alas. Regional Coordinator - V.V.A.W.

Part One

In any given weekend night at the Constellation Bar and Restaurant, even the most casual tourist may find himself rubbing elbows with agents of half a dozen countries. These agents go under various official titles and capacities, such as "information specialists," "rural development technician," or "embassy official," but most all of them can be placed into one occupational category - espionage. The main attraction of the Constellation is the agents, and not the music or the food; for at Suzanne's down the road, one can get better, especially food. But since there's not much happening in Vientiane, and there's few places to go to hide, the Constellation becomes the center of activity on weekends. After official working hours, this little city by the Mekhong River tries to become a miniature Saigon but without the wartime conditions of its bigger sister.

While the resident agents are pursuing the music, lights and slenderly built Lao "puying," another group of men are busy under bright flood lights at Wattay Airport, working hurriedly, but competently, to rpepare silver unmarked airplanes for early morning flights. At the ramps of Air America and Continental Air Services, Filipino, Chinese and Thai mechanics are checking, adjusting, tuning and reassembling every functional part of the aircraft which must carry people and cargo over the entire length of Laos. One by one, the DC-3's, C-46's, C-123's, CARibous, Pilatus, Porters and Helio Couriers are checked and double checked, for these planes must fly over some of the most primitive terrain and under primitive conditions for four to ten hours daily. As each aircraft is released by the flight mechanics, other men take over the preparation of the plane. Lao laborers hump hundred-pount sacks of rice or cornmeal up the inclined belly of the C-46's or cargo of military wares into the Caribous and C-123's.

Before the first rays of sunlight break on the cheuis of Buddhist monasteris, pilots are receiving their briefings and assignments from the operations sections. "Captina, you're on Sixty Zulu this morning. Your DZ's are Sixty-three, Eleven, Five and One-Seven-Three. Weather is overcast at four thousand, broken at twenty-five hundred. Double-check your recognition signal at Site Five . . . the Pathet Lao took Site Thirteen last night." "Jim, take Fourteen Tango to Lima Two-five and pick up customer cargo. Take off is at Zero-Six-Thirty."

The tone of the voice of the briefer is as casual as the night life of the espionage agents and as casual as a bus drive. The pilots of the aircraft fly cargos that would horrify the average United States citizen, the person who must pay for the operations of teh CIA's airlines. In the seemingly innocent briefing given to pilot Jim are words which may open congressional investigations which will make all other investigations into the U.S. overseas operations seem trivial. Broken down into layman's language, the briefing means, "Jim, fly the C-46 cargo plane to Ban Houie Sai and bring back a load of opium." On a flight between Ban Houie Sai, a town in the center of teh "Golden Triangle," the world's richest opium growing region, a C-46 aircraft can carry between 12,000 to 14,000 pounds of opium. On some days, three or four aircraft make such flights out of Ban Houie Sai.

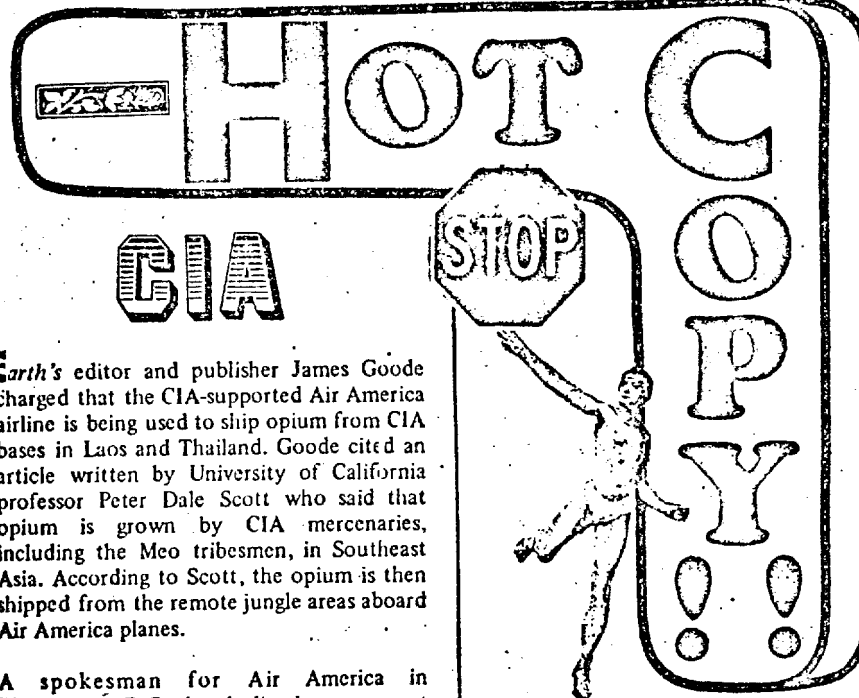
Note About the Author: Del Rosario was an employee of Continental Air Services in 1967. As an "operations assistant" based out of Vientiane, Laos, he was responsible for the monitoring of all flights in Laos for that CIA-financed transport corporation and for the loading and unloading of all cargo. As an associate to a British citizen studying the languages of teh Meo and Yao hill tribes in the Golden Triangle, del Rosario was able to learn nuuch about the opium culture of the region. On February 4, 1972, he testified in San Francisco before representatives of the national press and television networks about his observations in Laos. Parts of his testimony will be appearing in the next issue.

SCANDAL

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STATOTHR



Earth's editor and publisher James Goode charged that the CIA-supported Air America airline is being used to ship opium from CIA bases in Laos and Thailand. Goode cited an article written by University of California professor Peter Dale Scott who said that opium is grown by CIA mercenaries, including the Meo tribesmen, in Southeast Asia. According to Scott, the opium is then shipped from the remote jungle areas aboard Air America planes.

A spokesman for Air America in Washington, D.C. also declined to comment on the story. He would say only that Air America is a "non-domestic airline owned by Americans which operates in Asia." He said he was unaware of any connections between the airline and the CIA.

Earth magazine's March issue accuses the CIA of controlling Air America — and charges that the airline operation is responsible for at least 25 percent of all heroin which reaches the United States.

RICK GUDSTADT

STATOTHR

Asia, CIA and dope: a big, happy family?

Not long ago the counter-culture's own superstar, Allen Ginsberg, appeared on the Dick Cavett Show. After first chanting a Hindu psalm for some two minutes (watch out, Dick, your ratings are slipping), Ginsberg began weaving an enchanting web of mystery, high intrigue and crash exploitation—a tale of the CIA's involvement in the heroin trade of Southeast Asia.

In a straight forward manner Ginsberg told of a cocktail party, a la radical chic, which he attended with the CIA's chief, Richard Helms. It seems the two made a friendly wager. Ginsberg accused the CIA of maintaining an open market for opium (from which heroin is derived) at Long Cheng, a CIA-built stronghold in Laos. Helms denied this, and so they made the bet. If Ginsberg lost, he was to turn over his Hindu scepter. If, however, Ginsberg's accusations were correct, Helms was to meditate every day for a year—a thought as frivolous as watching Richard Nixon turn on for a national television audience.

As Ginsberg was rapping this bit of people's folklore, he was all the time waving that very same Hindu scepter, as if he was exorcising the evil powers-that-be with a magic wand.

The rest of Ginsberg's story is history—past and future—as set out boldly in the May, 1971 issue of Ramparts.

Such an open market for opium, in the true capitalistic sense, does in fact exist at Long Cheng—with the open blessings of the powerful, clandestine CIA. This much has been told by as many as eight journalists who have managed to slip past the ultra-high security structure of Long Cheng, as the Far Eastern Economic Review reported last year.

Carl Strock, one of the reporters, gave an eye-witness account tells of "American crews loading T-28 bombers while armed CIA agents chatted with uniformed Thai soldiers and piles of raw opium stood for sale in the market (a kilo for \$52) . . ."

Where much, if not most, of this money earned from opium goes is towards the support of "friendly" capitalistic governments in Southeast Asia. For example, Newsweek has said that General Ouane, former chief of the Laotian general staff, was forced into a premature retirement due to excessive exposure of his role in the opium trade. General Ouane, who, the New York Times said, "has never denied allegations that he is in charge of the opium traffic in Laos," even confided to newsmen that supporting opium traffic is a "good thing." Not only does this occupation provide the Meo tribesmen with a livelihood, Newsweek reported Ouane as saying, but it keeps them from the control of the Communist Pathet Lao. It is by now common parlour talk that these same Meo tribesmen are equipped and instructed for warfare, in a most thorough manner, by the "freedom-loving" CIA.

Although not as clearly documented, there is a preponderance of evidence of dealings in opium traffic at the highest level of South Vietnam's government. In a broadcast reported by the N.Y. Times, NBC charged President Thieu and Vice President Ky with profiting from the drug traffic, and the Vietnamese police were accused of pushing illegal drugs (note the parallel with New York City). In that same broadcast NBC reported that the biggest pusher was said to be Thieu's closest adviser and special assistant for military and intelligence affairs, Lieut-Gen. Dang Van Quang. All NBC's charges were attributed to "extremely reliable sources."

So much for a mere spattering of the suspected truth. What all this suggests, incredible as it might seem, is that the United States government, directly or indirectly, is supporting a procedure which results in the heroin addiction of hundreds of thousands of American citizens.

We should all know that Nixon has proudly proclaimed a "most significant" deal with Turkey, a country which, according to Nixon, exports two-thirds of the world's heroin. This fact is somewhat contradicted, however, by a report by the UN Commission on Drugs and Narcotics. Referred to by both Ramparts and Ginsberg, this report stated that since 1966, 80% of the world's 1,200 tons of illicit opium comes not from Turkey, but from Southeast Asia.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R00

French-U.S. tie tightens vise on drug trade

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris

The "American connection" is beginning to pay off for the French police.

Obscured by months of public wrangling, French-American cooperation in narcotics control is recording some encouraging results.

The latest is the arrest of Dominique Mariani in Paris Saturday and his being formally charged Wednesday with supplying 44.5 kilograms of pure heroin to Roger Delouette. Mr. Delouette was arrested at Port Elizabeth, N.J., last April on charges of smuggling the heroin into the United States.

The Delouette case erupted into one of the biggest public scandals in France last year, entailing sensational charges hurled across the Atlantic and within the rumor mills of French politics.

Mr. Delouette, it turned out, had worked at one time for the SDECE, the French equivalent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. After being arrested, he claimed that he had been supplied the heroin, worth \$12 million on the black market in New York, by a former superior in the SDECE, a Col. Paul Fournier. His charge was taken seriously enough by the American authorities for a grand-jury indictment to be drawn up naming Colonel Fournier as an accomplice of Mr. Delouette.

Officials deny charge

SDECE officials indignantly denied the Delouette charge, and the colonel in question appeared before a French judge investigating the case—Judge Gabriel Rousset—to affirm his innocence. At this point a former employer of Mr. Delouette, Col. Jean Barberoi, a onetime French ambassador to Uruguay and now head of an agricultural cooperation service believed to be a cover for French intelligence agents, gave an interview saying that Colonel Fournier's real name was Paul Ferrer.

While French authorities of collusion with narcotics smugglers and protecting the "big

wheels," French newspapers had a field day speculating about "a settling of accounts" within competing French intelligence networks or even between SDECE and the CIA.

From Turkey, via Marseille

Meanwhile, French and American police and narcotics-control agents were patiently trying to unravel the full dimensions of the Delouette case and the much bigger story behind it — the smuggling of larger and larger amounts of heroin from France into the United States.

The drug reaches Marseille in southern France from Turkey in the form of morphine base, and is there refined into the fine white powder that is pure heroin. French traffickers are estimated to have made \$75 million from this operation last year.

Last year the American Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs had 23 agents working in Europe, mostly in France, while the French central narcotics squad had two liaison agents as their "American connection" in New York. Working patiently and methodically together between Sept. 2 last year and Feb. 7 this year, the French and American drug-control authorities arrested a total of 23 persons, some in the United States, some here in France. It was charged that these persons belonged to a network headed by a certain Joseph Signoli, manager of a bar near the Arc de Triomphe, who was arrested with nine others Jan. 17.

Confession reported

The French police believe that Roger Delouette received the heroin he smuggled to the United States not from Colonel Fournier but from Dominique Mariani, a known criminal said to be a member of the Signoli network.

Mr. Mariani is said to have confessed Tuesday that he supplied Mr. Delouette with the heroin he took to the United States. His confession, if sustained, does not close the Delouette-Fournier case, but it increases the credibility of affirmations by SDECE authorities that neither they nor Colonel Fournier had anything to do with the affair.

In a speech to the American Club Tuesday, American Ambassador Arthur K. Watson paid high tribute to international cooperation in narcotics control. In 1969, he said, 456 kilograms of heroin or morphine base were seized by police in Europe. By 1971 the figure had risen to 1,340 kilograms.

"We've had marvelous help, marvelous cooperation from France," the Ambassador said. "Our two nations are in the struggle together, we both fully understand this, and

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STATOTHR



**The CIA put your brother in Vietnam.
CIA heroin traffic turned him on to smack.
You are paying
the CIA \$6 billion
a year for these
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CIA Involved in Smuggling Heroin

STATOTHR

While heroin addiction mounts among Vietnam vets and other young people in every community in America, evidence is mounting that the Central Intelligence Agency is involved in buying the opium from which heroin is made.

According to a detailed analysis by Peter Dale Scott in the March issue of Earth magazine, possibly 25 per cent of the opium that enters this country as heroin, and nearly all the opium used by American GIs in Vietnam, is grown in Indochina by native Meo tribesmen, for whom opium is a major cash crop. The CIA's involvement with the Meo tribesmen is by now well-known. In a recent column, Jack Anderson reveals how "four years ago, the CIA recruited more than 14,000 Meo mountain men to fight under the brave but brutal Gen. Vang Pao. Fewer than 3,000 survive." Anderson shows how CIA agents, acting as paymasters, use "both persuasion and the purse to keep the troops in line."

"U.S. dollars have made Vang Pao a power in Laos," Anderson said. He cites a confidential report by the American Ambassador, describing Laotian Premier Souvanna Phouma's dependence on two generals, Quan Rathikoun and Vang Pao. According to the Earth magazine article, Gen. Quan is said to have admitted in a recent interview that he was "the real boss" of opium operations in Laos.

A former Green Beret, Sgt. Paul Withers, testified about the opium traffic at the Winter Soldier Hearings in Boston last October. His comments are reprinted in a booklet entitled "The Opium Trail," published by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars. Withers testified that he worked under CIA direction in Pak Seng, Laos. His mission was to hire and train local people to fight as mercenaries against the Pathet Lao guerillas. One of the main tasks was to buy up the entire local crop of opium.

About twice a week, Withers said, a plane from a private airline hired by the CIA would arrive with supplies and bags of gold dust. He gave the gold to the villagers in return for their bags of opium which were then loaded on the plane. The opium was flown to relay centers and processing plants in South Vietnam.

The CIA has been carrying on a "secret war" in Laos since 1962, at a cost to taxpayers of \$500 million a year, according to Victor Marchetti, a former top-ranking CIA official, interviewed in the same issue of Earth magazine. This is just one of many examples of the clandestine activities the CIA engages in, in an effort to bolster corrupt regimes sympathetic to American business interests. The price of our continued support for these corrupt regimes is not only the taxpayers' money, but the lives of thousands of young Americans "strung-out" on heroin.

David Duboff

NEWSPAPER

22 Whittier Street, Lynn, Mass. Phone: 599-5867

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(THE STAFF CHANGES WITH EACH ISSUE)

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001000060001-7

18 FEB 1972

Crucial conference vote**Fulbright and the drug problem**

By VIRGINIA PREWETT

MEMBERS of the House-Senate conference on the pending foreign aid appropriations bill, due to meet this afternoon, have an extremely grave responsibility. It directly concerns the drug problem now afflicting our society.

Washington is spending \$35 million and risking U.S. security interests to get Turkey to cut down the growing of heroin-producing poppies. Strong pressure has been brought on France, where Turkish poppies are processed into heroin. As results become concrete, new sources of supply and new transit routes appear in Latin America.

An AID effort called the Public Safety Program is actively working with Latin American police forces to reduce the traffic, mainly thru training them.

Sen. J. William Fulbright, in the last half-hour of Senate discussion of the appropriation bill that funds the program, whipped out of his pocket an amendment killing it. If the House-Senate conference lets this go by, they will share with him the reproach of every U.S. citizen now aghast at the way drugs are fueling our street crime and destroying young people.

RESULTS ARE VISIBLE

Hard-fact results of the Public Safety Program training effort can be tabulated. In Bolivia, three cocaine refineries have been located and destroyed. In Columbia, police led by an officer who had received the training confiscated 2,860 pounds of marijuana. In Jamaica, a new way-station for hard drugs, Jamaicans similarly trained confiscated 11 pounds of cocaine and over 1,000 pounds of marijuana, most of it on its way to the United States from Ecuador.

In Panama, around 110,000 pounds of marijuana have been confiscated. In Venezuela large quantities also have been taken. All this has occurred in less than a year.

Sen. Fulbright has stumbled blindly into destroying a U.S. defense against drugs. He says he attacks the Public Safety Program because it trains Latin American police in how to handle riots, subversives and the like, the purpose

being to avoid bringing the army out into Latin American streets. Sen. Fulbright says this makes the U.S. "unpopular" in the countries concerned.

UNPOPULAR WITH WHOM?

The question is, unpopular among whom? The U.S. public safety advisers are systematically assailed by the extreme leftists who wish to use street agitation as leverage for violent extremist revolution. Since Gus Hall, head of the U.S. communist Party, attacked the program in the December, 1970, issue of the World Marxist Review, extremist propaganda in Latin America has concentrated heavily on the Public Safety Program.

Sen. Fulbright should know that if he destroys the program, this will not stop the attacks on the United States. The propaganda machine will simply shift to some other instrument of U.S. foreign policy that is proving effective against the spread of violent leftist revolution.

Sen. Fulbright is also trying to destroy Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the only two means the democratic peoples of the West have to communicate to the people of Eastern Europe who are held by superior military force within the communist sphere.

What, exactly, does the senator from Arkansas think he is up to? Have the voters of Arkansas given him a mandate for this kind of destruction of our nation's foreign policy instrumentalities? This appears extremely unlikely.



WASHINGTON POST
18 FEB 1972

Africans Blame Drugs on West

By Jim Hoagland

Washington Post Foreign Service

NAIROBI, Feb. 17.—Depraved Western youths are corrupting Africans by introducing them to marijuana and hashish. In some places, the CIA. may be attempting to embarrass left-wing African officials by planting large quantities of drugs on them.

That, at least, is the picture some African politicians, clergymen and citizens are trying to draw as the drug issue begins to become a fashionable subject in parts of Africa, which usually lags a few years in following Western trends.

Here in Kenya, Vice President Daniel Arap Moi lashed out a few weeks ago against "some itinerant tourists, commonly known as hippies," who "encouraged and stimulated" Kenyan youths to smoke marijuana, which is known locally as bhang.

Moi, who has also gathered publicity in the local media recently by condemning such signs of "Western decadence" as miniskirts, suggested that volunteer teachers like those sent to Kenya by the Peace Corps have also helped spread the

smoking of marijuana here.

His remarks have sparked a lively debate. African women's groups and Presbyterian ministers have rushed to agree with Moi and to issue warnings that drug taking would destroy the country unless something was done about the foreigners.

A few voices of dissent have been raised, pointing out that many groups in Africa have had a long and somewhat honorable tradition of smoking cannabis plants, which have grown wild across the continent for decades if not centuries.

I went the other day to my bank in Nyeri, H. C. Allen wrote the other day to the Daily Nation newspaper, "and standing dramatically in the middle of the floor, was a man of middle age smoking quite the most enormous reefer I am ever likely to see. The smoke filled the bank," Allen added, but people "seemed more amused than concerned."

The Nation, Nairobi's biggest English language paper, also recently carried an item about a 69-year-old man who told a judge he had started smoking bhang when he was a boy. He was jailed

for six months for selling marijuana to his friends.

And this week in Uganda, a group of Baganda tribesmen asked President Idi Amin to allow them to start growing bhang again. It was outlawed only when the English colonial settlers came to Uganda, they reminded Amin.

They claimed that the drug helped heal pneumonia and whooping cough, helped people regain appetite and is in any case "one of the strongest and finest types of tobacco." Amin changed the subject to economic development.

Uganda's northern neighbor, the Sudan, is another country where the smoking of hashish is not unknown. But last month, when a high ranking Sudanese general and government official, Maj. Gen. Ahmed Abdel Halim was arrested in Beirut with \$50,000 worth of hashish in his luggage, Sudanese President Jaafar Nimeri immediately labeled the arrest as a frameup arranged by "imperialist circles."

The general was returning to Khartoum from an official visit to China. While assailing the "obvious" plant-

ing, Nimeri also announced that Halim had asked to be allowed to resign "to foil chances of imperialism" to embarrass the self-styled revolutionary government of the Sudan.

Thus far, few African countries have instituted the kind of Draconian penalties Middle East countries are using to discourage foreigners from using drugs. But magistrates here are beginning to warn of stiffer penalties as the local media begin to take an interest in drug news.

One exception to the low-key approach is Malawi, where an Australian youth was recently sentenced to five years in jail for possession of hashish.

South Africa is the only country with an intensive antidrug campaign on the continent. The police there use many American-developed techniques such as sending helicopters out to look for fields of marijuana, training police dogs to sniff it out, and routinely employing stiff penalties. The government is known to have seriously considered for some time imposing the death penalty for those convicted of selling drugs.

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

STATOTHR

PROGRAM CBS Morning News

STATION WTOP TV
CBS Network

DATE February 17, 1972 7:00 A.M.

CITY Washington, D.C.

OPINION

JOHN HART: Time now for an opinion from Nicholas von Hoffman, he's one of the people who come here with different opinions throughout the week, and his is his own.

NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN: This morning I'd like to show you something. What it is is a sign that is about to go up on 100 Los Angeles area billboards. In case you don't get good reception, I'll read it. It says: "The CIA put your brother in Vietnam. CIA heroin traffice turned him on to smack. You are paying the CIA six billion dollars a year for these social services."

All of this relates to an article in the March issue of Earth magazine, a publication with a circulation of upwards of a hundred thousand hip teenagers. The same publication provides a news services to something like 300 top 40 type radion stations. So when it accuses the Central Intelligence Agency, or at least some of its key personnel of being involved in the dope traffic, a huge number of teenagers are going to hear about it, and they're going to wonder if their government could do such a thing. If they saw a recent TV news program showing American agents arming eleven year old male boys in Laos, they may think that, yes, we are capable of it.

The accusations that the CIA in cahoots with various business and political interests, has traffic in heroin isn't new. Parts of the story have been popping up in one publication or another for years. The rumors about the agency being compromised by this dirty business has been kicking around Washington for a long time now.

Despite this, despite other charges of criminal activity against the CIA, there has been no public believable investigation of this outfit by Congress. Although there seems to be evidence that some of these accusations are true, they may not be.

CIA poppies make kiddies

DON STRACHAN

George Orwell died 1950 in an era that was ignorant of ecology. Thus he was able to fantasize a whole proletariat segment of the population that was immune to the doomsday games of the main characters of the State and its minions.

Today we know better that we are all One. When Montrose Chemicals dumps DDT by the ton into Los Angeles Harbor, the brown pelican lays eggs without shells and passes from the parade. When consumptive Americans build and drive — what, 80 million? — cars, the ground is pumped hollow and its contents dispersed into the air. When capitalism becomes the system under which goods are distributed, men cease to be brothers and their minds turn from co-operation to crime and warfare as ways of relating to each other.

Thus it comes as no surprise that the March issue of *Earth* magazine documents that the CIA has been involved in opium traffic in Southeast Asia for the past 20 years.

And it is understandable that ripples from this innocent exploitation of southeast Asian growers and pickers have washed back home. Overcrowded Veterans' Hospitals are turning junkie ex-GIs away and strung-out adolescents wander vacantly under neon lights. They must pay with tortured and shortened lives — smack presently takes more 18- to 35-year-olds than war, cancer or cars — while some of us feel it so far only in the \$2.5 billion junkies steal annually to feed their habits, in vice squad and hospital budgets.

The most incriminating article in *Earth* is by Prof. Peter Dale Scott, a friend of Allen Ginsberg. Ginsberg's own researches into CIA opium traffic were published in last May's *Ramparts*, and he recently updated it on the Dick Cavett show.

Scott's article traces how certain Wall Street interests that controlled the CIA in its early days used it to set up far Eastern fronts for financial operations. One of these front companies — Civil Air Transport (CAT), later known as Air America — supplied arms and other supplies to the Nationalist Chinese troops of General Li Mi in Burma.

Li Mi and his troops long ago ceased up on their fighting and turned to the more lucrative business of opium farming. Moreover, in order to maintain political links with secret Chinese societies and keep them hostile to Mao's revolution, they took over the opium traffic in northern Thailand and Laos. Air America continued to make "supply runs" flying opium and its derivative, heroin, around the world.

To second Scott's researches, *Earth* held a press conference last week at which Enrique B. del Rosario, a former "civilian aide" to Com...

Thailand and Laos, reported seeing opium loaded aboard Air America planes in Laos and Thailand. Del Rosario stated that he had seen cultivated opium fields planted by Mao tribesmen. He said that the opium was later harvested, labeled "miscellaneous" cargo, and loaded into Air America planes at military bases.

Scott's article asserted that in 1955 alone 200 to 400 tons of opium were harvested in the Burma-Laos-Thailand "fertile triangle," and only 100 tons of it were consumed in Thailand. He quotes Eliot Marshall's estimate in *The New Republic* that 25 percent of all the smack in the U.S. comes from there.

"Up until about 1964, however, the United States ... complained officially and ostentatiously to the UN Narcotics Commission about 'Yunnan opium,' 'brand '903' morphine' and heroin from 'the Chinese mainland' as part of Peking's '20-year plan to finance political activities and spread addiction,'" Scott writes, while documenting that indeed many of the profits from smack sale went to finance the Nationalist China lobby in Washington which, until last year, successfully barred American recognition of the largest country in the world.

Scott is careful not to blow up the "personal venality of a US construction of major pilots dabbling in opium on the spot" into a blanket condemnation of the CIA. "The CIA as an agency, it is true, cannot be identified with the narcotics trade any more than can the whole of the Kuomintang," he writes; and he admits that "the embarrassing links between Air America and CATCL (Air America) have been diminished in the last five years."

"But," he concludes, "the opium-based economy of Laos is still being protected by a coalition of opium-growing CIA mercenaries, Air America planes and Thai troops." And *Earth* editor James Goode angrily points out how corruption abroad has brought disaster back home:

"The CIA helped our kids in Vietnam and CIA heroin traffic turned them on to smack," he said at the press conference. "And we're paying the CIA \$6 billion a year for these services."

Scott's article, although unfortunately peppered with rumors, "it is claimed's" and "said to be's," like most muckraking exposes is unassailably documented and almost unreadably intricate. Its basic premise seems sound. Anyway, I believe it, if only because it fits the *zeitgeist*. As they say at another of those untrustworthy three-letter institutions — IBM — information overload equals pattern recognition. The amount of official skulduggery to hit the fan in recent years is such that once someone suggests that the

mummies

CIA is trafficking smack, I'd be surprised to learn it was not so.

To me, the most enlightening comment on the CIA's workings appears in a companion article in *Earth*, "The Selling of the CIA," by Victor Marchetti, a former executive assistant to the number two man in the CIA. "It's interesting how the CIA liberals justify murder," he writes. "They hire the guy who hires the guy who actually commits the act, but they pretend they had no part in it."

This indirect inhumanity is most certainly a national, and maybe a human, failing. It's been reiterated over and over in connection with the Vietnam war: we are all guilty if we so much as participate in the economic system or pay our taxes. Capitalism: the economy is dependent on the war; crime: capitalism teaches the competitive ethic; war: the extension of crime by legal means.

It's so easy to lose sight of connections. When I was a kid, as simple a thing as an ice cream cone brought instant joy. It doesn't now, and what does? Almost nothing, unless I'm stoned or feeling really good. I do notice that if I get up briskly in the morning, do my yoga, keep busy and alert and exercise my mind, I have a general feeling of well-being; and that if I'm sluggish and lazy I become despondent and depressed. But I discover this only through recollection in tranquility; I can't feel the direct connection. Shrinks call this losing touch with your feelings, but if it's a mental problem we all share the sickness. It comes, I suppose, partly from aging, partly from cultural demands for insensitivity.

So it goes in our relations with each other. We're rude to the waitress without thinking that she'll go home pissed and holler at her kid who will beat up his brother who will.... We drive cars and complain about the pain in our lungs. We commit petty larceny from our employer who after all is exploiting us anyway. But we draw lines, however jagged and arbitrary they may be.

The only difference I can see between these irregular moral boundaries and the immorality of the millionaire opium czars who feel no compunctions about poisoning and murdering their fellowmen in order to keep up their consumptive and tyrannical habits is that the villains have questioned the capriciousness and hypocrisy of those lines. Why preach ethical vegetarianism while contributing to the deaths of refugees by paying taxes to back dictatorial governments? Why cry for cleaner air on newsprint which people will burn? Why pay

CIA 42 Lao
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Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601

BOSTON, MASS.
GLOBE

FEB 9 1972

M - 237,967
S - 566,377

Legalizing heroin would aid justice, says Mass. sheriff

By Jean Dietz
Globe Staff

Middlesex County Sheriff John J. Buckley, addressing a forum on "People in Prisons," yesterday called for "legalization of heroin and expansion of drug treatment centers and methadone maintenance programs."

Speaking to an audience of volunteers affiliated with the Massachusetts Assn. for Mental Health, Buckley predicted that the United States will have to develop a program similar to Britain's heroin maintenance approach or "suffer the possibility of a collapse of our entire system of justice."

"By legalizing heroin and treating addiction as a medical problem rather than a criminal one, we could free the nation from drug-related criminal acts on property, put a stop to underworld drug traffic and take the addict out of our prisons, which do nothing to rehabilitate the addict," Buckley said.

Buckley predicted that the \$35 million now being spent to cut down the heroin traffic from Turkey will meet with little success.

"If we did succeed in Turkey, the drug would only come into the US from other markets," he said, because the United States uses only 1.5 percent of all opiates grown in the world.

"It is doubtful that we can ever keep heroin out of this country," he added. "Illegal traffic of heroin is big business which corrupts people at all levels, including CIA agents, French intelligence officials and customs officers," Buckley said.



SHERIFF JOHN J. BUCKLEY
... fears for system

Legalization, he suggested, was "a last resort and must be strictly regulated."

He said the government should establish clinics which would dispense free heroin to all registered addicts who could not be persuaded to remain drug-free by other means.

He said medical, social and psychological services should be provided the addict to make him function on a more normal level.

Buckley also recommended "extreme expansion" of methadone maintenance programs, enlargement of therapeutic communities and intensive research to develop better "antagonistic drugs" to block the euphoric effects of heroin without being addicted.

With some 415,000 drug addicts in the United States now committing 85 percent of the crimes against property, Buckley said emergency measures are needed to prevent "a growing national crisis."

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001000060001-7

editorials

Eye on high

With the electronic battlefield fast becoming a reality, and the Navy planning to wire the northern quarter of Wisconsin to make the world's largest radio antenna, it should come as no surprise to good citizens that federal technocrats have devised the ultimate weapon in the war against illegal drug trafficking: "Space Narc."

Space Narc is the nickname for a planned orbiting satellite capable of detecting fields of marijuana and opium poppies from 100 miles above the earth. Ian Fleming couldn't have done better.

The U.S. Treasury Department's bureau of narcotics and dangerous drugs is currently spending \$2 million on the project to determine methods by which the plants can be identified by the satellite.

The Department of Agriculture is cooperating with the bureau by growing three large fields of marijuana in Texas, Arizona and Florida to serve as test targets for Space Narc's eye.

Should the satellite prove to be effective it might also prove embarrassing for another governmental agency, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), if there is any truth in the charges made last week by the editor of Earth magazine that the agency is involved in the smuggling of millions of dollars worth of heroin into the United States each year.

The magazine cited a study conducted by a professor at the University of California that traces the connections between opium growers, CIA operatives, flights of CIA-controlled airlines and the eventual delivery of heroin to the United States.

A former civilian aide to Continental Air Services (a CIA organization) said in San Francisco Friday that he witnessed opium being loaded aboard aircraft in Laos and Thailand and that he had seen hundreds of acres of cultivated opium fields planted by the CIA-supported Meo tribesmen.

A former member of the U.S. Special Forces also said this week he was assigned by the CIA to trade arms for opium grown by the Meo tribesmen, who would then fight for the CIA against the revolutionary forces in the area.

The possibility that the bureau of narcotics will use Space Narc to uncover the double-handed dealings of the CIA however, is obviously naive. Space Narc, if successful, will undoubtedly circle the earth indicating field after lush field of taboo weed in every country graced with a suitable climate. This information, however, is neither new nor useful. The government knows already that opium-growing and exporting is a major industry in many Asian countries. Aside from general discouragement and threats of foreign aid stoppage, there is little the U.S. has done, or for that matter, can do about it.

Space Narc, like the electronic battlefield, is but another example of expensive and futile attempts by the government to solve human problems with technological gadgetry; problems which plague governmental agencies as well as the general public.

Federal projects such as these only serve to point up the desperate need for the government to coordinate its efforts in combating drug addiction, aiming at effective treatment and education of people—and elimination of the conditions that breed addiction—instead of wasting funds on shallow attempts at confiscation or destruction of the drugs themselves.

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TRIBUNE

E - 225,038
S - 251,534
FEB 5 1972

CIA Dope Tie in Charged

A University of California professor, a magazine publisher and a former civilian aide in Thailand and Laos have joined to charge that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States Government is involved in the deadly traffic in opium in Southeast Asia.

Peter Dale Scott, professor of Medieval History at U.C., said wealthy New York investment interest collaborated with the CIA in setting up Air American, a Taiwan-based airline, established after the fall of China. He claims the firm is a front for the opium dealings.

Scott said the CIA's alleged involvement is more than just to shore up the economy of the countries of Southeast Asia.

"While the goal is not the infusion (of drugs) into the GI ranks, if the opium trade were not built up as it is the problem would not be nearly so acute as it is," he told a press conference at the San Francisco Press Club. He is the author of a soon to be published book titled "War Conspiracy."

Enrique B. del Rosario, a former civilian aide in Thailand and Laos and now regional coordinator for Vietnam Veterans Against the War, said he worked closely with Meo tribesmen and had seen cultivated opium fields planted by the tribesmen. He

said the opium later was harvested and that he watched it being put into warehouses operated by wealthy Chinese at Ban Houie Sai base in Laos as late as 1967.

He said he couldn't give any specific evidence of CIA complicity in the heroin traffic, adding, somewhat cryptically, "I can't say more. It depends

on the future."

He indicated he was not afraid for his life, but that he has a wife and two children still living in Thailand.

James Goode, editor and publisher of Earth magazine, whose March issue details the alleged involvement of the CIA in the dope traffic, said the area described by Del Ro-

sario produces only two products, chili peppers and opium.

"The only possible product air lifted out of there would be opium, and the CIA controls 90 per cent of the airlines," he declared.

He said he did not know where the suit will be filed or how much money it would seek.

STATOTHR

FYI: This is the type of advertising going on.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001000060001-7

EARTH PRESS

PRESS RELEASE ON THE CONTENTS OF THE MARCH, 1972 ISSUE OF EARTH MAGAZINE

STATOTHR
STATOTHR

FOR RELEASE: FEBRUARY 4, 1972

HEROIN: SOME AMAZING LINKS BETWEEN THE CIA,
THE MAFIA, CHINESE NATIONALIST OFFICERS --
AND A FEW BANKS AND INSURANCE COMPANIES

STATOTHR

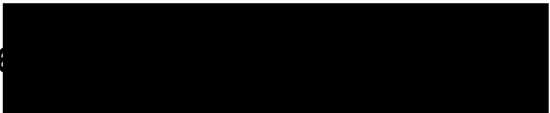
According to detailed evidence in the March issue of EARTH magazine, the CIA is involved in opium traffic from the "fertile triangle" in the border areas of Laos, Burma, Thailand and the Yunnan province of southern China. About twenty-five percent of the heroin sold in America comes through this Southeast Asian channel. Ironically, the American taxpayer foots a six billion dollar a year bill for running the dope -- the CIA, an organization which answers to nobody, is intricately involved in the flow of opium out of the Asian hills and into the United States. U.S. tax money started Air America, the largest airline in Southeast Asia, used to supply and maintain opium growers, and also used for smuggling opium out of the triangle to Saigon and Hong Kong. The CIA claims other reasons for their huge operations, but as EARTH magazine points out in Berkeley professor Peter Dale Scott's thorough article, the agency is party to pushing dope around the world.

Scott's article, supported by over 80 footnotes, is especially sobering in that it reveals a set of international alliances ranging from Chiang Kai Shek's brother-in-law to members of the Royal Laotian family to Wall Street lawyers

(continued...)

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001000060001-7

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STATOTHR

C.I.A. Drug Role Urged

MIAMI, Jan. 31 (AP)— Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, said Monday night that the Central Intelligence Agency should be put to work in the effort to end heroin smuggling. He spoke at a drug treatment center in Miami.

FRESNO, CAL.
BEE

E - 110,294
S - 142,020
FEB 1 1972

Humphrey Urges CIA Hunt Down Heroin Smugglers

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey says the United States should put its Central Intelligence Agency to work hunting down heroin smugglers.

"It is time we made known to our friends around the world," the Democratic presidential candidate said, "that we will not permit the cultivation and export of a poison that destroys the lives of hundreds of thousands of Americans and which is responsible for a substantial portion of American crime."

In Miami

The Minnesota senator discussed the drug problem Monday in a speech prepared for delivery at a drug-treatment center in Miami where he was campaigning in the Florida presidential primary.

"We should enlist the efforts of the CIA in this battle," Humphrey said. "If the CIA can ferret out subversives, it can find the dope smuggler and put him out of business."

The former vice president called the Nixon administration's \$230 million allocation for drug treatment "totally inadequate" and said there

should be a massive increase in federal appropriations to set up a drug cure and control agency. The agency, he said, should have responsibility for both law enforcement and drug treatment and education.

CHICAGO, Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80
NEWS

E - 434,849

JAN 25 1972

Top-level officials on both sides of Atlantic
involved in charges linking drugs, spy system

Smuggler chills U.S.-Paris ties

By Milt Freudenheim
Daily News Foreign Service

PARIS—Rogér Delouette, 47, high-living sometime French secret agent and gun-runner, kissed his young blond mistress good-bye and left Paris for New York on a mysterious adventure that turned sour on an apocalyptic scale.

It rocked French politics, infuriated President Georges Pompidou, threw a pall over the entire French spy system and for a time at least curdled French-American relations.

Cabinet ministers on both sides of the Atlantic were drawn into the maelstrom, including American Secy. of State William P. Rogers, Atty.-Gen. John Mitchell and the French defense and interior ministers. President Nixon's top-priority international war against drugs was jeopardized at a painfully sensitive point.

FINALLY, A HIGH-LEVEL decision was made to impose a cloak of official secrecy, halt all public statements and wait for better days.

Delouette's ill-fated trip last April started it all. He was smuggling heroin. He did a poor job of hiding 44 kilograms in a new Volkswagen camper and was arrested at the dock in Port Elizabeth, N.J. He telephoned Paris to tell his pretty friend Marie-Jose Robert, 22: "Something has gone terribly wrong with the car." But the attempted warning was too late.

French police showed up at their apartment and found nearly \$17,400 in counterfeit dollars. Marie-Jose was jailed and held until July when she was released to give birth to a daughter.

SOON AFTER HE WAS arrested in New York, Delouette told American authorities he was smuggling heroin for French intelligence Col. Paul Fournier.

This charge was a delayed-action bombshell that exploded seven months later when Delouette's American lawyer leaked it to the New York Daily News.

Fournier is head of investigations for the French equivalent, but in a much smaller and exceedingly corrupt way, of the American Central Intelligence Agency. Behind it are

spiked walls in a run-down quarter of northeast Paris, he works in a headquarters nicknamed the "Swimming Pool." A real pool is across the street.

Also known as SDECE (Service de Documentation Exterieur et Contre-espionnage), it was home base for Communist agents helping the Russians who were fictionalized in the best-seller novel "Topaz."

When it hit the headlines, Delouette's charge against Fournier brought on a sensational public airing of the sinister history of the "Swimming Pool."

IN THE BEGINNING, FRENCH officials didn't respond for months to demands from the prosecutor of the Delouette case. He is Herbert J. Stern, a hard-driving young U.S. attorney in Newark, N.J. Stern demanded action against Col. Fournier.

But Delouette, who eventually pleaded guilty to smuggling the heroin, wanted a promise of immunity from French punishment in return for his co-operation in exposing Fournier. This type of immunity doesn't exist in French law. However, in previous cases Frenchmen convicted in the United States have not, in fact, been retried for the same offense in France.

The French investigating judge, Gabriel Roussel, declined to make any promises to Delouette. Stern flew to Paris and waved his finger at Roussel demanding to see Col. Fournier. Request refused.

Convinced that Fournier was being protected by a French coverup, Stern obtained federal grand jury indictments of both Fournier and Delouette. Fournier then was called in by Judge Roussel, a top French investigator with a good record of narcotic convictions. Fournier denied everything and told newsmen his job with SDECE prevented his going into details.

Next day a French cabinet spokesman, Leo Hamon, expressed official "skepticism" about the American charges.

Pro-government newspapers such as France-Soir became indignant at the indictment and hinted that it was a revenge move by the CIA which had been implicated in drug-running in France. Opposition French newspapers recalled previous accusations by U.S. officials that "big wheels" were protecting the heroin racket in France.