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### Biggest 'Pusher'

To the Editors: Failure of the present administration (and previous ones) to deal with the heart of the international drug problem is turning into one of the most dangerous situations of our times. Crash programs have been launched to curb the illegal drug traffic from countries such as France, Turkey and Iran, but nothing is being done to attack the flow of heroin from the world's biggest producer — you guessed it, Red China.

The CIA has been carefully studying a book dealing with Nasser's talks with Premier Chou En-lai in Cairo, in June, 1965. A highly respected Egyptian publisher and confidant of the late Pres. Nasser, Mohammed Heikal, reveals in his book

that Chou En-lai discussed the demoralization of American troops in Vietnam by the use of drugs. Chou reportedly said: "We are planting the best kind of opium especially for American soldiers in Vietnam. The effect the demoralization is going to have in the United States will be far greater than anyone realizes."

Despite U.S. intelligence reports from Vietnam, showing heroin being taken by our troops, there has been a deliberate effort by the administration to discount the fact of where the stuff is coming from. Reports indicate further that the heroin is so pure in Vietnam, it had to come from mainland China.

Perhaps the President had better forget that "peaceful" trip to Peking. In spite of his obvious sincerity, the feeling just does not appear mutual. Ah, those inscrutable orientals.

EILEEN TOEDTLI

1014 Ellis, Dallas, Oregon

DETROIT, MICH.  
MICHIGAN CHRONICLE

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WEEKLY - 50,047

## Nixon Is Compared To Hitler

OBERLIN, Ohio, — Speaking at Oberlin college recently, Kathleen Cleaver compared President Nixon to Adolph Hitler and accused the federal government of being "fascist."

In an afternoon speech in the college's Finney chapel before 700 students, faculty members and townspeople, the wife of self-exiled Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver said that both Hitler and Nixon were elected on a law and order campaign.

As Hitler used concentration camps to kill the Jews, Nixon is using drugs, she charged.

The rise of drug usage, she says, "parallels the Nixon administration."

Mrs. Cleaver, who attended Oberlin in 1963, said "The CIA, the Mafia, and the FBI are waging a chemical war against Black people in America by the spread and sale of hard drugs in the Black community."

She added that the government's methadone drug program for heroin users is not for rehabilitation but instead is another step to control the life and destiny of

American blacks.

"Where Black people were once addicted to heroin," she said, "they are now addicted to methadone — a government controlled drug," she declared.

In commenting on the Attica (N.Y.) and other prison revolts, Mrs. Cleaver said, "The prisons — the universities of the ghetto — are where the true leaders and organizers are found. They are simply carrying on the struggle raised by the people outside the prisons."

# French intelligence drug link may be revealed by US

By PETER HARVEY

Detailed evidence of complicity by individual French intelligence officials in world-wide drug trafficking—a business costing the United States economy probably \$1,000 millions a year—has been compiled by the American security services.

Some of this evidence may be made public unless the French authorities act swiftly to crack down on the criminal syndicates operating in France and purge their intelligence service of the men alleged to be involved in the trafficking.

The syndicates, working with their protectors, are responsible for about 80 per cent of all the opiates smuggled into North America each year. During 1970-71, it is estimated, about 10,000 kilograms—worth retail over £4,000 millions—was on the US market. International narcotics agencies and police departments believe that as much as half that figure probably finds its way back to criminal hands.

The syndicates controlling much of the traffic to North America are very powerful and react savagely whenever any action is taken against them.

During the course of an investigation across Western Europe on behalf of the Guardian, I was twice threatened with beatings and repeatedly warned to leave areas where the syndicates operate. While being taken to a meeting with members of one of the smuggling rings, I had to lie on the floor of a car and agree to be blindfolded.

## List of names

The information now believed to be in the hands of the Americans includes not only the names of some of the criminal bosses and their principal lieutenants but also the names of some members of the Service de Documentation Extérieure et Contre-Espionnage (SDECE), who have been involved. It is alleged, in the trafficking over the past six to eight years, if not longer.

It also includes the names of some French Government officials—from police

customs officers to civil servants and politicians—implicated in the racket, particularly by shielding traffickers.

SDECE has also carried out an investigation of its own into American officials' involvement in the drug trade within North America, South-east Asia, and parts of Europe. It claims to have proof that some members of the CIA have been working for the Mafia by arranging the transportation of gold to pay for drugs procured in Europe and the Middle East and that a number of CIA agents are involved in the supply of narcotics to North America from Asia.

But it must be stressed that neither SDECE nor the CIA in any way suspects that either organisation has been "officially" involved in any aspect of trafficking. There is a good top-level working relationship between the two intelligence departments, and both are equally concerned at reports of criminal activity within their ranks, and both are determined to stamp it out.

## Upheaval

SDECE is currently passing through a period of internal upheaval—a political house-cleaning. Under General de Gaulle, the service reportedly devoted most of its considerable human and financial resources to investigating US affairs and CIA operations in Europe. Shortly after M Pompidou came to power, he replaced SDECE's director, General Eugene Guibaud, with Conte Alexandra de Marenches, who is a civil servant and old friend of President Pompidou's.

Marenches was ordered to cleanse the service of the hard-line Gaullists, and replace them with men who would divert SDECE's attention to work against communism, cooperation with Western Intelligence, and—most importantly—who supported Pompidou's brand of Gaullism.

The public charges against members of SDECE and other French officials of covering up top-level complicity in drug running were first made by Mr John Cusack, director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs' operations in Europe.

"Four or five of the top men in international drugs trafficking are in France. And they are protected by the police," he said, a few weeks before his term of duty in Paris was scheduled to end. (Cusack returns to Washington this week and will shortly become director of the US Customs' Narcotics Division.) He went on to say that "people in very high places indeed" were shielding the smugglers.

The scandal broke publicly when Roger Delouette, an SDECE agent, was arrested in New Jersey last April while attempting to smuggle 90 kilograms of heroin—worth about \$36 millions retail—into the United States. He was the fourth SDECE employee

arrested on drugs charges in the past 18 months.

Interpol and the Western narcotics agencies believe that Cusack's "five top men" are based in Marseilles today, although two also have apartments in Paris. All operate under the cover of legitimate business, one of them as a freight agency, two as real estate and house agents, while the others own hotels and clubs.

French police admit candidly that they believe they know the names of the leaders of the syndicates and are aware of their work. But obtaining evidence that could lead to arrest and conviction is almost an impossible task—as has been shown, apart from anything else, by the murders of police and narcotics agents who were attempting to infiltrate the syndicates.

The US Narcotics Bureau like the other international enforcement agencies, also acknowledges the overwhelming difficulties placed in the path of any reasonably accurate attempt to gauge the amount of money spent or earned by criminals involved in trafficking.

But the BNDD suspects that at least \$200 millions is sent out of the United States each year specifically for the purchase of drugs.

9 DEC 1971

# French U.S. Spy Case May Hamper Pompidou

By Jonathan C. Randal,

Washington Post Foreign Service

PARIS—Over the years scandals have so regularly besmirched the French counterespionage organization that the latest cause celebre was greeted by a cartoon suggesting that a washing machine was needed to handle the growing volume of official dirty linen.

Involving a sometime French spy charged with smuggling 96 pounds of heroin into the United States last spring, the scandal has been connected by the press with a whole series of unsavory real estate frauds involving the ruling Gaullists.

The question of whether the scandals involve a CIA maneuver to embarrass its French counterpart or rivalries within the French organization is—and promises to remain—as murky as the plot of a cheap spy thriller.

But what is immediately at stake is the reputation and political future of President Georges Pompidou and the Gaullist party, grown increasingly nervous with every new scandal and the approach of the 1973 legislative elections.

What is also at stake—as it has been for years in France—is the role of any counterespionage and intelligence operation in a Western democracy.

Tying odd ends of seemingly unconnected cases into one irrefutable plot has always been an honored intellectual pastime in the land of Descartes whose citizens have a natural penchant for the conspiracy theory of history.

But the current spectacle of official and unofficial spies calling each other names, complete with charges of high treason answered by \$200,000 slander suits, smacks of *deja vu*.

Beyond the inordinate notoriety occasioned by such

wayward Gallic James Bonds is the knowledge that the French spy organization has defeated all attempts at serious reform ever since its Free French beginnings in World War II London.

More than 13 years of Gaullist rule have contributed to an attrition of vigilance, especially since Gaullists have always had a weakness for clandestine operations and questionable operatives.

The Service du Documentation Exterieur et de Contre-Espionnage—pronounced *sdeck*—has suffered through an American period, followed by the traumas of the Algerian war, hostility to the United States and the end of once close links with Israel, only to be told to mend its American fences during the past year or so.

The previous low-water mark in the service's history occurred in 1965 when agents of the "swimming pool"—as SDECE headquarters in Paris is called after a nearby sports center—were implicated in the mysterious kidnaping and death of Mehdi Ben Barka, a leftist Moroccan politician in exile.

At that time no fewer than 13 separate police and intelligence organizations were identified, and the French people became acquainted with the distinguishing characteristics of the "barbouzes"—or bearded ones, as spies are called in argot.

It was not entirely surprising to learn that among Ben Barka's abductors were common law criminals who during the wartime occupation had worked for both the Germans and the Resistance.

Earlier, during the closing days of the Algerian war, the Gaullists recruited barbouzes from like back-grounds in their fight against the French organization terrorists determined to keep Algeria French.

Despite the barrage of detailed charges and countercharges made public in the past two weeks, SDECE itself has never seen fit to publish the results of the reform carried out at Gen. de Gaulle's orders after the Ben Barka affair.

However, a Paris newspaper reported that of the swimming pool's 1,500 operatives 596 were then purged with 473 of them returning to the armed forces whence they had come.

An official National Assembly report on SDECE complained that low pay was discouraging recruitment, a failing which may help to explain why so many "barbouzes" seem to get into serious trouble.

Symptomatic of such apparent financial problems were the cases of Roger DeLouette, the center of the present scandal, and Andre Labay, arrested here earlier in the fall for drug trafficking. Both had worked for SDECE.

Quite apart from the "war of the clans" within SDECE, which is real enough, the organization's real weakness is in cutting the umbilical cord with its agents once they have ceased being useful.

There have been some cases to suggest that unemployed "barbouzes" exercise sufficient leverage on their former employers to afford a certain license in finding other means of support which are not always above board.

The three gangsters involved in the Ben Barka case for example, had run houses of prostitution for a long time and were allowed to disappear abroad with an ease the government found embarrassing.

The question has been raised of how SDECE is financed beyond its rather stingy budget appropriation. During the French Indochina war, a French air force plane regularly landed

behind Vietnam lines to collect the opium harvest. Theoretically, the operation was to deprive the enemy of an important source of financing but it remains unclear even today what the French authorities did with the opium. (Similarly, the French press has accused the CIA of doing much the same with Laotian and Cambodian opium.)

Inevitably, the name of Jacques Foccart has been mentioned again in this case as it was in the Ben Barka affair. Foccart is nominally secretary general of the French-African Community—an organization which has had no legal existence for these 11 years—but his real business is ensuring that all goes relatively smoothly in former French black African possessions.

His organization reputedly employs many "barbouzes."

More open to question are such purely Gaullist unofficial organizations as the Committees of Republic Defense and the Civil Action Service which anti-Gaullists have charged involve former "barbouzes" in all kinds of skulduggery, including drug trafficking.

Theoretically, they are a kind of Gaullist internal police to provide protection for Gaullist politicians and workers during election campaigns.

There is apparently well-founded speculation that much of the French exploitation of the scandals is linked to the legislative elections now on the horizon.

Many Frenchmen agreed with Gen. Pierre Billotte, a former defense minister and Gen. de Gaulle's wartime chief of staff, who claimed that SDECE was "no longer in the republican order" and called for its "dissolution."

But his statement was undercut by the knowledge that Billotte had hoped to take over as the boss of SDECE and had been turned down.

Nonetheless, his words struck a deeper cord than those of Defense Minister Michel Debre, who is technically responsible for SDECE. The whole DeLouette affair was only worth printing "on the 15th page of a third-rate paper and

# Flying Drug-Runners Reap Big Profits

By ROBERT LINDSEY

They fly low and slow, by the light of the moon, and make \$50,000 a night.

They use some private planes and old military transports and land on deserted air strips or sagebrush-covered desert. Their cargo is marijuana, cocaine and heroin.

Along the sparsely settled frontier that divides the United States and Mexico, airborne drug-runners are doing a booming business, and Federal agents say that they do not know how to stop them.

On most nights, the agents estimate, at least 10 planes cross the border with marijuana and other drugs. On rare occasions, the smugglers are caught by United States agents flying their own planes. But usually they land unnoticed in Arizona, California, Texas, Florida or elsewhere and net at least \$50,000 each trip.

"Anybody who knows how to fly can get into the business and make a lot of money in a hurry if he gets away with it," said Donald A. Quick, a Bureau of Customs agent based at the border town of Nogales, Ariz.

"You get bush pilots, soldiers of fortune, crop dusters, guys who flew with Air America in Vietnam [an airline said to be affiliated with the Central Intelligence Agency], and a lot of 'em can't get jobs.

"Pilots are a dime a dozen these days, and they're willing to do anything to fly, including smuggling."

"They're developing their own air force, and it's getting bigger and bigger," said an official of the Justice Department's Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, which is jointly responsible with the Customs Bureau for policing the smuggling.

Most of the drug-runners use light single and twin-

engine private planes, often equipped with special devices so they can take off and land on short, improvised desert strips.

"But a lot of them are starting to use bigger planes—DC-3's, surplus military transports, turbo-prop executive planes, and we have our eye on one group that has a Constellation," the Justice Department official said. The Constellation can carry 40,000 pounds of cargo.

The United States agents' air force consists of 30 unmarked helicopters and small planes. Occasionally, the agents are able to pursue smugglers and arrest them when they land. Increasing use of the planes over last year has clearly had an effect.

Since July 1, they have been used to make 57 arrests and seize 14 planes that were used in smuggling, according to the Bureau of Customs. This is twice the rate of a year ago.

"But we know we're only getting a tiny fraction of them," a Customs agent said. "They are very clever people, and if we put the heat on in one area—like we did in Brownsville, Tex., recently—they learn about it quickly and just take another route."

## Started 5 Years Ago

Drugs have been smuggled into this country by air for at least five years. Initially, the smugglers tended to be of college age. They rented a plane and flew into Mexico to buy a small amount of marijuana and then sold it for a comfortable profit.

More recently, officials said, the huge profits that can be made have lured more and more older pilots and other people into the business.

Lieut. Dennis Dierking of the Arizona State Department of Public Safety, who heads the narcotics detail in the southern part of the state, said:

"We know of approximately 10 different organized operations in Tucson alone, each involving six to eight people, that are flying in loads weekly."

Customs agents recently arrested the City Attorney of Winslow, Ariz., a town of 8,000, and accused him of helping to direct a large aerial smuggling operation. He is under indictment for possession of marijuana.

Officials attribute the increased aerial smuggling to the growing market for drugs in the United States, the huge profit potential, tightened surveillance at some ground border crossing points and the relative ease of flying in contraband.

"Smuggling of narcotics by small planes is less risky for operators than by any other means of transportation," said Neal Sonnett, an Assistant United States Attorney in Miami, where he said smuggling of heroin by air is growing rapidly.

The drugs come into Florida from France via islands in the Caribbean and the Yucatan Peninsula in Mexico.

## Economics Explained

A Justice Department expert explained the economics of the industry this way:

"In the interior of Mexico, you can buy weed [marijuana] for as low as \$2 a brick [a kilogram, or 2.2 pounds], but if you don't know your way around, you probably will have to pay closer to \$30. It doesn't take a very big plane to fly 500 bricks if you take out the seats and strip it down.

"If he takes the stuff to Tucson, he can sell it for about \$130 a brick, maybe as much as \$200, depending on the market. We've heard they're getting as much as \$750 in Boston. But, say he buys it for \$30 and sells it in the states for \$130; that's a profit on 500 bricks of \$30,000 for a night's work."

Although Mexican-grown marijuana is by far the largest cargo of the aerial smugglers, they have been increasingly carrying heroin and cocaine. It appears this is partly due to tightened surveillance of surface shipments on the East Coast.

"A small plane is perfect for bringing in heroin," an agent said, "because it doesn't take much to make a small fortune." Ten ounces of heroin purchased in Mexico for \$3,500 can be sold in Los Angeles for \$140,000.

Another recent trend that worries the authorities is the recent diversification of a group of "one-way" smugglers called "contrabandistas."

Operating from small airports along the American side of the border, contrabandistas fly United States merchandise such as refrigerators,

television sets and tobacco into Mexico and Central and South America without paying import duties.

## Local Officials Bribed

As far as the United States is concerned, the flights are legal as long as readily available export permits are obtained. South of the border, the contrabandistas usually bribe local officials and earn a solid profit by selling their duty-free merchandise.

Within recent months, lured by the promise of even greater profits in drug traffic, an increasing number of contrabandistas have been flying to this country with drugs instead of returning home with their planes empty.

Although some illegal flights cross the border in daylight, most cross at night. The planes usually fly a few hundred feet above the ground to dodge what they believe to be searching signals from Air Force or Federal Aviation Administration radar antennas.

For the most part, such precautions are unnecessary. What radar there is on the border, officials said, is largely ineffective below 9,000 feet and at some points it is useless below 18,000 feet.

All pilots who cross the international frontier are required to file an official flight plan with the F.A.A. or the Mexican Government, depending where the trip originates. Many pilots ignore this rule. But some follow the procedure up to a point; they take off and land on the route indicated in their plan, but they take a detour over the border, drop the drugs to confederates on the ground or land briefly on the desert to get rid of the contraband before landing at an airport where they might be subject to a search.

Asked how the smuggling could be halted, Mr. Quick, the Customs agent here, said:

"People hear terms like radar, jet and computer, and think you can solve any problem. But this is a very complicated problem. That's a long border, and it's easy to get lost in it, and when you take it up to 18,000 feet, that's a lot of air space to watch.

Continued

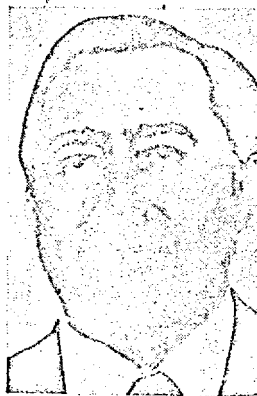
## DRUGS:

## The French Connection

Over the past fifteen years few espionage organizations have suffered so many damaging scandals as France's *Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre Espionage*—the French equivalent of the CIA. Up until last year, the SDECE recruited ex-convicts and members of the underworld as agents, and brawn was valued over brains. This, inevitably, led to all kinds of mishaps:



Joe Petrella—New York Daily News



Stern with drug haul (left) and ex-agent Delouette

SDECE agents were implicated in the sloppy public erasure of a prominent Moroccan, Mehdi Ben Barka, in 1965, and another SDECE agent recently got fifteen years for slipping French secrets to the Yugoslavs. Last week, the SDECE's tarnished reputation suffered yet another blow. A U.S. Federal grand jury in Newark, N.J., indicted an SDECE official, who uses the *nom de guerre* "Col. Paul Fournier," as the leader of an international heroin-smuggling organization. The indictment set off a round of bitter transatlantic accusations and shook the French spy network to its foundations.

The first scent on the trail leading to Fournier was picked up last April when the freighter *Atlantic Cognac* docked at Port Elizabeth, N.J., and customs agent Lynn Pelletier, 22, played a hunch and checked out a 1971 Volkswagen camper. She found 96 pounds of raw heroin (street value \$12 million) stashed inside. When Roger Delouette, 48, a French citizen, showed up to claim the VW, he was arrested and soon afterward began recounting a startling story to a young, crime-bus-

New Jersey named Herbert J. Stern. On Dec. 15, 1970, Delouette told Stern, Colonel Fournier asked him to smuggle the heroin into the U.S. for \$60,000. As a former SDECE officer, Delouette was well acquainted with Fournier, whose real name is Paul Ferrer—and who directs the worldwide operation of all SDECE agents. Several years ago however, Delouette was fired by Ferrer for "unreliability." And as Delouette told the story, when Ferrer got back in touch with him last year, it was not to offer him his old job—but a totally different kind of assignment.

Allegedly, Ferrer put Delouette in contact with other heroin smugglers. And acting, so he said, on Ferrer's instructions, Delouette flew to New York, where he was to pick up the heroin and deliver it to a contact thought to be some-

trial of sorts was already under way, for at the end of the week, one Col. Roger Barberot went on Radio Luxembourg and charged that narcotics smuggling had indeed been organized by French intelligence agents. Barberot's motives, however, were open to question. A fanatic Gaullist and anti-American, Barberot had hired Delouette immediately after Ferrer fired him from the SDECE. Further, Barberot is head of the Bureau for Agricultural Production Development, a cover for intelligence operations overseas, and his accusations may simply reflect infighting between two French intelligence groups. In fact, there was speculation that Barberot was incensed over President Georges Pompidou's approval of a purge against old-line Gaullists within the SDECE and was trying to discredit the entire organization.

Nor did the speculation end there. Characteristically, some sources advanced the hypothesis that the smuggling case had been masterminded by the CIA. As they saw it, the CIA had a simple motive for blackening Ferrer's reputation. This past summer, the U.S. ambassador to Malagasy was kicked out of that country after charges against him had been trumped up by the French (*Newsweek*, July 5). What's more, since Ferrer is also responsible for the French spy network in the U.S., it was conceivable that his agents had often stepped on the toes of their American counterparts. In the U.S., there was speculation that, if Ferrer was in fact involved in the heroin racket, the motive was either to line his own pockets or to finance French intelligence operations in the U.S.

It was, of course, impossible to verify any of these theories. But those with inside information on the French drug scene were convinced that if Stern's charges against Paul Ferrer are in fact true, then the scene may well be set for a scandal that could rock the French Government. For if it can be demonstrated that a top official of the *Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre Espionage* was, for any reason, involved in the narcotics trade, even the total dismantling of the organization may not be enough to put France's allies at rest.

Fournier, Paul

one in the French Consulate. After Delouette was indicted in May, Stern gave him two lie-detector tests (he passed both). Later, Stern contacted the French Ministry of Justice and then flew off to Paris to confer with some French officials. Said Stern: "I was told 'Fournier' was innocent, that he was a high-ranking official and there was no reason for me to meet with him."

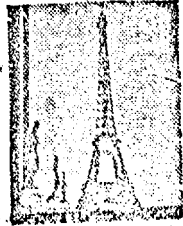
Last week, Fournier-Ferrer came out of hiding to give five hours of secret testimony before a French magistrate. As he emerged from the Palace of Justice in Paris, a photographer snapped his picture—but Ferrer persuaded the police to confiscate the film on the ground that his identity was "a secret affecting national defense." Meanwhile, the French Government brushed aside all charges against Ferrer and refused to extradite him for trial in the U.S. Safe in Paris, Ferrer challenged: "If I'm guilty, Mr. Stern, prove it and justice will follow its course." From Newark, Stern replied: "If you're innocent, Mr. Fournier, come to this country and stand trial."

DALLAS, TEX.

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## Letter From Paris

# Web Grows in French Drug Tangle

By MARGOT LYON

PARIS — "It's like a Shakespeare play," said a leading Frenchman this week. "It's an infernal cauldron where ambitions, grudges, big money and blackmail are all simmering — an explosive mixture that will probably spare nobody when it boils over, as it must."

He was talking of the latest revelations in the scandal that links French counter-espionage services with the \$12 million sale of heroin in the United States.

The story began last April when French agriculturist and one-time spy Roger Delouette was arrested in New Jersey as he went to claim a Volkswagen minibus in which 96 pounds of heroin were hidden. He told American authorities that the man behind the smuggling attempt was a Colonel Fournier — later said to be Paul Ferrer — a high-ranking officer of the Service de Documentation Exterieur et Contre-Espionage or SDECE, roughly the French equivalent of the CIA.

### Action Urged

New Jersey attorney Herbert Stern has been demanding that Fournier-Ferrer come and defend himself against the charges, but since last April nothing has moved, except for a visit to Paris from Mr. Stern himself earlier this month, when he saw the director of the cabinet of the Interior Minister, Raymond Marcellin, in the presence of U.S. Ambassador Watson and other officials. The ambassador seemingly tried to smooth the rough edges of a somewhat stormy meeting, but as one of the participants said later, "Dr. Watson did not manage to soothe Sherlock Holmes."

Last February Minister Marcellin signed a cooperation pact on dope-hunting with Attorney General John Mitch-

ell and it looks as if Washington does not wish to sacrifice the restored cooperation between the two for the skin of a crook. But Attorney Stern is seen to be in a hurry to build his own political career, and is impatient with the slow and exceedingly formalistic style of French justice.

In turn the French criticize him for keeping their official from contact with Delouette. Mr. Stern says that Delouette's lawyer will only allow him to meet with them after Delouette himself has been granted immunity — a long long way from French traditions of judicial procedure.

With little understanding of each other's methods, legally what is going on is a dialogue of the deaf.

BUT THE FRENCH public sat up and paid attention last weekend when Colonel Roger Barberot, a gaullist former ambassador, a well known businessman, and very probably an ex-spy himself, revealed in a radio interview that the entire affair had probably less to do with international drug traffic than with East-West spying.

Before De Gaulle returned to power, he said, the French intelligence service had virtually become a subsidiary of the CIA. But after 1958 De Gaulle restored its independence. Later in his term of office he oriented it toward counter-espionage against the United States.

Two years ago when President Pompidou took over, he ordered the service changed back to its former task of spying on Communist activities. By that time it contained so many anti-American agents that according to Colonel Barberot, when new broom Alexandre de Marenches began his clean-up, he found he had to fire all the top brass.

Since then SDECE (pronounced Zdek) agents have used their inside knowledge to settle scores with new-

comers, old-timers and any other faction they disliked. The former head of the Research Service of the Zdek, said Barberot, was himself fired on suspicion of working closely with Communist agents.

EARLY THIS WEEK the man in question, a Colonel Beaumont alias Bertrand, while admitting the whole service was infested with factional rivalries, sued Barberot for one million francs for slander. Said Barberot: "I didn't make my statement lightly." However, both colonels take the line that no serious link exists between the Zdek and drugs, but that rivals clumsily placed the heroin in the minibus knowing that Delouette would implicate anybody to get himself off the hook.

However, the staunchest defenders of France have been pushing the line that a link indeed exists between spying and drugs—only it concerns the CIA and not French intelligence.

Everybody knows, say these hardliners, that the CIA manipulates the selling of Laotian opium because it is more than a source of profit, it is a tactical necessity. So the CIA has used the existing networks to wipe out political adversaries — which in that part of the world were French, France having retained a good deal of her influence since Laos and the rest formed part of the French Empire.

### A Hidden War

Since General de Gaulle's anti-American speech at Phnom Penh in 1966, a hidden but merciless war has gone on — and the Delouette case is only one aspect of a French-American settlement. Nobody would know who emerged the winner, say the gaullists, if President Nixon had not recently demanded a reorganization of the CIA for misleading him — especially on Laotian and Cambodian affairs.

## L'AFFAIRE FOURNIER

## Ceux qui sortent de l'ombre

(En couverture cette semaine)

Paris, mardi, 12 h 45. Vêtu d'un pardessus gris anthracite, une écharpe autour du cou, un homme d'une cinquantaine d'années, d'une bonne corpulence, sort du cabinet du juge d'instruction Roussel, au Palais de Justice. Il a un mouvement de recul en apercevant un photographe de L'Express, Philippe Morel, posté là avec un reporter d'Europe 1, Pierre Douglas. Les deux journalistes le suivent jusqu'à la grille du Palais et l'abordent dès qu'il franchit l'enceinte. L'homme lève un sourcil broussailleux et dit d'une voix grave, très posée : « Je ne suis pas celui que vous croyez. » Le photographe a braqué son appareil et prend des clichés. « Vous n'avez pas le droit... Donnez-moi votre pellicule. » L'homme hèle l'agent en faction, qui appelle un « panier à salade » et conduit le trio au vieux commissariat des Halles.

« Comprenez-moi, dit l'homme, je fais de l'information, moi aussi, comme vous. Mais mes fonctions, comme ma personnalité, sont couvertes par le secret de Défense nationale. Si j'avais l'autorisation de paraître et de parler, c'est avec plaisir que je le ferais, puisque je suis mis en cause par des déclarations aberrantes. Mais je ne m'appartiens pas. »

Sur une copie. La pellicule est saisie par le commissaire, à la demande de la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat. Elle a impressionné le visage d'un homme tenu à l'anonymat, mais dont le pseudonyme et la profession défraient la chronique mondiale depuis l'avant-veille : le « colonel Paul Fournier »,

adjoint à la direction du Service de documentation extérieure et de contre-espionnage (Sdece, prononcez Zdek).

Escamoté du commissariat par une mystérieuse ambulance immatriculée 1296 LV 75, il vient de déposer, près de cinq heures durant, devant le juge d'instruction Roussel, dans une affaire de trafic de drogue dont la justice américaine l'accuse d'être l'organisateur.

Au même moment, un de ses « honorables correspondants », M. Roger Delouette, comparait devant le tribunal fédéral de Newark (New Jersey). Grand, élancé, cheveux noirs bien ramenés sur la nuque, ne paraissant pas ses 48 ans, il a, en plus jeune, un faux air de Ray Milland dans « Love Story ». Il suit, sur une copie, la lecture de l'acte d'accusation faite par le juge Frederick Lacey : « Vous avez plaidé coupable d'avoir conspiré avec le colonel Fournier en vue de l'acheminement d'héroïne de France vers les Etats-Unis. Connaissez-vous Paul Fournier, des services de contre-espionnage français, Sdece ? »

— Oui.

— Etiez-vous un agent du Sdece ?

— Oui.

— Depuis quand ?

— J'ai été recruté en 1968. J'ai commencé à opérer en 1969.

— Avec qui deviez-vous vous mettre en rapport aux Etats-Unis ?

— Je devais avoir un contact au consulat de France à New York. » (Ce contact serait M. Harold Mac Nab, chef du poste Sdece.)

Le juge donne alors lecture des

déclarations faites par l'accusé depuis son arrestation, le 5 avril, par le service des douanes du New Jersey. Ce jour-là, une jeune inspectrice, miss Lynn Pelletier, 22 ans, avait eu bien du flair en procédant à la fouille d'un minicar Volkswagen, débarqué sur un quai de Port Elizabeth du cargo « Atlantic Cognac », en provenance du Havre, et dont le propriétaire, M. Delouette, était arrivé la veille à New York par le vol 803 de la T.w.a. Sous le plancher. « Un petit quelque chose m'a mis la puce à l'oreille », dira plus tard la jeune femme. En démontant le réservoir d'eau en plastique sous le lavabo de la caravane, elle a trouvé quinze sacs remplis de poudre blanche, quatre-vingt-six autres sous le plancher : au total, 43 kg 778 d'héroïne pure, estimée à 2,750 millions au prix coûtant et en valant 66 à la revente clandestine au détail.

Le Français est aussitôt appréhendé sur le quai du port et interrogé par les enquêteurs des douanes. « Je n'y comprends rien. Je ne sais pas ce que c'est que ça. » L'interrogatoire va durer trente heures. Commencé à la douane de Port Elizabeth, il va se poursuivre à l'hôtel Sheraton de New York, où une souricière est tendue dans la chambre que M. Delouette a réservée. Jaloux de leurs prérogatives, les douaniers se contentent de prévenir le Narcotic Bureau de leur exploit. Les policiers alertent à leur tour l'antenne de l'Office français des stupéfiants, tenue par le commissaire Daniel Hartwig et par l'officier de police Claude Chaminadas. Le protocole de coopération franco-américain ne s'étend pas, en effet, aux douanes. M. Chaminadas est, cependant, autorisé à assister à un bout d'interrogatoire. Sans intérêt.

Le lendemain matin, 6 avril, le téléphone sonne dans la chambre où M. Delouette a passé la nuit avec un douanier. La communication, qui est enregistrée, vient de Paris. Au bout du fil, une voix de femme.

« Il est arrivé un pépin à la voiture », dit M. Delouette, qui raccroche en soupirant. Le commissaire Hartwig est invité à entendre l'enregistrement, puis la suite de l'interrogatoire, qui prend alors un ton nouveau. Après le coup de téléphone, M. Delouette commence à se confesser : « Je suis du Sdece et j'ai agi sur ordre de mon supérieur. » M. Hartwig assiste au début de la confession, qui ne donnera lieu à aucun procès-verbal, car l'enquête préliminaire est toujours orale aux Etats-Unis. Bientôt, le commissaire

## Un « incorruptible »

M. Herbert J. Stern, l'accusateur de M. Paul Fournier, est un jeune procureur de 35 ans qui s'est fait une réputation d'« incorruptible ». Il a passé la plus grande partie de sa vie dans le New Jersey et à New York. Après des études à l'École de droit de l'université de Chicago, grâce à une bourse de la Fondation Ford, il est nommé en 1961 assistant du procureur du comté de New York. En 1964 et en 1965, toujours dans ce même comté, il est affecté au bureau des homicides, où il a été chargé de l'instruction sur l'assassinat du leader noir Malcolm X. Il obtient l'arrestation des trois coupables.

À la fin de 1965, il est nommé au ministère de la Justice à la tête de la section que les Américains appellent « le crime organisé et le racket ». Sa réputation est déjà suffisamment établie pour qu'en 1969 on lui confie la

de diriger un « grand jury » afin d'enquêter sur la corruption qui règne dans la ville de Newark (New Jersey). Auprès du procureur fédéral de cet Etat, M. Frederick B. Lacey, qui est aujourd'hui devenu juge, il entreprend, en septembre 1969, une enquête retentissante sur les activités de la Mafia à Newark. Il parvient à établir que l'organisation secrète a à son service le maire de Newark, trois des neuf conseillers municipaux, quatre anciens conseillers municipaux, et d'innombrables policiers. Dans cette ville, proche de New York, qui est en majorité noire, la Mafia contrôle tout. M. Stern parvient à y faire condamner les coupables, y compris le maire, M. Hugh Addonizio. Aux élections suivantes, un Noir est élu maire.

Au début de l'année 1971, M. Stern est nommé procureur fédéral pour le New



## THE WORLD

## International Report

## Dirty linen tumbles from the secret service closets

FROM OUR PARIS CORRESPONDENT

It began as a trivial drug scandal. And then the skeletons and dirty linen started tumbling out of French secret service closets. When M. Roger Delouette was arrested in New Jersey last April, charged with drug smuggling—heroin, some 90 pounds of it—he claimed to belong to France's Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage (SDECE), and to have been acting under the instructions of his superior, a certain Colonel Paul Fournier. French justice was duly informed, and an ill-tempered dialogue began between the New Jersey prosecutor, demanding that a case be brought against Colonel Fournier, and the French *judge d'instruction*, who wanted to question M. Delouette.

In the middle of this month the full story started to spill out. The initial "unofficial" French version had been that the Americans, and the Central

Intelligence Agency in particular, were trying to embarrass the SDECE. Last week, a certain retired Colonel Barberot produced a quite different version for Radio Luxembourg. The affair, he suggested, was a fall-out from the 1970 purge of the organisation that followed the appointment of its new director by President Pompidou. He argued that the drug smuggling operation had probably been mounted by members of the old regime, and that the new regime had itself denounced M. Delouette to the Americans in order to get rid of him. And who was really behind M. Delouette? The colonel hinted that it wasn't Fournier (real name Ferrer, he said) and vigorously emphasised the links between M. Delouette and yet another colonel, a certain Colonel Beaumont, who had been a director of research for the SDECE before falling victim to the

1970 purge. Colonel Barberot claimed that he had been suspected of treason.

At this point the balloon went up and fog and dirty linen came down. The judge concerned at once demanded the tape of Colonel Barberot's radio interview and has been questioning him and some former agents ever since. Colonel Beaumont in turn broke cover on Monday, declaring that he was the victim of a plot, had never met M. Delouette although he knew the latter had been considered for a mission, and that he would sue Colonel Barberot for slander.

Inevitably the affair has become political, not least because the "treason" hinted at is a reference to the political basis of the SDECE purge—the removal, that is, of the numerous agents who under General de Gaulle had been busier spying on France's allies than on its nominal enemies. But who is gunning for whom? Colonel Barberot is a left-wing gaullist, and presumably no lover of the new regime. M. Michel Debré, the defence minister under whose wing the service operates, has given the body his full backing. Has Fournier-Ferrer been named because the new regime wanted him out of the way too, or because victims of the purge (which he survived) did, or because he was actually drug-smuggling, or merely because M. Delouette hoped to save his skin by naming a fictitious accomplice?

And how is it that Colonel Barberot knows so much about the SDECE? His only visible connection with the case is that he runs the Bureau for the Promotion of Agricultural Production which once employed M. Delouette. This innocent-sounding body supplies third-world countries with experts in agriculture.

The press is having a field day with every combination of answers to these questions, the opposition papers according to their lights, the pro-government *France-Soir* gallantly soldiering on with the theory that the whole thing is a CIA plot. For this theory it has found all manner of supporting evidence—attributed to happily anonymous sources in Switzerland.



Fournier—or somebody—is staying under wraps

# DROGUE ET SERVICES SECRETS C'EST LE COCKTAIL EXPLOSIF DE LA PLUS TENEBREUSE AFFAIRE DE L'ANNEE

STATOTHR

En accusant un colonel du S.d.e.c.e., Delouette, agronome, trafiquant d'héroïne, et agent spécial relance la campagne américaine contre la filière française de la drogue. Mais qui est Delouette?

4 novembre. — Hubert J. Stern, procureur général à la Cour de Newark, couve du regard son accusé favori, son poulain Roger-Xavier-Léon Delouette. Petit, maigre, le visage émacié des justiciers incorruptibles, le procureur général, dans son strict complet gris anthracite de fonctionnaire intègre, a l'allure tranchante des avocats qui ambitionnent une grande carrière. L'audience a lieu devant le tribunal de Newark, dans un local qui ressemble, avec son plafond aux caissons de couleur, à une salle des fêtes un jour de distribution des prix.

M. Stern se retourne très souvent vers le public, composé de ses futurs électeurs, comme pour souligner l'importance du combat qu'il est en train d'engager : il part en guerre contre les services spéciaux français corrompus. Insouciant des complications diplomatiques, insensible aux pressions, il met en accusation le pays qui introduit l'héroïne aux Etats-Unis pour empoisonner la jeunesse américaine. Roger Delouette lui donne la réplique d'une voix sourde, inquiète, mais sans défaillance. Un long visage chevalin de

condottiere ténébreux. Une silhouette athlétique d'aventurier international à la prestance avantageuse, avec son 1,82 m il ressemble à un Jonquères d'Oriola au teint plombé qui aurait délaissé depuis longtemps les réunions hippiques pour les cercles de jeu. A côté de lui, son défenseur, Donald A. Robinson, un petit avocat brun qui a la mine compétente d'un qui connaît les 356 artifices de procédure permettant à un ennemi public fédéral de s'en tirer avec cent dollars d'amende.

Tout en manipulant nerveusement une paire de lunettes dorées, Roger-Xavier-Léon Delouette, plaide respectueusement coupable d'avoir, « depuis ou aux environs du 1er décembre 1970, en pleine conscience et de plein gré, et contrairement à la loi (« against the law ») conspiré pour importer aux Etats-Unis 96 livres (43 778 grammes) d'héroïne hydrochloride ».

## LA JEUNE DOUANIÈRE DECOUVRE 44 kg D'HEROÏNE DANS LE MINIBUS

L'autre prévenu, celui que Delouette a désigné comme son chef et que la justice américaine a inculpé, est absent. C'est le colonel Fournier que l'accusation présente comme un officier « superviseur » du S.d.e.c.e. français. C'est à l'instant encore, un homme

sans visage, dont le nom passe-partout a l'air d'un pseudonyme de fonction.

Le 5 avril 1971, le cargo français « Atlantic Cognac » vient d'arriver à quai à Port Elizabeth, dans le New Jersey. Une jeune douanière de 22 ans, Lynn Pelletier, contemple un minibus Volkswagen qui se balance au bout d'un palan. Lynn Pelletier, qui a un flair de vieux douanier, décide de visiter minutieusement ce véhicule. Elle y découvre les 44 kg d'héroïne pure. Peu après un Français élégant se présente aux bureaux de la douane pour retirer le minicar. On lui félicite les formalités et on l'arrête. C'est Delouette.

Son interrogatoire est fructueux : il se présente d'abord comme un agent itinérant du S.d.e.c.e. et révèle que, vers le 15 décembre 1970, il a été pressenti par le colonel Paul Fournier, haut fonctionnaire du S.d.e.c.e., pour faire passer de l'héroïne aux Etats-Unis. Peu après, il rencontre au Café de Paris un personnage mystérieux, dont il ignore le nom, qui lui offre 1 200 dollars par kilo d'héroïne transportée et qui le charge d'acheter une Volkswagen « Camper », d'obtenir un visa, et de s'occuper ensuite de l'expédition. Delouette touche bientôt une avance sur commission de 5 500 dollars et, sur l'ordre de Fournier, va prendre livraison de la marchandise à quarante kilomètres de Paris, à Pont-

cains écoutent cette confession avec délice, et font immédiatement confiance à Delouette. D'abord, cette capture survient dans un climat d'irritabilité et de suspicion. Depuis longtemps, le Bureau américain des narcotiques que les trafiquants d'héroïne tiennent en échec, accuse plus ou moins ouvertement la police française de protéger les gros bonnets de la drogue.

Ensuite, le fait qu'un service d'espionnage serve de couverture au trafic de l'héroïne paraît très vraisemblable aux enquêteurs américains. Ils n'ont qu'à observer ce qui se passe chez eux. Chacun sait, aux Etats-Unis, sans vouloir le dire, que les avions d'Air America, la compagnie aérienne de la C.i.a., font la collecte de l'opium brut, cultivé par les montagnards Meos au Laos, au sud de la plaine des Jarres, et dans la région de Chiang-Mai, en Thaïlande. Pour des raisons politiques, mais aussi parce qu'une centrale d'espionnage a toujours tendance à vivre en circuit fermé, à fonctionner pour elle-même et à alimenter ses caisses, quelle que soit l'importance des crédits qui lui sont attribués, par n'importe quel moyen. Enfin, Roger-Xavier-Léon Delouette donne sur son passé des précisions troublantes. Il apparaît comme un agent presque officiel du gouvernement français.

### IL ENTRE DANS LA CARRIERE DE L'OMBRE EN 1946

Delouette est un fils spirituel de Graham Green et de Dominique Ponchardier. Il est né pour le renseignement, pour l'existence parallèle. C'est un personnage multiple et contradictoire. Faux ingénieur agronome, il lui est arrivé d'établir de remarquables projets d'agriculture tropicale. Mythomane, il a pourtant été parfois un informateur apprécié. Escroc de vocation, il a longtemps exercé la profession d'homme de confiance.

Il est entré dans la carrière de l'ombre, en 1946, comme deuxième classe. PC est en Grèce, en 1946. Il est sous les

ordres du colonel Barberot, alors chargé d'un contrôle des élections grecques. Jusque-là, il s'est passionné pour les problèmes agricoles et il a tenté aussi de se faire admettre, sous l'Occupation, comme agriculteur libre à l'Ecole nationale d'agriculture de Grignon. On le retrouve ensuite en Angola où il participe à un plan de développement des Hauts Plateaux. Malgré son absence de diplôme, il se révèle un spécialiste en matière de riz et d'agrumes. Son nom parvient jusqu'aux oreilles du baron Guy de Rothschild qui lui confie la gestion de son domaine de Ferrières.

### ON DEMANDE AGRONOMES POLYGLOTTES SACHANT REGARDER

Delouette y fait merveille et se rend particulièrement indispensable dans la commercialisation des produits. Il s'est maintenant attribué le titre d'ingénieur agronome et part en Sierra Leone où il apporte un plan audacieux de culture intensive du riz. En 1968, il vient frapper à la porte du colonel Barberot, son ancien chef, qui a pris la direction du Bureau pour le développement de la production agricole, société d'économie mixte dont le moins qu'on puisse dire est qu'elle est à vocations multiples. C'est un organisme para-officiel qui est en fait une officine de renseignements.

Le colonel Barberot ressemble à Clark Gable. Héros de la France libre, écrivain, journaliste, cofondateur du mouvement dit des gaullistes de gauche, le colonel Barberot rayonne, par experts agricoles interposés, à travers les pays de la Coopération, et même à travers le tiers monde.

Au 202, rue de la Croix-Nivert, siège du B.d.p.a., un immeuble moderne aux larges baies vitrées, on demande agronomes polyglottes sachant regarder. Delouette tombe bien. Il parle anglais, portugais et n'a pas les yeux dans sa poche. Sa première mission : Cuba. C'est

un succès. Il fait passer la production de riz de 50 000 à 300 000 tonnes.

### DELOUETTE EST LICENCIE POUR FAUTE GRAVE

Le colonel Barberot l'envoie alors pour une mission de trois mois en Côte-d'Ivoire. Mais, à son retour, Delouette disparaît sans remettre son rapport. Par une lettre recommandée datée du 12 mai 1970 (référence 302 CP 2/1), le colonel Barberot le licencie « pour faute grave, sans préavis, ni indemnité ». Delouette perçoit tout de même le solde de son compte, la somme de 1 308,06 F qui est virée à son compte de la Banque Transatlantique, boulevard Haussmann. Pourquoi Delouette n'a-t-il jamais remis ce rapport qui ne lui aurait demandé que huit jours de travail ? Peut-être est-il déjà au service de son nouvel employeur : le S.d.e.c.e. Aux Etats-Unis, on aime les spécialistes. Pour les policiers américains, Delouette n'est pas un escroc international. C'est un agronome qui a plusieurs réalisations à son actif. Détail qui ne gâche rien, sa fille Caroline travaille à « Vogue ». C'est un personnage important. On le choisit. A l'issue de l'audience du 14 novembre, Delouette est ramené à la prison de Sommerville, une bâtisse blanche, de quatre étages, en pleine campagne, dans le comté de Scmmerset, où il est détenu depuis six mois. Avec beaucoup d'égards comme un prisonnier de marque. Sommerville est une prison familiale.

### LE GARDIEN-CHEF EST FIER DE SON CUISINIER FRANÇAIS

Son gardien-chef, Louis Bellet, considère ses détenus comme des pensionnaires, et même des amis. Le séjour, à Sommerville, est agréable. Il y a la télé, la radio, un cinéma, une chapelle. Les prisonniers

portent un uniforme seyant : jeans et chemise. Maitre de maison corpulent et jovial, Louis Bellent, un ancien de la guerre de Corée, a pris en affection Delouette. Il lui a confié les fonctions de chef cuisinier et dit souvent avec fierté : « Nous avons un chef français. » Lorsque Delouette est revenu de l'audience de Newark, Louis Bellent lui a simplement demandé, en lui tapant sur l'épaule : « Alors, gars, qu'est-ce que tu nous fais ce soir ? » Delouette répond simplement : « J'ai pensé à quelque chose de léger : soupe au bœuf, côtelette de porc et compote de pommes. »

Dès le 6 avril, l'antenne de la police française à New York constituée par le commissaire Hartwig et l'officier de police Chaminades, informe Paris de l'arrestation de Delouette et de ses accusations contre un haut fonctionnaire du S.d.e.c.e. Une longue et sournoise bataille commence. Elle ne se dégènera en polémique ouverte que le 14 novembre, date à laquelle un quotidien new-yorkais révélera au public qu'un officier supérieur français est impliqué dans l'affaire Delouette.

### ON BUTE SUR L'ARTICLE 138 DU CODE PENAL

A Paris, le dossier est confié au juge Roussel, spécialisé au parquet de la Seine dans les affaires de drogue. Il lance une commission rogatoire le 13 avril et charge des policiers français d'aller entendre Delouette aux Etats-Unis. Mais Delouette est bien protégé. Son avocat, Donald A. Robinson, déclare que son client ne répondra devant la commission rogatoire que si la justice française lui accorde l'immunité. Le procureur général Stern appuie cette réclamation. Le juge Roussel répond que l'immunité, dans la loi française, ne peut être accordée que dans un cas très précis : le crime de fausse monnaie (article 138 du code pénal). C'est alors que les relations entre les autorités américaines et la justice française se tendent. Les Américains ont l'impression que les

Français ont peur des révélations. Ils ont peur de ne pas à couvrir Fournier. Paris considère que les Etats-Unis tiennent à tout prix à étendre la loi américaine en France et à impliquer, par tous les moyens, une haute personnalité française dans une affaire de drogue. Le conflit entre dans sa phase aiguë au mois d'août : M. Cusack, chef du Bureau des narcotiques en Europe, fait alors de fracassantes déclarations affirmant que de hautes protections couvraient en France la transformation et le trafic d'héroïne.

### PHOTOGRAPHIÉ, FOURNIER FAIT SAISIR LA PELLICULE

Septembre 1971. Le procureur général Stern sort son arme secrète : le « polygraph ». C'est le détecteur de mensonge, un appareil qui ressemble à la fois à un magnétophone par son format et ses cadrans à aiguille et à un instrument médical par son fonctionnement. On passe deux sangles aux poignets et aux bras du sujet. Le principe est fondé sur le fait que la tension nerveuse et artérielle du patient monte quand il ment. Le 13 septembre deux policiers français de haut rang se rendent aux Etats-Unis pour assister à un séminaire sur la drogue et rencontrent le procureur Stern. Ce dernier s'étonne devant eux que le colonel Fournier n'ait pas été inculpé et leur annonce que Delouette a accepté de se soumettre au détecteur de mensonge. C'est alors que l'un des commissaires demande à essayer le « polygraph » et parvient à mentir sur son âge sans faire osciller la moindre aiguille sur les cadrans.

Le 6 novembre, le procureur général Stern vient à Paris. Il se précipite chez le juge Roussel, exige l'inculpation de Fournier et réclame de nouveau l'immunité pour Delouette. Le juge Roussel invoque à nouveau les dispositions de la loi française et en particulier l'article 138 du code pénal. Le procureur général Stern va jusqu'aux limites de l'insolence, part en

claquant la porte et va porter ses réclamationes chez l'ambassadeur des Etats-Unis.

14 novembre. Réunion interministérielle à l'hôtel Matignon. Il y a là les directeurs de cabinet de Debré (Défense nationale), Marcellin (Intérieur), Pleven (Justice) et un représentant du S.d.e.c.e. Le « Daily News » vient de révéler qu'un haut fonctionnaire français est impliqué dans l'acheminement de la drogue aux Etats-Unis. Le Conseil interministériel décide de prendre les devants, de publier un communiqué qui rappelle les différentes étapes de l'affaire, et surtout de laisser filtrer le nom de Fournier.

17 novembre. Au Palais de justice, dans le couloir des juges d'instruction, un journaliste et un photographe attendent. Il est 13 heures. Un homme sort du cabinet du juge Roussel et s'esquive à pas pressés : c'est Paul Fournier. C'est la première fois qu'on voit son visage depuis le déclenchement de l'affaire. Aussitôt le photographe « shoote » presque sans le voir. Il remarque ses cheveux en brosse, son nez pointu, sa haute taille... « un air de paysan ».

Fournier, hors de lui, appelle un agent. « Je veux qu'on détruise cet appareil. Il y a une photo de moi là-dedans. » L'agent suit à la lettre le règlement : l'incident doit être réglé au commissariat dont dépend le Palais de justice : celui des Halles. C'est là qu'un photographe de la police judiciaire confisquera le rouleau de pellicule du photographe. Le juge Roussel avait convoqué le colonel Fournier à 8 heures du matin. Il était temps de le faire sortir de l'ombre. Sa fiche reste succincte. Une incertitude plane encore sur son nom : il s'appellerait Ferrer...

On sait qu'il a 52 ans, qu'il a appartenu aux services de renseignements de la Résistance, qu'il a la croix de guerre puis qu'il est resté dans les services spéciaux, qu'il en a fait, si l'on peut dire, son métier. On sait encore qu'il s'est longtemps occupé, au S.d.e.c.e. du département d'Extrême-Orient, qu'il n'a jamais été en poste aux Etats-Unis, qu'il est

maintenant, à la c  
tier (siège du S.d.e.c.e) attaché  
au service central en qualité  
de chef d'études et qu'il est  
assimilé au grade de colonel.

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### LES QUATRE HYPOTHESES QUE L'ON PEUT ENVISAGER

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On sait surtout qu'il est considéré, de l'avis général, comme au-dessus de tout soupçon, expérimenté et sérieux.

Alors qui est coupable ? Sur cette trame serrée d'hommes et de faits, plusieurs dessins, ambigus, incertains, se dégagent.

**Première hypothèse :** Delouette est un simple trafiquant qui utilise sa couverture S.d.e.c.e pour renvoyer sur Fournier l'essentiel de sa culpabilité. C'est la version officielle française qui s'exprime partout, et jusque dans les services de police ordinairement sans tendresse pour leurs collègues du S.d.e.c.e. Elle se heurte à la conviction du procureur Stern ; elle néglige les vertus reconnues aux U.s.a au détecteur de mensonge.

**Deuxième hypothèse :** Fournier est de longue date connu et surveillé comme le sont tous les responsables du contre-espionnage de son rang. Son dossier est solide.

**Troisième hypothèse :** Les services américains manipulent Delouette pour compromettre Fournier, victime d'un règlement de comptes entre services secrets. C'est la solution la plus romanesque et la moins vraisemblable.

**Quatrième hypothèse :** Delouette ne ment pas. Il a été dupé et manipulé non par Fournier comme il le croit, mais par un intermédiaire qui connaît « la piscine » et qui a usurpé la qualité et l'identité de Fournier. C'est l'hypothèse qui séduit le plus les spécialistes de l'espionnage tant américains que français. Et dans ce cas seul ce mystérieux personnage connaît la vérité : ce n'est ni le procureur Stern, ni Delouette, ni Fournier. Nous nous garderons de choisir.

FRANÇOIS CAVIGLIOLI.

26 NOV 1971

"Maybe we should think about applying some of the rules of football to our Presidential election campaigns."

STATOTHR  
STATOTHR

## Tempest in an Opium Pot

By C. L. SULZBERGER

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PARIS—The world has been having a field day with the real-life thriller story of plots, counterplots, drugs, contraband and other James Bond divertissements apparently unfolding as a consequence of the arrest in New Jersey of a minor French espionage official charged with dope smuggling.

The verbal fallout from this event has become absorbing reading matter although much is without foundation. Thus it is not apparently in any sense true that there is a clash between the American C.I.A. and its French counterpart, S.D.E.C.E., nor that S.D.E.C.E. is being riven by internal purges.

Dope and espionage were certainly involved in the arrest last April of a former S.D.E.C.E. agent named Roger Delouette. Delouette was calling for an imported car loaded with 96 pounds of heroin. He claimed to be acting under instructions from an S.D.E.C.E. official.

The case ballooned in importance. Drugs, of course, are a major preoccupation in the United States, and chauvinistic steam was worked up about the French poisoning American youngsters.

For their part, the French have already been regaled with tales of how S.D.E.C.E. agents were involved in the murder of a Moroccan left-wing politician named Ben Barka, and of the so-called "Topaz" case. "Topaz," an American novel, was based on charges of an S.D.E.C.E. agent in Washington that high French Government officials were leaking information to Russia.

S.D.E.C.E. is a postwar organization of mixed antecedents. These included de Gaulle's émigré intelligence organization in wartime London, a similar structure in North Africa, parts of the old Pétainist Second Bureau and Resistance groups inside occupied France.

From its start, shortly after the war, S.D.E.C.E. has been preoccupied with crises. First came Indochina, then the cold war. Then there was the Algerian partisan conflict and finally the struggle with the O.A.S. (secret Army organization) conspiracy.

The Algerian guerrillas depended on foreign arms supplies, so S.D.E.C.E. got into the brutal business of fighting guerrillas with dummy organizations such as the ruthless "Red Hand." Murder and kidnapping became one aspect of its operation. S.D.E.C.E. took

and also another bunch of hard nuts who had served as Gaullist bully boys during the general's early years of exile and who were called S.A.C. (Service of Civic Action).

As Francophone Africa became independent, de Gaulle's Fifth Republic organized a special intelligence branch under Jacques Foccart to keep the new states on the road to survival and also close to France. S.A.C. survivors joined that special secretariat.

When the Ben Barka case blew in 1966 both Foccart's and S.D.E.C.E.'s name became tarnished by scandal. De Gaulle decided to rein in S.D.E.C.E. and put it under the Defense Ministry, replacing its boss with Gen. Eugène Guibaud, a regular officer.

Guibaud put S.D.E.C.E. into its proper place in a civilian regime that had terminated the threat of civil war. He discharged unsavory thug elements. He was asked to stay on an extra year and finally was replaced in 1970 by Count Alexandre de Marenches.

In French eyes, Marenches, a huge man, is the typical pro-"Anglo-Saxon." His wife is British, his mother was American, his father served as liaison officer on General Pershing's staff. He speaks perfect English. Nevertheless, there is every evidence that he is a loyal French patriot of the same type as his predecessor, and there is no question of pro- or anti-Americanism involved.

Thus there is little truth in tales now circulating here about "settling old scores" between pro-Soviet and pro-American cliques or doing away with nefarious double agents. Such rumors have been spread by persons at one or another time associated with S.D.E.C.E. who have got into a publicity contest, and the French opposition is trying to embarrass the regime.

Nevertheless, since the student uprisings of 1968, after which relations with America perceptibly improved, Paris and Washington have had excellent working relations even on the secret service level. Furthermore, the French are just as concerned with the drug problem as Americans are.

The present furor is a tempest in an opium pot. Once justice has taken its course, it will blow over. No deeper political implications are involved de-

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21 NOV 1971

## French Secret Service Scandal Spreads in Wake of Drug Case

By JOHN L. HESS

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Nov. 20—A narcotics case in New Jersey was leading today to a spreading scandal in the French secret service.

Col. Roger Barberot, director of a Government foreign aid agency, declared in radio and newspaper interviews that a former operating chief of the Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage had been dismissed last year on suspicion of high treason.

The accused official was Col. René Bertrand, whose cover name is Col. Jean Beaumont. This evening, he announced that he had engaged the country's most prominent trial lawyer, Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancourt, to sue Colonel Barberot for libel. He said he would ask one million francs (\$180,000) in damages.

Colonel Barberot was closeted for an hour and a half today with Gabriel Roussel, the examining magistrate, who is investigating the charges made by Roger Delouette, a former agent indicted in Newark on a charge of conspiracy to smuggle 96 pounds of heroin into the United States.

On emerging, Colonel Barberot said he had shed no new light on smuggling but called for a thorough investigation and housecleaning of the agency. In radio and newspaper interviews, he had expressed the belief that some agents were involved in the drug traffic and that the arrest of Delouette might have been arranged as revenge by other agents.

There was no immediate comment by Col. Paul Fournier,

accused by Delouette as having organized the heroin shipment interception at New York and identified by Colonel Barberot as Paul Ferrer. It was reported without confirmation today that Colonel Fournier is the director of research, or operating chief of all agencies—having succeeded Colonel Bertrand in that post.

At Strasbourg, where the ruling Gaullist party is holding its congress, Defense Minister Michel Debré declared today that the Government had full confidence in the intelligence agency and that its high quality made it inevitable that it be subjected to hostile campaigns.

"A former occasional employe of the service seems to me to have fallen into deplorable operations in recent months," Mr. Debré said. "To lighten the sentence that awaits him, the accused has hurled grave charges. That's in the nature of things, just as it's in the nature of things that imaginations quickly build up fictional serials."

However, the sparks thrown by Delouette's testimony, continued to set off explosions.

It is generally believed that the discord within the agency is at least partly a reflection of the shifts in French foreign policy since the war. Agents who were in the Free French forces, then active in the cold war, in Indochina and in the Algerian repression, were suddenly ordered to reverse themselves and engage in intelligence activity sometimes directed against former allies.

### 'Old Comrades' Complain

Successive scandals, quickly quenched, and successive purges left bitterness among present and former agents of

The Swimming Pool, as the agency's bleak headquarters in eastern Paris is called. Colonel Barberot, who indicated that he was not himself an agent, said a number of his "old comrades" had come to him with complaints about the agency and he had been conducting "a little personal investigation for three days."

Colonel Barberot, 56 years old, was a naval ensign when he deserted the Vichy regime in June, 1940, joined the British Eighth Army in North Africa, then fought in a Marine command under General de Gaulle, ending the war as a decorated captain. He returned to service with a colonel's rank in Algeria in 1956, but resigned two years later to denounce Army abuses, including torture.

After serving as Ambassador to the Central African Republic and to Uruguay, the colonel became director of the bureau for Development of Agricultural Production, a foreign aid agency.

He said he hired Delouette, an experienced farm manager, in 1968 and sent him on a long mission to Cuba, which he handled satisfactorily.

Delouette's next mission was to Sierra Leone, unaccountably, Colonel Barberot said, he disappeared and was finally dismissed. The colonel indicated that it was at about that time that Delouette was recruited by the intelligence agency.

It was widely noted here that Colonel Barberot is a leading figure in that faction of left-wing Gaullists that continues to support the Pompidou Government. Coincidentally, the lawyer who will handle the libel suit against him in behalf of Colonel Beaumont, Mr. Tixier-Vignancourt, is the leader of

the far right that also supports the Government.

As for Colonel Fournier, or Ferrer, newspapers here described him as a man of 52 who had joined General de Gaulle's secret service in 1940.

Colonel Fournier was credited with having bugged Arab embassies in Berne during the Algerian war, and, according to the right-wing newspaper L'Aurore, with thwarting American efforts to spy on the Concorde supersonic airliner.

According to L'Aurore, the colonel "did not hesitate to use information amiably communicated to him by certain services of eastern countries," and, "talked of drug routes, of the collusion of C.I.A. members in these rackets, etc."

Newspaper accounts here said that at least three men arrested on drug charges in recent years had worked for the intelligence agency.

Colonel Barberot said he was convinced that the Delouette affair had been "mounted in Paris," that the heroin smuggling was an amateur job and that the tipoff came from other intelligence agents, possibly American.



20 NOV 1971

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Capital Fare

# Red China's Dope Business

By Andrew Tully  
The McNaught Syndicate, Inc.

WASHINGTON — At first glance there was something financially self-defeating in the maiden United Nations speech of Red China's Deputy Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, in which he demanded that the United States immediately withdraw all its troops from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Such a withdrawal would be a severe blow to Peking's economy, which is supported in part by massive shipments of opium and heroin to Indochina, and which is largely responsible for making drug addicts of thousands of American GI's in that area, particularly in Vietnam. A Central Intelligence Agency source has estimated that this traffic in junk has enriched the Mao regime by "at least" \$1-billion in the past five years.

"We threw out another \$500-million in profits as only about 50 per cent verifiable," said the CIA man.

In "Puritan" Communist China, dope is a state monopoly — for export only. Peking's Special Trade Bureau of the Ministry of Finance operates

several opium and heroin processing plants, doing business under such labels as "Red Lion" and "Crown." The annual production of opium, from which heroin is produced, has been estimated by international experts as well over 8,000 tons, compared with production by the rest of the world—for medicinal purposes — of between 5,000 and 6,000 tons a year.

At least 90 per cent of Peking's production is exported. Most of it is shipped through Burma and Thailand, and then smuggled into South Vietnam and Hong Kong. In South Vietnam the junk is sold to American soldiers. From Hong Kong, the stuff is smuggled into the United States, where it is disposed of at the retail level for more than \$100-million a year.

As a Deputy Foreign Minister, Chiao Kuan-hua can be described as a kind of vice president for dope sales. For the exportation of opium and heroin is an instrument of official Peking foreign policy. The Finance Ministry's Special Trade Bureau is merely the outlet, taking orders from the Foreign Ministry.

Now it would seem that Red China, by demanding withdrawal of U. S. troops from Indochina, is willing to deprive itself of the rich Southeast Asian market. But there remains the potentially much richer market on the American mainland, and cynics of my ilk are inclined to suspect that now the U. S. has admitted a Peking delegation to New York there will be a nice little boom in American sales.

For one thing, U. S. narcotics officials point out that Red Chinese heroin has always been famous for its purity. Most of the Chinese stuff seized along the Pacific Coast runs about 70 per cent pure, while that seized on the East Coast—from the Middle East via France and Italy—averages only 49 per cent pure.

Logically, American dope tycoons seek out the purest heroin they can buy, because the purer the heroin the more it can be cut for street sales. Moreover, the Peking monopoly has held fast to the policy of offering its higher quality junk at prices no higher than that paid for the inferior Middle Eastern stuff. It makes gleeful financial sense for our illicit drug industry to do business with Chinese salesmen.

In any event, it seems more than coincidental that the number of aliens from Communist China sneaking into the United States has been on the increase for the past few years. Indeed, an Associated Press dispatch on the day Chiao spoke at the UN quoted Justice Department intelligence reports which said as many as 3,200 Red Chinese aliens are smuggled into the U. S. every year.

The AP story said Justice reported the aliens are shipped to the U. S. to engage in both espionage and narcotics traffic. This figures, since Peking's dope business is part and parcel of its official international posture, and one of the espionage racket's ancient functions is to undermine the basic social structure — or the morals — of the target country.

Perhaps Barry Goldwater has something in suggesting that the UN be transported en masse to Geneva. Such a move just might be the only way we can escape becoming a nation of hopheads.

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EVENING - 623,245  
WEEKEND - 354,797

NOV 16 1970

## Blames CIA for Dope Rap

By JOHN ELLISON

PARIS—The high-ranking French intelligence officer indicted on federal drug smuggling charges in Newark has blamed the indictment on a long-running battle between the CIA and the French intelligence network.

The officer, Col. Paul Fournier, charged that the CIA was trying to settle an old score with him.

Fournier and a former French agent, Roger Xavier Leon de Louette, were indicted by a federal grand jury in Newark yesterday for allegedly conspiring to smuggle \$12 million worth of heroin into the U. S. this spring. Fournier was accused of being the mastermind in the alleged plot.

De Louette, who has been in custody in Newark since April, was due to be arraigned today. Fournier remains in France, and is still uncertain how fully French officials will cooperate with the U. S. investigation.

### A Top Agent

According to the story Fournier told his superiors, he had been operating as a top agent in the U. S. The CIA learned of his activities, he said, and was eager to expel him.

The perfect opportunity came, Fournier claimed, when de Louette fell into the hands of U. S. authorities on the heroin smuggling charge.

Fournier said he thought de Louette was approached by CIA men and told that it would do him a lot of good if he were to incriminate Fournier in the drug scandal.

### Truth Drugs

At his own request, he said, he was given truth drugs, and the U. S. detectives were unable to corroborate their version of his role in the smuggling conspiracy.

Fournier has now told French secret service in Paris that he is ready to testify again to French authorities under the influence of the truth drugs.

The heroin shipment involved in the indictment was discovered hidden under the floor of a Volkswagen bus on a French freighter at Port Elizabeth, N. J., in April.

De Louette was seized when he arrived to claim the bus and has been jailed in \$500,000 bail since. His attorney said he had been cooperating "completely" with authorities.

LONDON EXPRESS

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French agents in dope case

# SDECE's man vs the CIA

London Express Service  
**PARIS** — A high-ranking French spy who was indicted with another French official in Newark, N.J., for dope smuggling, today revealed a power struggle between the CIA and its French counterpart, SDECE.

A federal grand jury yesterday accused Col. Paul Fournier with masterminding the \$12-million dope-smuggling plot.

Also charged was Roger Delouette, Col. Fournier's subordinate, who has been under arrest since April 5 when he tried to take delivery of an imported car with 96 pounds of heroin secreted under the floorboards in Port Elizabeth, N.J.

Last night, the French government issued a statement in New York indicating it might not deliver Col. Fournier for a U.S. trial because he was being accused by a man trying to get his own penalty reduced.

It's believed that Col. Fournier is under police surveillance but French authorities say only that he is "somewhere in France."

Only a few weeks ago he was attached in a low capacity on the periphery SDECE's top agents operating in the U.S. at the French Embassy in Washington.

He told his chiefs in SDECE that American CIA agents had tumbled onto his activities and were eager to settle an old score with him and have him expelled from the U.S.

The perfect opportunity came when Mr. Delouette fell into the hands of American authorities by bungling the heroin smuggling.

Col. Fournier believes that Mr. Delouette was approached by CIA men and told that it would do him a lot of good if he were to incriminate Col. Fournier in the drug scandal.

Since then, Col. Fournier said, he has been



R. De Louette

questioned about the affair by American detectives investigating the case.

He said that at his own request he was given truth drugs, but that the Americans were even then unable to corroborate their version of his role.

But now he has told his bosses he is ready to testify again to the French authorities under the influence of truth drugs.

The indictment charged Mr. Delouette was promised \$1,200 for every kilogram (about 2.2 pounds) of heroin he smuggled into America and was given \$5,500 to buy the car.

U.S. Atty. Herbert Stern, who made the indictment announcement, said it is now up to the French authorities to either hand over Col. Fournier or prosecute him in France.

Mr. Stern, who said another indictment is pending, stressed that his office is cooperating with French officials and allowed a French investigator to interview Mr. Delouette shortly

incomplete as received

November 1971

# HEROIN

Peter Arnett has been covering South East Asia and the Vietnam War for more than a decade. His reporting has won such varied accolades as The Pulitzer (1966) and Sigma Delta Chi (1963) prizes, expulsion from Indonesia (1962), and the government closing of his weekly paper based in Vientiane, Laos (1960).

An Associated Press reporter since 1960, Arnett recently wrote a series of articles with Bernard Gavzer about the heroin traffic in South East Asia and the ways that heroin gets to US troops in Vietnam. UR interviewed him shortly after his return to New York, and asked him about the nature of the drug traffic there.

An American GI lights up a cigarette in Saigon. He poured grains of white heroin powder into the menthol cigarette, from which he had first removed some of the tobacco.

Wide World Photos

Everyone is against the use of heroin or at least they say they are. But beyond the basic idea that people take heroin because their life is a bummer, there are only a lot of charges and counter-charges about who is letting/helping/pushing/or profiting from the heroin trade.

We think that the heroin trade is a typical issue of our time. For example, how is it that heroin can be transported thousands of miles over all sorts of obstacles to poison millions, while we cannot possibly figure out how to get food to starving people?

We hope to do a series of articles and or interviews about heroin presenting a variety of views and evidence. We have started with South East Asia because it is the largest source of opium in the world, and also because the heroin usage by American soldiers in Vietnam has led to increased information on this issue becoming available, such as the confidential government documents that we partially reprint here.

We do not imagine that we can cover this by ourselves and we hope that anyone who has information, documents, or knowledge will help us with this.

UR: Has the CIA been part of the drug traffic in South East Asia?

Arnett: The CIA has indeed been involved, as has the US Government, for years in the drug business, but it's essentially for political reasons — as a political necessity.

Now, why is it a political necessity? At the beginning of the '60's, South East Asia was seen as greatly threatened by Communist China. There was great fear that revolutionary war by people's armies would sweep across South East Asia, to Vietnam, Thailand, Formosa and all the rest. So the American officials out there — the CIA, the American Military, and the Embassy people — figured that any approach would be acceptable if it was in order to resist that great a threat. Eventually, of course, it led to a commitment of half a million American troops in Vietnam. But even before Vietnam, any act to prevent the Communists from taking over the area was considered acceptable, and this included the drug business. Here's an example of how it worked.

In Laos you have this tribe, the Meo. They came down from central China

They farm crops, including opium, and they have a fairly well-developed culture based on silver ornaments and home-made weapons. The CIA and the American Government considered them important because they were the buffer between China and the rest of South East Asia. So it was in the interest of the American Government to win their allegiance. They were just another arm of the American war effort.

However, in the early 60's the Communists started pressing into Laos. Up to that time these people had been growing opium and other little crops, but opium was their only cash crop. The average family could make \$40 or \$50 a year from it, and that would be enough to buy some silver ornaments and to pay for the pigs for the harvest celebrations.

As the Communists started coming through they started to cut the old trails that these people had been using to unload their opium. The Meo were stranded in the mountains and the CIA figured that the least they could do was to help them in harvesting and distributing their crop. So, on the numerous American airfields you had a liaison

18 OCT 1971

# Letters To The Editor

## *Gen. Dzu and Heroin*

In testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on July 7, 1971, I stated that U.S. officials in Saigon were in possession of hard intelligence naming South Vietnamese General Ngo Dzu, the commander of II Corps, as a heroin trafficker.

On July 8, Mr. John Vann, senior American adviser to General Dzu, stated that there was no information available to him "that in any shape, manner or fashion" would support my testimony. In a letter to *The Washington Post* on Oct. 9, Mr. Vann expressed the view that my testimony was based on "unsubstantiated rumors and allegations which are available at a dime a dozen against any major personality in Vietnam at any time."

In view of Mr. Vann's statements, I wish to state for the record that my testimony was based on information contained in a series of classified intelligence reports prepared by the Criminal Investigation Division of the U.S. Army and the Public Safety Division of USAID. These reports, the first of which was dated Jan. 6, 1971, contained information collected from agent sources who, according to the source descriptions in the reports, had provided reliable information in the past.

The intelligence reports were brought to my attention by highly qualified U.S. officials in Saigon and Washington who expressed deep concern that the reports were not being acted on because of General Dzu's rank and position. These officials are unanimous in describing the reports as hard intelligence because of the nature of the sources and the manner in which the information was collected.

I can only assume that Mr. Vann is not aware of these reports, since he is surely aware that U.S. intelligence agencies take great care in describing their sources and do not make a practice of publishing unsubstantiated rumors and allegations without clearly qualifying them as such.

To clarify the situation, I have formally requested the Department of Defense and the Department of State to provide me with copies of all documents in their possession pertaining to drug trafficking by General Dzu, together with a full report on what action has been taken to utilize the information contained in each document.

ROBERT H. STEELE,  
Member of Congress.

Washington.

Secret British Report

# Do Chinese Reds Push Drug Traffic?

By DeWITT S. COPP

A shocking British government document has come into this reporter's hands; it is Great Britain's 1969 estimates of the contribution Communist China makes to the world's illicit production of opium. According to the British, as of two years ago the total illegal world production of the drug from which heroin is derived was "5,000 tons, 1,000 tons coming from the Middle East and minor producers," the remaining "4,000 tons" emanating from "Southeast Asia (including Burma, Thailand and Laos)" and the "Chinese Peoples Republic." Of this amount, the official British estimates is "3,500 tons" coming from Red China!

The confidential document goes on to point out that all opium grown in Red China is illicit, that the average yield of opium per hectare of poppy field is seven kilos and that the total area under cultivation is estimated at a half-million hectares or 200,000 acres. The poppy-growing provinces are listed as Yunnan—where production is figured at 1,000 tons, Szechwan, Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Hopei and Honan. The annual revenue to Peking is placed at a half-billion U.S. dollars.

In view of the Nixon Administration's large-scale efforts to curtail illegal drug traffic at the source and the attitude of its experts with regard to Red China's part in this trade, the British figures are astounding and require immediate answers in Washington and London.

Congressional inquiry as well as press efforts to gain information on Peking's role in the most vicious of all trades, have been met at the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics by inconclusive and evasive replies. "No intelligence on the matter, no evidence. People on the spot cannot verify, can only give an opinion."

Mr. Copp, a Washington-based free-lance writer and businessman, is an expert in national affairs and has a particular expertise on the subject of China. A bomber pilot in World War II, he authored with Marshall Peck *The Odd Day*, a book dealing with Nationalist Chinese affairs. His cover story for HUMAN EVENTS on March 27, 1971 forecasted the change in U.S. policy toward

When this reporter approached the U.N. Narcotics Commission recently to discuss a detailed article on Red China's dope trade published in the March 1971 edition of the Taiwan publications *Issues & Studies*, the response could only be described as scoffing. The article had never been heard of and there was simply no evidence whatever that the Chinese Communists were any longer engaged in the production and sale of narcotics.

At an international drug conference held in Ottawa last month the delegate from the Republic of China presented a statement of his government's investigation into Communist China's drug activities. So far as is known, the statement was ignored.

The official attitude was best summed up by a noted British drug authority when he said: "We do not have any information that the Peoples' Republic of China is involved in illegitimate narcotics traffic, but we are not doing any work in Red China. We are, of course, always interested in information about any country."

Because the subject is so important, the contradiction so broad, and the need for clarity so great, the following chronological account of Red China's known involvement in illicit narcotic smuggling is offered. From it, we believe, a conclusion can be reached:

At the time that the Chinese Communists conquered Mainland China in 1949 the production of opium had been outlawed by the Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek since 1934.

In 1950 the United States added an annex to the U.N.'s Narcotics Commission report giving an analysis by the U.S. of the illicit drug traffic throughout the world during 1949 and the first nine months of 1950. The analysis said in part:

"It is reported that Chinese authorities are marketing large quantities of raw opium abroad. The big success in attempting to remain out of the picture.

From the account given of raw opium seizures in Burma, it is quite evident that very large quantities of raw opium are smuggled into that country from China."

Earlier Great Britain had informed the commission that Peking representatives had offered to sell 500 tons of opium to a British firm in Hong Kong. When this offer had been declined an attempt was made to sell 300 tons of opium to the U.S. in exchange for cotton.

During the Korean War much evidence was amassed to show that Peking was intent upon injecting the drug habit upon our GIs. Two examples will suffice. In October 1950 U.N. forces in North Korea discovered 300 boxes of opium which had originated in Red China containing several tons of the drug. In 1952 another seizure was made amounting to 6,000 pounds.

Dr. Harry Anslinger, director of the U.S. Narcotics Bureau for many years and a member of the U.N. Commission, stated in 1954 that Red China was spreading narcotics addiction to obtain funds for political purposes. He told the commission that this was the practice of the "entire regime" and that the United States was a key target of illicit traffic from China. The Soviet representative, Mrs. V.V. Vasilyeva, objected and said the accusation was a "slander" calculated to ruin Peking's reputation.

Dr. Anslinger later declared: "As pointed out in my reports to the United Nations over the past several years, trafficking in narcotics for monetary gain and to undermine and demoralize free peoples has been a policy of the Communists in China from the beginning."

Nearly a decade later, in 1963, U.S. Narcotics Commissioner Henry Giordano charged that the Red Chinese were extensively engaged in drug traffic and he saw no reason to believe that this traffic was declining.

STATOTHR

15 Oct 1971

STATOTHR

# Gemini head: CIA largest dope dealer

By HAL PRATT

✓ "The CIA is the largest dope dealer and narcotics officers are the biggest traffickers," Steven "Coyote" Fawley, Gemini House staff head, said to about 30 persons Thursday at a McKinley Foundation luncheon.

The new head of Gemini House pointed to the correlation between the increase of heroin use by Americans and the increase of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. "Contrary to what government officials would like us to believe, 80 per cent of the opium that comes to the U.S. is grown in Southeast Asia, not Turkey," Fawley said.

CIA purchases  
Fawley said he believes the CIA is purchasing opium, a staple crop in Southeast Asia, from governments there to better U.S. diplomatic relations with them. The opium is then channelled into the U.S. under the CIA's auspices, he added.

✓ "They want dope to run wild; the vested interests of this country are contrary to stopping drug use because the users pose a threat to the U.S. power structure," Fawley said, referring to youths and blacks as the users.

After saying drug use is inevitable among youths, Fawley added, "I would like to see good dope run bad dope off the streets, then we could deal with the drug problem instead of a medical one." He said he was especially distressed over the "increase of heroin and barbituate use" in Champaign-Urbana, which he

plans to combat "without notifying the police."

Since the Gemini House staff has contact with most of the drug dealers in town, they could easily confiscate the heroin from them, without help from police, and thereby solve the problem without causing any harm to anyone, Fawley said.

LATIN AMERICA

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15 October 1971

## Paraguay: turning on with General Stroessner

**Normally cordial relations between the United States and Paraguay have been soured by President Stroessner's failure to crack down on drug smugglers, who have been using Asunción as a convenient staging post for running heroin into North America.**

For years the United States government has watched benevolently while President Alfredo Stroessner and his generals turned Asunción into the smuggling capital of Latin America. The staples of the trade were Scotch whisky and cigarettes; in 1969, Paraguay overtook Kuwait and Hong Kong to become the world's leading importer of United States cigarettes. The commander-in-chief of the armed forces, General Andrés Rodríguez, and the chief of the crack counter-insurgency force (RI-14), General Patricio Colman, and other top generals have become millionaires several times over on the basis of this lucrative traffic. Washington, however, takes a rather dimmer view of heroin smuggling into the United States (the cigarettes and whisky are destined principally for Brazil and Argentina). Since President Nixon's speech in July asking all friendly governments to cooperate in a drive to keep hard drugs out of the USA, pressure has been building up on the Paraguayan government to play its part. Stroessner's problem is that he is not completely master in his own house and has to reckon with the powerful vested interests of the generals who profit from the drug smuggling trade. The chief of his personal secret police, Erasmo Candia, is alleged to have been responsible for the deaths of at least three Interpol narcotics agents over the past three years.

In October 1970 five Paraguayans and a Frenchman were arrested in Miami airport with more than 10 million dollars worth of heroin stowed in the tail of their light airplane. One of the five, Enio Varela, gave the FBI enough information (in return for his unconditional release) for the United States to persuade the Paraguayan authorities to arrest another Frenchman, Auguste Ricord (*alias* Lucien Dargalles), whom Varela had fingered as the Mafia's top man in Paraguay coordinating the flow of heroin from Marseilles through Asunción, and on to the United States. Following Ricord's arrest, the United States embassy presented a

request for Ricord's extradition, where he would face charges of being 'one of the top drug smugglers into the USA in the past 25 years'. He is also wanted by the French police.

Stroessner — for reasons best known to himself — vetoed the extradition request, and the opposition believe that Ricord will die in prison as he knows far too much about the official protectors of the drug smuggling. The Liberal-Radical weekly *El Radical* was closed for a number of weeks after it tried to publish a list of the generals and politicians who were implicated in the drug smuggling, basing their information on a secret study undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and leaked to opposition journalists by the United States embassy. *El Radical's* editor, Dr Juan Carlos Zaldívar, had his house raided by the police and was threatened with death by the chief of police, General Francisco Brítez (one of the leading characters in the CIA report), should he ever try to publish such information again. ✓

Among the consequences of the drug scandal was the temporary arrest in July of Pastor Coronel, the civilian chief of the police investigation department. In fact some see a power struggle between the 'traditional' smugglers, such as Generals Rodríguez and Colman, who see their empires threatened, and the new generation of hard drug smugglers, who include Brítez, Coronel and Candia. It is also widely believed in Paraguay that the decision of the United States senate committee to reverse the earlier recommendation of the house committee to give Paraguay a sugar quota, should be seen as a reprisal for Paraguay's failure to come to terms with the drug smuggling. This is denied hotly but not entirely convincingly by the United States embassy.

President Stroessner has already been put forward as a candidate for the 1973 presidential elections by his militant supporters in the Colorado Party. However, what with the drug smuggling, the open expression of anti-yanqui feelings as a result of the threat to the virtually promised sugar quota, and relations with the Catholic Church at their lowest ebb ever (following the torturing of the Uruguayan priest, Uberfil Monzón), Stroessner is biding his time before announcing his acceptance of the nomination.



BOSTON, MASS.

GLOBE

OCT 11 1970

M - 237,967

S - 566,377

### CIA denies war veteran's drug claims

In a rare statement issued in Washington, a Central Intelligence Agency spokesman yesterday labeled as "errant nonsense" a statement by an Indochina war veteran that he had purchased large quantities of opium in Laos using CIA funds.

Former Green Beret Sgt. Paul Withers, 24, of Cambridge had told an antiwar veterans' panel Saturday that one of his "main functions" while serving in Laos in 1966 was "to buy opium from Mèo tribesmen, using CIA funds."

# CIA funded opium traffic,

## ex-Beret says

By Joe Pilati  
Globe Staff

A former Green Beret asserted yesterday that he regularly purchased large quantities of opium in Laos with funds provided by the Central Intelligence Agency.

His testimony came during the final day of "Winter Soldier Investigation II," sponsored by Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) at Boston's Faneuil Hall.

Former Sgt. Paul Withers, 24, a Springfield native now living in Cambridge, told 300 persons: "When I was in Laos in 1966, one of my main functions was to buy opium from Meo tribesmen, using CIA funds."

He said his orders to buy opium "came down from a contact man" from the CIA and were "only verbal, never on paper." Payment to the Meo tribesmen was made in "gold and silver, which came in on an agency plane," he added.

Withers said opium pickups at a small base camp in northern Laos, which he and two other Green Berets built, were made by "Air America" planes. "It was Americans who picked up the opium" in its raw, unprocessed form, he said.

A report in July by two House Foreign Affairs Committee members, Reps. Robert Steele (D-Conn.) and Morgan Murphy (D-Ill.), alleged that "Air America" aircraft, contracted by the CIA, have been used to transport opium from northern Laos into the capital city of Vientiane and that, once

processed, the drugs are flown into South Vietnam aboard both military and civilian aircraft.

The congressmen's report also alleged that both the Laotian army commander, Gen. Ouan Rathikoum, and South Vietnamese Premier Tran Thien Khiem are involved in the corruption of customs agents and drug trafficking.

Withers said that, after completing basic training at Fort Dix in the fall of 1965, he was sent to Nha Trang, South Vietnam. Although he was "ostensibly" stationed there, he said he was placed "on loan" to the CIA in January 1966 with orders to help "train and equip Meo tribesmen in counterinsurgency" against Pathet Lao guerrillas.

The training was "in fact the main part of my job" in Laos, Withers said, but "there were never fewer than two opium pickups a week" during the year he served there.

Withers said that, after receiving language training in various Southeast Asian dialects while at Nha Trang, he was "stripped of my uniform and all American credentials" before going to Laos.

He said the CIA "wouldn't even let me write my own letters. They gave me blank sheets of paper and told me to sign at the bottom. Then the agency typed out letters sent to my parents and my girlfriend."

Discharged last December after post-Laos service in Cambodia and South Vietnam, Withers was

awarded nine Purple Hearts, the Distinguished Service Cross and Silver and Bronze Stars.

He said he spoke about his involvement in opium trafficking to Sens. Mike Gravel (D-Alaska) and George McGovern (D-S.D.) and to aides of Sess. John Stennis (D-Miss.) and William Fulbright (D-Ark.) in June but was not aware of any subsequent action taken by the legislators.

He said FBI and Army Criminal Investigation Division (CID) agents had visited him "three or four times, most recently about a month and a half ago in Cambridge," to question him about his allegations. He said his mother in Springfield and his wife, now living in South Hadley, had also been questioned.

Another participant in yesterday's VVAW panels, Charles Knight of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, called opium "the largest export commodity in the Laotian economy" and commented: "In this sense, it is not at all strange that the CIA should aid and protect its transport."

Other testimony included statements by Indochina veterans who said they were former or current heroin addicts.

STATOTHR

BREMERTON, WASH.  
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OCT 8

*CIA School  
Closed Over  
Drug Arrest*

Agency (CIA) closed a secret school for training Cambodian army guerrillas in Laos when police arrested a high ranking Cambodian officer at the school on heroin smuggling charges, military sources said.

The officer was a top aide of Lt. Col. Lon Non, brother of Prime Minister Lon Nol, the sources said.

Since his arrest in June, the aide has been released and, dressed in civilian clothes, has resumed duties in Phnom Penh at Lon Non's super secret special coordination committee.

8 OCT 1971

## CIA Closes School After Drug Arrest

PHNOM PENH (UPI) — The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency closed a secret school for training Cambodian army guerrillas in Laos when police arrested a high-ranking Cambodian officer at the school on heroin-smuggling charges, military sources said.

The officer was a top aide of Lt. Col. Lon Non, brother of Prime Minister Lon Nol, the sources said.

Since his arrest in June, the aide has been released and, dressed in civilian clothes, has resumed duties in Phnom Penh at Lon Non's super-secret Special Coordination Committee.

The Cambodian army, in the meantime, has established a new guerrilla training center in southern Laos, and the CIA is once again considering providing American instructors and equipment, the officers said.

The Lon Nol aide was arrested in Pakse, Laos, by local police when he attempted to board a Phnom Penh-bound Air America plane with 22 pounds of heroin in a soapflake box, the sources said.

The heroin would be worth almost \$12,000 on the Vietnam market.

American officials were informed, and concluded after investigation that the heroin was bound for U.S. troops in South Vietnam.

The secret CIA camp, at Nakorn Sin in southern Laos, subsequently ordered out all Cambodian officers and trainees from Lon Non's 15th Infantry Brigade, the officers reported.

STATOTHR

PHILADELPHIA, Approved For Release 2001/08/07 : CIA-RDP80-01601R00  
BULLETIN

E - 634,371  
S - 701,743

SEP 29 1971

## Drug Addiction Afflicts Children Of U.S. Officials in Southeast Asia

By THOMAS MARLOWE  
Special to The Bulletin

Vientiane, Laos — Last spring, two American teen-aged dependents of foreign aid employees were caught mailing 20 kilograms of pure heroin through the Army Post Office here.

The drugs were destined for Saigon, to be picked up by other dependents for use or sale.

As a result, no one under 18 years of age is now allowed to mail anything larger than a letter through the Vientiane APO. Dependents over 18 can be prosecuted if caught mailing drugs.

Several days later, the son of an embassy official admitted confidentially that "I was all ready to mail 10 pounds of heroin to the States."

"I had it all packed and a buyer waiting at the other end," he said. "But it is just too risky now. The APO is checking every package."

Heroin and other drugs are not only deeply entrenched in the American military, but in much of the American civilian community in Southeast Asia.

### Centered in Compound

Among those who will probably return to the United States with a habit are American teen-aged dependents of civilian and military officials.

Many live at K-M6, a compound outside of Vientiane for American officials and their families. At the K-M6 high school one ninth-grader said: "Almost everyone past the sixth grade smokes grass

here. A lot of the older kids are using speed and heroin."

The hard drug problem in Laos has its roots in the so-called "fertile triangle" which borders Burma and Thailand. More than half the world's poppy crop is harvested there each year.

### Problem in Thailand

The poppies are harvested primarily by Meo tribesmen.

Some of the opium is reported to find its way to the secret Central Intelligence Agency base at Long Cheng,

where it is said to be transported via planes of the CIA-subsidized Air America to Bangkok, Saigon, Hong Kong, and even San Francisco.

Americans in Laos are not the only ones hit with the spreading drug problem. In Thailand, at least one American student at the Bangkok International School died from an overdose of narcotics during the past school year, and 14 others were expelled for drug usage.

"Those were only the constant violators," explained one student. "You know, the kids who go into the bathrooms and shoot up between classes."

The psychiatric ward at Bangkok's 5th field hospital has grown accustomed to American dependents.

### Little Girls, Too

"There's almost always a 13- or 14-year-old kid in there for smack," a medic said. "They usually bring them in at night and give them a urine test in the morning."

A hospital psychologist said:

"It hurts when a 12- or 13-year-old girl is brought in with an overdose. I've seen little girls with needle marks on their arms. Their parents often cry and want to know why."

To support their habits, or just to make money, some kids sell drugs. They rationalize that "somebody will do it, why not me?"

Shortly after last Christmas, the 17-year-old son of a U. S. foreign aid employe was shot to death in a Bangkok alley.

"He had not," according to one of his former associates, "paid his Thai supplier the full amount for the last shipment (of heroin) he received."

25 Sept '71

STATOTHR

Approved For Release 2001/08/07 : CIA-RDP80-01601R00100

## Drumfire on China

It is a topsy-turvy world when Premier Chou En-lai rebukes James Reston for having said the President lacks courage: "Deciding to come to China at this time is something which even the opposition party says others dare not do. So on this point he has some courage." How much courage it will take has yet to be fully determined. The new China policy was roundly rejected by the AFL-CIO executive council, 24 to 4 with two abstentions, while the American Legion has given it grudging approval on the express condition that no concessions are made by our side.

Anyone who rejects political acts because of the possible motives behind them had better avoid politics altogether. No doubt the President was fully aware of the domestic gains in his announcement, although we can hardly believe that he thought they could outweigh the gut issue: the domestic economy. More to the point is Chou's remark. Nobody thought the old China lobby amounted to much anymore. But the White House needed no Geiger counter to alert it to hostile right-wing reaction. The Vice-President's celebrated midnight remarks last April against the first flush of "ping-pong diplomacy" provided the modern instant communications counterpart to Paul Revere's ride. Immediately after the trip announcement in July, twelve conservatives, headed by William F. Buckley, announced suspension of "support" for Nixon, and a few weeks ago delegates representing 67,000 Young Americans for Freedom voted to dump Nixon, in part because the trip will threaten "the national sovereignty of the United States." The antics of the Rev. Carl McIntyre with his Taiwan table tennis team raise little more than smiles from sophisticated infighters. But in Middle America confusion and concern can become bitter hatred if properly aroused. Toward this end various reactionary revivalists of the early 1950's witchhunt are once again on the conspiracy trail. This time they can move against the background of an admitted betrayer of secrets, Daniel Ellsberg, as compared with the earlier accused but unproven "traitor," Alger Hiss.

Recently a Detroit FM station carried four hours of telephone interviews with a young American scholar on China. The moderator claimed no other program had evoked so many responses. The angry callers seemed awakened from a 20-years' sleep, so obsessed were they by the McCarran hearings, the Institute of Pacific Relations, and alleged Communist affiliations of such personages as Professor John K. Fairbank and Henry Kissinger. But these long-dormant memories did not spontaneously spring to life; they are cultivated. Visitors to San Clemente heard first-hand of the "hate Henry" campaign that is being waged in many localities in an effort to embarrass the President's trip through his emissary.

Mr. Nixon need only recall his own past

ciate the ignorance and fear that can be exploited against China. In this regard he faces a much tougher fight than did President Roosevelt in moving to recognize the Soviet Union in 1933. American business had built Russian factories. American journalists and tourists had traveled throughout that country. A positive subliminal image of Russia had established aesthetic and humanistic ties through intimate familiarity with Tchaikowsky and Rachmaninoff, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. The savagery of civil war and foreign intervention against the new Soviet state had been followed with the Hoover relief missions.

No such counterforce exists on the China question. The bitter heritage of two wars, Korea and Vietnam, fuses in American perceptions as the product of Chinese Communist aggression. Total isolation from the mainland for 20 years combines with the most remote and random newsreel images of the previous decades, broken only by the familiar figures of a sturdy little generalissimo and his striking Wellesley-educated wife.

New versions of old tales fuel opposition fires. On the day Senator Proxmire's Joint Economic Committee heard three prominent professors attack secret subversion against the mainland conducted jointly by the Chinese Nationalists and the CIA, Senator Eastland released a study by Professor Richard L. Walker which estimated that between 34 and 60 million Chinese died over the past 50 years as a result of Communist activity. Walker included all the intermittent civil wars of 1927-49 as well as wholly unsubstantiated and unverifiable figures from every kind of source, including Radio Moscow. Another hate-China theme focuses on drugs. A few days after the Eastland report came a headline-grabbing story from Saigon. According to an alleged "high-level defector" out of North Vietnam, poppy fields in that country are so large it takes a harvesting tractor one whole day to cover a single planting. The produce is secretly processed in China, he said, and smuggled out through Hong Kong. Interestingly the defector admitted he had not revealed this information when first interviewed a year ago, claiming it had not seemed important then. Its importance now was obvious since only the previous week, two detailed accounts — one by the Associated Press Pulitzer prize winner, Peter Arnett, and another in *The New York Times*, had traced the Asian drug traffic to specific villages on the Burma-Thai border. From there it moves over land and air routes to South Vietnam, with the certain knowledge if not connivance of Thai and South Vietnamese officials. No matter that the *Far Eastern Economic Review* states unequivocally that Hong Kong is not a conduit for drugs from mainland China, or that the US Narcotics Bureau lays no charge against the People's Republic of China, such as it does against Turkey, Iran and a host of other countries.

We see no evidence of an all-out US campaign at thereby block

Continued

HARTFORD, CONN.  
TIMES  
SEP 24 1971  
E & S - 135,812



SEN. ABRAHAM RIBICOFF  
... seeking answers



SEN. EDMUND MUSKIE  
... incredulous

## Defense, Justice Officials Pleading Ignorance on Top Asians' Drug Role

By LEE HICKLING  
The Times Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Defense Department has told two incredulous senators that no one at the Pentagon knows enough about the international drug traffic to testify on how and from where narcotics get into South Vietnam.

And the Justice Department, contradicting a statement Atty. Gen. John Mitchell made two months ago, said it has no evidence linking "any high official in the Southeast Asian countries with the narcotics traffic there."

Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff (D-Conn.) speaking for himself and Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine) in a Senate speech prepared for today says that if this is the case, the White House had better find out what the Defense and Justice departments are doing in the narcotics field. Mitchell told Muskie, during a hearing July 7, that "there has been involvement by government officials in some of these countries" in narcotics traffic, and our government had "identified some of them." But the attorney general said he did not want to testify about the subject in an open hearing and would do so in an executive session.

Since then, Ribicoff, who is chairman of the Government Operations subcommittee that held the hearing, and Muskie have been trying to get Mitchell to make good on his promise, and bring along the secretaries of State and Defense and the director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

If they take more than a few months to get an answer. On Sept. 13, Deputy Atty. Gen. Richard G. Kleindienst wrote

Ribicoff that the delay had been caused by "our efforts to canvass the various sources of information to determine what pertinent facts are available."

"Allegations of complicity on the part of some public officials," Kleindienst went on, "have come to our attention.

At the same time, however, we do not have any specific evidence which links any high official in the Southeast Asian countries with the narcotics traffic there. Thus, we do not feel that it would be appropriate to testify. Further, even a closed session on the subject could fan unfounded rumors and cause possible international repercussions."

The Defense Department had turned down the invitation earlier, Ribicoff and Muskie revealed yesterday. In a letter July 23, an assistant replied for Secretary Melvin Laird: "This is to advise you that there are no personnel in the Department of Defense qualified to testify in regard to the problem of international drug traffic and we will, therefore, be unable to provide a witness as you have requested."

Ribicoff and Muskie are chairmen of two subcommittees of the Senate Government Operations Committee which have been studying proposals to consolidate the campaign against narcotics in a White House Office of Drug Control.

The administration wants such an office to have nothing to do with law enforcement policy and the international drug traffic, feeling that the

Defense Department and other agencies can handle those aspects better.

The two senators said in a joint statement that drugs are one of the major problems facing the armed forces in Southeast Asia, yet the Pentagon apparently has nobody who can tell the committee where the drugs come from and how they get into Vietnam.

"This is certainly the kind of situation that a White House office should be able to look into," their statement says.

The attorney general had told the committee that there was evidence that Southeast Asian government officials were involved in the narcotics trade, and then Deputy Atty. Gen. Kleindienst said it had not, the two senators noted.

If that is true, they said, "The attorney general should explain his earlier statements to our subcommittee and the public."

*Cf. Curran, Barbara, Unavailability of Lawyer's Services for Low Income Persons, 4 Val.U.L.R. 308 (Sp. '69).*

<sup>88</sup> Jerome J. Shestack, a practicing lawyer in Philadelphia, is immediate past Chairman of the American Bar Association Section of Individual Rights and Responsibilities, a member of the National Advisory Committee to the Legal Services Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and a member of the Executive Committee of the National Legal Aid and Defender Association.

<sup>89</sup> Shestack, Jerome J., "The Right to Legal Services," *The Rights of Americans: What They Are; What They Should Be* (Dorsen ed., Pamphlet, 1971) at page 126.

President has not made a final decision on whether or not to exclude these four countries from the cut in foreign aid. There is still time for Members of Congress to contact the President and urge him not to further feed the already fattened cows who have not cracked down on their merchants of death.

It is about time we stop bringing gifts to our allies when they are murdering American servicemen.

Four articles follow:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 12, 1971]

**FOUR INDOCHINESE COUNTRIES ARE REPORTED EXEMPT FROM NIXON'S ORDER TO CUT FOREIGN AID BY 10 PERCENT**

(By Tad Szulc)

WASHINGTON.—South Vietnam and three other Southeast Asian countries are being quietly exempted from the 10 per cent cut in foreign economic aid ordered by President Nixon last month, authoritative Administration officials said today.

The Administration has made no public announcement that economic assistance planned for Southeast Asia for the fiscal year 1972, which began July 1, is to remain intact despite the cut in the foreign-aid program. Official spokesmen have insisted for the last four weeks that no decision has been made.

Total economic aid, designed to complement United States military assistance, has been set for \$465.5-million this year for South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand.

The largest slice is to go to South Vietnam with \$335-million, which is an increase of about \$160-million over economic aid given Saigon in the previous fiscal year.

Officials noted that in announcing his new economic policy on Aug. 15, Mr. Nixon confined himself to the statement that "I have ordered a 10 per cent cut in foreign economic aid."

The Administration's request to Congress for foreign assistance in fiscal 1972, prepared before the new Nixon economic policy, was \$3.3-billion. But the President ordered the cut only in economic aid, which accounts for \$2.09-billion of the total. The balance, \$1.21-billion, is earmarked for military grants and foreign military credit sales.

Inasmuch as Mr. Nixon did not elaborate on how the economic aid reduction should be administered, the interpretation now being placed on his order is that the cuts should be applied selectively, according to officials.

This means, they said, that the Administration is free to cut aid for some countries but not for others as long as the economic assistance package is reduced 10 per cent.

Officials concerned with United States policy in Southeast Asia indicated in private conversations that economic assistance to the four "critical" Southeast Asia countries could not be reduced while the war goes on.

They said that the White House took the view that cuts could undermine the economies in the four countries and hurt the conduct of the war.

Therefore, officials said, aid programs in the region are proceeding on the assumption that no cuts will be made unless Congress decides otherwise.

Foreign-aid legislation was approved by the House of Representatives last month and is now before Senate committees.

Officials suggested that the Administration preferred not to publicize the reported exemptions to avoid protests from other nations.

Another reason may be concern over opinion here. President Nguyen Van Thieu has come under considerable criticism for his decision to run unopposed in the Oct. 3 Presidential elections and there has been talk in Congress of reviewing the American assistance to South Vietnam.

The Administration believes, however, that increased economic aid to South Vietnam is vital at a time when American forces are withdrawing and last year's economic reforms are beginning to produce results.

Testifying before a Senate subcommittee on Wednesday, Secretary of State William P. Rogers asked for approval for the full \$665-million for South Vietnam is needed to set the economic impact of the reduction in United States military expenditures as our troops are withdrawn.

Economic assistance to South Vietnam ranges from the financing of essential imports to agricultural land reform to programs for education, and health. But it also includes support for the South Vietnamese police in counterinsurgency and other activities.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 9, 1971]

**HEROIN PROMOTION**

(By Jack Anderson)

WASHINGTON.—At the same time that the U.S. command is striving mightily to stop GI drug addiction in Vietnam, a top South Vietnamese general has been using U.S. military equipment to hustle heroin. This is documented in a number of intelligence reports, all highly classified, which have now reached Washington from Saigon. The reports nail Lt. Gen. Ngo Dzu, military commander of South Vietnam's central highlands, as one of the chief heroin traffickers in Southeast Asia.

The incriminating details, including dates and places of heroin transactions, have been reported by the Army's Criminal Investigation Division, U.S. Public Safety Directorate, and Rural Development Support Team in South Vietnam.

Dzu's accomplices are also named, including a former South Vietnamese Senator, a Chinese businessman from Cholon, the South Vietnamese provost marshal in Qui Nhon, and several South Vietnamese navy officers.

Dzu was first named a heroin dealer by Rep. Robert Steele (R-Conn.), in testimony last July before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee. The Congressman told of his fact-finding mission to Indochina where, he said, widespread corruption among officials had blocked efforts to halt the heroin traffic.

The day after Steele's testimony, South Vietnam's President Thieu went through the motions of ordering a narcotics investigation. It's doubtful, however, that Dzu will ever be tried and convicted.

One of Dzu's most vigorous defenders was his senior American advisor, John Paul Vann, who assured the press: "There's no information available to me that in any shape, manner, or fashion would substantiate the charges Congressman Steele has made."

The incriminating intelligence reports would indicate that Vann either was woefully incompetent or, worse, was helping Dzu to cover up his dope-smuggling operations.

The first intelligence report linking Dzu to the heroin trade was filed on January 6, 1971, by the CID. Citing highly sensitive sources, the CID charged that the narcotics traffic in the Central Highlands had increased tremendously since Dzu had taken command of the region in September, 1970. The CID's sources asserted that Dzu not only protected the key traffickers who kicked back part of their profits to him but also took a direct part in the smuggling through his father Ngo Khoung. At that time Ngo Khoung was described as an "important" heroin dealer.

It was also alleged that Dzu often used his personal plane—furnished, of course, by the U.S.—to smuggle heroin. A CID report dated May 12, 1971, told how Dzu and his father took ingenious advantage of the funeral of a South Vietnamese general in Saigon to fly in heroin from the highlands.

Yet General Dzu, a power in South Vietnam, is expected to be given a whitewash. In

**WHY ARE WE PAYING OUR FRIENDS TO CONTINUE KILLING OUR CHILDREN?**

**HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1971

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, the press has recently reported that President Nixon may exempt South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand from his announced 10-percent cut in economic aid.

Official figures reveal that between 5.7 and 14 percent of our servicemen returning from duty in Southeast Asia are drug dependent.

The United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs has reported that at least 80 percent of the world's opium is produced in Southeast Asia. Two of those four countries—Laos and Thailand—are part of the "fertile triangle" which raises more than half of the poppy plants grown in the world.

The Criminal Investigation Division of the U.S. Army has allegedly compiled reports linking top South Vietnamese leaders to the heroin trade. Lt. Gen. Ngo Dzu, military commander of South Vietnam's central highlands, and other military and naval personnel and Government officials are leading figures in the narcotics traffic that preys upon American servicemen in Southeast Asia.

There have also been reports that the Central Intelligence Agency is supplying arms, transportation, and funds to drug-producing hill tribes in Laos and north-eastern Thailand.

The governments of these four countries have failed to take decisive action to stop the production, processing, and transport of illicit drugs for our GIs. While we continue to expend billions of dollars and thousands of American lives to defend and support these friendly governments, they continue to kill our servicemen.

These are the governments that President Nixon may exempt from his cut in economic assistance. These are the accomplices to murder whom the President may reward.

The administration has even requested an increase in economic aid to South Vietnam of between \$150 to \$160 million. The Thieu government may get even fatter if President Nixon has his way.

My most recent inquiry to the Agency for International Development in the Department of State indicates that the



# Saigon clears Dzu of drug charges

By Daniel Southerland

Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Saigon

A South Vietnamese investigation of Lt. Gen. Ngo Dzu has cleared him of drug trafficking charges raised by a U.S. congressman, according to informed sources in Saigon.

The sources disclosed that the investigation conducted by the South Vietnamese Defense Ministry was completed before President Thieu's recent promotion of General Dzu from major general to lieutenant general. The findings of the investigation have yet to be made public.

The disclosure came in the wake of a new allegation against General Dzu made by Washington columnist Jack Anderson, who wrote this week that the general had been using "U.S. military equipment" to "hustle" heroin. U.S. Rep. Robert H. Steele (R) of Connecticut had earlier named the South Vietnamese general as "one of the chief traffickers in heroin in Southeast Asia."

Mr. Steele told a House foreign-affairs subcommittee on July 7 that "U.S. military authorities have provided Ambassador [Ellsworth] Bunker with hard intelligence that one of the chief traffickers is Gen. Ngo Dzu, the commander of II Corps."

A report prepared earlier this year by the provost marshal of the U.S. Military Command in Vietnam concluded that "the degree of sophistication which the trafficking in drugs has achieved could not exist without at least the tacit approval if not active support of senior members of the government of Vietnam."

But U.S. officials here say they are unaware of any "hard intelligence" which would link General Dzu with the drug traffic. They say that there were some unconfirmed "low-level" reports which were passed on to the South Vietnamese in connection with

the investigation of General Dzu, an investigation which was prompted by Representative Steele's allegations.

"All the information we had was shared with the South Vietnamese," said a U.S. Embassy official in Saigon.

U.S. sources in Saigon say that Representative Steele has yet to produce any evidence to substantiate his charges against General Dzu. The South Vietnamese general himself has twice issued appeals to the U.S. congressman asking him to "produce your evidence so that I may disprove this allegation."

Informed sources said the Defense Ministry investigation of General Dzu did not deal with other corruption charges which were leveled against the general within South Vietnam prior to the allegations concerning drug trafficking. Those charges were contained in letters written by a group of South Vietnamese officers who accused General Dzu of taking bribes and of profiting from the looting of two former U.S. bases in South Vietnam's central highlands. The general has denied the charges.

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# New narcotics sources pop up

By TED KNAP

Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

While the flow of illicit narcotics out of Turkey has been curtailed sharply, it has increased substantially out of the "golden triangle" in Thailand, Laos and Burma.

While Iran and India have begun effective controls over their narcotics traffic, new sources of supply are developing in Afghanistan and Pakistan, which have not.

Altho France has beefed up its narcotics police force, the gendarmes have not been able to knock off any of the several heroin processing laboratories known to be operating in secret places around Marseilles.

These developments in narcotics control efforts were described today by the executive director of President Nixon's newly established cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control. The White House announced formation of the committee yesterday.

Egil "Bud" Krogh, White House aide named to head the

committee staff, said in an interview that emergence of Southeast Asia as an important source of heroin is the "most disturbing" new development in the effort to curb the flow of hard drugs to Americans, both here and in South Vietnam.

Mr. Krogh, just back from a tour of the area, said the increased export of illicit narcotics from Thailand, Laos and eastern Burma has been "substantial" in the past year.

## 'CONSUMER MARKET'

"We are concerned," Mr. Krogh said, "about the United States becoming the consumer market for the golden triangle."

Turkey announced in June that it would ban all growing of opium poppies and, in the meantime, would purchase more of the 1971 crop so as to reduce its flow into illicit channels. With U.S. aid, the Turkish government has bought up 140 tons of opium so far this year compared with 63 tons all of last year.

Mr. Krogh said the early, but not yet conclusive, indications are that Turkey is

"drying up" as a source of opium, which is processed into morphine for medical use and heroin for illicit use. Turkey has been the main grower of opium poppies.

The White House official said intelligence sources report that between three and nine processing laboratories are in operation in the Marseilles area of southern France. Secretary of State William Rogers, who heads the cabinet committee, said France is cooperating, but so far all the laboratories have escaped detection.

## 91 EXECUTED

Mr. Krogh said Iran, which has executed 91 persons for narcotics smuggling since it passed a death penalty law in 1969, and India have instituted effective monitoring of opium fields in those countries. He said similar controls will be sought in Afghanistan and Pakistan, either thru the United Nations or by separate agreements with the United States.

In addition to Mr. Rogers, the cabinet committee consists of Atty. Gen. John Mitchell,

Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, Treasury Secretary John Connally, Ambassador to the United Nations George Bush and CIA Director Richard Helms.

While the cabinet committee concentrates on curbing the supply of narcotics, another White House group headed by Dr. Jerome Jaffee focuses on the demand side, including detection and treatment of addicts.

Dr. Jaffee's office said today it cannot claim that there has been any reduction in the rate of addiction among American servicemen in South Vietnam since Mr. Nixon ordered a "top priority" campaign against it in June. The program has detected that 5.3 per cent of the 70,000 home-ward-bound GIs given urinalysis tests had been recent users of heroin. They are given some treatment before being discharged.

With Americans leaving South Vietnam, Mr. Krogh said that the use of heroin is spreading now among the Saigon government troops and Vietnamese students.

# Rogers Unit To Control Drug Trade

Associated Press

The White House disclosed yesterday the creation several weeks ago of a Cabinet committee on controlling the international narcotics traffic.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers, the chairman, said there have been three meetings with pleasing results and some successes.

"In my opinion," the Secretary told reporters, "it is the most important step that has been taken in the field of control of drugs in the international sphere."

In terms of initial successes, Rogers mentioned control efforts in Turkey--which has been biggest source of opium flowing into the United States--Tailand, Laos, Burma and Mexico. And he said that the U.S. ambassador to Cyprus, David H. Popper, has gone to more than 20 other nations to round up support.

Rogers briefed reporters at the White House after press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said President Nixon signed a memorandum setting up the Cabinet committee shortly after leaving Washington Aug. 17 for a speech-making trip across the country and a sojourn at the Western White House. There was no explanation of the delay in announcing the action.

On the committee with the secretary are Attorney General John N. Mitchell, Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally, United Nations Ambassador George Bush and Director Richard Helms of the Central Intelligence Agency.

# Promote Viet Drug Case General

Saigon, Sept. 5 (UPI)—Maj. Gen. Ngo Dzu, one of South Vietnam's top military commanders who was accused by an American congressman of playing a major role in the narcotics traffic, has been promoted to lieutenant general.

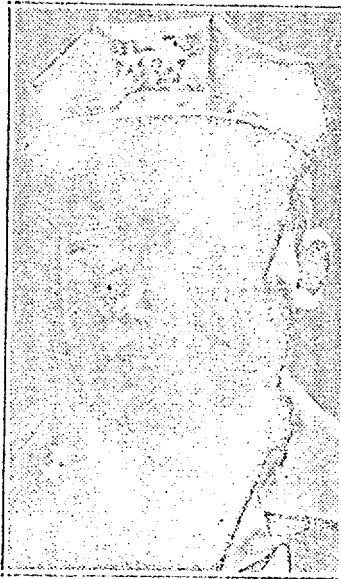
The government news agency Vietnam Press said today that Dzu received his third star under a decree signed by President Nguyen Van Thieu. Dzu is commander of Military Region II which includes the strategic central highlands.

Dzu was the seventh South Vietnamese army officer to win promotion to the three-star rank in the last week. One air force and one navy officer won similar promotions.

The presidential decree also withdrew the March 15, 1967, discharge for disciplinary reasons of Lt. Gen. Nguyen Huu Co, once an acting prime minister and a leader in the 1963 military coup d'etat which overthrew the late President Ngo Dinh Diem. The decree will allow Co to receive retirement pay.

Dzu was accused in July in a speech on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives of being a leader in the narcotics traffic in South Vietnam. The charge, by Rep. Robert Steele, (D-Conn.) was covered by congressional privilege, which protects the accuser against suits for defamation. Dzu denied the accusation. Results of a defense ministry investigation have not been made public.

Steele last spring accompanied Rep. Morgan Murphy Jr., (D-Ill.) through Southeast Asia on an in-



Lt. Gen. Ngo Dzu  
Wins a third star

vestigation of the narcotics traffic into U.S. military bases. Murphy did not join in Steele's accusation against Dzu.

Steele, reached in Vernon, Conn., by the Associated Press, said he found Dzu's promotion inconsistent with South Vietnamese investigations into his involvement in narcotics.

The promotion "appears to

*In complete*

3 SEP 1971

# 'Young Worker' takes look at Kahane's JDL

STATOTHR

**YOUNG WORKER:** publication of the Young Workers Liberation League. August, 1971; vol. 2 no. 5; 24 pages; 30¢; edited by Roque Ristorucci.

By DONNA RISTORUCCI

The August issue of the Young Worker, publication of the Young Workers Liberation League, includes an article on the sensitive and controversial subject of Jewish nationalism.

The article, "JDL — Defender of Jewish Youth?" by Marc Bealor, New York YWLL organizational secretary and former member of a Zionist youth organization, analyzes the background and activities of the fascist Jewish Defense League, and its attempt to corrupt Jewish youth through racism and anti-Sovietism.

The article attributes the disturbing amount of support the JDL has won among Jewish youth for its violent attacks on black youth, Communist and progressive organizations, and Soviet diplomats and for its other activities in part to the "vacuum left among Jewish youth" by the "do-nothingism of the Jewish establishment."

Also of interest in the article, especially from the viewpoint of a Zionist, become Marxist, is the analysis of some of the "progressive" Zionist youth organizations as being unable to fight the tactics of the JDL because they "reject struggle in the U.S." and because of their "basic adherence to Zionist ideology."

Another pertinent article, "Capitalism's New Religion," was written by Jim Bains from a Birmingham, Ala., jail, where he was serving a three-month sentence because of his anti-war activities. The "new religion" it discusses is drugs. The article discloses CIA involvement in international drug traffic, and discusses the use of drugs as a "tool of monopoly in controlling the opposition" by offering an "easy

way out," the need for an anti-drug campaign among youth and what the position of the Left and the YWLL should be on legalization of drugs.

The unity of militant spirit running through the Young Worker can immediately be seen in the cover and the titles of the articles. The simple, attractive cover has pictures of two brilliant, courageous and beautiful women, Madame Binh and Angela Davis, with the slogans "U.S. Out — Set the Date!" and "Bail Now!" The titles, along with the well-chosen pictures and cartoons, indicate at a glance a good balance of stories of action, analysis, humor, international and domestic issues, dealing with the questions that today most occupy the thoughts of American youth.

For young workers and other youth who support rank and file struggles in the shops, there is an article about the annual organizing conference of the AFL-CIO District Council of Riverside and San Bernardino in California, the theme of which was "Organizing Youth for the '70's." It was written by a League member who participated in the conference and projects the spirit of rising militancy and dissatisfaction among the young rank and filers there.

If you read the last Young Worker you'll want to get this one, because it's the only way you'll be able to find out the latest developments of "Dick Tricky" and "Weirdo Nagyou," those real-life comic-strip characters, in their attempts at splitting the "working mob."

Individual copies (30 cents) and subscriptions (\$3 for 1 year, \$5 for two years) can be obtained from the Young Workers Liberation League, 29 West 15 St., New York City, 10011.

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

# U.S. Cutting School Lunch Funds

By Jack Anderson

White House Apology—The White House has mailed letters of apology to 47 congressional interns from Connecticut who heard a presidential aide call Rep. Bob Steele (R-Conn.) a "liar" and a "moron." Brash, young Jeff Donfeld, who once worked for the Nixon law firm and paid court on Tricia Nixon, gave the interns a narcotics briefing. One intern asked about Steele's findings that 10 per cent of the GIs in Vietnam were heavy heroin users. Donfeld, who had come back from his own Vietnam visit with lower figures, snapped that "Steele is a liar" who acted like a "moron" in assembling his data. Steele, an experienced ex-CIA agent, was furious. His complaints swiftly reached the White House. Although Donfeld originally told us he would stick to his charges, he finally was compelled to eat crow. The White House mailed out the letters of apology to placate Steele, then quietly promoted Donfeld to be assistant director of the President's Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention.

NO. 19 1971

September

## A CIA Paper

"...Although this entire series of discussions was "off the record", the subject of discussion for this particular meeting was especially sensitive and subject to the previously announced restrictions."

—C. Douglas Dillon

### By The Africa Research Group

The Central Intelligence Agency is one of the few governmental agencies whose public image has actually improved as a result of the publication of the Pentagon Papers. Despite disclosures of "The Agency's" role in assassinations, sabotage, and coup d'etats consciously intended to subvert international law, America's secret agency has actually emerged in some quarters with the veneration due prophets, or at least the respect due its suggested efficiency and accuracy.

Virtually every newspaper editor, not to mention Daniel Ellsberg himself, has heaped praise on the CIA for the accuracy of its estimates detailing the U.S. defeat in Vietnam. Time and again, the Agency's "level headed professionalism" has been contrasted with the escalation-overkill orientation of the Pentagon or the President's advisors. The editor of the Christian Science Monitor even called upon policy makers to consult the CIA more, calling it a "remarkably accurate source of information." But such backhanded praise for conspirators confuses public understanding of the important and closely integrated role which the CIA plays in advancing the Pax Americana on a global scale.

For many, the Pentagon Papers provided a first peek into the inner sanctum of foreign policy making. As the government's attempt to suppress the study illustrates, the people are not supposed to have access to the real plans of their government. On close inspection, what emerges is not an "invisible government" but an indivisible system in which each agency offers its own specialized input, and is delegated its own slice of responsibility. Coordinated inter-departmental agencies work out the division of imperial labor. There are disagreement

rivalries to be sure, but once the decisions are reached at the top they are carried out with the monolithic tone of state power.

The intelligence community now plays an expanded and critical role in creating and administering the real stuff of American foreign policy. CIA Director Richard Helms presides over a U.S. Intelligence Board which links the secret services of all government agencies, including the FBI. In the White House, Henry Kissinger presides over an expanded National Security Council structure which further centralizes covert foreign policy planning. It is here that the contingency plans are cooked up and the "options" so carefully worked out. It is in these closed chambers and strangelovian "situation rooms" that plans affecting the lives of millions are formulated for subsequent execution by a myriad of U.S. controlled agencies and agents.

Increasingly, these schemes rely on covert tactics whose full meaning is seldom perceived by the people affected — be they Americans or people of foreign countries. The old empires, with their colonial administrators and civilizing mission have given way to the more subtle craftsman of intervention. Their manipulations take place in the front rooms of neo-colonial institutions and the parlors of dependent third world elites. In this world of realpolitik, appearances are often purposely deceptive and political stances intentionally misleading. The U.S. aggression in Vietnam, lest anyone forget, began as a covert involvement largely engineered by the CIA. Similar covert interventions now underway elsewhere in the world may be fueling tomorrow's Vietnams.

It is for this reason that the Africa Research Group, an independent radical research collective, is now making public major excerpts from a document which offers an informed insider's view of the secret workings of the American intelligence apparatus abroad. Never intended for publication, it was made available to the Group which will pub-

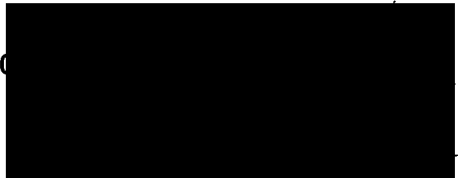
CIA manipulations.

Richard Bissell, the man who led the Council discussion that night, was well equipped to talk about the CIA. A one-time Yale professor and currently an executive of the United Aircraft Corporation, Bissell served as the CIA's Deputy Director until he "resigned" in the wake of the abortive 1961 invasion of Cuba. The blue-ribbon group to which he spoke included a number of intelligence experts including Robert Amory, Jr., another former Deputy Director, and the late CIA chief, Allen Dulles, long considered the grand old man of American espionage. Their presence was important enough an occasion for international banker Douglas Dillon to

\*The complete text of the document will be available for \$1 in late October from Africa Research Group, P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

NEWSWEEK

30 AUG 1971



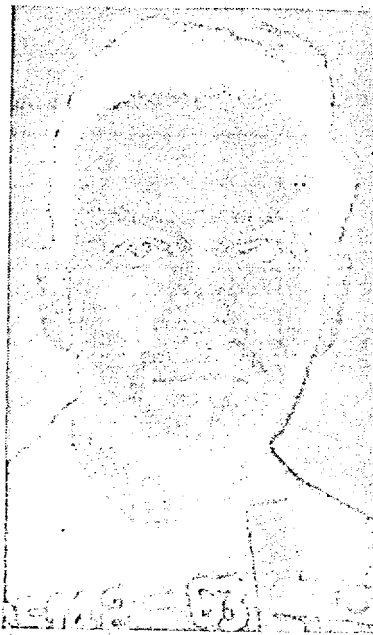
MEXICO:

## The Great Escape

Not a detail had been left to chance. The evening roll call was over and, inside the sturdy blockhouse at the Santa Maria Acatitla Prison near Mexico City, all but five of the jail's 125 guards were safely out of the way—watching a movie called "The Altar of Blood." At this opportune moment, a helicopter bearing the blue and white colors of the Mexican Attorney General's office fluttered into the prison courtyard. And with that, two prisoners sprinted from a hiding place, jumped into the waiting chopper and vanished over the wall without a shot being fired. All in all, it was a remarkably well-executed escape from one of Mexico's toughest maximum-security prisons. But there was far more to it than that. For the daring jailbreak marked the reopening of an obscure but fascinating international mystery.

Rumor: The escapees were a 41-year-old New York molasses dealer, Joel David Kaplan, who was serving a 30-year sentence for murder, and his cellmate, Carlos Contreras Castro, 35, a convicted counterfeiter. Just after the Bay of Pigs invasion ten years ago, Kaplan became the central figure in a bizarre international incident when, on the basis of shaky circumstantial evidence, he was extradited from Spain to Mexico on charges of having murdered a so-called "business associate," Luis Vidal. At the time, there was widespread speculation that Kaplan was working for the Central Intelligence Agency. Indeed, rumor had it that he had killed Vidal in order to break up the sale of \$140,000 worth of Mexican arms to the Caribbean Legion, a group dedicated to the overthrow of both left- and right-wing Latin American dictators. That speculation was fueled even further a few years later when the J.M. Kaplan Fund—headed by the fugitive's uncle—was identified by members of the U.S. Congress as a conduit for CIA funds.

Naturally enough, many observers were quick to give the CIA credit for Kaplan's spectacular jailbreak. Only the CIA, they contended, could have masterminded so involved and expensive



Joel Kaplan: Long gone?

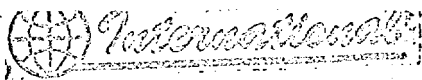
a plot. And even Kaplan's lawyer claimed that he never for a minute doubted his client's affiliation with the CIA. But it was by no means an open-and-shut case. For other informed sources disputed the CIA theory entirely, suggesting that the escape had been hatched by another well-organized and well-financed secret organization—the Mafia. Far from being a U.S. agent, these insiders argued, Kaplan was a kingpin in the illicit drug trade and had been freed from prison by his friends in the underworld.

About the only thing that was certain was that Kaplan and Castro were long gone. Mexican officials said that their helicopter (allegedly piloted by an American named Harvey Orville Dayle) had dropped the pair off in Actopan, some 100 miles north of Mexico City. There, they switched to a light Cessna airplane rented earlier in the week in Phoenix, Ariz. Sometime later, the two fugitives parted company. Castro was said to have headed for freedom in Guatemala, and Mexican police were busily checking out reports that Kaplan had flown north to Brownsville, Texas, and then on to Sausalito, Calif. And at the end of the week, FBI agents in San Francisco had reportedly joined in the intensive search.

STATOTHR



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## Gaps in Nixon-Mao publicity

By TOM FOLEY

Henry Kissinger's trip to Peking and the forthcoming visit of President Nixon to the People's Republic of China are now getting tremendous publicity in the U.S. news media. But many questions about this apparent U.S.-PRC rapprochement remain unanswered—at least, publicly—and the detailed speculation in the U.S. press deliberately seems to avoid these areas. They are the following:

1) Northern Burma and Laos: ever since the Chinese civil war, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has been deeply involved in this region just south of the Chinese province with the romantic name of Yunnan, or "Cloudy South" province. In 1949, the defeated remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's army crossed over into north Burma and Laos, seized control of these outlying areas, and began calling themselves the Yunnan Anti-Communist and National Salvation Army. Actually, they are the biggest opium dealers in Southeast Asia and they have been financed and armed since 1949 by the CIA.

In Laos, the CIA organized, trained and equipped the 50,000-man secret army led by Gen. Vang Pao, composed of his Meo tribesmen followers, who are the biggest opium smugglers in Southeast Asia. But everybody knows that the CIA created this Meo military force not only for use in Laos: in Yunnan, there are 4.5 million Meo tribesmen who form the most important national minority in south China and who have maintained their ties with their relatives across the Laos border.

2) Tibet and northern Nepal: in 1959, when revolt broke out among the Amdo and Khampa tribesmen of Tibet, it did not require great insight to see the CIA hand involved in it. The Khampas were armed with brand new U.S. equipment, including G1 fatigue uniforms and thermoboots. Since both Tibetans and Chinese hate and fear the Khampas, the CIA made a serious political mistake in backing them, because everybody else allied against them. They did get the Dalai Lama, however, probably because he is of Amdo, not Tibetan origin, and was born in China. About 20,000 Khampas

and Amdos fled mainly into northern Nepal after the 1959 revolt and simply took over the country in conjunction with the CIA and U.S. military in Nepal. As far as anybody knows, most of them are still there.

3) Taiwan and CIA air bases: as everybody except the ordinary American citizen knows, Taiwan is headquarters for the CIA's vast air operations in Asia. The CIA base is at Tainan and is run by a front organization called Air Asia, which also has an office in downtown Taipei. Air Asia in turn is a subsidiary of Air America, the CIA line which provides all supply and transport runs for CIA operations in Laos, Burma, Thailand, Vietnam and Cambodia. Air America has its offices in Okinawa; it is a Delaware corporation with about 4,000 employees listed on its records as working in Asia.

The CIA base at Tainan, in southwest Taiwan, was the launching point for all CIA operations against the Chinese mainland, including parachute drops and reconnaissance flights. This is also well known to everybody except the American people.

But the curious fact is that the U.S. news media have not mentioned a word about any of these areas, and neither has the U.S. government. The Chinese side has been completely silent about them as well.

Any real normalization of U.S.-China relations demands that all these CIA operations be ended—and not only in China—and that the American people finally be told the truth about them in detail.

## Student congress applauds veteran

# Ex-Green Beret discloses U.S. guided China incursions

By Trudy Rubin

Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Fort Collins, Colo.

The United States Central Intelligence Agency "equipped and directed" incursions by mercenaries into Chinese territory from northern Laos, according to a former Green Beret captain.

Lee Mond, now a student at Newark, N.J., State College and a delegate to the National Student Association Congress here says "no Americans have crossed the Chinese border." However, the CIA recruited ethnic Laos and Chinese for the crossings. In addition, he maintains the CIA "directed reconnaissance missions and monitored operations along the Chinese border."

### Emotional speech

Mr. Mond repeated in an interview with the Monitor charges he first aired at a forum on war crimes sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War as part of the congress last Saturday.

The tall, black veteran of seven years, seven months service who left the Army in June, 1970, after being wounded three times—winner of the Silver Star and three Bronze Stars—struggled with his emotions as he told the cheering NSA delegates on Monday that he had "made up my mind after a year of deliberations to disclose this information because these things were part of an ongoing philosophy of . . . the executive branch of this country."

Mr. Mond said that about 3,000 Chinese were in northern Laos when he was in Thailand from June, 1969, to June, 1970, and that they then controlled the quarter of the country north of the royal capital Luang Prabang.

The majority were engineers, building a north-south road from China to Luang Prabang. He said "studies indicate" that they hoped to push down to Vientiane, the present provisional capital.

Chinese infantry units were in Laos to protect the road builders, he added, and anti-aircraft installations were built in Laos to protect them.

### Incursions described

The incursions were aimed at watching Chinese movements, according to Mond.

He said the incursions were made at Lai Chau in the northern tip of Laos and Muong Sing, also in northern Laos, and that the units moved about 50 to 75 kilometers north and northwest into a large open area touching on the town of Lant Sang in Yunam Province in the People's Republic of China.

Mr. Mond said his information was based on studies he had read while serving as a plans officer in Thailand on the U.S. Army general staff and in conversations with military personnel.

He also served with the 101st Airborne in Vietnam.

The former captain cited as one main reason for his disaffection with American policies the massive flood of drugs pouring out of Laos into Thailand and then into the hands of American troops.

### Opium smuggling

He charged that the CIA "actively encouraged the growing of poppies, the flower from which opium is made, by Montagnard tribesmen (on the opium rich Plain of Jars) whom the agency recruits as mercenaries.

He later qualified this statement by adding, "perhaps they (CIA) don't always need to encourage them (the Montagnards) to grow poppies because it is so lucrative." He added, "But I am sure they don't discourage them. If they cut off this source of income, they would have to support the tribesmen far beyond what they are paying them now."

Mr. Mond also charged that the opium is often flown illicitly to major populations in Laos by Air America, a private airline said to be controlled by the CIA. "Opium comes out of the Plain of Jars catch as catch can," he said in an interview with the Monitor, "but from Moung Suoi, a major CIA base which has an airstrip, . . . I am aware that pilots would fly it down to Vientiane for their own profit."

### Planes carry drugs

He said he "knew" that Air America was flying opium from Vientiane to Udon Thant on the southern Lao border from where it would be transported to Bangkok and perhaps on to the United States. He said that the base at Udon had one of the biggest drug problems of any U.S. base.

Mr. Mond said he could not say whether

added "it is inconceivable that this much opium could be transported on American aircraft without their superiors knowing it."

Mr. Mond said he had never personally witnessed such shipments. However, he said, that while he was in Bangkok doing research for his study on Thailand "I talked with several young Air America pilots. They had been helicopter or fixed-wing pilots in Vietnam—and they told me that the drug trade from Vientiane to Bangkok was vast. They indicated that it was being flown in. I took it for granted that since they were relating this, they had firsthand knowledge."

While in Thailand Mr. Mond's unhappiness with the drug problem led him to write a letter in April, 1970, to the commander of U.S. Army Support Forces in Thailand in which he indicated that between 10 and 15 percent of the junior enlisted men on his base used hard drugs daily.

He also initiated a drug rehabilitation program on his base.

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

## U.S. Discussing a 'Mission Impossible'

By Jack Anderson

In the secret war against narcotics, the United States may send Mission Impossible operatives, possibly criminals, to destroy opium laboratories in foreign lands.

Or the United States may undercut the smugglers by flooding the market with harmless heroin substitutes or may simply outbid them in bribing high foreign officials who protect the drug trade.

These desperate measures were taken up at a secret strategy conference called by the State Department last April in Bangkok. Foreign service officers, military representatives and narcotics agents slipped into Bangkok quietly from Hong Kong, Honolulu, Manila, Phnom Penh, Rangoon, Saigon and Vientiane.

They agreed that "extra-legal action" may be needed to combat the narcotics menace. A classified, 18-page summary of their discussions suggests:

"Flooding markets with harmless or aggravating heroin substitutes to destroy the trade's credibility with abusers; destruction of factories through use of criminal or at least non-official elements; payoffs of corrupt officials as an income substitute; and defoliation.

"Any extra-legal action is, of course highly problematical," stresses the summary, "but the

urgency of the problem suggests that unusual steps should not be rejected out of hand. . . . Several of the preceding areas would depend on Washington support or could be better implemented with Washington involvement.

The conferees also agreed at Bangkok that Asian narcotics are reaching the U.S. through three "systems":

• "Okinawa System" — GI's and ex-GI's, "allied with a few local Okinawans," get heroin from Bangkok and transship it to the United States.

• "Thailand System" — "Retired U.S. servicemen" and "camp followers," who operate gambling rings and other rackets in Thailand, have now built up a thriving narcotics business. GI's on active duty help the gang smuggle "large quantities of heroin to the United States."

• "Philippines System" — Filipinos are recruited to "body-pack" nearly pure heroin from Hong Kong to the United States, sometimes by way of Europe.

Footnote: while the strategists in Bangkok were considering drastic means to curb the drug traffic, administration think-tank men in Washington came up with another unusual proposal. They have suggested using CIA agents now marking time because of the cutbacks in Southeast Asia, to circulate among the

Meos and other tribesmen they helped line up to fight the Communists. But the new CIA mission would be to persuade or pay the hill people to stop growing opium.

---Washington Whirl---

**House Hold-Off** — Last year, Congress enacted only half of the 14 basic appropriations bills by the November elections. The new House leaders started off this year determined to introduce more efficiency to the House. Louisiana's Hale Boggs, the new Democratic leader, broke all precedents by calling for sessions on Fridays. This upset the Tuesday-to-Thursday Club, which likes long weekends. After only two Friday sessions in June, Boggs gave up. House members, now taking a recess until Sept. 8, are talking about winding up their work in October. This time, they'll complete all the appropriations bills. But they aren't likely to pass much vital legislation.

**Nixon's Law Firm** — Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) paid a quiet visit to Wall Street this week to snoop under the plush rugs of the bonding firms. Bond underwriting has become the special preserve of a few attorneys and underwriters with an inside track. Udall is trying to find out how big their rake-off has been from the government and

whether the government has gotten its money's worth. He is particularly suspicious over the selection of President Nixon's former law firm to handle the legal formalities for the \$250 million postal bond issue. At the customary 1 per cent fee, the Nixon firm (now Mudge, Rose, Guthrie and Alexander) will wind up with a \$2.5 million windfall. Incidentally, bond work used to be the specialty of Attorney General John Mitchell, who was one of Nixon's partners in the firm.

**Conscience of Senate** — Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss), known as the Conscience of the Senate, presides over the Ethics Committee, which regulates Senate conduct. Yet it has been whispered that he made off with furnishings from the original Senate chamber, including a grand chandelier which once hung in the historic old room. We investigated and found the whispers highly exaggerated. All Stennis got were some bargain antiques. He paid \$35 for an old table with three legs and \$10 apiece for a couple of chairs. It cost him a few more dollars to get the table restored. Last month, he packed off his historic antiques to his home in Mississippi.

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18 AUG 1971

# Asian Drug Trade Defies U.S. Crackdown

STATOTHR

Saigon (AP)—Americans charged with the task of combatting the heroin traffic in Vietnam find themselves with few real weapons for a fight that is only now beginning.

"We didn't give a damn about the drug business as long as only Asians were using the stuff," commented an American investigator in Saigon. "Now that American G.I.'s are hitting heroin we just don't have enough hard facts to adequately crack down."

## 12,000 To 37,000 Users

In the first three months of this year United States military authorities apprehended 1,031 users, nearly the same number as they had taken in the whole of 1970. The estimate of G.I. drug-users ranges from 12,000 to as many as 37,000 of the quarter-million-man American force in Vietnam.

Americans in Thailand say that even though the death penalty for opium processing has been in effect for 10 years, drugs roll through that country in ton lots past border checkpoints and roadblocks, and ultimately to fishing trawlers that move the shipments on to Vietnam.

And in Laos, a major growing, collecting and processing area for the Vietnam trade, Americans are shaking their heads in perplexity over ways to bring about the crackdown demanded by the White House.

Senior Lao generals have been named as being incriminated in

the narcotics pipeline run by a Chinese ring that buys the raw opium in the hills and pays off all down the line, from the time the black gum is processed into heroin to its being sold in tiny plastic vials to G.I.'s on the streets of Saigon.

The huge profits of the racket have kept the narcotics pipeline running for years. And the United States has even become involved in it temporarily for political reasons.

"Why, in the mid-60's when the war disrupted the traditional haulage routes, the CIA ordered Air America to assist the loyal Meo tribesmen by flying their opium crops to Lao collecting points," commented one American involved in drug suppression in Vientiane. "That fact can be documented. The CIA have since got out of the business."

What the United States finds itself best able to do is first to warn G.I.'s against drug usage, then to treat those addicted, and forcefully prevail upon the Vietnamese government to toughen the weak narcotics suppression laws.

President Thieu obliged this week with a bill instituting the death penalty for importers and peddlers belonging to organized rings.

American officials in Laos have helped draw up a bill that finally outlaws opium growing and smoking, and this is expected to be passed soon by the National Assembly.

"But then what we will end up with is rules, just rules," commented a U.S. official in Vientiane. "Now who is going to enforce them?"

American officials say that a concerted police effort in Laos could run to ground the Chinese operating the processing plants, and the dealers. But this would be a massive task involving retraining the police and breaking up a century-old way of life.

And in Bangkok, Americans say that the Thais just do not have the police resources to devote to a realistic drug-suppression effort.

Thailand is the major drug transshipment point to Vietnam, Hong Kong and Singapore, but Thai police must give priority to fighting Communist insurgents in the countryside.

Overlaying the whole suppression problem is the tolerance among Asians toward drugs, and the integral place the narcotics business occupies in the traditional patterns of smuggling in Southeast Asia.

"To effectively stamp out heroin, we would have to change the economic patterns of Asia. The governments of Laos, Thailand and South Vietnam are run by officials who are required to scoop out large doses of cash from the system to buy allegiance and pay political favors," said a U.S. official with long experience in Vietnam.

"At this stage of the game, with Americans getting out of Vietnam, we have less leverage than ever before. Maybe the only way to handle the problem is to pay officials the cash they would lose in cutting out the drug traffic, and I doubt the U.S. Congress would go along with that," he added.

11 AUG 1971

# Asians Doubt That U.S. Can Halt Heroin Flow

By HENRY KAMM  
Special to The New York Times

BANGKOK, Thailand, Aug. 10.—Formidable obstacles confront the United States in its efforts to halt the flow of heroin to its troops in Vietnam and to prevent Southeast Asian heroin from moving into the American market to fill the gap that may be left if the traffic from the Middle East is contained.

American officials, aware of the high priority President Nixon attaches to the program, display determined hopefulness that the flow can be significantly reduced, at least while American troops remain in south Vietnam.

Asian officials, on the other hand, are openly doubtful of the chances of even limited success over a short term. They express growing concern that a problem that they had considered primarily American may also be on the rise among their own people. They see the search for a solution—if indeed one can be found—as a process that will take years.

The Asians agree with American officials that with increased United States assistance they can intercept a greater share of the traffic in opium and its derivatives from the contiguous growing areas in the mountains of northeastern Burma, northern Thailand and northwestern Laos. But they believe that both supply and demand are so great and the profits so temptingly high that the supply and the demand will remain more or less in balance until one or the other can be controlled.

In a month of inquiry in Thailand and Laos it was possible to get a reasonably full picture of how the sap of the seeded pod of *Papaver somniferum*, the opium poppy, moves from the mountain tribesmen who cultivate and harvest it, is converted into heroin and reaches the consumer. Much vagueness was encountered, based both on secretiveness and on a lack of knowledge.

Among American officials, whose information-gathering capacity in Laos and Thailand is believed to surpass that of the national Governments by far, there was reluctance to discuss pertinent information that contrasts with the declared view of officials in Washington that exposure of the problem is in the national interest.

The principal factors behind Asian skepticism over the outlook for short-term success are these:

¶The main growing area—the Shan State in Burma—is in open rebellion against the Government in Rangoon, which exercises little control in the remote and inaccessible region.

¶The growing areas in Thailand and Laos are contested by rebel and bandit groups that make Government action extremely difficult.

¶The borders between the three countries, run through densely jungled mountains and effective control is not exercised except at certain crossing points.

¶Opium is in most cases the growers' only cash crop and no substitutes with comparable return are available.

¶The trading networks are so firmly established and their links with Government and military officials who provide protection and tolerance so close that the Burmese Government is believed to be resigned to its inability to act and the Thai and Laotian Governments at a loss on how to carry out their new-found desire to act.

## Habit of Unpopular Minorities

The historical view of opium and its use among Southeast Asian officials has been that it provides profits for them from an admittedly bad habit that has been largely limited to unpopular minorities: the overseas Chinese, mainly coolies, and mountain tribesmen. Both groups sought refuge from poverty and hard labor and the absence of other medicines to make them forget pain and illness.

About three-fourths of the production is consumed in Southeast Asia, in the growing regions and in cities of heavy addiction such as Hong Kong and Bangkok. But now, by bringing an eager sector of the population into Southeast Asia in the form

of the American soldier in Vietnam, the trade picture is being distorted.

"Over the last year," a knowledgeable intelligence official in Washington said, "the production of heroin in Southeast Asia has risen out of sight."

White heroin, refined to a purity of about 93 per cent, is the most luxurious opium product and the only one with appeal to American consumers, at home and abroad. Asian opium or heroin users are content, at the most expensive, with cheaper purple heroin suitable only for smoking, not injection.

## More White Heroin Produced

Only since the discovery of the American market in Vietnam have Asian traders and processors begun to produce significant quantities of white heroin.

Since the estimated profit on a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of heroin between the grower of the required poppies and the user is put at more than \$200,000, people in the early stages in the complicated distribution network are increasingly finding their best interest in refining the opium to the most profitable state themselves.

The result has been a growth of refineries close to where the poppies bloom. The Central Intelligence Agency has identified seven installations capable of producing white heroin in the Burmese-Laotian border region where none had been known a year ago.

With the United States urging the cooperation of the opium-producing countries to suppress the trade, Asian officials believe that increasingly more refining will be done in the inaccessible border region to reduce the bulk and detectability of the product to be taken to market.

In the green mountains on whose slopes and valleys the poppies grow, the Government's writs, in so far as they run at all, run as far as do the roads—of which there are scarcely any.

## Except for Poppies, Self-Sufficient

The growers—be they Meo, Yao, Lisu, Labu, Akha, Kachin, Karen or any of the other mountain peoples—live in small villages largely apart from the lowland civilizations of the countries to which they belong. They eat the rice and vegetables they grow, make most of their own cloth and depend on the poppies they raise for most of their cash and for their life.

Their principal contact with the world, apart from the occasional patrols of Government or anti-Government soldiers, are Chinese traders, who sell them arms, ammunition, patent medicines, tools and other utensils. Early in the year the traders come to buy the opium that has just been harvested.

Many of the traders, according to the best available accounts, are small operators. After this stage in the chain of distribution there is little room for anything but potent organizations. The most potent are the groups that have their origin in remnants of Chinese Nationalist armies that sought refuge just across China's border with Burma after the Communist victory in 1949.

According to the C.I.A., the two groups, operating from base camps in Thailand, dominate more than 80 per cent of the traffic from the Shan State as a result of their control of a strip roughly 75 miles long in the extreme north of Thailand along the Burmese border.

The group that derives from the Chinese Nationalist Fifth Army, the larger of the two forces, is commanded by Tuan Shi-wen. He has about 1,800 men, informed Western sources say, only about a tenth of them trained soldiers and the rest hill tribesmen hired as smugglers.

## Links to Irregular Bands

The sources reported that General Tuan, from his headquarters at Mae Salong commands 11 operating units in the Shan State that, in turn, command a number of friendly irregular bands in Burma with which the general has concluded alliances.

The second group, from the former Third Army, is commanded by Li Wen-Huan, who was reported to have about 1,400 men, also consisting largely of hired tribesmen. Their headquarters is at Tam Ngop, with seven operating units in Burma up to the Chinese border.

A third Chinese group, known as the First Independent Unit, received financial support from Taiwan through the Chinese Nationalist Embassy here longer than the others and, according to informed sources, may still be doing so. The sources said that the unit also received arms and ammunition smuggled from Ban Houei Sai, Laos, to its camp near Fang, in Thailand.

Commanded by Ma Ching-ko, the unit has a well-trained force of about 400. The sources

## FROM HIMALAYAS TO GIs

STATOTHR

# Tracing the Drug Trail to Vietnam

By PETER ARNETT  
and BERNARD GAVZIER  
Associated Press

SAIGON—America's GI heroin users are at the Vietnam end of an intricately organized dope pipeline that begins in the poppy fields of the Himalayas and is tolerated, and sometimes aided, by government officials and soldiers of three nations on its journey to the streets of Saigon.

Alarmed by widespread use of drugs among American servicemen, the United States is putting on vast pressure to curb the traffic, but finds itself bucking a way of life that has endured for a century.

An Associated Press investigation of how drugs move through Southeast Asia produces these major findings:

o A Chinese "mafia" dominates the drug traffic. It operates a complex family-style network out of a dozen Asian cities, paying off all the way: to the military rebels whose caravans gather the opium gum grown by Meo farmers, to the Lao soldiers who guard the secluded heroin refineries along mountain streams, through customs checkpoints and roadblocks in Thailand; to fishing boat owners and truck drivers in Indochinese villages, and finally to some South Vietnamese generals who allow the traffic to continue right under their noses in Saigon.

o Though the opium trade in the Orient is a hundred years old, U.S. attention has centered on it in the past year only because of the spreading use of heroin among young soldiers in Vietnam. American officials in Laos, South Vietnam and Thailand say on the record the traffic is being suppressed, but many despair of making a serious dent in the business soon because it is one thing to know the system and quite another to break through the layers of protection and obtain names and evidence.

o The narcotics traffic is so deeply woven into the social, political, and economic fabric of Southeast Asia that it is a sort of cottage industry upon which many people depend for livelihoods. It is not generally conceived of here as wrong to deal in drugs.

o On mainly concerned with supplying smoking opium and a relatively poor grade of smoking heroin, the Southeast Asian narcotics traffic has evolved in the last year or so into a semisophisticated racket that some officials say is ready to expand and follow the GIs home to the United States if Mideast and European sources of heroin there dry up.

### 150,000 Doses a Week?

o The flow to GIs in Vietnam is appreciable by any standards. Col. Lee Doc Huong, head of narcotics investigation for South Vietnam said on the basis of seizure that it could readily be 50 kilograms a week, about 150,000 doses.

To measure the networks within Southeast Asia's drug traffic, we journeyed around the world, from the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in Washington, to Interpol, the international police agency, in Paris, and to narcotics bureaus and study centers in Saigon, Bangkok, Hong Kong and Vientiane.

We traced the 100-year-old drug routes in the "Golden Triangle"—the key Southeast Asian cultivation center where Burma, Laos and Thailand meet in a checkerboard of misty mountains inhabited by bandit gangs.

### Supply Plentiful

We went where opium is grown, where it is processed and where it is used. We watched American GIs smoking heroin in Saigon while the peddlers and bar girls they purchased it from danced around them in constant attendance, always proffering more at \$5 a barrel—one third of a gram, pure.

While the war is fought in eastern Laos, the dope pipeline begins in peace on the green hillsides of Burmese, Lao and Thai villages. In these places the Meo families developed the opium crop. A typical family might have as much as two acres of opium in a year.

When the opium is harvested it stops being a family enterprise—a cottage industry of sorts. Chinese traders collect the production, paying the equivalent of from \$20 to \$40 per kilo, or 2.2 pounds. Prices for the drug rise astronomically along

the route; a kilo of heroin selling in Saigon for \$10,000 from an investment of only \$350 in the raw opium needed to produce it.

### Mules Employed

The trek from the remote villages goes through mountains and valleys, along hidden paths and ancient roadways, all leading to the 21 processing plants near the borders of Thailand and Laos.

Huge caravans of up to 300 pack mules are sometimes used. In the assembly of these mighty caravans, the major opium dealers become involved. They are the Chu Chow Chinese, the shrewd, successful businessmen who came from a small, harsh region—in their case the Fukien coast of China—and fanned out as families to all the neighboring nations of Asia.

Official assistance is required along the transportation route, and that is where the next payoffs are made: to customs officials, local military garrisons and police.

### Then the Payoffs

Major payoffs are made at the next stage of the traffic: the farmhouse-sized processing plants tucked discreetly along streams and on hillsides. Here the raw opium is refined into morphine blocks and low-grade purple heroin favored by Asian addicts, or the top grade H4 heroin used exclusively by the Americans. The payoffs at the processing plants are for protection by troops.

A senior Lao general, Ouane Rathikone, named in a special report to the U.S. Congress as being involved in the opium business, "protected" two heroin refineries at Ban Houei Sai with Lao troops loyal to him, according to informants in Vientiane. Rathikone has retired but faces no charges.

The next big payoffs come in moving the finished heroin product by truck through many roadblocks sprinkled on Thailand's highways to the coast, or by plane to Vientiane. American intelligence reports repeatedly have charged the Royal Lao Air Force with carrying opium and heroin from Ban Houei Sai, and from a new airstrip in the Shan states at Pong in Laos.

### Travelers Also Used

... move by fishing trawler to Vietnam. From Vientiane the heroin

moves by plane through the southern Lao town of Pakse to Saigon and Nha Trang.

The U.S. Embassy in Saigon has incriminating dossiers on many South Vietnamese officials, and recently sent 78 of them to President Nguyen Van Thieu for action. American officials with access to these files said they were compiled by the CIA and include corruption charges against six senior officers in the military.

The charges are of a type that would mean certain court-martial for a general officer in the American army. As with so many other things in Vietnam, the Western model cannot automatically be substituted for the Asian reality. Patronage, political necessity, old alliances formed in war or commerce all play a role.

### Police Criticized

The chief of police, Gen. Tran Thanh Phong, has total police power. Yet, American investigators complain that when peddlers incriminate dealers there is no followup of American complaints to Phong.

Vietnamese Air Force planes, according to the best-informed Americans, fly to Pakse in southern Laos and return with dope.

"But how do you nail the Vietnamese Air Force?" one American investigator complained. "The retailers say they bought it from a pilot, and if we arrest him the Air Force bombs the police headquarters, and there is nothing we can do about it."

In Vietnam, the main effort by U.S. military authorities is to persuade GIs to avoid the drug, and to treat and rehabilitate those already hooked. Estimates of users range from 5 percent to 15 percent, the high figure representing some 37,500 soldiers.

U.S. officials also are pressuring the Vietnamese to crack down on peddlers to make it harder for GIs to get heroin.

Outside Vietnam, where American leverage is weaker, governments have been asked to crack down on the traffic, but American agents expect few results. The Laos National Assembly is soon expected to pass a bill outlawing opium growing and smoking, but both Thailand and Vietnam have had similar legislation for years, with little effect.

AUG 1971

*Was Called a Moron, Liar*

# Nixon Aides Calm Rep. Steele

STATOTHR

BY ALDO BECKMAN

(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

WASHINGTON, July 31--The White House doesn't often go out of its way to pacify a freshman congressman, but then it isn't often, either, that a White House aide describes a Republican lawmaker as a "moron and liar."

A luncheon earlier this week, put together by Clark MacGregor, counsel to the President for congressional relations, was held in the conference room adjacent to the basement White House mess.

## Legislator Is Guest

Rep. Robert Steele (R., Conn.), a 32-year-old former Central Intelligence Agency agent, was the guest of honor. The hosts were such elite administration officials as John Ehrlichman, President Nixon's top domestic adviser; counselor Donald Rumsfeld; Dr. Jerome Jaffe, the new antidrug chief; congressional relations chief William Timmons, and Egil Krogh, Ehrlichman's top aide, who is the ranking staff man in the President's fight against drug abuse.

The sole purpose of the luncheon, ironically set up before Steele was attacked as a "moron and liar" by a White House aide three days earlier, was to heal the growing breach between the administration and Steele over the extent of the drug problem among American servicemen in Viet Nam.

Steele visited South Viet Nam last April, along with Rep. Morgan Murphy (D., Ill.), on a fact-finding tour, and came back with reports of widespread use of heroin among American servicemen there.

Murphy, a Chicago attorney, wrote most of the reports and testified before several congressional committees but, partly out of fear that he might become a tool of antiwar activists, shied away from exploiting the findings.

## Publicizes Findings

Steele, prominently mentioned as a potential candidate next year for the United States Senate seat now held by Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D., Conn.), harbored no such compunctions. He felt that the facts should be made public and should be known as widely as possible.

Steele reported his findings first to a combined meeting of the White House's National Security Council and the Domestic Council, but was urged to hold off any more action on it, since the administration was about to release its own program aimed at curbing the drug problem, both in the United States and among American servicemen abroad.

After that session, some White House officials said privately, that Steele had no information that the White House did not already know about and that attitude apparently got thru loud and clear to the young lawmaker, who felt that he was being shunted into the background by the White House.

## Complains About Aide

Steele was particularly upset with Jeffrey Donfeld, a 28-year-old White House staff assistant, who worked closely with Krogh in developing the Nixon drug program. Donfeld, one of Tricia Nixon Cox's escorts before she was married, was arrogant, condescending and abusive toward him, Steele complained privately.

So, Steele continued to speak out on the findings of the Viet Nam mission he and Murphy undertook, suggesting that the only way to stop the drug problem was to get all Americans out of Southeast Asia immediately.

Last week, Steele issued a press release challenging the findings of Jaffe, who found that about 4.5 per cent of American servicemen leaving

heroin. The figure was more like 15 per cent, Steele contended.

Steele was so upset with the administration that he talked privately with Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R., Mich.), House minority leader. Ford reportedly sympathized with Steele over the treatment he received, but urged him to try and make peace with the administration over the explosive drug issue.

So Steele readily accepted MacGregor's invitation to lunch at the White House. Altho MacGregor began calling his White House colleagues at midweek in an effort to get them together on Monday--a day that the President was to stay at Camp David until midafternoon--he didn't get to Steele until Saturday, when Steele was in Connecticut.

## Called a Moron

In the meantime, on Friday afternoon, Donfeld called Steele a moron and a liar. As tho to add political injury to insult, the remark was made to a group of Connecticut high school and college students who were in Washington for a seminar sponsored by Connecticut's three Republican lawmakers, including Steele.

Donfeld later apologized to Steele for his remarks and said in an interview he "simply reached a point of frustration and lost my temper."

"I should have had more self-control," he conceded.

Donfeld said he had been working on the drug problem for more than two years and felt that Steele's contention that 15 per cent of all American servicemen in Viet Nam are addicted to heroin was not only inaccurate, but unfair to all servicemen and their families.

"I was frustrated by this kind of maligning of American servicemen," Donfeld said. "It was not the case."

## Donfeld Not Invited

At the White House luncheon, which Donfeld was not asked to attend, there was a meeting of the minds between Steele and the administration. Steele agreed to the 4.5 per cent figure, after Jaffe explained that the figure was reached on the basis of urine tests of military personnel leaving Viet Nam.

Everyone around the luncheon table apologized for Donfeld's remarks. Gerald R. Warren, deputy White House press secretary, was briefed to tell reporters about the luncheon meeting. Altho congressmen and senators frequently meet privately with White House staff officials, such sessions are seldom announced to the press.

Warren also was ready to tell reporters, if anyone asked about Donfeld's remarks, that "the President does not condone such language in regard to Congressman Steele."

No one asked, however.

# At Thai-Burmese Border, Opium Eases

STATOTHR

## Way for Petty Smugglers

By HENRY KAMM  
Special to The New York Times

TACHILEK, Burma, July 23—The border officer smiled at the happy click-clack as two wooden balls, dangling on the ends of a string he held, knocked against each other.

Meanwhile, the unofficial border traffic and smuggling continued to flow steadily across the bridge on the Maesai River between this town and Maesai in Thailand. Burmese and Thai officers guard the border with a tolerant eye and a gentle hand. The customs and border officials in this area of impenetrable jungle but porous borders shrug off the petty smuggling across the bridge without doubt because they know that all around them proceeds one of the world's largest smuggling operations, and they know they are powerless against it. So why not let the little smugglers go?

### Tribesmen Grow the Poppy

On the mountainsides all around—in Burma, Thailand and Laos—primitive hill people of many tribes grow the poppies that produce about one half the world's illegal opium. Less primitive people buy it, process it and start it on its way toward the consumer.

The Central Intelligence Agency study that provided this estimate also concluded that Tachilek was probably the most important transshipment point in the area.

Tachilek is also, the C.I.A. reported, the center for 14 of the 21 known opium refineries in the tri-border area.

Knowledgeable sources in the provincial capital of Chiangrai and in Maesai said that in the last 18 months significant quantities of 96-per-cent-pure, white No. 4 heroin had become available to local addicts used to smoking the less potent purple heroin.

The observation lends credence to reports that the mounting demand for No. 4—regarded in Asia as a luxury for the Western market only—among American soldiers in Vietnam had prompted opium traders to do the refining closer to the market.

### A Few Low Shacks

But the Thais said the only generally known aspect of the illicit trade, beside the fact that it goes on, was a few low shacks in Tachilek, just below the Burmese Army barracks. There Thai-



The New York Times July 23, 1971

and Burmese addicts meet to smoke their pipes.

This is a fair international exchange, they said, because many people from Burma cross daily to visit the Maesai brothel. There are no opium dens in Maesai, the Thais said hopefully, and no brothels in Tachilek.

Those with yellow or brown faces cross the border bridge with a nonchalance that is particularly surprising because Burma stringently limits access to foreigners, even tourists. But a pale outsider appearing unexpectedly on this side of the river was allowed no further than the control post. There officers apologetically drew the line and let only a Thai companion pass without asking for his papers.

He returned with two tightly furled umbrellas in the elegant style favored by British guards officers, acquired on the market place for 42 Thai baht (\$2.10) each.

### Goods Are Japanese

The Burmese customs man, offering no objection, assessing the smuggled goods with an expert customs man's eye

as Japanese merchandise smuggled into Burma from Laos, across a border that is officially closed.

Burmese border officials are fully aware of the opium traffic—in fact, one said, “some Thais come to smoke it right here in front of us”—but they said the opium crossed the border upstream and downstream from here. Except for now, at the height of the monsoon rains, the river is shallow enough to be forded on foot in many places.

The Burmese regime exercises even less control than the Thai and Laotian governments over these mountains, covered in the richest and deepest greens. Their populations consist of remote hill tribes and mutually antagonistic bands of rebels of various persuasions, bandits and opium smugglers.

The small Burmese military garrison and handful of officials control little more than the town. They are linked to Rangoon and the rest of Burma only by air, and duty here is not desirable for men from Rangoon or Mandalay.

“You can take the road,” one said, “but sometimes they cross it, and if you're there you've had it.”

“They” are the Shan State rebels, who are fighting in the jungle and sometimes in the towns to separate this vast state and its ethnic group from the Union of Burma.

But no one interferes with the comings and goings across the bridge. No one is frisked, and the last opium seizure occurred many months ago. “I think it was August,” an official said.

Hill tribesmen, in homespun black shirts and lion-cloths, carry charcoal across for sale in Thailand, where the people are poor but less poor than in Burma. They return with meager food supplies, mainly vegetables.

Burmese cross into Thailand to buy shoes and textiles and other small consumer items unavailable in Burma. Most pay in baht acquired through the illegal sales of Burmese rubies, sapphires and other gems.

The Burmese kyat is a currency worthless outside Burma and is not acceptable in Thailand.

Thais and Chinese merchants from Maesai, and villages nearby come to Tachilek to buy for resale small quantities of Western luxuries smuggled from Laos. Cigarettes and whisky are the main item in the illicit duty-free shops.

A carton of Lucky Strikes sells here for 70 baht (\$3.50) after having been transported from the East Coast by ship to Bangkok, by truck to Vientiane, by plane to Ban Houei Sai near the Laotian-Burmese border, smuggled across by boat and carried here by mule over about 100 miles of mountain jungle.



# U.S. Pledging Aid, Pushes Laos To Enact 1st Anti-Drug Law

By MICHAEL PARKS  
*Sun Staff Correspondent*

Vientiane, Laos—Under strong American pressure, Laos is about to enact its first drug-control law, and the United States has promised to provide advisers and money to help the Lao police enforce it.

The proposed law, which is awaiting final action by a reluctant National Assembly, for the first time would limit the cultivation and use of opium, once the basic source of income for the hill tribes of northern Laos. Marijuana excluded.

It also would completely outlaw the sale, processing and transportation of opium, heroin and related drugs. Marijuana, which is as plentiful and as easily obtained as tobacco here, is not included under the law since the Lao use it for cooking.

Although police are compiling lists of the dozens of opium dens to be closed and hundreds of drug addicts to be arrested, the law is intended principally to check the heavy flow of raw opium through the "Golden Triangle" where Burma, Laos and Thailand meet.

"Laos is probably the busiest single drug corridor in Asia now," said an American official.

"What opium is still grown here does not cause much of a problem, and the Lao users are not a big concern either.

"Major Thoroughfare"

"But Laos is a major thoroughfare in world drug traffic, and the amount of opium refined down to a morphine base and heroin is also very large. Laos funnels drugs to Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand and Hong Kong."

A European intelligence agent who investigated drug traffic here for his government estimated that virtually every civil-

ian airline flight out of Vientiane carries contraband drugs and that a fourth to a third of the thousands of military flights, aside from bombing runs, carry drugs.

"It is going to take a lot more than a fairly mild law to stop this drug traffic, especially when it is the Army that is a principal mover," the agent said.

CIA Accused

Two U.S. congressional investigators charged last spring that until recently the American Central Intelligence Agency had allowed its planes to be used by Lao officials transporting opium, morphine and heroin.

They accused the Lao Army commander, who is retiring, of being the top figure in the complex drug-running-and-refining operation. The processed heroin, carefully guarded through its journey by Lao soldiers, eventually was smuggled into South Vietnam for sale to American soldiers.

American officials in Laos have put up with the drug traffic over the years, the congressional report suggested, to win support in the fight against the North Vietnamese and the Pathet Lao and preserve political peace in the embattled kingdom.

American officials, now worried about enforcing the law once it is enacted, say they have won firm commitment of support from the premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma, the King and other high-ranking Laotians, who are mindful of their country's virtually total dependence on U.S. aid.

To help enforce the law, American officials here have requested that Washington assign a drug coordinator to the embassy. "He should be here within a matter of days, we hope," a

senior embassy official said.

"Once he arrives, we expect he will be setting up a program to help the Lao national police enforce the law. The Lao have asked for advisers and we have promised to supply them. But details of the program are still to be worked out."

Tighter Controls

The initial effort, according to American officials, will be to tighten customs inspections of cargoes on domestic and international air flights and to establish controls over military flights.

American officials also hope to end the use of the northern Laotian town of Ban Heng Sai as a major opium transshipment point. It has been a center for refining raw opium to a morphine base and, recently, the site of a major laboratory turning morphine into heroin.

The proposed law would permit persons over 40 years of age to continue growing opium if they get a government license. But much of the land used in opium cultivation is under control of the Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese—who burn the opium crops out of moral strictness—and the growers, mostly Meo tribesmen, have been moved as refugees to lowlands, where the opium poppy does not grow well.

"We have no illusions that as soon as we get a law the flow of drugs is going to dry up," said a senior U.S. diplomat, "but with no law there is nothing that can be legally done."

In addition to advisers, the United States is prepared to provide financial aid, technical assistance (such as laboratory analysis) and help in establishing a rehabilitation program for Laos's own opium smokers and other drug users.

Hard Decisions Avoided*GIs and Heroin:  
The Facts of Life*

By Flora Lewis

JOHN W. PARKER, director of strategic intelligence in the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, knows a good deal about Southeast Asia's contribution to the dope problem. And while he is a soft-spoken Southerner, sometimes so quiet one has to strain to hear him, he is the most straightforward man I have yet found on the subject in the administration.

He starts with an explanation. Remember, he says, that until 1970 we were concentrating on the drug problem here in the United States. Not too much attention was paid by the bureau to the source of supplies. And the Army, the CIA, the State Department, the people out there where the heroin comes from weren't concerned about drugs. They were concentrating on other problems.

Further, while there has been opium in Southeast Asia since the British introduced it in the early 19th century, until 1970 the heroin refineries in the area were all in Thailand and Hong Kong, Parker says. It didn't seem to affect the United States.

In fact, the dominant government attitude was that this was a fact of life in Asia which Americans shouldn't try to upset, especially since by the beginning of the decade so many Americans were so deeply engaged in trying to control other facts of Southeast Asia's life, namely the Vietnamese war and all its offshoots.

Now, according to Parker, practically all the heroin refineries have been resituated along the Mekong River, in Burma, Thailand and Laos, and "almost all have been identified."

If so, why hasn't the United States, which completely subsidizes and virtually runs Laos and has poured billions into Thailand, whose "volunteer soldiers" it employs in Vietnam and Laos, made sure the heroin factories were destroyed?

The obvious urgent question didn't annoy Parker. On the contrary, his stolid face slowly eased into a Cheshire cat grin. At first he didn't say anything. I suggested that the reason wasn't hard to guess and wasn't really secret.

"I know," he said. "I'm struggling not to say it."

IT IS AT once a simple and excruciatingly tough answer. As he finally pointed out, it is a matter of political decision in Washington. There is a choice to make. It would be easy to blow up the refineries, defoliate most of the poppy fields, push the governments involved into cracking down on their own high-level military and civilian profiteers and blocking the supply of heroin to GIs in Vietnam and, increasingly, to the United States.

But it would be a severe embarrassment to allies in Southeast Asia. It would hinder the prosecution of the war in Indochina, perhaps so seriously that basic U.S. policy would have to be changed.

There have been some changes in the past year, but they have followed a pattern of seeking compromise with the drug-producing countries, not confrontation.

The CIA has changed its rules in an effort to stop the use of its private airline, Air America, for the transport of drugs in Laos. Although only two months ago CIA Director Richard Helms adamantly denied there had ever been any agency involvement in the traffic, he is now said to have told a secret congressional hearing that there was involvement but it has been stopped in the past year.

The U.S. Embassy in Laos has pressed the government there to put through a strict law on drugs which may be passed this month. There was none before.

The U.S. Embassy in Saigon got the Vietnamese government to remove some of the corrupt customs officials, and similar efforts are being made in Thailand. With Congress vociferously taking up the issue, the White House is cracking the whip on all the assorted American officials who thought drug traffic was not their concern, who thought their job was only fighting the war, gathering intelligence, maintaining foreign relations.

THE QUESTION is whether these relatively gentle pressures will convince governments largely dependent on the United States that they must fight heroin. Years of argument got nowhere in Turkey, but a threat to cut off foreign aid finally did.

Now the Turks have promised to wipe out opium production after the 1972 crop, which means that in three or four years that source of supply will dry up. Parker is convinced now that the Turks can and will enforce the ban. But ask him how much difference it will make in the amount of heroin supplied to Americans.

"If nothing else is done," he says flatly, "no difference." And the "something else" can only be done in Washington, a decision to be just as tough in Southeast Asia as the Nixon administration was in Turkey.

Meanwhile, the inch-high vials of 96 to 93 per cent pure heroin distributed in South Vietnam have begun to turn up in the United States. The bureau foresees an almost uncontrollable flood as veterans re-turn, find themselves without jobs and realize how much money can be made by having buddies or friends send them supplies from the Far East.

Addicts can be treated, but there isn't much likelihood that there won't be far more new ones than cures each day unless the flow of heroin is cut at the source. At the Bureau of Narcotics, experts are convinced that is possible, except perhaps for a going to happen. The hard political decision hasn't been taken.

STATOTHR

NEW YORK TIMES  
22 JUL 1971

## Gen. Dzu Asks His Accuser to Reveal Evidence of Drug Charges

By IVER PETERSON

Special to The New York Times

SAIGON, South Vietnam, July 21--Maj. Gen. Ngo Dzu, who was accused by a Connecticut Congressman of being "one of the chief traffickers" in narcotics in Southeast Asia, sent the Congressman a letter today requesting that he make his evidence for the charges public.

"There is no appeal for me as long as the basis of your allegations remains secret," the general wrote in a polite, two-page letter to Representative Robert H. Steele, a Republican.

A copy was also mailed to President Nixon.

"My only hope to prove my innocence is for you to reveal your evidence," the general said. "Surely, this is something you should be interested in doing. Justice is the basis for the existence of your government, of your Bill of Rights, and for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Americans on the battlefield."

General Dzu began his letter by regretting that he "must impose on your valuable time" but added "I have a duty to get

this clarified as soon as possible."

He has already denied Representative Steele's charges and is now busy trying to prove that the controversy is the work of personal enemies in the South Vietnamese Army.

Mr. Steele, a former member of the Central Intelligence Agency, has stood by his original charges but has refused to reveal the sources or the nature of the "hard intelligence" on which he says the charges are based.

"Without knowledge of the 'evidence' you state you have," the general wrote, "I can only assume you have a record of some fabricated letter or indictment against me."

### 'The Nature of Politics'

"Based on this assumption," the letter continued, "I suggest to you that you may be acting in good faith but very naively. You apparently do not understand the nature of politics in my country, nor the public presumption of guilt until innocence is proved that is characteristic of political and social gossip in the Vietnamese society."

The "fabricated letter or indictment" refers to two anonymous letters that General Du says were sent to the United States Embassy here. The general has said that they charge him with corruption, theft and narcotics smuggling. Embassy sources acknowledge that they have received allegations of wrongdoing against many South Vietnamese officers and officials, including General Du, but say that the charges against General Du have not been substantiated and that they were not passed on to Representative Steele.

## SOUTH VIET NAM

## The Dzu Story

It has been a trying summer for General Ngo Dzu, commander of one of South Viet Nam's four military regions. Last month 27 Vietnamese majors and colonels sent a letter to top government officials in Saigon charging Dzu (pronounced zoo) with a long list of corrupt practices (TIME, June 28). The general branded the letter the work of his enemies, and one of his most trusted U.S. advisers declared that "upon examination, all the charges have fizzled."

Last week, however, Dzu was once again the target of corruption charges, this time from a U.S. Congressman. In Washington, Representative Robert Steele, 32, a Republican from Connecticut (and former CIA employee), charged that Dzu was one of the chief narcotics dealers in Southeast Asia.

**Hard Intelligence.** Steele, who made headlines two months ago when he charged that the drug-addiction rate among G.I.s in Viet Nam was between 10% and 15%, refused to reveal the sources of the new accusations. "My information comes from intelligence sources in Saigon," he said. "My concern is due to the fact that this is hard intelligence, which has been developed for months, and nothing has been done." He added: "There has been a crack-down by the South Vietnamese, especially against the customs officials. But who do you think is moving this stuff? Porters? We've made some progress. Now we're at the point where we must move against the kingpins."

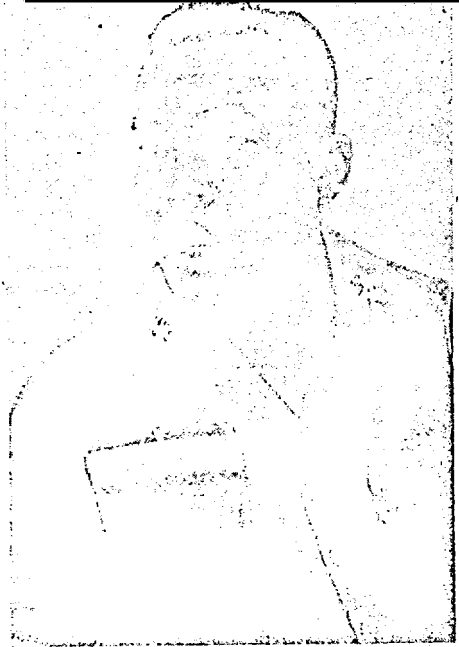
The first denial came from Jo Paul

Vann, an American pacification worker who was recently appointed Dzu's senior U.S. adviser. "If there has been any wrongdoing of this nature," said Vann, "I am not aware of it." Other sources close to Dzu claimed that Steele had based his charges on the letter signed by Dzu's 27 dissident officers.

When Dzu flew to Saigon, President Nguyen Van Thieu flatly refused to see his embattled general. After 24 hours of waiting, Dzu flew back to his Military Region II headquarters, protesting that Steele had damaged "not only my honor as a general but also the honor of the Vietnamese army and the Vietnamese people."

**Highly Sensitive.** The Saigon government said that it was investigating charges of corruption on Dzu's part. Many case-hardened U.S. officials doubted, however, that Dzu has played as large a part in the narcotics racket as Steele claims. They noted, moreover, that his popularity as a military commander has slipped markedly since he took over Military Region II last August—which could make him expendable at a time when corruption in the Thieu government is a hot political issue.

For its part, the Nixon Administration made no direct reply to Steele's charges. But the Administration has been genuinely shocked by the extent of the narcotics problem among G.I.s and it is acutely aware of the risks for its policy that the problem carries. Last week's visit to Viet Nam by Dr. Jerome Jaffe,



GENERAL NGO DZU  
*Kingpins, not porters.*

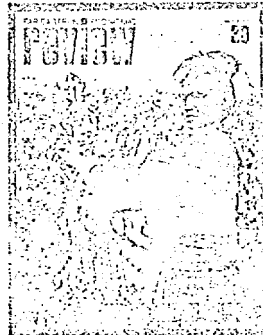
the President's adviser on narcotics and dangerous drugs, is the most recent indication of the President's concern. The charges against Dzu could make it all the more difficult for the Administration to convince the nation that it is more important to support the current Vietnamese government than to speed the U.S. withdrawal.

# The Wonderland of Opium

OPIMUM growing and heroin marketing are not new to Asia or the world. Nor are efforts to control them. Yet last month US President Richard Nixon was prompted to declare a national emergency in his country, bluntly stating: "If we cannot destroy the drug menace in America, then it will surely in time destroy us." America, he admitted, has the highest number of heroin addicts of any nation in the world, although no opium is grown there and no heroin processed. "This deadly poison," Nixon said, "is a foreign import".

Such words must ring ironically in those Asian capitals which are targets of a new international effort to stem drug marketing. And Peking, forced just over a century ago to open its borders to foreign trade after attempting to prevent Westerners from destroying its people with the "foreign mud", now sees the wheel come full circle.

Recently a UN mission accompanied by US observers investigated outlets in northern Thailand -- following charges by Taipei that China devoted 6 million acres annually to the production of 10,000 tons of opium for export. It declared China innocent of any involvement in the production or export of opium, heroin or any other narcotics. Marshall Green, US assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs, did not mention China



at a July 12 press conference on the drug problem. He pointed instead to the "golden triangle" -- the border areas between Burma, Thailand and Laos.

Experts estimate that in this area 1,000 metric tons of raw papaver somniferum -- the "opium poppy" -- are harvested every year, 80% of it in Burma, the remainder in Laos and Thailand. Far above the legal limit authorised by the UN, the crop realises 30 tons of heroin in world markets. The route to such markets was directly through Rangoon in the years immediately following world war II, then through Bangkok until 1957, and finally by way of Vientiane, Pinnom Penh and Saigon.

The Indochina War, despite creating problems of distribution, has not slowed the flow of drugs. Social workers in South Vietnam now report many of the nation's large street urchin population are hooked on the cheapest form of opium by-product -- a dark watery substance which is heated and then injected into the veins. As Green noted, heroin traffickers need to seek new customers as American troops leave Vietnam. "The youth of Asia are a prime target," he concluded "and this disturbing possibility is beginning to come home to Asian leaders". Perhaps they, like their American counterparts, now realise that if they do not destroy the drug menace, it will surely in time destroy them.

## Fortunes of War

By T. D. Allman, Bangkok

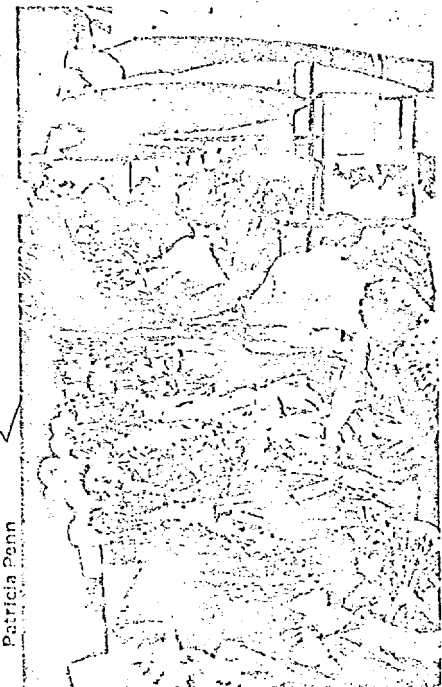
HEROIN addiction among American soldiers in Vietnam has finally prompted White House orders for US missions in Southeast Asia to crack down on drug traffic. But these new efforts to curb the clandestine trade in drugs are not America's first incursion into the murky area of Southeast Asia's most secret and profitable business enterprise. Though the exact details have been well-guarded secrets, several US clandestine agencies and a number of allied Asian military leaders have been involved in the traffic for years. Until the tragedy of opium and heroin addiction began to strike US soldiers, the reason for American involvement in the trade was ruthlessly simple. Opium is a major basis of the power wielded by several of the area's most influential pro-American leaders, and US influence with them has depended partly on American ability to influence the flow of opium within the region.

The remote northern mountains of Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and Burma are among the world's prime opium growing areas. Traditionally, the local warlord, governor or military commander has controlled the drug trade for his own profit. In their efforts to dominate these regions, American personnel have become involved in a sordid business that goes back to the opium wars of the last century.

The degree and nature of official involvement in the drug trade takes different forms in different countries. When asked by a congressional committee if Asian government officials

were involved US Attorney General John Mitchell replied "the fact of the matter is there has been involvement of government officials in some of these countries. Mitchell refused to name publicly any of the suspected figures, but Congressman Robert Steele, a former CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) officer who has personally investigated Southeast Asian drug trade, said a fortnight ago the US had "hard intelligence" that Major General Ngo Dzu, commander of a vital military zone

in northern South Vietnam was "one of the chief traffickers in heroin in Southeast Asia". Although Dzu promptly denied the charge, both Saigon's defence ministry and the US state department announced they would investigate immediately. But when similar accusations were made against Vice Presi-



Vientiane marijuana market: Traffic is hardest to control in Laos, because of involvement at the top.

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15 JUL 1971  
 Marquis Childs

## Vietnam's Drug Traffic

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IT IS NO LONGER a question of whether the Nixon administration should insure the continuity of the shaky regime of Nguyen Van Thieu in Saigon but whether it can keep Thieu in power. With American support Thieu can probably come through the charade of the elections in October.

But the signs of his weakness multiply. He seems unable to make the changes that would give his government at least a face-lifting. Instead he sits tight at the center of a power structure made up of generals and po-

litical operators who are his dependents.

A notorious example of the henchmen on whom he relies is Maj. Gen. Ngo Dzu, commander of II Corps, one of the four command regions. Rep. Robert H. Steele (R-Conn.), testifying before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee, identified Dzu as a chief heroin trafficker in Southeast Asia. He said that South Vietnamese officers deal in large quantities of heroin and transport it around South Vietnam in military aircraft and vehicles. Steele claimed that American military authorities gave Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker "hard intelligence" on Dzu's operation.

TWO FACTS give this charge special credence despite Dzu's immediate denial. First, it was Steele who disclosed the high rate of heroin addiction among GIs in Vietnam. And, second, as a former agent in the CIA, he had access to information that might not have been available to others.

Dzu has been for a long time a dubious figure in the military hierarchy that is both controlled by and controls President Thieu. On a visit to his headquarters in Vietnam two years ago I learned it was no secret that he was held in disregard by members of his staff. Rumors of corruption were rife. Members of his family were said to run a chain of restaurants largely supplied out of American military stores.

Time magazine recently reported a letter sent by 27 South Vietnamese majors and colonels to Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky accusing Dzu of a long list of corrupt practices and falsification of battle reports and casualties. The typical technique, the officers said, is to do badly but to report well. "We wonder whether we are fighting communism or supporting it," they wrote.

The letter may have been merely a shot at the political campaign that threatens to grow more violent as election day draws near. Ky, a former member of the Thieu government,

ernment in a fierce speech of a plague of military corruption, expressed doubt about the letter's authenticity and indicated he would do nothing about it. Dzu put it down to the work of his enemies in the army.

THE TRAFFIC in opium and its heroin derivative has for many years been a way of life in Southeast Asia. Opium is the chief cash crop for thousands of farmers in Laos, Burma, Thailand and Vietnam. With the American escalation and the infusions of vast amounts of dollars a new market opened up that has been assiduously cultivated. There can be little doubt that from the peasants in the poppy fields to high officials, both military and civilian, in the four countries the enlarged traffic is extremely profitable.

The large and pressing question is what American officialdom in the region can do about this. The least that should be expected is not to resort to a cover-up. Until congressman Steele came up with his estimate of 20 to 30 per cent of GIs hooked on heroin the army has done little or nothing about this curse.

The military response following the disclosures was to order a urinalysis as the first step for every GI about to be shipped out. But, as the GIs quickly learned, it was only necessary to stay off the stuff for about three days for the test to turn negative. Those customary high military sources inspired a news story that addiction was far less than had been feared, perhaps as low as two per cent.

This may be true and, if so, it is remarkable good news. But in the first six months of this year 8,200 men turned themselves in under the Vietnam drug amnesty program. The figure for June was 1,500. Since clearly only minority of heroin users take this step, it indicates a high addiction rate. To keep even a residue South Vietnam is to invite new disasters like the drug curse.

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July 14, 1971

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pect on the priority of expenditures and that he is well informed concerning performance against budget and plans in the program areas.

Thirdly, I would standardize and make more effective our activities in data processing, management research, auditing, and procurement.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, these are worthy objectives, and so long as they are not viewed as ends but are viewed as means to achieve the missions of the Department, their implementation can improve the efficiency and the responsiveness of the Department.

Mr. President, I urge that the Senate confirm Mr. Bodman to be Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Budget and Management.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of this nomination.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

#### THE HEROIN WAR IN INDOCHINA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Now, Mr. President, in this morning's Washington Post there is published an article entitled "Facts Surface on the Heroin War," written by Miss Flora Lewis. We all know and applaud what our Government has done in trying to bring about a decrease in the production of opium in Turkey; but I would hope that we would not lose sight of the fact that approximately nine-tenths of opium production in the world comes from the so-called Golden Corridor in Laos, Thailand, and Burma.

We have talked a good deal about the casualties of our men—and they are huge. We have talked a good deal about the costs of the war—and they are great. But only recently have we been discussing the question of drugs as they affect American personnel in Indochina and, incidentally, involve local dignitaries in many of the countries concerned.

If I may take an excerpt on two from the article written by Miss Lewis—which I hope every Member of Congress will read as well as the administration downtown—she brings out the fact that the CIA has provided Congress with a report naming the sites of the heroin refineries in Burma, Thailand, and Laos. There is more to it. It will go in with the full story.

I read as follows:

The report also confirms for the first time on the record that Laotian air force planes and Laotian and South Vietnamese commercial planes take the drugs on to markets, both the GI market in South Vietnam and international centers which ship to Europe and the United States. It does not mention Air America, the CIA-operated airline in Laos and Vietnam. But there have

long been numerous reports that Air America's secret flights supporting the Laotian war also often transport opium.

Further on,

Vice Adm. William C. Mack, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, has testified that the only thing that "will save our men" from the tremendous drug problem in Vietnam is troop withdrawal. But the supply routes are organized now. The high-ranking officials, and by no means all the highest have as yet been named, still have U.S. support and every prospect that support will continue after most troops have gone. So the heroin can be expected to follow the GIs home, a continuing souvenir of the war.

Two developments have begun to bring into the open the relation of heroin and the war. One is the huge increase in GI use in the past two years, while the military were assiduously fighting marijuana and virtually ignoring the opium-heroin trade. The other is mounting public revulsion as each piece of news appears here.

And, further on,

It is time, late but not too late, for American intelligence which does know quite a lot about the drug traffic to make it their concern. It is time to stop defoliating Vietnamese fields and start defoliating poppy fields. It is time to stop subsidizing high Asian officials who use American support to deal in drugs with impunity.

John Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics, has written Congress that "It is probable that opium production in Southeast Asia will be brought under effective control only with further political development in these countries."

If that means that the United States can't successfully fight heroin and Vietnamese Communists at the same time because too many allies are on the side of heroin, it shouldn't be hard to choose the worst enemy. There can be no national defense even on this continent if the invasion of drugs is not stopped.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this very worthy article printed in full in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### FACTS SURFACE ON THE HEROIN WAR

(By Flora Lewis)

At last the facts of the heroin war in Indochina are trickling out. Many officials, and others, have been aware of them for a long time. But the officials weren't very interested, and secrecy about the war in Laos and American clandestine operations made it extra hard for others to pinpoint the route of heroin from the mountaintop poppy fields of Southeast Asia to American bloodstreams.

The CIA, which has prime responsibility for the Laotian war, long denied any knowledge of the drug traffic. Now it has provided Congress, through the Bureau of Narcotics, with a report naming the sites of heroin refineries in Burma, Thailand and Laos. Further, the public report says that "a senior Laotian officer may hold an ownership interest in some of these facilities." The officer, named elsewhere, is Gen. Ouane Rathikone, chief of staff of the Laotian army, which exists entirely on U.S. subsidy. Army units provide a "military defense perimeter" to guard the refineries.

The report also confirms for the first time on the record that Laotian air force planes and Laotian and South Vietnamese commercial planes take the drugs on to markets, both the GI market in South Vietnam and international centers which ship to Europe and the United States. It does not mention

Air America, the CIA-operated airline in Laos and Vietnam. But there have long been numerous reports that Air America's secret flights supporting the Laotian war also often transport opium.

Rep. Robert Steele of Connecticut, an ex-CIA man himself, has named Maj. Gen. Ngo Dzu who commands South Vietnam's Second Military region as one large-scale organizer of the traffic.

The opium, from which heroin is refined, is grown chiefly by Meo tribesmen who live in what is called the "golden triangle" area of western Burma, northern Thailand and Laos. The CIA organized the Meo of Laos into the Armece Clandestine and has accepted responsibility for large numbers of them.

Although it normally denied having any awareness or interest in the drug trade, from time to time the CIA claimed progress in persuading the Meo under its influence to switch to food crops. Its own report now says that "in areas (in Laos) where the tribesmen have been encouraged to grow corn, the poppies are planted among the corn. When the corn is cut the poppies continue to grow until they too can be harvested."

Vice Adm. William C. Mack, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, has testified that the only thing that "will save our men" from the tremendous drug problem in Vietnam is troop withdrawal. But the supply routes are organized now. The high-ranking officials, and by no means all the highest have as yet been named, still have U.S. support and every prospect that support will continue after most troops have gone. So the heroin can be expected to follow the GIs home, a continuing souvenir of the war.

Two developments have begun to bring into the open the relation of heroin and the war. One is the huge increase in GI use in the past two years, while the military were assiduously fighting marijuana and virtually ignoring the opium-heroin trade. The other is mounting public revulsion as each piece of news appears here.

But the situation isn't very new. Capt. Robert Marasco, the former Green Beret who was accused of killing a double agent, tells of camping on the Cambodian border in the Parrot's Beak sector in 1969. "There was a big market field there; people went back and forth as though there were no border. The price of heroin was astonishing; for \$25 you could get what sells for \$500,000 in the United States," he told me. "It was being bought by South Vietnamese soldiers, obviously flunkies for the higher-ups."

On another occasion, he trailed 30 pounds of pure opium brought down the Ho Chi Minh Trail by Pathet Lao Communists along with medical supplies and found they were sold to South Vietnamese military and sent on to Saigon. "I didn't pay much attention," Marasco says "that wasn't our concern."

It is time, late but not too late, for American intelligence which does know quite a lot about the drug traffic to make it their concern. It is time to stop defoliating Vietnamese fields and start defoliating poppy fields. It is time to stop subsidizing high Asian officials who use American support to deal in drugs with impunity.

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14 JUL 1971

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By Flora Lewis

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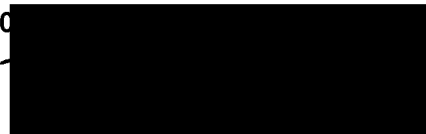
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STATOTHR





*Our readers say--*

EDITOR  
THE DAILY WORLD  
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#### WHOSE OPIUM WAR NOW?

From a third to a half of the returning S.E. Asia invasion veterans have used or are addicted to drugs. Traffic in opium is common among the government officials who are our puppets, according to John Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics before the House Select Committee on Crime on June 1st. "He said the heroin traffic is costing the U.S. \$3.5 billion a year," according to I. F. Stone (June 14/71), and that 176 pounds of opium were found a few weeks ago on a plane of Air America, the CIA's airline operating illegally in Laos. ✓

Weapons supplied Chiang Kai Shek with our tax money were exchanged for opium which was sold to American soldiers in Vietnam with aid of a top general in Laos, according to Rep. Paul C. Rogers of Florida. Now, Senator Frank Church of Idaho reports that the State Dept. is opposing Congressional bills that would cut off aid to countries that are sources of dope. Such laws would hurt diplomatic relations, according to Washington.

If Nixon is not in the dope business, you figure it out. The morals of this administration are straight from the gutter. And now Kissinger, Laird, and Rogers are out pimping in the provinces of the empire. Nixinger policy will make us a leper among nations. How stupid can the Republicans get, LBJ included?

PROFESSOR S.X., San Diego, Cal.

# Embassy Has Corruption File

By George McArthur  
Los Angeles Times

SAIGON—The U.S. congressional charges that South Vietnam's Maj. Gen. Ngo Dzu is directly involved in drug trafficking has caused a severe case of the jitters among ranking Americans in Saigon.

The charges come at a time when, the embassy is once again pushing a drive against corruption among South Vietnamese officials, high and low.

The embassy is uneasy about the Dzu case—and all the rest — because U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker and his military counterpart Gen. Creighton Abrams have detailed knowledge of enough hanky-panky to cause an uproar if it was published.

Among the most closely guarded secrets in the embassy's files are detailed reports covering the financial misdeeds of a vast array of South Vietnamese generals and civilian officials.

In an unguarded moment, one ranking American with many years in Vietnam once reported there were only two honest generals in the South Vietnamese army. One of them has since been killed and the other is Maj. Gen. Ngo Quang Truong who commands the IV Corps area comprising the Mekong Delta region.

And another American with access to the files added, "They are all in it and if they are not personally involved their wives are."

While such sweeping statements are probably overdrawn, they do reflect accurately the views of knowledgeable people who have long grappled with the problem of corruption in South Vietnam.

## Mountain of Charges

Over the years American advisors have funneled into the embassy a mountain of detailed charges, all labeled top secret in the interest of maintaining relationships with the Saigon government. These have been compiled by military officers, civilians working in the police and pacification programs and representatives of the Central Intelligence Agency. They include reports on

everyone from district officials to generals working in the Joint General Staff and advisers to President Nguyen Van Thieu.

Privately, Americans will sometimes point the finger at individuals—such as the current chief of Bac Lieu Province in the delta who is a distant relative of the president and renowned for corruption.

Officially, however, the American establishment has refused to name names.

In the early days of the war the frequent excuse was that it was useless to get a man removed if his replacement would be worse—and that was frequently the case.

In later years it has become embassy policy to avoid getting into any public discussions of corruption beyond admitting that it was a problem supposedly getting continuing study.

This policy was strengthened within the establishment by the belief that a public airing of corruption charges would upset the Saigon regime without necessarily getting rid of anyone.

President Thieu has been notably cautious in moving against any general on corruption charges and although some have been removed they have almost inevitably cropped up again somewhere else.

## Notable Stiffening

The mounting narcotics problem in Vietnam, however, has caused a notable stiffening within the U.S. embassy and also within President Thieu's official establishment.

American officials say that the Saigon government has been told that heroin trafficking is the one crime that cannot be tolerated. There is some evidence that the South Vietnamese generals and other officials have gotten this message.

One American official who admits that some generals may have been involved in past heroin smuggling says that they have now dropped it.

This official says that some Vietnamese officers, particularly in the air force, have always been involved in a certain amount of opium smuggling — which

was more or less socially acceptable in Vietnam. They did not initially realize that raw heroin would eventually touch a very raw American nerve.

About six months ago, one official says, the South Vietnamese also began to realize that heroin was a threat to their own people.

Now, the embassy claims it is getting full support from President Thieu and lesser officials in a major, nationwide drug crackdown.

This crackdown has been impressive in terms of heroin and other drugs seized and minor pushers and smugglers arrested. It has not, however, resulted in arrest or charges against anyone of importance.

Whether Dzu was involved in drug trafficking cannot be proved by any evidence made public, despite the charges made by Rep. Robert M. Steele (R-Conn.).

Dzu, who commands the 12 provinces making up what is known as II Corps in the Central Highlands area, denies the charges.

Dzu has been supported by his American advisers, John Paul Vann, who has more experience in South Vietnam than any other senior member of the American establishment. Vann said he had "every reason to believe he is innocent" of the drug charges.

It is a fact, however, that the city which is corps headquarters, Nhatrang, is the center of drug trafficking in South Vietnam. This is possibly because it is the major headquarters for the South Vietnamese air force—an item that has been used in the past to link Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky, the former air marshal who still retains de facto control of the air force, with the heroin traffic.

Though Ky has vehemently denied this, it is widely accepted in South Vietnam that he was involved in the old opium trade until he decided to brush up his public image.

Dzu was already on shaky ground when the drug charges cropped up. He and flew to Saigon to seek a personal meeting with President Thieu.

Only three weeks ago Dzu was the target of some widely publicized anonymous letters charging him with accepting bribes, looting U.S. supplies and making grandiose battle claims.

At that time, Dzu sent a transport plane 200 miles to Saigon to pick up a party of newsmen and fly them to Nhatrang for a news conference.

Flanked by his staff officers, Dzu denied everything.

Rep. Steele, in making his charges, predicted that the Saigon government would crack down on Dzu. Steele said his information came from intelligence reports that were also in the possession of Ambassador Bunker.

In Washington, State Department spokesman Charles Bray replied to this that the South Vietnamese were in possession of any information about drugs which the embassy had.

While making no direct comment about Dzu, Bray implied that it was now up to the Saigon government to take action.

In Saigon, U.S. press spokesmen would say nothing beyond Bray's noncommittal remarks.

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## Keep the spy types in line

Perhaps the least shocking of the disclosures of the Pontegon papers is the extent to which the United States dabbling behind the scenes in spy-thriller type activities.

The papers show clearly the role the U.S. played in the overthrow of South Vietnamese President Thieu. The only unusual aspect of the affair is that many of the details have become public. Normally, the Central Intelligence Agency keeps its tracks well covered.

The Green Berets took a public beating, for example, over the slaying of a Vietnamese, who was described as a double agent. But the CIA, which was accused of being behind the plot, managed to escape with an implied, but not proved, role in the affair.

The disturbing aspect of such activities is the danger that the men who plan and approve them may become hardened to their methods. A guy who doesn't blink at ordering an enemy agent rubbed out, or a government toppled, just might become confused about his proper position in relation to domestic issues. If assassination is an acceptable method for implementing U.S. foreign policy, then why isn't it a perfectly decent approach for taking care of domestic opposition?

Testifying this week before a congressional committee, Atty. Gen. John Mitchell indicated that the U.S. is willing to use whatever means are handy to dry up narcotics traffic.

Mitchell said that the government knows the identities of a number of top Asian officials who are trafficking in narcotics, including some Laotian and South Vietnamese military leaders.

How will the U.S. deal with them, a senator asked. Said Mitchell: "... steps are being taken in some of these countries to eliminate their participation..." in narcotics distribution.

Sen. Edmund Muskie then asked Mitchell if there are plans to eliminate their roles in government, as well as drug trafficking.

"We anticipate we will be able to do

this to the extent our country has jurisdiction or other means of persuasion," Mitchell replied, drawing chuckles from the senators.

The U.S. certainly shouldn't hesitate to apply whatever pressure is necessary to stop the flow of narcotics to servicemen abroad, and to the mainland. The fact that Asians view drugs in a substantially different light than Western nations shouldn't prevent us from insisting that countries we are aiding must respect and cooperate in our efforts to halt the narcotics traffic insofar as it involves Americans.

Even so, we feel a lot more than a little queasy when the attorney general of the United States talks slyly about "other means of persuasion." And when senators chuckle openly over the implication that we're not above a back-alley approach to getting our way, we're more than queasy. We're downright worried.

In Mitchell's case, the statement to the committee fits in with many of his other remarks about the rights of society being more important than individual rights, and too much coddling of criminals, and accusing dissenters of acting like Nazis, etc.

This nation is rooted in the belief that nothing is more important than individual rights. Absolutely nothing. And that means that sometimes society as a whole must suffer to assure the preservation of what the Declaration of Independence calls inalienable rights.

Other nations may not play by the same set of rules. In some, individual liberty isn't even considered a practical concept. But in the United States it is more than a concept, it is the gut issue of survival. Every action — at home or abroad — that compromises our commitment to that position weakens the nation, not strengthens it as some in our leadership seem to believe.

So senators chuckle when the attorney general blats that the end justifies the means. But when they do, they risk chuckling our freedoms — and theirs — into nothingness.

# U.S. Adviser Defends Dzu, Named as Drug Trafficker

By IVER PETERSON  
New York Times News Service

SAIGON — Maj. Gen. Ngo Dzu, who was identified Wednesday by an American congressman as being one of the "chief traffickers" in heroin in South Vietnam, said this morning that the charges were the "poor invention" of a jealous army rival, and that the Communists may have had a subtle hand in the controversy.

Dzu added that the congressman, Rep. Richard Steele, R-Conn., had become an unwitting dupe in a methodical plot to unseat him from his command of South Vietnam's Military Region II, which covers the Central Highlands.

Dzu's chief American adviser, John Paul Vann, staunchly defended the general in a telephone interview from his office in Nhatrang. He called the charges "a tremendous act of sabotage" and sharply criticized Steele for apparently basing his charges—made in testimony before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee—on two anonymous and unsubstantiated letters, composed by Dzu's rival and sent to the American Embassy.

## Steele Is Adamant

(An Associated Press dispatch from New Haven, Conn., quoted Steele as saying that his accusations were based on "hard intelligence" now in the hands of U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, and not on anonymous letters as Dzu suggested.

"You don't say this unless you are in a position to know," he declared. The congressman said he was unsure when or what action would be taken

against Dzu, but added: "I would hope they would put him under indictment.")

Dzu flew to Saigon yesterday in an attempt to trace the charges against him and to plead his innocence before President Nguyen Van Thieu. The president refused to see the general, and the rest of the government, through its officials and other spokesmen, turned what appeared to be a cold shoulder toward him.

But the general had a later and apparently satisfying dinner with a close friend of the president's, Sen. Hoang Xuan Tuu, who assured him that Thieu would see him later today.

"President Thieu understands the campaign against me," Dzu said in an interview.

## Maps His Defense

The portly, 45-year-old general, who speaks a vivid colloquial English, said he would return to his headquarters in Pleiku today but would return "in three or four days" with proof of the alleged plot against him. He said his revelations would prove that two anonymous letters, containing the false charges of his role in smuggling heroin to U.S. forces in South Vietnam, had been sent to the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, and that the embassy had in turn given the letters to Steele during his recent Vietnam tour.

"I cannot say who my enemy is," Dzu said during the interview, suddenly switching into Vietnamese. "But you know, and I know, and the Vietnamese papers all know who he is."

However, Dzu's brother-in-law, Capt. Nguyen Quang Bat, confirmed that the "enemy"

was Maj. Gen. Lu Lan, whom Dzu replaced as commander of the II Corps last year with many mutual hard feelings.

## Heads Investigating Unit

Lan is now chief inspector general of the Army, and therefore its principal criminal investigator.

Lan told a Vietnamese newspaper last week that Dzu took his powerful job away from him by having the Americans peddle their influence with Thieu.

Lan accused Vann in particular of having exerted his considerable influence with the U.S. Army command, with the U.S. Embassy and in the presidential palace to have Dzu take over the command of II Corps. Before the move, Dzu commanded the IV Corps, in the Mekong Delta, where Vann was his chief civilian adviser.

Last May 16, Vann followed Dzu to the Central Highlands as his adviser and as the top American in II Corps.

## Intercession Denied

Vann this morning strongly denied having interceded on Dzu's behalf to land him the command of II Corps.

According to Dzu and his partisans in the controversy, the attack on him began last April 2 when the first anonymous letter was sent to Ambassador Bunker accusing the general of corruption, and particularly with using his position and military assets to smuggle heroin into South Vietnam.

A second letter was allegedly sent on April 16, reiterating the charges and alleging further evidence of wrong-doing against Dzu.

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## A Saigon General Named As a Trafficker in Heroin

By FELIX BELAIR Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 7 — A high-ranking South Vietnamese general was named by a member of Congress before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee today as "one of the chief traffickers in heroin in Southeast Asia."

Gen. Ngo Dzu, commander of the South Vietnamese Army's II Corps, was named by Representative Robert H. Steele, Republican of Connecticut, in



Associated Press

Maj. Gen. Ngo Dzu

testimony on a proposed amendment to the foreign aid extension bill that would cut off aid to any country failing to deal effectively with illicit opium production and distribution.

Mr. Steele told the subcommittee that since submitting his recent report on illicit heroin trafficking and addiction of United States servicemen in Southeast Asia, "I have learned that South Vietnamese military officers continue to deal in large quantities of heroin and to transport it around South Vietnam in military aircraft and vehicles."

[When Mr. Steele testified in Washington, it was already night in South Vietnam, and it was not possible to obtain comment from General Dzu, who was in Pleiku in the area of his command, Military Region II in the Central Highlands.]

"U.S. military authorities have provided Ambassador [Ellsworth] Bunker with hard intelligence that one of the chief traffickers is Gen. Ngo Dzu, the

commander of II Corps," he said. "Dzu is one of the staunchest military backers of President Thieu and one of the leading strongmen in the current Saigon Government."

Mr. Steele said that Gen. Ouane Rathikoune, Chief of the Laotian General Staff, was also "reportedly deeply involved in the heroin traffic." He said General Ouane's troops protected opium and heroin refineries along the Mekong River and also transported heroin on Laotian military aircraft.

### Action Taken Against Peddlers

In Saigon, Mr. Steele said, "The Government cracked down on street peddlers at our insistence and that was easy."

"They have started to crack down on their customs people and it's had some effect," he went on. "But now we come to the top strongman—a general in South Vietnam—and I wonder just how serious the Government will be about its crackdown."

"I don't say put him before a firing squad, but he must be stopped."

The 32-year-old Mr. Steele, a former agent of the Central Intelligence Agency, estimated in his Congressional study report in May that 10 to 15 per cent of the American servicemen in Indochina had become addicted to heroin. The report was based on investigations he made in the area with Representative Morgan T. Murphy, Democrat of Illinois.

In Vietnam, Mr. Steele talked with the highest civil and military authorities of the United States and South Vietnam. He has kept in touch with many of the 50 officials, including Ambassador Bunker, who were mentioned in the appendix of his report and last night was in touch with several of them in Saigon by telephone.

### Testimony by Mitchell

Mr. Steele's statements paralleled testimony by Attorney General John W. Mitchell to-

day before a Senate joint subcommittee that the United States had identified a number of Southeast Asian leaders involved in illegal drug traffic and was prepared to use its full authority "and other means of persuasion" to end their participation in government as well as in narcotics trafficking.

Under questioning by Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat of Maine, Mr. Mitchell said that high political and military leaders in Burma, Laos and Thailand as well as South Vietnam were deeply involved in drug traffic.

The Attorney General said he could not identify any of the political or military leaders except in a closed session of the subcommittee, but he declared: "We feel we have identified some of them and have taken initiatives in some of the countries to eliminate their participation."

"You feel you will be able to eliminate their participation both in the drug traffic and in government?" Senator Muskie asked.

"We anticipate we will be able to do this to the extent that our country has jurisdiction or other means of persuasion," the Attorney General replied.

Two subcommittees of the Senate Committee on Government Operations sat as a joint panel to hear testimony from Mr. Mitchell, Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and David Packard, Deputy Secretary of Defense, on President Nixon's plan to create a new special action office in the White House for the prevention of drug abuse.

In response to questions by Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democrat of Connecticut, Mr. Packard said the Pentagon was prepared to grant retroactive amnesty—on a case by case basis—to servicemen "discharged under less than honorable circumstances because of drug abuse."

Mr. Packard read the panel a policy memorandum sent today to all service secretaries directing that "evidence developed by, or as a direct result of urinalysis administered for the purpose of identifying drug abusers may not be used in any disciplinary action under

the Uniform Code of Military Justice or as a basis for supporting an administrative discharge under less than favorable circumstances."

It is only "fair and equitable" that former addicts in the military forces be given the same chance as present servicemen to earn a clean record and an honorable discharge, the Deputy Secretary said.

### Amnesty Program Criticized

The military amnesty program for addicts has been criticized in and out of Congress because some servicemen who turned themselves in for treatment have been subjected to disciplinary or punitive measures.

Servicemen found to have been involved in selling narcotics or in other criminal activities are specifically excluded from the retroactive amnesty, Mr. Packard explained.

The core of the Administration's case for the President's \$155-million special action program was that the war against narcotics addiction cannot succeed until the Federal Government brings all its resources to bear through a new office in the White House. Its three spokesmen said the effort now was fragmented among nine Federal bureaus and agencies and was not being carried out.

Senator Ribicoff conceded that the changes planned under the President's coordination plan were good "as far as it goes."

"But I believe we will need much more than a new box on an organization chart," the Connecticut Senator said. "It begins to look as though when we don't know what else to do and we want to create the illusion of action and concern, we create a new unit in the White House and assign it the task of coordinating some unknown solution to the problem."

As co-chairman of the joint panel, Senator Ribicoff asked the Administration officials: "What do you believe are the causes of the drug abuses crisis in the nation?"

Attorney General Mitchell said he was not qualified to answer fully but suggested that the causes included "despondency, psychiatric reliance and the fact that many young people find it sociable to join others in these activities."

After extensive discussion, the only point on which the committee members and administration spokesmen appeared to be fully agreed was the accuracy of President Nixon's assertion in a recent message to Congress that mounting narcotics addiction was "a national emergency."

# 2 Congressmen Hit Thai Role in Heroin Trafficking

BANGKOK, Thailand, July 3 (UPI) — One of Southeast Asia's most successful commercial ventures is the illegal production and sale of heroin.

There is irony in the fact that virtually all of the heroin smoked and injected by American GIs in Viet Nam is smuggled thru Thailand, a staunch American ally in the Indochina War.

Thailand also is the conduit for an increasing amount of illicit heroin entering the United States.

## U.S. Seeks Solution

Spurred by President Nixon, the U.S. government has turned more attention to trying to solve the problem that may prove to have more staying power than the war itself.

American diplomats in Bangkok have reached in the past with boredom and hostility to newsmen's questions about opium and heroin traffic in Thailand. Newsmen were told they could not interview for the record American officials here about the drugs. The explanation was such news stories would damage relations between the U. S. and Thailand.

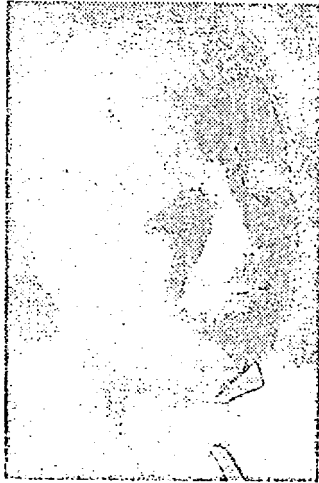
Meanwhile, agents from the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs were working against great odds to stem the opium and heroin tide in Thailand.

## Make Congress Probe

It took two U. S. representatives, armed with congressional investigative powers, to spell out publicly Thailand's role as a passageway in the drug traffic.

Rep. Morgan F. Murphy, (D., Ill.) and Robert H. Steele, (R., Conn.) came up with some recommendations. Murphy represents Chicago's South Side. Steele is a former agent for the Central Intelligence Agency.

The two representatives talked with U.S. narcotics agents here for a report conducted under the auspices of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.



Rep. Morgan Murphy

These are some of their findings:

Some of the Southeast Asian opium is processed into heroin which is smuggled to the U.S. by couriers on commercial and military aircraft. Some is mailed to the U.S. by American military personnel, using both commercial and military postal services.

## Cite Smuggling Routes

Most of the heroin is smuggled into South Viet Nam thru Thailand and Laos. It is produced from poppies grown in mountainous areas of Burma, Laos, Thailand and parts of Yunnan Province in Communist China.

American citizens, mostly former servicemen, recently have moved to Thailand and have gotten into the business of smuggling heroin. The representative said they were told by U.S. agents that bar patrons are recruited as heroin couriers to the U. S. and that U. S. military personnel on active duty are recruited to ship heroin to the U.S. thru the military postal system.

The Bureau of Customs on April 5 seized 17 pounds of heroin in a piece of military mail from Bangkok. The package seized was being shipped to Monmouth, N.J., and cost \$1 million.

## Carried in Planes

Some of the heroin smuggled into South Viet Nam is carried in commercial aircraft and in planes of the Lactian-Thai and South Vietnamese air forces the representatives said.

They said that in Laos "government armed forces are major wholesalers of opium and heroin and have been directly involved in large-scale smuggling activities."

Murphy and Steele also charged that heroin has been smuggled in a private airline financed by the CIA. However, they said, "There is no evidence that any official of a U.S. agency has ever been involved in the smuggling of heroin into South Viet Nam."

## Linked to Troops

Their report also said heroin is smuggled into South Viet Nam from Bangkok "by Thai soldiers either returning from leave or those beginning a tour of duty in South Viet Nam. Many of these soldiers travel in U.S. military aircraft."

"A former diplomat and member of one of the most respected Thai families is reputed to be one of the key figures in the opium, morphine base and heroin operations in that country and thruout Southeast Asia," they said.

Steele told reporters while in Bangkok that he was aware of the U.S. diplomats' policy of suppressing news of the drug traffic on the grounds that it might prove embarrassing to Thailand.

"That policy is going to change," Steele said. "It is not the policy of the Nixon administration."

They said the U.S. mission in Thailand "should be more forceful" in convincing the Thai government that the U.S. needs and expects increased action to stop the illegal traffic in opium and its derivatives.

## Tell Thai Efforts

Their report noted that Thailand had attempted, without much success, to encourage hill tribesmen to grow crops other than opium.

It said Thailand has sought the help of the U.N. in dealing with the problem and also "has initiated efforts to destroy the poppy crops. However, it said enforcement has proven almost impossible because the areas are too remote and because of the Communist-inspired insurgency in the area."

Murphy and Steele want Thailand to "devote more resources to improvement of their capability to intercept illegal shipments of opium, morphine and heroin."

GILLETTE, WYO.  
NEWS-RECORD

JUL 1 1971  
WEEKLY - 3,850

## Hansen Digs Out Facts About CIA

The director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs reported to Senator Cliff Hansen (R-Wyo.) Wednesday that the CIA is his bureau's strongest ally in the fight against illegal narcotics trade from foreign sources.

The letter from Bureau Director John E. Ingersoll refuted the allegation by poet Allen Ginsberg at a University of Wyoming function that the intelligence agency encouraged opium traffickers in Indochina.

"CIA has for some time been this bureau's strongest partner in identifying foreign sources and routes of illegal trade in narcotics," Ingersoll told Hansen.

Hansen said he would get the facts on the allegation because: "I do not take such serious charges against our

government lightly, nor do I feel the students at our university can afford to take such charges lightly. None of us should allow unjust criticism of our government to go unchallenged."

Ginsberg's charges, in which he referred to an article in "Ramparts Magazine," first were made at the university following an address by Hansen to a ROTC group.

ENJOY A SENSIBLE FOUR

# CAPITOL STUFF

By PAUL HEALY

Washington, June 29—Congress seems bent on giving President Nixon even stronger weapons than he asked for in his highly touted "war on drug abuse," particularly in the armed forces.

When it opened hearings on the crash program yesterday, the House Health subcommittee signalled a clear desire to broaden the powers of the proposed White House "drug czar." The plan is to give

him control over drug programs in the military and law-enforcement agencies, as well as over the nine civilian agencies already specified in the bill.

Toughening of the Nixon program in another direction was predicted today for THE NEWS by Rep. Robert H. Steele (R-Conn.), whose report on the frightening rise of heroin addiction among GIs abroad touched off national

shock waves.

Analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of the Nixon bill for the first time, Steele started by praising the President on several counts. This is more than the White House has done for Steele.

One might have thought the White House would turn at least a portion of its spotlight on the kind of 32-year-old Republican the party badly needs. Steele, a former Soviet specialist for the Central Intelligence Agency, is a savvy, attractive newcomer from eastern Connecticut. On May 27, he and Rep. Morgan F. Murphy (D-Ill.) issued a 32-page report on their nine-nation investigation of the world's opium and heroin centers for the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Among other alarming findings, the report disclosed estimates that as many as 10% to 15% of U.S. servicemen in South Vietnam were addicted to heroin. Steele was invited to brief members of the National Security Council and the Domestic Council. The White House then speeded up the drafting of its drug program and wrapped in eight recommendations of the report, with no credit to Steele (or Murphy) when it was announced with great fanfare by Nixon himself June 17.

Steele today praised Nixon for recalling his ambassadors from France, Turkey, Mexico, Thailand, and South Vietnam, and personally insisting that they get more cooperation from those governments on cutting off the flow of narcotics.

Steele likewise lauded the President for asking Congress for authority to create a centralized drug office right in the White House, and for choosing as his drug czar the able director of the Illinois state program, Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe.

But the Congressman wants the czar to have control over the military side of the problem and he has "serious reservations" about Nixon's commitment to the rehabilitation of addicts due to be discharged from the service.

Under the White House's program, addicts are now identified through urinalysis tests of all GIs before they embark for the U.S. from Vietnamese ports. The addicts are held in service for 30 more days to be de-toxified and given basic rehabilitation treatment. After 30 days, they are offered further treatment if it is indicated—on a voluntary basis.

## He'd Test All the Men in Uniform

If this is indeed a crash program, Steele believes the urinalysis tests should be given to all GIs in Vietnam, and also to the U.S. troops stationed in Europe. The earlier you detect an addict, the better chance you have to treat him, he noted. Also, an addict who knows he will be checked at the embarkation point need only refrain from taking drugs for 48 hours beforehand in order to pass the urinalysis test.

As for the holding of an addict in uniform for a mere 30 additional days of treatment, Steele argued. "A very substantial number of these men will not have been rehabilitated in 30 days."

"What do you do with a man who is not motivated to continue treatment and is going back on the street?" he asked. "What does the President say? He says you let him go! We say you have to keep control. He is a time-bomb when he gets out."

Steele and Murphy propose that the civilian service secretaries have authority to civilly commit such an addict to the head of the Veterans Administration for mandatory further rehabilitation treatment, on the recommendation of the chief medical officer of each service.

## Wants More Research on Preventives

If addicts are allowed to leave the service unrehabilitated, Steele asked, "How many will go out on the streets and infect others, commit crimes, etc?"

"We must avoid letting this program become a gimmick to relieve the military of their responsibility (to fight heroin addiction)," he added.

The Steele-Murphy bill, which deals solely with narcotics use in the military, is co-sponsored by 76 other congressmen, so it seems to stand a fair passage of approval by the now drug-conscious House.

Steele and Murphy also are urging that the government's research programs into finding "antagonistic" drugs on the order of naloxone, and perhaps some sort of vaccination cure, be expanded to the limit of \$25 million the first year and \$50 million the second year. Steele complained, "We can't figure out how much is going for research under the President's program."



Robert H. Steele  
His discoveries were shocking



E - 35,280  
S - 35,969

JUN 25 1971

# Have CIA buy up the opium



By JACK BELL

Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON — President Nixon is making a tragic mistake in his assessment that the use of drugs by U.S. servicemen in Vietnam is "by no means a major part of the American narcotics problem", as he said in his drug abuse control message to Congress.

The accelerated movement of the bored or scared "grunts" into the legion of those who smoke or snort heroin strikes at the heart of the narcotics cancer of the future, if not of the present.

What happens to those young men when they come home hooked with a habit they can stand off for \$5 a day in Saigon, where the dope is pure and cheap? They will find the price of their habit has gone up to \$100 a day in the United States, where the drug is so cut that to get any charge from it they will have to pump it directly into their blood.

CHAIRMAN Vance Hartke, D-Ind., of the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee, estimates there are more than 375,000 men

returned from Vietnam now looking for jobs. Almost none of them — and those who are rejoining them weekly — are likely to latch on to any payroll check that would support an addict's habit. The addict will turn naturally to crime.

Nobody really knows how many uniformed young Americans in Southeast Asia are mortgaging their future lives by using dangerous drugs. Only recently and belatedly has officialdom become grudgingly alarmed at the spread of this menace.

Rep. Seymour Halpern, R-N.Y., who bought heroin easily on the streets of Saigon to demonstrate its availability, estimates there are 60,000 users of the drug in uniform. This works out close to one quarter of the U.S. troops in the war zone.

Reps. Morgan F. Murphy, D-Ill., and Robert H. Steele, R-Conn., who made their own investigation in Vietnam, think 30,000 to 40,000 have a serious heroin habit.

NIXON'S new program is aimed primarily at reducing the number of GI addicts who will come home untreated and at providing followup treatment for them. Urine tests will be given all returning veterans. Detected addicts will be put through a seven-day course of detoxification in Vietnam, followed by three weeks of treatment at home.

This is all very well as far as it goes. But it does nothing for the thousands of addicts who still have time to serve in Vietnam. Steele's suggestion that all U.S. servicemen be tested at least once a month ought to be followed.

Nixon has promised to attack the narcotics supply on an international plane. He is having some success in Turkey, where the government is struggling to control the growing of opium poppies. Smuggled opium from Turkey is said to be the source of three-fourths of the heroin entering this country.

THIS progress in Europe, however, has not been matched in Asia. There, the friendly countries of Burma, Laos and Thailand produce about 700 tons

of opium annually, about half of the world's illicit output.

Production of the raw drug and its refining is carried on in the "Golden Triangle" border area that feeds heroin into South Vietnam. There it is sold on the streets — often by children — to American servicemen. The Nixon administration has put the screws on Saigon's President Nguyen Van Thieu to crack down on the traffic. But this fails to get at the supply.

Discussions with the governments of Burma, Laos and Thailand are not going to get very far. Unfortunately, these governments have very little clout in the Mekong River tri-border area, where irregular "armies" and Chinese buy the opium crops, run the refineries and transport heroin.

## Crop

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, under fire for its paramilitary activities in Laos, knows about these operations. What would be wrong if it were commissioned to buy up the opium harvest of the area at premium prices? Opium has legitimate medical uses and the project would not be a total loss.

This would be no more costly nor fantastic in its concept than the CIA's equipping, training and transporting troops that won one revolution (Guatemala) and lost another (Cuba). And if it could be carried out, it might salvage a great many twisted lives among the Americans who remain in South Vietnam.

June 24, 1971

techniques will have to be adopted. Good management will also require extraordinary care in selecting key departmental executives and the optimum utilization of the senior civil service staff. Many other Federal reorganizations have faltered on this score and have failed to produce the anticipated benefits because of managerial deficiencies.

For all these reasons we endorse your reorganization proposals and convey to you the willingness of representatives of the League, as a public interest organization, to voice our support as appropriate. Some of us may have varying views with respect to the transfer or assignment of particular functions. Admittedly, there are many issues concerning the most suitable locus for specific bureaus of programs and reasonable men can expect to have some differences concerning them. Likewise, alternative clustering of functions and agencies within the general context of the plan may prove to have merit. Nevertheless, this in no way dilutes our endorsement of the basic principles and concepts underlying the proposed creation of these four new departments of government.

Please accept the good wishes of our Board as you proceed with the important task of forming a Federal organization which will produce better responsibility and efficiency in Federal administration.

Very truly yours,

MORTIMAR M. CAPLIN,  
President.

BERNARD L. GLADIEUX,  
Chairman, Executive Committee.

#### POLLUTION

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Oceans and Atmosphere I have become increasingly aware of the horror of pollution. Our Nation's lakes and waterways are becoming unusable, wildlife is being destroyed, and the water shortages throughout the country are receiving national concern. We have a responsibility to reverse the dangerous actions which man has perpetrated on his environment for the past generations. I commend to the Senate the concurrent resolution of the South Carolina General Assembly, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Memorializing Congress to enact legislation to prohibit the Savannah District Army Corps of Engineers from permitting the dumping of sewage in Lake Hartwell in South Carolina

Whereas, the Savannah District of Army Corps of Engineers has received an application from a firm in Anderson, South Carolina to permit it to construct and maintain a discharge line which will discharge treated effluents from a holding pond into Lake Hartwell near where U.S. Highway 76 crosses Six and Twenty Mile Creek; and

Whereas, the application if granted would permit concern to dump eight thousand gallons of treated sewage a day into the Six and Twenty Mile Creek channel of Lake Hartwell;

Whereas, Lake Hartwell has been developed as a residential area and as an outstanding recreational spa attracting many thousands annually to its shore to indulge in such water sports as swimming, water skiing, boating and fishing; and

Whereas, the dumping of sewage whether treated or not presents a threat to the health and safety of residents in the vicinity and the many users of the facilities of Lake Hartwell. Now, therefore, be it resolved by the

House of Representatives, the Senate concurring:

That the Congress of the United States is hereby memorialized to enact such legislation as may be necessary to prohibit the Savannah District Corps of Army Engineers from approving a proposal to permit the dumping of sewage in Lake Hartwell in South Carolina.

Be it further resolved that copies of this Resolution be forwarded to the Clerk of the United States Senate, to the Clerk of the United States House of Representatives and to each member of Congress from South Carolina.

#### DOT ADMITS USING TAXPAYER FUNDS TO PROMOTE SST AMONG GRADE-SCHOOL CHILDREN

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, a few weeks ago I wrote to the Department of Transportation requesting information about a booklet that DOT has been distributing to the Nation's schools. The booklet is entitled "SST-T-T--Sound, Sense, Today, Tomorrow, Thereafter." The distribution of this booklet has been underway for quite some time, as part of the Department's aviation education program.

The booklet is little more than an attempt to propagandize our children as to the virtues of the SST. It minimizes--indeed, almost dismisses--the problem of the sonic boom. It makes no reference whatsoever to other environmental problems, such as excessive sideline noise or upper atmospheric pollution. It praises the virtue of speed to the hilt--but without mentioning that fewer than 3 percent of us might ever be able to take advantage of it.

The booklet's adventure stories are geared in the same direction. Children are introduced to "The Supersonic Pussy-cat"--the lucky pet that gets to fly to Paris in 2½ hours; to "Deci Belle"--who was attracted to any noise, "the louder the better"; to "Maxwell the Mouse," "Shaky the Helicopter," and other unforgettable characters. There is a teacher's manual accompanying these stories, suggesting exercises which can excite interest in supersonic flight.

Mr. President, my letter to Secretary of Transportation sought information as to the cost of the booklet, its date of printing, the number of copies distributed, and the authorization for the expenditure.

Secretary Volpe's response was sent last Friday. His letter indicates that the project cost the taxpayer \$12,800; that 50,000 copies of the booklet were printed; that the booklet is still in active use; and that the money came out of the printing allocation for DOT and FAA.

Mr. President, I can see absolutely no justification for this type of expenditure--however small it may be. This type of blatant propaganda, distributed to children who cannot see through it, would be questionable even if it were financed by private funds. But it is doubly reprehensible to have the Federal taxpayer finance it.

Congress has not, I hope, lost the power to control such expenditures. When the DOT appropriation for fiscal year 1972 comes before the Senate Appropriations Committee, this Senator intends to pursue this matter further. I just can not see how we can permit this

kind of propagandizing by the Federal Government to continue.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the response from Secretary Volpe, dated June 18, 1971, be printed in the Record. My original letter to Secretary Volpe already appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 4, 1971, at page S8242.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION,

Washington, D.C., June 18, 1971.

HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE,

U.S. Senate,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PROXMIRE: In reply to your letter of June 2, 1971, this is one of many publications we have available to aid us in the promotion of aviation which is authorized by the Federal Aviation Act. The project grew out of a request by educators to have material developed which could be used for "... Aviation Education Materials For Grades K-6 In The Areas Of Aviation Noise And Sonic Boom."

In answer to the six questions you raised:

(1) The booklet was produced through normal government printing channels using funds appropriated for the purpose of conducting Department of Transportation (DOT), Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) programs. More precisely, the publication was a part of DOT's Interagency Aircraft Noise Abatement Program under the aegis of the Information Education Committee of the group. The legislative authorization and appropriation was the regular printing allocation of the then DOT, FAA budget.

(2) The costs fall in two major categories: the actual contract for the production of the original material was \$5,021.00; the actual printing cost amounted to \$7,871.42.

(3) The first and only printing was completed on July 1, 1969.

(4) There were 50,000 copies of the booklet printed.

(5) The booklets were distributed to the then various FAA regions, area managers and educators, both in public and private schools, and those in colleges and universities who conduct teacher training sessions.

(6) The publication is still used.

I trust this satisfactorily answers the question you raised.

Sincerely,

JOHN A. VOLPE.

#### SENATOR HUMPHREY'S SPEECH TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on June 14 I had the high honor and privilege of delivering the keynote address to the Conference of Mayors annual meeting in Philadelphia, Pa.

In the speech, I advocated that the United States should adopt a national urban strategy--a plan of action that pinpoints the choices and values we as a nation must embrace if we are to solve the problems of the cities. I suggested that five key points of a national urban strategy are fiscal vitality, social progress, environmental quality, urban peace, and balanced national growth.

Although I believe that each of these topics is a major subject in itself, I focused my attention on fiscal vitality and social progress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of my remarks be printed in the Record.

## LAOS

### Change of Tune

BY ARNOLD ABRAMS

Vientiane: The thaw in Sino-American relations has not halted US-directed intelligence operations which penetrate deep into Chinese territory. These operations, which have been conducted for years by the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), involve the sending of reconnaissance teams from northern Laos as far as several hundred miles into southern China's Yunnan province. Team members are native hill tribesmen whose ethnic stock — Meo — is prevalent in southern China.

The tribesmen have been recruited, equipped and trained by the CIA to infiltrate Chinese territory and obtain information on troop movements, politi-

Chinese authorities have known for some time about the missions; several teams have been captured in recent years.

Consequently, American officials reason that Peking will continue to tolerate such territorial incursions as long as they are conducted solely for intelligence-gathering purposes and do not pose a direct security threat. US authorities also believe that, if the Chinese want an excuse to reverse the friendly trend, they can do better than simply focus on these operations.

"Americans are still fighting in Vietnam, they have a military presence on Taiwan, and they are standing by their treaty commitments to Chiang Kai-shek," observes one source close to the US embassy here. "If the Chinese are looking for something to whip them with, any one of those three will do."

In Laos, American officials' major security concern about the Chinese stems from a Peking road-building project in the north. An estimated 14,000 Chinese personnel, including several thousand soldiers standing guard and manning anti-aircraft batteries, are constructing a route leading toward the Thai border.

Thai authorities repeatedly have expressed deep concern about the road's potential as a supply line for communist-led guerilla forces in northern Thailand. American officials privately voice similar concern. While conceding that Chinese forces in Laos have not shown hostility, they insist the construction project must be kept under closest scrutiny.

The Peking project originally was requested by the tripartite government, established in Laos with the signing of the 1962 Geneva Accord, which collapsed in 1963.

Ironically, while American officials fret about Chinese intentions in Laos, Peking's new diplomacy has prompted a positive reaction from the leader of this nation's neutralist government. In a recent interview, Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma stressed China's historically non-aggressive attitude toward Laos.

The 70-year-old prince noted that the unhappy history of this landlocked kingdom is replete with tales of invasion by neighbouring Thais, Cambodians, Burmese and Vietnamese — but not by the Chinese. He also expressed the hope that China's attitude, coupled with a

possible Sino-American rapprochement, would restrain further North Vietnamese aggression in Laos.

Although Souvanna Phouma is still said to harbour private fears about Peking's longrange designs on this region, his current public stance marks a departure from the position he assumed earlier this year, prior to the US-supported South Vietnamese invasion of his country. Then, he warned that the allied move might prompt open intervention by Peking in the Indochina war. Now, his tune is different. Like everyone else, he can only guess about the intentions of China's leaders.

### Fateful Flowering

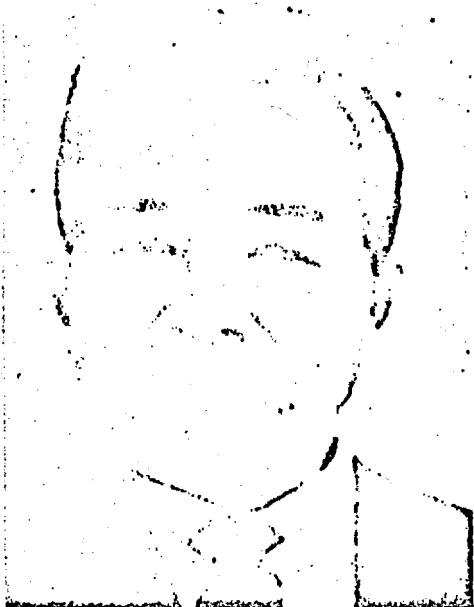
BY A CORRESPONDENT

Vientiane: Asia's latest opium war is hotting up. East of the Annamite mountains, the US military is reported to be reeling under the effects of heroin, and in Saigon US leaders have been pressing the government into a series of emergency measures to stop the flow of supplies — including a mass transfer of customs agents from Ton Son Nlut airport, the centre of large scale trafficking, and sweeps through the city to arrest suspected peddlars.

A widely publicised amnesty-cure programme has been offered addicted soldiers. All chemists and known peddling centres have been placed "off limits" and medical tests instituted to detect addicts among homeward bound troops.

But these measures are preliminary skirmishes in the great war. The problem of stamping out or otherwise controlling opium can only be solved by an international campaign of which Laos is already feeling the impact. An American narcotics investigator is in Vientiane tracing the legend that heroin is produced in Laos and seeking information to map out strategy in the war against opiates. Early this month Laotian national police were pressured into a general round-up of Vientiane's opium den operators, most of whom have a licence from the Laotian government. More than 120 operators were held for questioning.

But Laotians find it difficult to take seriously a campaign which conflicts with local customs, tolerances and economy. The opium den operators were



ARNOLD ABRAMS

Souvanna Phouma: Stressing China's non-aggressive attitude towards Laos.

cal developments and other pertinent security data. American embassy officials in Vientiane refuse to discuss these operations, but qualified sources report that the officials believe local security needs and the intelligence value of such operations justify their continuation.

American authorities largely discount any potential threat these operations pose to slowly improving relations between Washington and Peking. They believe this threat is small because the operations are not commando raids or sabotage efforts, and Americans do not participate directly in them. Moreover,

1 8 JUN 1971

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# The Nixon Syndrome

WHEN A YOUNG freshman Republican congressman returned from Vietnam in mid-April with a horrifying story of massive heroin addiction among American troops, he was met by icy irritation from the White House — thereby underlining a political failure that has always bedeviled the Nixon administration.

In fact, the new anti-heroin program unveiled at the White House yesterday stemmed directly from revelations of Rep. Robert Steele of Connecticut. But before that happy point was reached, the 32-year-old first-termer, a Republican moderate, was subjected to the same old mode of operations by President Nixon's staff that has disheartened so many Republican politicians.

Steele's experience is a case study of the Nixon syndrome: the isolation of the President, the arrogance of much of his staff, the White House, fetish for secrecy, and the administration's inexplicable refusal to put its best foot forward.

ACTUALLY, the Nixon administration has been vigorously working on the drug problem for two and one-half years under the guidance of John Ehrlichman's domestic policy staff at the White House. But nothing

much was getting through to the increasingly anxious public or Congress, thanks to the secrecy mania and the Teutonic fastidiousness of the Ehrlichman staff.

Moreover, the White House had been sitting on a secret certain to sicken the American public: beginning in December, 1969, heroin addiction among American troops in Vietnam steadily rose toward epidemic proportions. Typically, instead of putting this problem before the public, the White House tried to cover it up.

So pervasive was the heroin traffic among Vietnam GIs, however, that some journalist or visiting congressman was bound to be hit in the face with it. That was precisely what happened when ex-CIA agent Steele and another first-year congressman, 39-year-old Chicago Democrat Morgan Murphy, visited Vietnam. They returned to Washington convinced that the profusion of cheap high-grade heroin in Vietnam was magnifying the national drug crisis in a truly terrifying way.

EVEN THEN, the White House could have recouped. Steele, a loyal Republican, was not about to attack his own President. Mr. Nixon could have extolled the energy and initiative of a freshman congressman and,

in the process, given the impression of forceful prosecution of the problem.

But he did no such thing. At this writing, the President has not even conferred with Steele. Nor has Ehrlichman. Instead, the congressman was shunted off to two young members of Ehrlichman's staff: Egil (Bud) Krogh Jr., 31, Ehrlichman's deputy, and Jeffrey Donfeld, 28, a specialist on drug problems.

Krogh and Donfeld greeted Steele's revelations with a posture of boredom and indifference, the hauteur that has made the Ehrlichman staff unloved on Capitol Hill. Donfeld, in particular, confronted Steele in a mood of now, now, my boy, we don't need your advice.

Furthermore, Mr. Nixon tried to minimize the impact of Steele's revelations. At his press conference June 2, the President suggested addiction of Vietnam troops was merely part of the national drug problem — ignoring this harsh fact inherent in Steele's report: soldiers returning home as heroin addicts would never have been introduced to the drug had they not gone to Vietnam.

BOTH THIS position by the President and the coolness of his staff toward Steele stem from their awareness that the Vietnam

heroin story provides powerful propaganda to the anti-war campaign for a precipitous troop pullout from Vietnam and further undermines diminished faith in the nation's armed services. To cope with this, the White House characteristically pretended it did not exist.

Beyond this, staffers Krogh and Donfeld, having worked night and day on the drug problem, were genuinely irritated by a very junior congressman who had become a 24-hour expert. In so doing, they again betrayed the exasperation of the White House with the legislative branch and its dim realization that Congress exists as a coordinate branch of government.

Within the last few weeks, more politically experienced presidential aides (including counselor Donald Rumsfeld, an ex-congressman) stepped in to take a more conciliatory position with Steele. As a result, Steele, though still chilled by his treatment at the White House, has nothing but praise publicly for the President and his comprehensive new program announced yesterday. But in the Republican cloakroom, the real story is well known and once again betrays to all how shockingly little the White House has learned about the trade of politics.

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POTTSTOWN, PA.

MERCURY

JUN 16 1971

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## Strong Indictment

Long after the last American has been withdrawn from Indochina, the United States will still be facing the consequences of its participation in that theater in terms of human misery. Hundreds of thousands of wounded, many with permanently crippling injuries, will remind generations yet unborn of the cost America paid.

Perhaps more destructive, in terms of human lives, are the thousands returning from Indochina with sound limbs but bodies hooked on narcotics. Reports of drug usage by American servicemen serving in Vietnam have appeared almost from the beginning of the involvement. But the full extent of addiction on drugs such as heroin has not been revealed until recently.

A report prepared by two congressmen who toured Indochina and prepared their findings on drug usage for the House Foreign Affairs Committee reveals how widespread the problem has become. The study by Rep. Robert Steele of Connecticut and Rep. Morgan F. Murphy of Illinois backs up earlier allegations by the House Armed Services Committee on widespread corruption among Asian officials in drug traffic.

"In Laos, government armed forces

are major wholesalers of opium and heroin and have been directly involved in large scale smuggling activity," the two congressmen reported.

"Reliable sources report that at least two highranking Laotian officials, military and governmental, including the chief of the Laotian general staff, are deeply involved in smuggling activity," they said.

"In Thailand, a former diplomat and member of one of the most respected Thai families is reported to be one of the key figures in the opium, morphine base and heroin operations in that country and throughout Southeast Asia."

South Vietnamese and Laotian Air Force planes are used to move the illicit cargo into South Vietnam, Steele and Murphy charged. They also said there is evidence some of the narcotics are being shipped by diplomatic pouch on Air America, a CIA-backed airline.

Steele estimates as many as 20 percent of Americans in Vietnam have used heroin. If only half the charges made by this latest study are true — and thus far no part of the report has been refuted — it is a damaging indictment of the allies America has paid such a high price to defend in Southeast Asia.

ment in Veterans' Administration hospitals.

The VA has made plans to provide 30 special units to care for narcotics victims by July 1972, with five units already in operation capable of treating 200 addicts each. Yet those dishonorably discharged prior to the enlightened Pentagon policy still cannot receive VA treatment.

Therefore, I am introducing today a bill which would authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to provide care and treatment for certain former members of the Armed Forces addicted to narcotic drugs. The "certain" members are those who were discharged dishonorably, because of drug addiction.

I believe it is important for the Armed Forces to assert national leadership in identifying drug abusers, and once recognized, insure that treatment and rehabilitation are available to all who have served their country. This is no less important for those addicts now serving on active duty who are now receiving treatment as it is for those who were treated punitively in being released dishonorably from the Army. Military leadership in handling the drug problem would be a distinct contribution toward the abatement of this national tragedy.

The bill which I am introducing today provides the possibility of treatment for thousands who have been sent home with an addiction which is all too often supported by regular criminal activity. It is madness to allow the military to return addicts to civilian life and not provide for their treatment.

#### OPIMUM TRAFFIC IN INDOCHINA

### HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 15, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD a news article from the recent testimony of John E. Ingersoll, Director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, before the House Select Committee on Crime during hearings on the importation of opium into the United States. The article was written by Tom Foley and appeared in the Los Angeles Times on June 3.

Mr. Foley's coverage of the proceedings of that day are excellent and describe some of the startling findings we learned on the involvement of the governments and some high officials in many Southeast Asia countries in illegal drug traffic.

I commend this article to the attention of all who have an interest in this subject.

[From the Los Angeles Times, June 3, 1971]  
ASIAN OFFICIALS PROTECT HEROIN SALE, PANEL TOLD—THEY MAY PROFIT FROM SUPPLYING DRUGS TO U.S. SOLDIERS, NARCOTICS CHIEF SAYS

(By Thomas J. Foley)

WASHINGTON.—The government's chief narcotics enforcement officer said Wednesday that officials of friendly Southeast Asia governments are protecting and

have an interest in heroin traffic to American servicemen in Vietnam.

In testimony before the House Crime Committee, John E. Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, also said Heroin had been unwittingly smuggled into South Vietnam on airplanes of the CIA-operated Air America.

Committee Chairman Claude Pepper (D-Fla.) and other members urged the Administration to take a stronger stand with foreign friendly governments to force a halt to illicit drug traffic.

These included Turkey and France, which respectively grow and process the overwhelming amount of the opium smuggled into the United States as heroin.

#### RIGHT TO ASK AID

"We're committed to risk our own cities in a nuclear war if any French city is attacked by the Communists," Pepper said, "and we have the right not only to ask but to demand that the French take emergency action to help us."

Ingersoll, who recently returned from discussions with Southeast Asia leaders on the heroin problem, said he doubted that any policy-making officials of the countries—Thailand, Laos and South Vietnam—are involved in the illicit drug traffic.

Burma, Thailand and Laos account for about 80 percent of the world's opium production, he said.

But he told newsmen after the hearing that many lower-level officials, including members of the South Vietnamese Legislature, deal in opium. He said some legislators have friends in President Nguyen Van Thieu's cabinet.

Ingersoll told the committee that heroin refineries were under control of insurgents in Burma and Thailand but that those in Laos are protected by elements of the royal Laotian armed forces.

#### RAMPARTS DISCLOSURES

He said that while management and ownership of the Laotian refineries appear to be primarily in the hands of ethnic Chinese citizens of that nation, "some reports suggest" that a senior Laotian air force officer may have an ownership interest in some of the plants.

When Rep. Jerome R. Waldie (D-Calif.) noted that Ramparts magazine had identified the official as Gen. Ouane Rathiquone, Ingersoll replied that "general speculation" conceded this.

Ingersoll denied one contention of the Ramparts article. It maintained that remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang army left in the area are involved in heroin production and are in the employ of the CIA for operations on the China mainland.

But Ingersoll conceded that Air America planes had been used in the past for smuggling heroin—just as regular commercial airliners have been used to smuggle it into the United States.

He told newsmen later that 80 kilograms were seized on an Air America plane at the huge Tan Son Hut Air Base outside Saigon only three or four weeks ago.

During the hearing, Waldie also asked Ingersoll about a Ramparts report that the secret CIA base of Long Cheng, used to support the U.S.-paid Meo tribesmen, was a distribution point for heroin to be shipped into South Vietnam.

Ingersoll said he had not heard of that. However, he later said he had discussed the general illicit drug problem with CIA Director Richard Helms. He said Helms denied the CIA was involved in any way, and that he believed him.

"The Meo tribesmen are something else," Ingersoll said, "but I don't blame the CIA for what the tribesmen do."

#### POOR CIA SECURITY

Waldie said CIA security was apparently "usually" poor, since those in the CIA em-

ploy used the base and facilities for the illicit traffic."

The narcotics chief sought to allay criticism by congressmen of U.S. efforts to get the cooperation of the Asian governments to crack down on the drug traffic.

He said the United States had virtually no leverage over the Burma government, since the last existing aid program is being phased out. The opium-growing area in Thailand is in the hands of insurgents, Ingersoll said, but the Bangkok government is taking steps to try to control it.

He said Laotian officials were "most responsive" even though some high-ranking officials were involved.

#### VIETNAM SMUGGLING

Ingersoll said the Saigon government had taken several steps to crack down on the smuggling, including a shakeup of its customs officials, an increase in the size of its central police force dealing with the problem and the appointment of a special task force by President Thieu.

He also said he was assigning three additional agents to the Far East and that the Defense Department had placed off limits areas of open heroin dealing.

#### A SYMBOLIC FLAG CEREMONY

### HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 15, 1971

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, during these times, when, on one hand, the patriotism of some of our Nation's finest leaders is questioned; and when, on the other, it is often scorned to be patriotic, we must stop to consider what the flag and patriotism actually mean.

Sunday, in Rochester, N.Y., in my congressional district, I attended a flag ceremony at the Rochester Polish People's Home. It was the first flag raising at the home. I would like to share the ceremony with my colleagues for it vividly made the significance of the flag clear to all who attended.

Mr. Ray Gatz, president of the home, introduced the guests, who represented local, county, State, and Federal legislative bodies, as well as the Polish-American and American Legion Posts.

Officials included Rochester Mayor Stephen May, State Assemblyman Raymond Lill, City Councilman Urban Kress, Monroe County Legislators Nicholas Santaro and Sam Poppick.

County Judge Arthur Curran also attended. Judge Curran was especially aware of the value of the flag. He recently received the flag from the coffin of his son, a marine, who was killed in Japan.

Also present were James O'Grady, commander of the Michalski Post; Joseph Zabuchek, commander of the Pulaski Post; Joseph DeMeis, commander of the Monroe County American Legion Post; and Edmund R. Przynsinda, president of Hudson Avenue Area Association.

During the ceremony, I presented a flag which had flown over the Capitol to Mr. Gatz. It was blessed by Father Picrzykowski and raised by Mr. Gatz. County Commander DeMeis led the Pledge of Allegiance.

15 JUN 1971

# Nixon, U.S. Envoys and Top Aides Discuss Curbs

## on Drug Traffic

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 14—

President Nixon summoned six United States ambassadors and Administration officials to the White House today to discuss ways of curbing the flow of narcotics into the United States.

Ronald L. Ziegler, the White House press secretary, told newsmen that much of the discussion had concerned the international drug traffic and that some consideration had been given to the possibility of providing more funds to foreign countries to halt or at least diminish the drug supply at its various sources overseas.

Mr. Ziegler also disclosed that Mr. Nixon would unveil a "major initiative" later this week, either Wednesday or Thursday, to help deal with the drug problem, which has lately become a matter of intense controversy on Capitol Hill.

The proposals, which the President outlined to his guests this morning, are expected to call for the creation of a new government agency or bureau to help fight narcotics with an initial grant of over \$100-million in Federal funds.

### New Directives Expected

There has also been speculation here that Mr. Nixon's announcement would include new directives to the armed forces to deal with the mounting number of servicemen who have become addicted to drugs during their tours of duty in Vietnam. The Senate last week approved an amendment to the draft extension bill that would require the armed forces to identify drug users and to offer them treatment and rehabilitation, and there have been hints that Mr. Nixon would propose similar measures.

The Senate also included a provision that would permit the United States to use its foreign aid program to help countries producing poppies and other narcotic drug sources to subsidize alternate crops.

Mr. Ziegler declined to say whether the forthcoming announcement would include new initiatives to restrict the production of narcotics in nations overseas, but the identity of the participants in this morning's meeting suggested that

Mr. Nixon might be preparing for a series of joint announcements or bilateral programs with nations where narcotics are produced or where a middleman role is played in the international drug traffic.

The envoys on hand were Ellsworth Bunker, Ambassador to South Vietnam; Arthur K. Watson, France; Robert H. McBride, Mexico; William J. Handley, Turkey; Leonard Unger, Thailand, and Kingdon Gould Jr., Luxembourg, which will be the site of a forthcoming international conference on drugs.

Government participants in the meeting, which lasted nearly two hours, included Secretary of State William P. Rogers, Attorney General John N. Mitchell, Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally, Jr., and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Elliot L. Richardson. Also present were Richard Helms, Director of Central Intelligence, John Ingersoll, Director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, and various members of the White House staff.

The program that Mr. Nixon will unveil this week has been the subject of intense private deliberation at the White House for several months. As the issue has gathered political momentum on Capitol Hill, however, these deliberations have taken on a new sense of urgency, and Mr. Nixon, through various statements and White House meetings, has gone to some lengths to make his own concern for the problem—which Mr. Ziegler today described as "profound"—a matter of public record.

"He considers it a major problem," Mr. Ziegler said, "which we are moving against."

Informed White House sources have said that Mr. Nixon will name Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe, director of the drug abuse program in Illinois, to head the new Federal agency.

CHICAGO, ILL.  
SUN-TIMES

M - 541,086  
S - 697,966

JUN 12 1971

Flora Lewis

## Press under fire from within

NEW YORK -- It is hard to think of a time when the news media of this country were under heavier attack, certainly not during those years of yellow journalism early in the century nor during the purple journalism of the '20s.

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew keeps making news by calling the news media names. The latest is "paranoid"; "paranoid with fear, suspicion and loathing" is the way he put it to a group of broadcasters convening in the Bahamas.



FLORA LEWIS

So it may come as a surprise to the public that Agnew isn't as he poses, a lonely knight on horseback battling single-handed with the fiery dragon of the media. The much broader, much more devastating, much more painful attack is coming from within the news profession itself.

It hasn't made headlines. That privilege has been reserved for Agnew, and he would be right to criticize this sin of omission. But it has become an intense and sometimes stormy battle behind scenes.

TV and radio are somewhat less affected than the press because they depend on federal licensing and therefore are more frightened by sniping from the second-highest U.S. official than by the skirmishing behind the lines. Newspapers are becoming more upset by the argument within the craft.

AGNEW, EVER QUIXOTIC, tossed a bouquet saying that the United States has "the best, most professional news fraternity in the world," and then he went on to insist that they ought to turn their criticism on themselves "rather than screaming intimidation every time they are criticized by a public official."

The administration's aim, he said, was to get the press to "police itself against excesses that on occasion have been so blatant they have undermined the confidence of the public."

That is exactly what the trouble inside the newsrooms is about. Not only do few believe there is anything but misguided flattery in Agnew's compliment, but many believe it is quite true that it is our own fault that we've been losing trust.

But the insiders' criticism is that the media have far too long and too docilely done what Agnew wants them to do -- taken officialdom's word without question. To the extent that public confidence has been lost, it is clear in the newsrooms that it is because the press has been too servile toward the men in authority and hasn't poked vigorously enough into

their pronouncements and explanations to find out what really has been going on.

There are periodical journalism reviews in this country and, of late, some little local papers devoted to the question of the problems and failings of the media. The need for critique is indeed felt to be urgent.

WHY DIDN'T WE SEE during the build-up in Vietnam that it was an open-ended commitment, as no-longer-so-secret records show, and why did we supinely accept official claims that only another 10,000 or another 25,000 troops would be sent? Why did we wait for the underground press to break the stories of the huge stockpile of poison gas and the trail of heroin along CIA-run routes in Laos into the blood-stream of thousands of GIs in Vietnam?

Why did we wait for Ralph Nader to find out what's wrong with our autos and for the surgeon-general to find out that cigarets can cause lung cancer and for riots to show how people were living in the ghettos?

These are the kinds of questions the U.S. media are having to face, mostly from the young reporters who are willing to look about them as well as look at public relations-type hand-outs.

They haven't been asked enough yet, or persistently enough. And if what Agnew sees in the responses are indeed signs of "paranoid" it's from having to acknowledge such a bleak record.



S 8694

## RESOLUTION No. 141

Concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of New York to memorialize the Congress of the United States to take all necessary steps to persuade the government of Turkey to immediately destroy its opium poppy fields before the 1971 harvest in return for reimbursement to its opium poppy farmers of the damages suffered thereby from funds appropriated for that purpose by the State of New York and the United States Congress

Whereas, Death from an overdose of heroin represents the greatest single cause of death among the youth of New York City; and

Whereas, All efforts by local, state and federal law enforcement agencies to interdict the smuggling of heroin into the United States and its sale within this state have failed to curb this traffic; and

Whereas, On April 7, 1971, the New York State Commission of Investigation reported to the governor of this state that "Law enforcement's approach to this problem has been ineffective. The traffic in heroin has not been curbed. Indeed, it is flourishing"; and

Whereas, The New York State Legislature has four times in the last twenty years amended the anti-narcotic laws of this state to provide for both more severe and mandatory punishments for heroin traffickers with little effect on the traffic itself; and

Whereas, Despite every effort by New York State to curb the increases in the number of persons addicted to heroin, the number of identified addicts has increased in New York City alone from 52,600 in 1968 to an estimated 103,000 in 1971; and

Whereas, New York State is required to spend over \$100,000.00 annually directly for the care, treatment, rehabilitation and re-training of a small fraction of the narcotic addict population; and

Whereas, The Addiction Services Agency of the City of New York will have spent over \$80 million during the 1970-71 fiscal year to assist 3,500 addicts and would require \$2½ billion to treat and care for only 100,000 of the addicts now residing in the City of New York; and

Whereas, There are an estimated 15,000 narcotic addicts presently receiving welfare assistance from the City of New York at a direct cost of over \$50 million annually; and

Whereas, The major portion of violent and other serious crimes committed in New York City and the other cities of this State results from the tragic need of heroin addicts to obtain funds to pay for the heroin they consume; and

Whereas, In 1960, there were 1841 felony arrests in New York State of persons charged with selling narcotics or possessing narcotics in an amount sufficient to create a presumption of intent to sell and in 1969 there were 18,489 felony arrests in New York State for this same crime, an increase of 1000% and in 1970, in New York City alone, there were 26,799 felony arrests in this category, a 44% increase over the entire state-wide figure for the year previous, so that our law enforcement agencies are being overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of narcotic sellers and addicts being processed through our criminal justice system; and

Whereas, It now appears that the only practical solution to halt the continued flood of heroin into the State of New York is the destruction of the opium poppy at its source; and

Whereas, It would be less expensive and more effective for the State of New York to contribute toward the cost of preventing opium cultivation than to concentrate its resources in treating heroin addicts or combating the huge and profitable traffic in narcotics taking place on the streets of its cities; and

Whereas, Eighty-five percent of all of the heroin sold in the State of New York is re-

fined from the sap of the opium poppy (*papaver somniferum*) grown in Turkey; and

Whereas, Opium, unlike other dangerous drugs, cannot be synthetically produced, nor can it be cultivated in any but selected areas within the world; and

Whereas, To date Turkey has failed and neglected to control the diversion of its opium crop to illegal channels; and

Whereas, By the end of 1970, the Turkish government and nation has received in excess of \$5 billion in military and economic assistance from our federal government which monies were raised in substantial part through taxation of the citizens of this state; and

Whereas, The public statements of members of the Turkish Government on the problem of limiting the cultivation of the opium poppy in Turkey have evidenced an appalling lack of concern about the crisis caused in this state as well as this nation by Turkey's failure to strictly enforce the international treaty binding it to destroy all opium poppy production not grown for legitimate purposes; and

Whereas, Opium can be harvested only during one twenty-four hour period each year, which period occurs during the last week of June or the first week of July each year; and

Whereas, The illegal opium poppy production in Turkey intended for diversion to the heroin traffic can only be harvested simultaneously and from the same fields as those devoted to the legitimate cultivation of the opium poppy; and

Whereas, The world supply of legitimate opium presently in stock is sufficient to satisfy all legitimate needs for the foreseeable future; and

Whereas, Eighty-five percent of the heroin supplied to the addicts of this state can be interdicted if all the Turkish opium poppy fields now under cultivation were destroyed prior to the approaching harvest date, which destruction can be accomplished for a fraction of the present cost to this state resulting from the traffic in heroin; now, therefore, be it

*Resolved (if the Assembly concur),* That the Congress of the United States be and hereby is memorialized to take all necessary steps to persuade the government of Turkey to immediately destroy its opium poppy fields before the 1971 harvest in return for reimbursement to its opium poppy farmers of the damages suffered thereby from funds appropriated for that purpose by the State of New York and the United States Congress; and be it further

*Resolved (if the Assembly concur),* That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the Congress of the United States by forwarding one copy to the Secretary of the Senate and one copy to the Clerk of the House of Representatives, and one copy to each member of the Congress from the State of New York and that the latter be urged to devote themselves to the task of accomplishing the purposes of this resolution.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield me 2 minutes?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I rise in support of the amendment, which I have cosponsored with the Senator from New York. The statements I shall make are not related particularly to the amendment, but to the fact that I do not want the statements I have uttered this afternoon on this floor to imply, either to the Members of this body or to the people of the United States, that we have passed all the legislation that is essential in the field of controlling narcotics addiction and drug dependence in this country.

Twice last year, the Senate cleared a bill or an amendment, once by unanimous vote, which then went to the House of Representatives and was killed. The second time, an amendment was adopted to another bill, went to conference committee, and was ultimately lost.

The field, indeed, is fertile in this country for civilian programs for health, rehabilitation, recovery, and prevention in the fields of narcotics addiction and drug dependence. If statements were made here today implying that everything has been done that needs to be done, they would be absolutely erroneous, and I know that was not the intent.

It was simply my intent to be sure it is understood that there is much yet to do.

I also want to point out that I attended the Vienna Conference on the Control of Psychotropic Substances. Members of the staff of the subcommittee I chair were there for approximately 3 weeks. Many philosophical differences were represented in the protocol that was eventually adopted. I have great question in my mind to this day about the strength and balance of that protocol or convention. It is my hope that hearings will be held on it prior to the time it is brought up in the Senate for approval.

I simply want to recite that many questions still are unanswered. The Record today should show that.

Mr. JAVITS. I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. President, I think the discussion has borne out the reason why I said what I did—that is, we are not trying, in the same spirit as the amendment dealing with domestic affairs, to meet every situation headon. I hope the amendment will win the support of the Senate, because it is drafted precisely in that sense.

I am ready to yield back the remainder of my time if Senator STENNIS is.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me one-half minute?

Mr. STENNIS. I yield one-half minute to the distinguished Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the New York Times of last Sunday, an article by Felix Belair, Jr., entitled "CIA Identifies 21 Asian Opium Refineries," describes in great detail an analysis of the opium refinery operations uncovered in at least three countries. It is most pertinent to this subject, and I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

CIA, IDENTIFIES 21 ASIAN OPIUM REFINERIES  
(By Felix Belair, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, June 5.—United States intelligence agents have identified at least 21 opium refineries in the border area of Burma, Laos, and Thailand that provides a constant flow of heroin to American troops in South Vietnam.

Operated and protected in Burma and Thailand by insurgent armies and their leaders and in Laos by elements of the royal Laotian armed forces, the refining and distributing have grown until white heroin rated 95 per cent pure is turning up in Pacific coast cities of the United States as well as in Saigon.

The Burma-Laos-Thailand border area,

# Heroin trade profits behind GI addiction

By Irwin Silber

The U.S. Army is many things: an instrument for colonial war, the military extension of American foreign policy, a force for suppressing domestic unrest, a power base for the military elite.

But the several million soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines—and most especially those on duty in Southeast Asia—also comprise another unit of always inordinate interest to American capitalism: a market.

The GI marketplace has long been one of the most lucrative for thousands of enterprising businessmen who are earning fabulous profits on a great variety of products and services ranging from transistor radios and popular records to comic books and love beads.

One of the most profitable deals going in Southeast Asia these days is the marketing of hard drugs—mostly 95% pure heroin—to American GIs. The drug trade has become so big recently that a special congressional investigating committee just returned from Vietnam says, "The problem has reached epidemic proportions."

What's an "epidemic?" Conservative estimates concede that 10 to 15 per cent of all American enlisted men in Vietnam regularly use "scag," the popular term for heroin. With some 250,000 GIs still in Vietnam, this averages out to a minimum of 25,000 men. But the "experts"—the specialists in narcotics addiction and drug rehabilitation—assert that the actual figures are much higher. Some of these experts, defying Pentagon pressure to minimize the problem, estimate that some 60,000 American GIs in Vietnam, mostly draftees, are heroin addicts. Various surveys have shown that some field units have a 50% rate of "scag" users.

But it's dollars that tell the real story. The average



price for the unadulterated form most common in Vietnam is \$3 a "hit." Many GIs are getting five and six "fixes" a day, but using the most conservative figures, it all adds up to the fact that GI heroin addiction in Vietnam is at least a \$50,000 per day—\$20 million per year-operation. The Army admits to more than 100 deaths from overdoses in 1970. The 1971 rate is already higher, with 35 OD's reported for the first two months alone. These figures do not include what the Pentagon euphemistically calls "drug-related" fatalities.

The extent of drug addiction in Vietnam has been an open secret for several years. Songs and jokes about the use of marijuana began to crop as early as 1965. It is generally agreed that anywhere from 80 to 90 per cent of American enlisted men in Vietnam had access to and used "grass" with some degree of regularity.

But the switch to the "hard" stuff a couple of years ago has changed the name of the game. Now some 20,000 heroin addicts are being discharged from the armed forces every year. They are returning to civilian life with an expensive and deadly habit. Add to the ex-GI's addiction his familiarity with weapons—and probably a somewhat easier access to them—and it is not difficult to see how this would have an impact on the growth of drug-related crime back home.

Undoubtedly it is this new social fact of tens of thousands of newly made addicts returning to civilian society that has led to congressional concern. But on looking into the situation, various representatives and senators have discovered what GIs and antiwar activists have known for some time. The drug traffic in Southeast Asia is big business. It's organized. It is run by people in the highest echelons of the puppet governments of South Vietnam, Laos and Thailand. And the U.S. military machine itself is, at the least, an active accomplice in the entire operation.

A special subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, headed by Rep. Robert H. Steele (R-Conn.), has concluded that the heroin traffic is protected—and in some cases directed—by government and military figures at the highest official levels in Southeast Asia. Among them is the chief of the (Royal) Laotian general staff. High-ranking South Vietnamese officials, both members of the National Assembly and military figures, are also deeply involved.

Vientiane, the administrative capital of the puppet Laotian regime, is apparently the center for heroin production. Utilizing an extensive network of the Saigon regime's customs officials, and with the tacit agreement of people high in the American diplomatic corps, the drug is "smuggled" into Saigon in prodigious quantities. (The word "smuggled" is used advisedly, since until the recent publicity, the traffic was so open that known dealers were personally escorted through immigration by top customs officials.) The key official in the operation is Tran Thien Khoi, chief of the National Customs Investigation Division and a brother of Premier Tran Thien Khiem.

The heroin comes into Saigon by commercial aircraft and also by South Vietnamese and Laotian Air Force planes. Air America, a "special" airline financed by the CIA, has also been utilized as a means of transporting the drug.

SPOKANE, WASH.  
CHRONICLE

E - 70, JUN 8 1970

## Dirty Business

The spotlight has finally turned to the opium trade of Southeast Asia. For years the emphasis has been on the role of Turkey as the supplier of most of the narcotics reaching the United States. Now the use of opium-derived narcotics by American troops serving in Vietnam has reached scandalous proportions. The Central Intelligence Agency has at last made disclosures of the scope and extent of the disreputable trade that is undermining the vitality and morale of many of our troops.

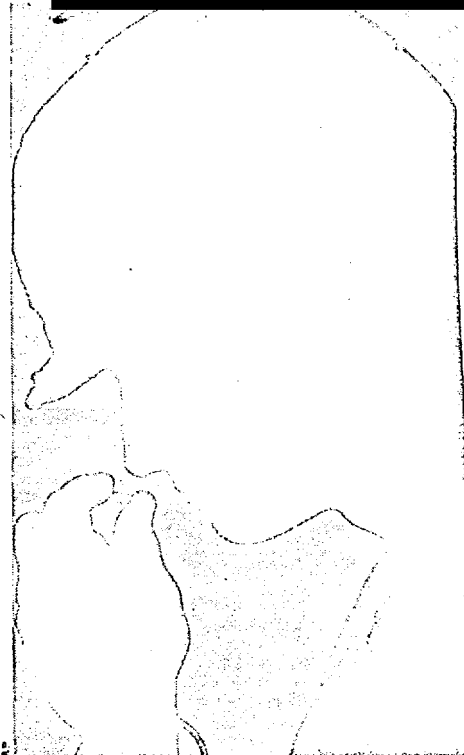
It would be an easy conclusion that the Communist enemy is encouraging the opium trade for the bad effect it will inevitably have on our military strength. This may be an unduly complex interpretation. Quite likely it is simple greed on the part of nonpolitical Asians who have exploited the new market created by the presence of many well-paid Americans in Vietnam. Had the enemy planned it that way, it could not have been more effective for their purposes.

The whole miserable affair may be charged up as one more item on the long list of bad effects that we have suffered by reason of our prolonged military presence in Southeast Asia.

Summary: Now that the facts are acknowledged, we have one more urgent reason for early withdrawal from the Asian war.



EXHAUSTED G.I.s AFTER COMBAT MISSION



SOLDIER SNIFFS HEROIN VIAL

## New Withdrawal Costs

WITH the horror of a nightmare, the U.S. is discovering that getting out of Viet Nam has a price that it did not anticipate. One longtime supporter of the American cause—sympathetic enough so that President Nixon granted him a lengthy private interview only last February—is Peregrine Worsthorne, columnist and assistant editor of London's *Sunday Telegraph*. Now, Worsthorne argues, the U.S. presence in Viet Nam "may have become more a curse than a blessing, may now actually be doing the cause of South Viet Nam's independence more harm than good." The problem, says Worsthorne, is that American troops—once necessary to inspire the laggard South Vietnamese—have become dangerously demoralized. "Drug-saturated, mutinous, defeatist, incompetent, they constitute more of a threat to the South Vietnamese than do the Viet Cong," he contends.

Ominous Mutant. Worsthorne's brutal language is plainly exaggerated, but he has properly pointed to an ominous new mutant of the American tragedy in Viet Nam. The most melancholy statistics to come out of the war are, of course, the casualty figures of dead and wounded. Yet there is another, subtler casualty list that will haunt American society even after the last G.I. has left Viet Nam—the troops who became addicted to heroin while serving in Southeast Asia. The number is staggering: between 10% and 15% of U.S. troops in Viet Nam have developed a heroin habit. That represents from 26,000 to 39,000 Americans hooked. Some estimates are even higher—20% or more, which means upwards of 50,000 G.I. addicts. Only a small number have enrolled in the Army's drug-amnesty-rehabilitation program since the first of the year.

These figures are not the work of antiwar propagandists. They were brought back by retiring Army Secretary Stanley Resor from a recent visit to Viet Nam, and repeated last week in a study conducted for the House Foreign Affairs Committee by Connecticut Republican Robert H. Steele. Steele made this chilling observation: "The soldier going to South Viet Nam today runs a far greater risk of becoming a heroin addict than a combat casualty." In all seriousness, he recommended that the President order all Americans home unless the governments of South Viet Nam, Laos and Thailand put an end to the traffic in illegal drugs. Corruption is so ingrained in Viet Nam, however, that stamping out the heroin trade would be a monumental task (see *THE WORLD*).

One reason for widespread G.I. addiction is the high quality of the "No. 4" crystalline white heroin distributed in Viet Nam. In the U.S., where most heroin is diluted with milk sugar or quinine to 5% strength or less, the drug is usually mainlined with a needle, a process that not only is unpleasant but also carries a considerable social taboo. In Viet Nam, by contrast, the heroin is so pure—95% or better—that it can be smoked with an equally powerful effect. Many G.I.s long since caught up in the pervasive marijuana culture have fallen prey to the myth that heroin is not addictive if smoked. Now a joint of heroin is passed around a group of soldiers in exactly the same manner as a joint of marijuana.

Off Limits. Under pressure from the U.S., the Saigon government is trying to curb the narcotics traffic and other smuggling. Several arrests were made in America, an airline that operates widely out of Laos and is often used by the CIA, were fired for carrying narcotics

into Viet Nam. The U.S. command declared all Vietnamese drugstores off limits to U.S. servicemen in order to discourage the buying of amphetamines and barbiturates. The Army followed suit by banning troops from bars, hotels and other businesses where drugs are known to be sold. But such measures have no effect on the thousands of other outlets, where most of the heroin is bought. A member of TIME's Saigon bureau asked a pedicab driver outside the U.S.O. club for "skag." After perfunctory hesitation ("You cop?"), the driver took the correspondent to a heroin source ten minutes away.

Palliative. No one can reckon the moral and emotional coin that the U.S. must eventually expend for the war in Viet Nam. General Creighton Abrams, the U.S. commander in Viet Nam, felt it necessary last week to warn against any form of "laxity" among the remaining G.I.s as the American pullout continues. Said Abrams: "It requires a herculean effort to keep alertness up." President Nixon acknowledges that heroin addiction in the military has become a serious problem; he is about to announce an ambitious federal program to combat the narcotics crisis through a new Government agency. It would confront the national drug problem generally, and would have specific authority to take over all cases of addiction in the armed forces and among veterans who became hooked while in uniform. That is at least a palliative gesture. Still, the President has often cautioned his countrymen against the hazards of a premature American withdrawal from Viet Nam. The dimensions of drug addiction among American troops offer one more heart-rending reason why the U.S. should get out as rapidly as possible.

# C. I. A. Identifies 21 Asian Opium Refineries

By FELIX BELAIR Jr.  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 5—United States intelligence agents have identified at least 21 opium refineries in the border area of Burma, Laos, and Thailand that provide a constant flow of heroin to American troops in South Vietnam.

Operated and protected in Burma and Thailand by insurgent armies and their leaders and in Laos by elements of the royal Laotian armed forces, the refining and distributing have grown until white heroin rated 95 per cent pure is turning up in Pacific coast cities of the United States as well as in Saigon.

The Burma-Laos-Thailand border area, known as the "Golden Triangle," normally accounts for about 700 tons of opium annually, or about half the world's illicit production. Burma is the largest producer in the region, accounting for about 400 tons.

But a recent analysis by the Central Intelligence Agency suggests that production is expanding in the area, and there are indications that this year's output may reach 1,000 tons.

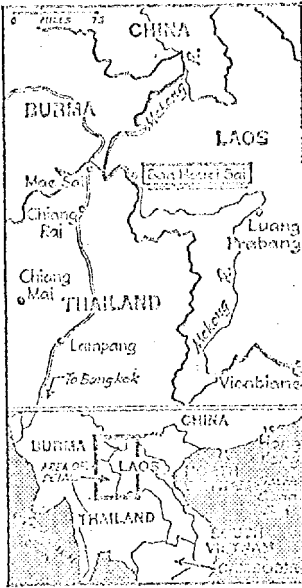
### More High-Grade Heroin

The C.I.A. analysis made these major points about recent trends in the illicit narcotics business in Southeast Asia:

¶ Refineries in Laos and Thailand that used to produce only refined opium, morphine base and No. 3, heroin for smoking are now converting most of their opium supplies to No. 4, or 95 per cent pure white heroin. The change "appears to be due to the sudden increase in demand by a large and relatively affluent market in South Vietnam."

¶ "Most of the narcotics buyers in the tri-border area are ethnic Chinese who pool their purchases, but no large syndicate appears to be involved. The opium, morphine base and heroin purchased in this area eventually finds its way to Bangkok, Vientiane and Luang Prabang, where additional processing may take place before delivery to Saigon, Hong Kong and other international markets."

A "considerable quantity" of raw opium and morphine base from northeast Burma and Thailand was smuggled into Bangkok and sent from there to Hong Kong in fishing trawlers from Jan. 1 to May 1.



The New York Times June 6, 1971

Opium products from the surrounding area, known as the 'Golden Triangle,' are said to be shipped through Ban Houei Sai.

...ying one to three tons of opium and quantities of morphine base, "one trawler a day moves to the vicinity of the Chinese Communist-controlled Lema Islands—15 miles from Hong Kong—where the goods are loaded into Hong Kong junks."

¶ Opium and derivatives move through Laos and are transferred from the Mekong River refineries by river craft and vehicles to Ban Houei Sai, further downstream on the Mekong in Laos, and are transported from there to Luang Prabang or Vientiane. A considerable portion of the Laotian-produced narcotics is smuggled into Saigon.

¶ "An increased demand for No. 4 heroin also appears to be reflected in the steady rise in the price. For example, in mid-April, 1971, the price in the Tachilek [Burma] area for a kilo of No. 4 heroin was reported to be \$1,780, as compared with \$1,240 in September, 1970." A kilogram is 2.2 pounds.

¶ "The reported increasing incidence of heroin addiction among U.S. servicemen in Vietnam and recent intelligence indicating that heroin traffic between Southeast Asia and the United States may also be increasing suggest that Southeast Asia is growing in importance as a producer of heroin."

### U.S. Policy Criticized

This growth has been aided, according to one Congressional authority, by the lack—until recently—of a firm United States policy on heroin in Southeast Asia. The United States—which provides billions of dollars in military and economic foreign aid to Laos, Thailand and Cambodia—has directed its efforts intercepting the traffic at the Saigon end of the line rather than to stamping out production at the source, Representative Robert H. Steele, Republican of Connecticut, said today. Mr. Steele is the principal

author of a recent report estimating the numbers of heroin addicts among American servicemen in South Vietnam at 25,000 to 30,000.

"Vietnam unquestionably proves that the availability of narcotics breeds users," he said. "Until we dry up the sources, we haven't got a prayer of combatting the problem."

While much of the opium producing and refining takes place in areas of Burma, Laos and Thailand now controlled by insurgents, narcotics enforcement officials say that a continuous flow of the drugs through government-controlled areas cannot be sustained without the involvement of corrupt officials.

The same view was expressed earlier in the week by John E. Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, in testimony before the House Select Committee on Crime.

He said that middle-level government officials and military men throughout Southeast Asia were deeply involved in the traffic in opium, the product from which morphine and heroin is refined.

### Routes and Refineries Named

The analysis by the Central Intelligence Agency pinpointed major areas of cultivation, refineries and routes used in the traffic.

Northeast Burma was identified as the largest producer and processor of raw opium in the border area. The study said that Burma's 14 refineries, located in the Tachilek area, last year converted 30 tons of raw opium into refined opium, morphine base and heroin.

"The opium harvested in

Shan, Wa and Kokang area is picked by caravans that are put together by the major insurgent leaders in these areas," the C.I.A. study said. "The caravans, which can include up to 600 horses and donkeys and 300 to 400 men, take the opium on the southeasterly journey to the processing plants that lie along the Mekong River in the Tachilek-Mac Sai, Thailand-Ban Houei Sai, Laos area."

The analysis said that caravans carrying more than 16 metric tons had been reported. A metric ton is about 2,200 pounds.

### 7 Important Refineries

Of the 21 refineries identified in the three countries, seven were described in the report as capable of processing raw opium to the heroin stage. "The most important are located in the areas around Tachilek, Burma; Ban Houei Sai and Nam Keung in Laos, and Mac Salong in Thailand," it said.

"The best known, if not largest of these refineries is the one at Ban Houei Tap, Laos, near Ban Houei Sai, which is believed capable of processing some 100 kilos of raw opium per day," the report said.

The opium and derivatives crossing Thailand from Burma enroute to Bangkok was traced in the paper as moving out of such Northern Thai towns as Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Lampang and Tak "by various modes of ground and water transport."

"The opium is packed by the growers and traded to itinerant Chinese merchants who transport it to major collection points, particularly around Lashio and Ken Tung," the study said.

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## MANY GROUPS PROFIT

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## Gls' Heroin Travels Long Route

By TAMMY ARBUCKLE  
Special to The Star

VIENTIANE, Laos — The heroin reaching American troops in Vietnam gets there by way of many countries and political groupings, Communist and non-Communist.

Laotian military leaders have been accused of being deeply involved in the drug traffic, but according to sources here, so are China, North Vietnam and the Viet Cong.

And while opium grown in government-controlled areas of Laos is the source of some of the heroin that gets to Vietnam and perhaps even to the United States, source here said much of the opium is grown in sections of northern Laos controlled by Communist forces.

## Burmese Source

Another major source is the Shan State area of northeast Burma which is controlled by Shan rebels aided by the remnants of Chinese Nationalist troops who have been there since the days of World War II.

The role of the Lao generals, sources said, primarily is to oversee the transport of opium and heroin. Relatively little heroin is said to be manufactured under their control.

Sources offered some statistics to show that government controlled areas of Laos were not a primary source of heroin.

All of Laos, they said, is capable of producing 170 tons of opium yearly. Communist-controlled areas of northern Laos, they said, produce 120 tons of this, including choicest quality of opium that comes from pro-Communist Meeo poppy growers in Sam Neua Province. Opium from Sam Neua is said to bring twice the price of opium grown by pro-government Meeo tribesmen in government-controlled areas of Laos.

## 400-pound Yield

Sources said the crop from the Communist-controlled area results in about 400 pounds of heroin annually, and that virtually all of this goes to Vietnam.

Of the 50 tons a year grown in government areas, some 20 tons is used in Laos itself, where opium smoking is legal. The other 30 tons is said to get processed into heroin for shipment to South Vietnam.

Vientiane has 79 licensed opium dens and about 200 unlicensed, according to police.

Most dens are run by opium addicts who pay for their own addiction with their profits. A pipe of opium in Vientiane costs 10 cents and addicts need about 100 pipes daily.

Smokers also receive licenses which cost \$1.09 for a three-month period and specify the amount of the drug needed.

Heroin licenses are also available, but the demand is almost non-existent, police said.

From here on information gets still hazier. Do the Lao process opium to heroin or is it all done in Shan State and do the Lao then transport the heroin to the outside world? Or do the Lao transport only black, (unrefined opium and is it then processed in Saigon?

The answer seems to be a bit of everything.

"After all," said one U.S. official, \$2,000 and a Chinese chemist and you're in the heroin processing business."

Answers are obfuscated further by sources close to the opium trade. They will talk

about past practices, but not about today's. And too many questions can get a person killed in Laos where, outside the major cities, the gun is the law.

Some opium in its black or unrefined state has been flown by Lao aircraft to Saigon.

Either heroin or morphine bases were, or still are, being manufactured in Laotian sawmills. Some likely locations for some of these "factories" include a sawmill north of Ban Houei Sai near the Burma-Thai border. Another is about 8 miles south of the royal capital of Luang Prabang. A third is in the town of Sayaboury, just off the main street.

One other is somewhere in Vientiane province, either in a sawmill just south of the village of Houay Khoua or perhaps just below Phou Khao Kwai mountain ridge 35 miles northeast of Vientiane.

Most of the poppy juice which concerns the Lao military is grown on the slopes of a series of valleys in the northern portion of Burmas' Shan state and parts of Chinas' Yunnan Province.

These growers are Shans in rebellion against the Burmese government of Gen. Ne Win. The valleys reportedly are guarded by .50 caliber ma-

chine guns against low-flying snooper aircraft.

The mechanics of the trade are complex and involve Shans, Chinese, Hlaw tribes, Nationalist Chinese (two separate groups of these, Thais, Laos (both Communists and non-Communists), Yau tribes and various other people.

Perhaps a simplified version of the "opium war of 1937" gives some idea of the complexities.

This war started over an opium caravan guarded by 200 Hlaw tribesmen, fierce fighters who make their living as opium guards when not indulging in their favorite pastime of killing Yao tribespeople.

This particular caravan of tiny Asian horses carrying opium was supposed to pay a tax for a right of way to remnants of the Nationalist Chinese 93rd Army left from World War II days.

The caravan was to travel from the tri-border area where China Laos and Burma join, down the Burma side of the Laos-Burma border as far as the Thai-Laos-Burma border with the tax collected at the halfway point.

One opportunistic Nationalist Chinese general decided to double the tax. This angered the Hlaws and Shans who de-

ecided to cross into Laos to escape the Chinese.

## Lao Attack

The Lao National Army was overjoyed and promptly attacked the caravan, capturing 45 bags of black opium.

The tough Hlaws, however, were not to be outdone. They captured a sawmill north of Ban Houei Sai belonging to Gen. Quane Rattikheune, where more poppy juice was stored.

Gen. Quane retaliated by calling out Lao Air Force dive bombers which flattened the sawmill and quite a few Hlaws.

The Chinese tax collectors, meanwhile, also crossed into Laos to attack the Hlaws. The Thais, who were supposed to receive the caravan in turn, attacked the Lao and the Chinese.

The war ended only when all parties concerned met to solve the tax problem.

Ban Houei Sai, the old French Fort Carnot on the Lao-Thair border in northwest Laos, long has been an opium caravan terminus.

Here the opium is packaged in its black state into blocks and stamped with a brand name — "pig" brand and "hen" brand are two top quality names.

From there some is transported via Thailand to Bangkok and the outside world.

Much of it is shipped in Royal Lao Air Force transports to Saigon.

FT. COLLINS, COLO.,  
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## editorials

### Strong indictment

Long after the last American has been withdrawn from Indochina, the United States will still be facing the consequences of its participation in that theater in terms of human misery. Hundreds of thousands of wounded, many with permanently crippling injuries, will remind generations yet unborn of the cost America paid.

Perhaps more destructive, in terms of human lives, are the thousands returning from Indochina with sound limbs but bodies hooked on narcotics. Reports of drug usage by American servicemen serving in Vietnam have appeared almost from the beginning of the involvement. But the full extent of addiction on drugs such as heroin has not been revealed until recently.

A report prepared by two congressmen who toured Indochina and prepared their findings on drug usage for the House Foreign Affairs Committee reveals how widespread the problem has become. The study by Rep. Robert Steele of Connecticut and Rep. Morgan F. Murphy of Illinois backs up earlier allegations by the House Armed Services Committee on widespread corruption among Asian officials in drug-traffic.

"In Laos, government armed forces are major wholesalers of opium and heroin and have been directly involved in large scale smuggling activity," the two congressmen reported.

"Reliable sources report that at least two highranking Laotian officials, military and governmental, including the chief of the Laotian general staff, are deeply involved in smuggling activity," they said.

"In Thailand, a former diplomat and member of one of the most respected Thai families is reported to be one of the key figures in the opium, morphine and heroin operations in that country and throughout Southeast Asia."

South Vietnamese and Laotian Air Force planes are used to move the illicit cargo into South Vietnam, Steele and Murphy charged. They also said there is evidence some of the narcotics are being shipped by diplomatic pouch on Air America, a CIA-backed airline.

Steele estimates as many as 20 per cent of Americans in Vietnam have used heroin. If only half the charges made by this latest study are true—and thus far no part of the report has been refuted—it is a damaging indictment of the allies American has paid such a high price to defend in Southeast Asia.

3 JUN 1971

# Asian Officials Protect Heroin Sale, Panel Told

## They May Profit From Supplying Drugs to U.S. Soldiers, Narcotics Chief Says

BY THOMAS J. POLLEY  
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The government's chief narcotics enforcement officer said Wednesday that officials of friendly Southeast Asian governments are protecting and may even have an interest in heroin traffic to American servicemen in Vietnam.

In testimony before the House Crime Committee, John E. Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, also said heroin had been unwittingly smuggled into South Vietnam on airplanes of the CIA-operated Air America.

Committee Chairman Claude Pepper (D-Fla.) and other members urged the Administration to take a stronger stand with foreign friendly governments to force a halt to illicit drug traffic.

These included Turkey and France, which respectively grow and process the overwhelming amount of the opium smuggled into the United States as heroin.

### Right to Ask Aid

"We're committed to risk our own cities in a nuclear war if any French city is attacked by the Communists," Pepper said, "and we have the right not only to ask but to demand that the French take emergency action to help us."

Ingersoll, who recently returned from discussions with Southeast Asia leaders on the heroin problem, said he doubted that any policy-making officials of the countries — Thailand, Laos and South Vietnam — are involved in the illicit drug traffic.

Burma, Thailand and Laos account for about 80% of the world's opium production, he said.



John E. Ingersoll  
in Wirephoto

But he told newsmen after the hearing that many lower-level officials, including members of the South Vietnamese Legislature, deal in opium. He said some legislators have friends in President Nguyen Van Thieu's cabinet.

Ingersoll told the committee that heroin refineries were under control of insurgents in Burma and Thailand but that those in Laos "are protected by elements of the royal Laotian armed forces."

### Ramparts Disclosures

He said that while management and ownership of the Laotian refineries appear to be primarily in the hands of ethnic Chinese citizens of that nation, "some reports suggest" that a senior Laotian air force officer may have an ownership interest in some of the plants.

When Rep. Jerome R. Waldie (D-Calif.) noted that Ramparts magazine had identified the official as Gen. Ouane Rathi, Ingersoll conceded that "general speculation" conceded this.

Ingersoll denied one contention of the Ramparts article. It maintained that remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang army left in the area are involved in heroin production and are in the employ of the CIA for operations on the China mainland.

But Ingersoll conceded that Air America planes had been used in the past for smuggling heroin — just as regular commercial airliners have been used to smuggle it into the United States.

He told newsmen later that 80 kilograms were seized on an Air America plane at the huge Tan Son Hut Air Base outside Saigon only three or four weeks ago.

During the hearing, Waldie also asked Ingersoll about a Ramparts report that the secret CIA base of Long Cheng, used to support the U.S.-paid Meo tribesmen, was a distribution point for heroin to be shipped into South Vietnam.

Ingersoll said he had not heard of that. However, he later said he had discussed the general illicit drug problem with CIA Director Richard Helms. He said Helms denied the CIA was involved in any way, and that he believed him.

"The Meo tribesmen are something else," Ingersoll said, "but I don't blame the CIA for what the tribesmen do."

### Poor CIA Security

Waldie said CIA security was apparently "abysmally poor, since those in the CIA employ used the base and facilities for the illicit traffic."

The narcotics chief sought to allay criticism by congressmen of U.S. efforts to get the cooperation of the Asian governments to crack down on the drug traffic.

He said the United States had virtually no leverage over the Burma existing aid program is be-

STATOTHR

ing phased out. The opium-growing area in Thailand is in the hands of insurgents, Ingersoll said, but the Bangkok government is taking steps to try to control it.

He said Laotian officials were "most responsive" even though some high-ranking officials were involved.

### Vietnam Smuggling

Ingersoll said the Saigon government had taken several steps to crack down on the smuggling, including a shakeup of its customs officials, an increase in the size of its central police force dealing with the problem and the appointment of a special task force by President Thieu.

He also said he was assigning three additional agents to the Far East and that the Defense Department had placed off limits areas of open heroin dealing.

STATOTHR



WASHINGTON, D.C.  
9 JUN 1971

## U.S. Moves Against Asia Drug Trade

Reuter

In the wake of a presidential press conference pledge of "highest priority attention" to drug problems, a federal narcotics official told the House yesterday that measures were under consideration for stopping traffic at the source in Asia.

John E. Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, told the House Select Committee on Crime that proposals under study include strengthening Thailand's ability to control the rising flow from there.

Ingersoll, recently returned from Southeast Asia, was asked whether pressure could be put on Laos to restrain opium traffic.

"I can report to you that pressure is being put on," he replied. He confirmed reports that the drug traffic in Laos is protected by elements of the royal Laotian forces.

Questioned about reports that Air America, a CIA-financed airline in Laos, has been used to transport opium, Ingersoll said "in the past, Air America planes have been used unwittingly just as TWA has been used unwittingly to smuggle drugs into the United States.

"But I can say it has not been the policy of the management to provide transport," he added.

June 2, 1971

Approved For Release 2001/08/07 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001000070001-6

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The objective of the new policy is to induce foreign concerns to take the Antidumping Act into account before they engage in sales to the United States.

#### The 25 Percent Rule

The Antidumping Act provides that in normal situations fair value shall be determined by comparing the ex factory home market price of the merchandise under investigation with the ex factory price at which the merchandise is sold in the United States. If the price in the United States is less than the home market price, then there are "sales at less than fair value" within the meaning of the statute.

The Act also states that in situations where the quantity of merchandise sold in the home market is so small in relation to the quantity sold for exportation to countries other than the United States as to form an inadequate basis for comparison, then third country price should be used as the basis for comparison.

The Antidumping Regulations provide that generally for purposes of determining what constitutes an "inadequate basis of comparison" for fair value purposes, home market sales will be considered to be inadequate if less than 25 percent of the non-U.S. sales of the merchandise are sold in the home market.

The selection of home market or third country price for fair value comparison can easily be crucial to the results of antidumping investigations, for frequently home market price tends to be higher than third country price. This is particularly true where merchandise is sold in a protected home market and, when sold in third countries, is exposed to the vagaries of world competition.

It has been Treasury's experience that cases arise where sales in the home market are adequate as a basis for fair value comparison, even though less than 25 percent of the non-U.S. sales are sold in the home market. From a technical standpoint, the existing regulations provide for this situation, since the 25 percent rule is introduced by the adverb "Generally." Examination of the precedents, however, revealed that the Treasury has not, in recent years at least, made an exception in applying the 25 percent rule.

This left the Treasury with two alternatives. It could have ignored the previous interpretations of the Antidumping Regulations which had, in effect, applied the regulations as if the word "Generally" were not there, or it could propose a change in the Antidumping Regulations to eliminate the 25 percent rule. We chose the latter course. The proposal was published in the Federal Register of April 27, and is currently open for comment by interested persons. Any comments received will be carefully considered before we take final action on this proposal.

#### A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE

In my judgment, we have only come to the end of the beginning of the rejuvenation process. But, I believe we have made a solid start.

Let me take a final brief moment to touch upon what I see happening in the future. We have taken steps to initiate a fresh examination of the Treasury's antidumping procedures and regulations to see what more can be done. The regulations were substantially revised in mid-1968 after a broad review, with the dual objectives of conforming the Treasury's procedures to the requirements of the International Anti-Dumping Code, and also of having the regulations implemented in clear and precise language the objectives of the Antidumping Act. With almost three additional years of experience under the regulations, as then revised, it is now appropriate to stop and take a new look to see whether additional changes may be appropriate. A Notice of Proposed Rule Making to this effect was published in the Federal Register of April 13, 1971.

Sixty days are being allowed for the submission of comments. I would assume that many persons present here today--if you are not already aware of the Treasury's invitation to submit comments--may wish to do so.

Let me emphasize that the Treasury Department continues, as always, to adhere to its policy of equitable administration of the Antidumping Act. With the increased personnel assigned to this field and modernized procedures and policies, we shall speed up antidumping investigations, thereby making administration of the law more effective--all this without sacrificing equity.

Let me also emphasize that the Treasury Department and the Administration are strongly opposed to having the Antidumping Act transformed into an instrument of protectionism. On the other hand, we are equally strongly opposed to allowing foreign firms to injure U.S. industry by unfair price discrimination. It is with the latter objective in mind that the Treasury Department introduced the changes in the administration of the Antidumping law, which I have discussed with you today. To the extent that we succeed in our objective, the Treasury's rejuvenation of the Antidumping Act will become an increasingly important influence in favor of a freer international trade policy.

In conclusion, I would like to repeat a statement made by Secretary Connally on May 17 before the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Senate Committee on Finance:

"The efforts to foster increased competitiveness in our economy must be actively pursued in the context of fair and liberal trading arrangements."

#### RAMPARTS MAGAZINE MISREPRESENTS ROLE OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY IN FIGHTING AGAINST IMPORTATION OF DANGEROUS DRUGS

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1971

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, recently Ramparts magazine published an article which, like so many other articles which appear in new left publications, attempted to discredit established agencies of the Government, including the Central Intelligence Agency. Unfortunately, the Stanford Daily, the newspaper published by students at Stanford University, saw fit to lend credibility to this article by reprinting it.

A tearsheet from the Stanford Daily was sent to me by a constituent and I submitted it to the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs with a request for comment. Under date of May 27 I received a reply from Mr. John E. Ingersoll, director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. His letter should be brought to the attention of all responsible Members of Congress and the press since it certainly contradicts the implications contained in the Ramparts magazine article. Mr. Ingersoll's response follows:

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GUBSER: This is in response to your letter of May 21, 1971, which enclosed a tearsheet from the "Stanford Daily" (a publication of Stanford Univer-

sity) of the article entitled, "The New Opium War," as reprinted from "Ramparts Magazine."

Charges made in the article appear to be a part of a continuing effort to discredit agencies of the U.S. Government, such as the U.S. Military, the FBI, the CIA, and the Department of State, all of which are, in point of fact, working actively with the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (BNDD) in our worldwide effort to curtail international drug traffic.

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.

In Burma, Laos, and Thailand, opium is produced by tribal peoples, some of whom lead a marginal existence beyond the political reach of their national governments. Since the 1950's, this Southeast Asian area has become a massive producer of illicit opium and is the source of 500 to 700 metric tons annually, which is about half of the world's illegal supply. Up to now, however, less than ten percent of the heroin entering the United States comes from Far Eastern production.

The dimensions of the drug problem and the absence of any strong political base for control purposes has been a dilemma for United Nations opium control bodies operating in Southeast Asia for many years. Drug traffic, use, and addiction appears to have become accepted as a fact of life in this area and, on the whole, public attitudes are not conducive to change.

The U.S. Government has been concerned that Southeast Asia could become the major source of illicit narcotics for U.S. addicts after the Turkish production is brought under control. The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, with the help of CIA, DOD, and the Department of State, has been working to define and characterize the problem so that suitable programs to suppress the illicit traffic and eliminate illegal opium production, such as the proposed United Nations pilot project in Thailand, can be implemented.

It is probable that opium production in Southeast Asia will be brought under effective control only with further political development in these countries. Nevertheless, in consideration of U.S. Military personnel in the area, as well as the possibility that opium from this area may become a source for domestic consumption, concerned U.S. Agencies, including CIA, Bureau of Customs, DOD, and State, are cooperating with BNDD to work out programs to meet the immediate problem as well as provide longer term solutions.

Since the subject matter of your letter concerns CIA, I have taken the liberty of furnishing a copy along with my reply to Director Richard Helms.

Sincerely,

JOHN E. INGERSOLL,  
Director.

As an enclosure to his letter, Mr. Ingersoll included a paper entitled "Recent Trends in the Illicit Narcotics Market in Southeast Asia." This should also be of interest to every person who is concerned about this problem and I therefore include the text herewith:

#### RECENT TRENDS IN THE ILLICIT NARCOTICS MARKET IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

1. The reported increasing incidence of heroin addiction among U.S. servicemen in Vietnam and recent intelligence indicating that heroin traffic between Southeast Asia

AUGUSTA, ME.  
KENNEBEC JOURNAL

M - 15,952

JUN 2 1970

## Strong indictment

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are major wholesalers of opium and heroin and have been directly involved in largescale smuggling activity," the two congressmen reported.

"Reliable sources report that at least two highranking Laotian officials, military and governmental, including the chief of the Laotian general staff, are deeply involved in smuggling activity," they said.

"In Thailand, a former diplomat and member of one of the most respected Thai families is reported to be one of the key figures in the opium, morphine base and heroin operations in that country and throughout Southeast Asia."

South Vietnamese and Laotian Air Force planes are used to move the illicit cargo into South Vietnam, Steele and Murphy charged. They also said there is evidence some of the narcotics are being shipped by diplomatic pouch on Air America, a CIA-backed airline.

Steele estimates as many as 20 per cent of Americans in Vietnam have used heroin. If only half the charges made by this latest study are true — and thus far no part of the report has been refuted — it is a damaging indictment of the allies America has paid such a high price to defend in Southeast Asia.

# Drugs in Vietnam cited in plea for end to draft

STATOTHR

By TIM WHEELER

Daily World Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 1—Leaders of the movement to dump the military draft have declared that 40,000 heroin addicted GI's in Vietnam should convince the U.S. Senate to let conscription die on June 30.

Their statement was a reaction to a report last week by two congressmen that 30-40,000 U.S. GIs in Vietnam have been hooked on heroin.

Chris Sayer, organizer of a nationwide citizen lobby to back Senate efforts to repeal the draft, declared, "The fact is, the draft takes people against their will. It exposes them to a double danger. They are 50 percent of the casualties and 65 percent of the army deaths are draftees. It is a clear and present danger."

And now, he added, there is the danger of drugs.

He said the authorities in sounding the alarm about heroin addiction have talked only about Turkey and Marseilles.

"But the vast bulk of the heroin is produced in Laos and then processed in South Vietnam and Singapore and Hong Kong before it is shipped to the U.S." he said.

The drug epidemic in the U.S., he argued, is one of the poisonous by-products of the Vietnam war.

"What is the role of the CIA if the drugs are being flown openly in Air America planes?" he

asked.

He linked the entire problem to the Selective Service System and the recruiting of people for the military.

Senate vote due Friday

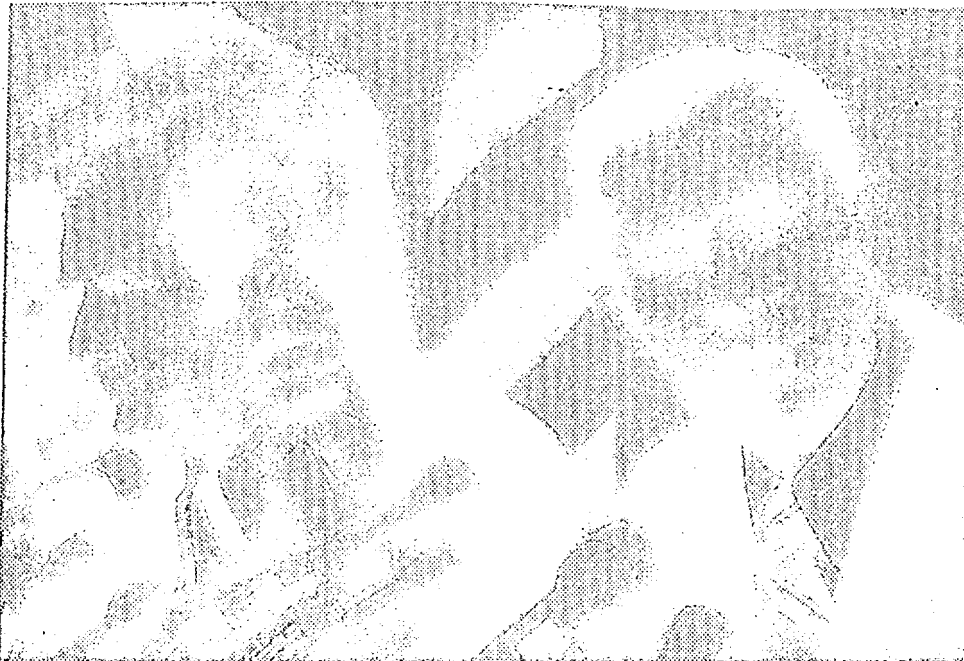
The drive against the draft is centered in the U.S. Senate, where a vote is scheduled this Friday on a measure by Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore) to repeal the draft law.

Sayer, a coordinator of a group called Endraft, is bringing citizens in a steady stream to visit Senate offices to demand a vote for the Hatfield measure.

Senator Mike Gravel's plan to filibuster against the draft until draft authority expires June 30 is backed by Senators George McGovern (D-SD), Harold Hughes (D-Iowa), Vance Hartke (D-Ind), Allen Cranston (D-Calif), William Proxmire (D-Wis) and Marlow Cook (R-Ky). They will join the Senator from Alaska for the round-the-clock showdown on the Senate floor.

Endraft is not discouraged by the 42-31 vote against a pay increase for first term troops—taken by some observers as an indication of weakness in the "dove" ranks.

"People will be coming in and then the pressure will build," Sayers said.



United Press International

REPORT ON HEROIN USE BY G.I.'S IN VIETNAM: Representatives Morgan P. Murphy, Democrat of Illinois, at left, and Robert H. Steele, a Connecticut Republican, at a Washington news conference yesterday. Representative Steele was holding a small vial that he said contained heroin when it was sold to him in South Vietnam.

## Author of Study on G.I. Addicts

### Robert Hampton Steele

Election Day, Nov. 3, 1970, the 32d birthday of Robert Hampton Steele, also marked the beginning of his third career. He was elected to Congress, on the Republican ticket, from the Second District of Connecticut. In his first and second careers, Mr. Steele was a Soviet-affairs specialist in the Central Intelligence Agency and a securities analyst with the Travelers Insurance Company. In his third career, he has attracted public notice in recent days as the principal author of a Congressional report on widespread heroin addiction among American servicemen in South Vietnam.

Representative Steele, born in Hartford, grew up in Wellesfield, Conn., and was

graduated from high school there in 1956. In high school, he began dating Ann Elizabeth (Betsy) Truex, daughter of the chief surgeon at Hartford Hospital. He married her in 1961.

#### Amherst and Columbia

He was graduated from Amherst College, where he majored in English, in 1960. Then followed three years of graduate work at Columbia University, where he earned a master's degree in government and the certificate of the Russian Institute.

At Columbia, he served as research assistant to Zbigniew Brzezinski, a prominent authority on the Soviet Union. And in 1960 he was spokesman for one of the first groups of American students to visit the Soviet Union.

After Columbia came five years with the Central Intelligence Agency, three years in Washington and two in Mexico. Although this service is mentioned in his official biography in the Congressional Directory, he refuses to elaborate on his C.I.A. assignments beyond saying that he was a "Soviet specialist." His wife acknowledged yesterday that she had almost no idea of what he had been doing in Washington and Mexico.

#### Has 3 Children

But it was during the Mexican assignment, she said, that he began getting the grounding for his second career. He started studying the stock market, rather casually at first and then intensively.

When he left the C.I.A., he returned to Connecticut and joined The Travelers Insurance Company in Hartford as an investment expert.

Today, the Steeles live in a nine-room white colonial house in Vernon, a community of 26,000 not far from Hartford. They have three children: Kristen, 8; Alison, 5; and Jeffrey, 2. A fourth child is due in mid-July.

When people in central Connecticut are asked about

Bob Steele, though, many tell you not about the Congressman but about his father, a popular radio-television personality for the last 35 years.

The elder Bob Steele has an early morning program of music, news and chatter on radio station WTIC in Hartford. After the son's election in November, unhappy Democrats complained that many voters had thought they were voting for the father.

Representative Steele enjoys seniority over every Congressman who was elected to a first term last November. Technically, he is not a freshman at all.

His name appeared in two places on the voting machines: first, to fill a vacancy in the 91st Congress caused by the death of Representa-

tive William L. St. Onge, a Democrat, and second, for a full term in the 92d Congress.

He was sworn in Nov. 16. By virtue of this seniority over other newcomers, he gained a seat on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, to which he presented the report on drug addiction among troops in Vietnam.

His wife, asked how he spends his leisure time, replied:

"He doesn't really have any special activities to relax with. He's usually so tired he just takes a nap."

She quickly amended this, though, to say that he is a fond father who enjoys playing Parcheesi with their daughters or kicking a ball around the yard with their son.

# Congressmen tag Ky as drug pusher

By TIM WHEELER

WASHINGTON, May 27—Two U.S. Congressmen revealed today that President Nixon's allies in Saigon, including vice-dictator Nguyen Cao Ky, are drug pushers who have hooked 30,000 to 40,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam on heroin.

Also implicated in the dope pushing racket is "Air America," the Central Intelligence Agency's air supply wing. The report declares that CIA planes have been used to fly dope into Vietnam.

Rep. Thomas E. Morgan, (D-Ill), and Rep. Robert H. Steele, (R-Conn), were the two Congressmen who released a 46-page report titled "The World Heroin Problem," at a press conference today.

The report contains findings of a 21-day trip the two took through Southeast Asia on which they found rampant drug addiction of "epidemic" proportions among U.S. troops.

They reported that drug pushers in Saigon "are so blatant that several attempts were made to sell heroin to members of the study mission as they walked the streets of Saigon accompanied by a uniformed member of the United States Army."

Withdrawal "only solution"

They warned that unless the "Allies" curb the soaring traffic in heroin "the only solution is to withdraw all American servicemen from Southeast Asia."

"We are not optimistic," they said, "that the government is either willing or able "to curb the drug traffic."

The report states that heroin is smuggled into Vietnam aboard aircraft of the Laotian and South Vietnamese air forces, and in rented and commercial aircraft.

"Heroin," it added, "has also been smuggled in Air America aircraft although there is no evidence that any official of the U.S. agency has ever been involved in the smuggling into South Vietnam."

"The U.S. agency," which the two House members found themselves unable to identify by name, is the CIA.

Both House members have been supporters of President Nixon's war policies, but today Rep. Steele told reporters, "The bleak prognosis is that thousands upon thousands of junkie Johnnys will come marching home hooked on heroin."

The report declares, "It is assumed by the U.S. military that this activity reaches high levels of command, to include politicians, both in Laos and in South Vietnam. In Thailand a former diplomat and member of one of the most respected Thai families is reputed to be one of the key figures in the opium, morphine base and heroin operations in that country and throughout southeast Asia.

"There have also been reports that Vice-President Ky is implicated in the current heroin traffic."

Deaths zooming

Drug addiction in some U.S. units in Vietnam has reached 25 percent, the report continues. Between August and December, 1970, 90 deaths were suspected to have been drug-related. Autopsies confirmed 59 were from heroin overdose.

Last January, the rate shot up: 17 for that month alone were drug deaths and in February it rose again to 19.

"Figures for March and April are not yet available, but if this trend continues, over 200 young Americans will die of heroin addiction in 1971," the report warns.

Most of the opium is grown in Laos, but the major exporter of the drug to Vietnam and the U.S. is Thailand, the staunchest anti-Communist ally of the U.S. in Southeast Asia.

Heroin from Thailand, says the report, "is smuggled to the U.S. by couriers on commercial or military aircraft. Some is mailed to the U.S. by U.S. military personnel using both commercial and military postal services."

The disastrous impact of this drug flow from Indochina to the U.S. is reflected in the estimated 250,000 heroin addicts in the U.S., the report states. One half of these are in New York City, where 1,154 persons died from drug overdose in 1970, and one half of these fatalities were below the age of 23. In the nation's capital, heroin addiction rose from 10,400 in 1970 to 18,800 at present, a 60 percent increase.

"Five years ago," the report says, "the heroin problem was restricted to the ghetto areas of our major cities. Now it is spreading to the suburbs and is found among the children of the wealthy and well-to-do as well as among the poor."

The report charges the U.S. military command supplied U.S. Saigon ambassador Ellsworth Bunker "with the names of high-ranking Vietnamese officials it suspects of involvement in the heroin trade." To date, Bunker has remained silent on the subject.

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## House Team Asks Army to Cure Addicts

By FELIX BELAIR Jr.  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 27—A Congressional investigating team urged in a report made public today that the Army be required to identify and rehabilitate the 26,000 to 39,000 American heroin addicts in South Vietnam before returning them to civilian life.

The report to the House Foreign Affairs Committee—parts of which became known earlier this week—said that so many G.I.'s in South Vietnam were becoming addicted to heroin that President Nixon should order all troops home unless authorities in that country, as well as in Laos and Thailand, halted the drug traffic.

Representatives Morgan F. Murphy, Democrat of Illinois, and Robert H. Steele, Republican of Connecticut, suggested that corruption at the highest levels of the Governments and the Military of the three countries left little hope for halting the traffic. But they forecast "major moves" by the White House in the next six weeks to put pressure on the Southeast Asian Governments.

### Legislation Introduced

The authors of the report visited nine countries in Europe, the Middle and Far East and Indochina and interviewed government, military and diplomatic officials of those countries and the United States. Their investigations outside the United States extended over 21 days.

Legislation requiring all armed services to retain addicted servicemen in active status until cured was introduced in the House recently by Representative John M. Monagan, Democrat of Connecticut.

Known as the Drug Abuse Control Bill of 1971, the meas-

ure would require all branches of the service to certify that men being discharged from active duty were free from drug addiction. It would establish a drug abuse control corps for each branch with responsibility to enforce its provisions.

One of the Congressional report's 19 recommendations urged the President to "take personal command of the struggle to eliminate the illegal international traffic in narcotics, particularly heroin, and commit the full resources of the county to that battle."

To identify heroin addicts before discharge, the report proposed that all military personnel be required to submit to a urinalysis and that the Defense Department provide "acute care and detoxification as well as basic rehabilitation services" for addicts.

### 3 Years' Treatment Urged

The report recommended that if military rehabilitation efforts proved unsuccessful, an addict's commanding officer "be required, prior to the addict's discharge, to civilly commit the addict to the administrator of the Veterans Administration for a period of three years for treatment and rehabilitation."

At a news conference on the report, Representative Steele said, "The soldier going to South Vietnam today runs a far greater risk of becoming a heroin addict than a combat casualty."

Representative Murphy observed that "a soldier suffering from a wound or even venereal disease can be retained in the service until restored to health, but one suffering from the sickness of heroin addiction is discharged and returned to society and denied the facilities

of the Veterans Administration because of the nature of his illness."

The Illinois Congress said it was "a national disgrace" that the Veterans Administration was not equipped to rehabilitate addicts.

The report estimated that heroin addicts in the United States armed forces in all of Southeast Asia numbered between 30,000 and 40,000, most of them in South Vietnam.

### U.S. Planes Reported Involved

The report said that many high-ranking Laotian, Thai and South Vietnamese officials—both civilian and military—are making large profits from the illegal sale of heroin and other narcotics to G.I.'s. It said that in some cases United States planes and diplomatic pouches had been used to smuggle opium and heroin into Saigon.

"In Laos, Government armed forces are major wholesalers of opium and heroin and have been directly involved in large-scale smuggling activity," the report said. "Reliable sources report that at least two high-ranking Laotian officials, including the chief of the Laotian General Staff, are deeply involved in smuggling activity."

"In Thailand a former diplomat and member of one of the most respected Thai families is reputed to be one of the key figures in the opium and heroin operations."

The report said that South Vietnamese and Laotian Air Force planes provided by the United States are frequently used to bring heroin into South Vietnam. Smaller amounts are smuggled in on Air America, an airline financed by the Central Intelligence Agency, it added.

DAYTON, OHIO  
JOURNAL HERALD

MAY 26 1971  
M - 111,867

## Drug Traffic

### ... U.S. allies in Asia, CIA implicated

The disclosure by U.S. congressmen of the involvement of high-ranking Southeast Asian officials in illegal narcotics traffic lends special irony to the growing drug abuse problem among U.S. forces in South Vietnam.

Of particular concern is the accusation by U.S. Reps. Morgan F. Murphy, D-Ill., and Robert H. Steele, R-Conn., that the Central Intelligence Agency is an accomplice and that some of the opium produced by the Meo tribesmen in an area that includes portions of Laos, Thailand and Burma is flown out of the area in U.S. aircraft.

The Meos make up the irregular army trained and supported by the CIA in Laos. Opium is the cash crop of the Meos, and it is from opium that heroin is derived. The Meos have been so engaged for many

years, but the market has grown substantially in recent years, in part because of the rising use of heroin by U.S. troops.

There is considerable doubt that the United States will be any more successful in suppressing narcotics traffic in Southeast Asia than it has been in New York City, or Dayton, Ohio. But Congress should undertake an immediate inquiry into the alleged CIA complicity in this traffic, and should re-examine the basis of U.S. support for governments and individuals whose business enterprise poses such a threat to the well being of U.S. servicemen stationed in these countries and to the health and stability of U.S. society.

The unhappy truth is that the principal world market for illegal narcotics is the United States, whether the poppies are grown in Mexico, Turkey or Laos.



SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

EXAMINER

E - 204,749

EXAMINER &amp; CHRONICLE

S - 640,004

MAY 24 1971

## Addict Warning

# U.S. Faces GI Heroin Peril

WASHINGTON — (CST) — Two congressmen have found that a heroin epidemic is raging among U.S. troops in Vietnam and they will report officially next week that the implications for U.S. society are ominous.

Their report, a draft copy, estimates that between 10 and 15 percent of all U.S. troops in Vietnam are heroin addicts.

One of the congressmen, Rep. Morgan Murphy (D-Ill.), said in an interview, however, that addiction may run as high as 30 percent.

With U.S. forces currently at a level of 262,500, the numbers involved range from a low of 26,000 men to a possible high of 78,000. The National Institute of Mental Health estimates the total number of addicts in the United States at 250,000.

### Many Involved

Murphy and Rep. Robert H. Steele reported a bizarre array of interests involved in the Southeast Asian drug trade, including hill tribesmen aided by the Central Intelligence Agency, a division of Nationalist Chinese troops, prominent families in Thailand and U.S. veterans and deserters.

According to Murphy and Steele, heroin is transported in aircraft owned by CIA and the U.S. Air Force, apparently without the knowl-

edge of U.S. officials and by the air forces of Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, apparently with the full knowledge of high-level officials in those countries.

Murphy said he made an effort to check persistent reports the CIA and Vietnamese Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky are actively involved in the opium-heroin trade, but could find no evidence that they were.

According to the report, "the possession and sale of heroin in South Vietnam is illegal. Yet sales on the streets of Saigon are so blatant that several attempts were made to sell heroin to (the congressmen) as they walked the streets of Saigon, accompanied by a uniformed member of the U.S. Army."

rt for pu

Heroin that is sniffed, smoked or injected by the servicemen, Murphy reported, is 94 to 97 percent pure, unlike the product sold in the United States which has been diluted to a purity of 4 to 6 percent.

According to the report, "The ominous implications are obvious" that unrehabilitated servicemen addicts will have to inject heroin when they return.

Murphy said that "men who have acquired an appetite for the Vietnamese product are going to have to have more fixes a day back here. When you're talking about fixes, you're talking about money and that means you're talking about crime."

The congressman said estimates are that an addict must steal property worth \$150 a day to buy \$30 worth of diluted U.S. heroin.

Murphy and Steele prepared their report on the worldwide heroin problem after a three-week 10-nation trip that included visits to the major poppy-growing areas of Turkey and Southeast Asia and the heroin-refining centers of Marseilles, France, and Hong Kong.

23 MAY 1971

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# Is the CIA Involved In Opium Traffic? We Should Find Out

DENVER:

**A** LLEN GINSBERG, the poet, made a bet this month with Central Intelligence Agency chief Richard Helms, that he (Ginsberg) would soon present incontrovertible evidence of CIA involvement in international opium smuggling.

The Helms-Ginsberg exchange comes at the early stages of what may yet be one of the year's big political furors. For months rumors of government dope privateering have circulated in underground press

and political channels. Ginsberg is among the principal figures behind the speculation.

The first in-depth investigation was "The New Opium War," an article published in the May issue of Ramparts magazine. The authors are Frank Browning and Banning Garrett.

For centuries, write the investigators, opium has been a staple cash crop of the Meo



**Steven Levine, 18**

tribesmen living in northern Laos, Burma and Thailand. Originally exported solely for intra-Asian use, it has, since World War II, become a salable commodity on the world market. For a time Sicilian Mafiosi purchased it directly from local warlord smugglers, but the politicization of Indochina has brought in competition.

The opium trade is now in the hands of Chinese mercenaries, Vietnamese, Laotian and Thai racketeers and the CIA, say Browning and Garrett. During the Dulles period, it was decided that the opium growing area was of strategic importance, demanding clandestine American involvement. This involvement took the form of equipping and training certain prominent military factions in the region as anti-Chinese counterinsurgents. The Meos, the Thai border patrol police and the Kuomintang, the 93d division of Chiang Kai-shek's army now exiled in northern Laos, all come under the protective and supportive wing of the CIA. The oil that keeps everything in this alliance running smoothly is opium money. With the Thai border patrol police looking the other way the Meos grow the stuff, the KMT deals it to smugglers who, in turn, deal it to the Viet, Lao and Thai gangsters who process it either as straight smoking opium or injectible smacks, and export it to Taiwan or Hong Kong from whence it proceeds to the United States.

According to Garrett and Browning, 80 percent of the American heroin supply comes in through these channels. They charge that the CIA lends technical and logistical support, alleging that harvested opium collected at Long Cheny in Laos is flown to processing and dealing installations in Laos, Thailand and Vietnam in Air America and U. S. military planes. All the parties to the action are equipped with CIA supplied ordnance.

If ever there was a public issue which commands a full airing and immediate action commensurate with what that airing brings to light, I would submit, this is the issue. We all need to know the outcome of Allen Ginsberg's bet.

MILWAUKEE, WISC.  
COURIER

WEEKLY - 17,000

MAY 22 1971

## Looking for smack? CIA runs it

'You can salute an officer with your right hand and take a 'hit' in your left,' an enlisted man in Vietnam is quoted as saying in "The New Opium War" in the May issue of Ramparts magazine.

Anyone who claims to be concerned about smack, junkies and teenage (and younger) overdose deaths should consider the Ramparts article required reading.

The mind blowing theme of the story suggests that well meaning citizens who talk of "offing pushers," methadone clinics, et cetera should take a cooler look at what's happening. According to co-authors Frank Browning and Banning Garrett, what's happening is that the Indochina opium trade - which grosses an estimated \$500 million a year - has the tacit approval of the U.S. government and the active involvement of the Central Intelligence Agency.

'At the same time the government starts crash programs to rehabilitate drug users among its young people, the young soldiers it is sending to Vietnam are getting hooked and dying of overdoses at the rate of one a day. While the President is declaring war on narcotics and on crime in the streets, he is widening the war in Laos, whose principal product is opium and which has now become the world's supply of the narcotic, for which the U. S. is the

chief consumer.'

For the Meos hill tribespeople in Laos, opium is their only cash crop. A kilo which goes for \$50 in the hills is \$200 in Saigon and \$2,000 - the article says - in San Francisco.

A large part of the crop is simply dropped off in Saigon for the 'convenience' of U.S. army addicts. 'Probably a fifth of the men in his unit have at least tried junk,' the authors said of rehabilitated addict August Schultz. 'But the big thing, as his buddy Ronnie McSheffrey adds, was that most of the officers in his company - including the MP's - knew about it. McSheffrey saw MP's in his own division (6th Battalion, 31st Infantry, 9th Division) at Tan An shoot up, just as he says they saw him. He and his buddies even watched the unit's sergeant major receive payoffs at a nearby whorehouse where every kind of drug imaginable was available.'

One opium lord described in the article utilizes an army of 1,000- 2,000 armed men with mile long mule drawn caravans which move from 15 to 20 tons of opium-worth about a million dollars - out of Burma to syndicate men in Laos and Thailand in one journey from the hills.

To get to his destination, however, the opium lord must pay about \$80,000 a trip in protection money to the 93rd division of Chiang Kai-shek's Taiwan army which has remained in

Burma - up to 9,000 strong - since the end of World War II when most of his troops fled the mainland for the island of Taiwan.

These Kuomintang (KMT) troops are said to be responsible to Shiang's son, Chiang Ching-Kuo, who is the head of the Taiwan secret police. The authors claim that the KMT supports itself by exacting such tribute, by buying opium directly from the Meos and reselling it, and by making occasional forays into China and Burma for the Central Intelligence Agency.

The Ramparts article documents the involvement of U.S. planes and helicopters in the dope operation, in some instances overtly and sometimes under the guise of the Royal Laos Air Force which uses donated U.S. aircraft.

The role of the 'China Lobby' in the U.S. opium trade is also described. Involved are such patriotic stalwarts as J. Edgar Hoover and Nixon's State Department intelligence chief, Ray Cline. Instrumental is Governor Warren Knowles' sometime romantic interest Madame Chennault (who helped raise a quarter million dollars for Nixon's campaign). Her deceased husband, General Claire Chennault of World War II 'flying boxcar' notoriety, founded the Civil Air Transport just after W.W. II. In the 1950's it was renamed "Air America" and

now - as a CIA front - it keeps busy transporting opium as the 'official' Indochina airline.

The U.S. government - operation presided over by General Ky - has squeezed out the Corsican Mafia, former holders of the southeast Asia heroin industry.

The Ramparts authors suggest that when Richard Nixon in his recent 'state of the world' speech - rapped about drying up world drug traffic, the Indochinese opium business was intentionally overlooked. The President commented, 'We have worked closely with a large are often unable to get any refund, and at the same time, they are told that they cannot receive the "free" wig without paying an additional \$8 or \$9 styling charge.'

This practice is both time consuming and frustrating to the consumer, Warren said.

Warren urged consumers who have knowledge of this scheme to contact his Office of Consumer Protection or the postal authorities.

16 MAY 1971

# Letters To The Editor

## *The CIA's Contribution*

I am moved to respond to your editorial "Taking the CIA on Faith" (April 18). The editorial contained some interpretations of statements made by CIA Director Richard Helms with which I must take exception.

The editorial repeated Mr. Helms' statement that the public cannot judge the value or the efficiency of the operations of the agency because of the secrecy requirements which surround it. This fact is unassailable and was stressed by Mr. Helms; however, the editorial ignored the common sense of this statement and continued to bemoan the lack of public scrutiny. While secrecy is an important component of the operations of an intelligence organization, a dearth of information does exist concerning the general theory and practice of intelligence operations; this information is available—without the need for a security clearance—to the interested individual. Furthermore, public information is available, often to the chagrin of CIA officials, concerning more specific details of certain agency operations, witness the operations of the Meo tribesmen in Laos and the U-2 operations over the U.S.S.R. (which was highly successful by all accounts until May 1960). Therefore, while much of its daily operations are necessarily veiled in secrecy, the agency is not the ultra-secret "invisible government" as some would have us believe.

Mr. Helms' statement that the CIA is not involved in drug traffic seem to me to be as definitive as he could make it. The nature of intelligence operations, however, often necessitates the conduct of business with certain individuals who may have connections with the traffic of drugs. So long as the operations of the agency do not promote the worldwide traffic of drugs, it must be accepted that we will occasionally have to deal with these individuals so long as they can be of value to these operations.

Finally, the editorial questions, "how

much intelligence is enough?" The obvious answer is that there can never be too much knowledge. The policy planners and decision makers who are charged with the responsibility for charting the course of the United States in the sensitive area of international affairs must be provided with, as Mr. Helms stated, "a broad and detailed base of foreign intelligence." The need for objectivity in the production of intelligence is paramount, as Mr. Helms stated in his speech. This objectivity is required in order to preclude the agency from becoming ambitious, and either making its own policy or inducing "policy makers to posit an American interest. . ."

The CIA continuously makes a great contribution to the security of this nation and to the well-being of its citizens. Mr. Helms' speech has served to inform the American public just a bit more as to the extent of that contribution.

PAUL D. WARREN SR.

Glen Burnie.

STATOTHR

3

11 MAY 1971



### CIA planes 'used to carry drugs'

Vientiane, May 10.—Mr. John Ingersoll, the head of the United States Justice Department's narcotics bureau, has said on his arrival here that one of the possibilities for wiping out drugs traffic in south-east Asia was the purchase of opium produced in Laos by the American Government.

Mr. Ingersoll, who is investigating the sources of marijuana and opium derivatives which are being used by American soldiers in South Vietnam, said the communist-controlled parts of Laos were one of the principal sources of drugs sent to South Vietnam.

Other important sources of opium were Thailand, Burma and China. Varieties of Indian hemp or marijuana, were grown nearly everywhere, he said.

Mr. Ingersoll said that opium grown in north Laos had been transported by aircraft belonging to the private American companies Air America and Continental Services which were under contract to the (Central Intelligence Agency).

9 MAY 1971

STATOTHR



*Jack Anderson*

## Envoys Ignore Drug Menace

THE PRESSURE Washington is trying to bring upon drug producing countries to cut off the flow of heroin into this country at the source apparently isn't being applied by our uninterested diplomats.

This is the conclusion of Reps. Bob Steele (R-Conn.) and Morgan Murphy (D-Ill.), just back from a 24-day world drug tour, who will report to the House Foreign Affairs Committee that our embassies aren't using their diplomatic leverage on their host countries.

Steele told us he had received a far better hearing on his drug views at the White House and State Department than at our embassies in the opium-producing lands. He found "bored nonchalance" about the drug problem among the striped-pants set from Ankara to Bangkok.

Most heroin in the U.S. underworld market comes out of Turkey. Stern orders have gone out from Washington to our embassy in Ankara to place all possible pressure upon Turkey to control its production. Only recently, another federal narcotics agent was dispatched to Turkey to help discover how the stuff is being smuggled.

But all this has brought only pained reactions in the embassies. Grumped one diplomat: "What do they think we're running, a police department?"

Thailand has now become the second biggest supplier of heroin to the United States. Indeed, federal agents have confiscated as much Thai heroin in the last six months as they did in the previous six years.

Yet in Bangkok, Deputy Chief of Mission George Newman confessed to Steele: "Every time I see one of those cables from Washington about getting action on

choose between Moscow and Peking.

Washington can continue to encourage these nations at least to remain neutral. But as American power is withdrawn from the area, these nations will be tempted to side with one of the great Communist powers that will dominate Southeast Asia.

The United States, according to the secret studies, should be able to play off China and Russia against each other, tipping the balance of power in whatever direction is most beneficial to Washington at the moment.

the narcotics problem it drives me up the wall."

Another U.S. diplomat in Thailand told Steele with a straight face, "I had no idea there was such a problem in the U.S."

In Italy, the Mafia directs much of the drug smuggling into the United States. Steele was told by a federal U.S. narcotics agent, stationed in Rome, that he receives little cooperation from the Italian police.

Yet Wells Stabler, the deputy chief of mission, told Steele with a sniff: "There is not really anything we have to be overly concerned about regarding Italian cooperation or commitment in checking the international narcotic traffic."

Steele and Murphy are highly concerned about U.S. embassy cooperation and are preparing a blistering report to House Foreign Affairs Chairman Thomas Morgan (D-Pa).

### Asian Rivals

THE SECRET STUDIES of the National Security Council, if they should be converted into official foreign policy, indicate that the United States will withdraw from Southeast Asia and leave those strategic countries to the mercy of the great Communist powers.

The secret assessment is that the United States, moving cautiously of course, can safely cut bait in the warm waters of Southeast Asia. The rivalry between Russia and China, it is suggested, will prevent the area from becoming a threat to the United States.

In other words, the United States increasingly will be able to play the role of spectator as Russia and China struggle for pre-eminence in Southeast Asia. The secret assessment acknowledges that eventually the nations of Southeast Asia may have to

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THE FLORA LEWIS COLUMN

RELEASE DATE: Saturday, May 8, 1971

Sunday, May 9, 1971

THE QUESTION OF CIA AND DRUG

by Flora Lewis

NEW YORK--Richard Helms, director of the CIA, is evidently much upset at charges that the CIA is involved in the flourishing drug traffic in Indochina, which is making a very substantial contribution to addiction among Americans.

Helms says flatly that the CIA is "not involved in the drug trade anywhere in the world." In the literal, organizational sense, he is probably right, although almost any ex-CIA man will testify that the field doesn't always tell the home office everything it knows. There is a tendency to protect headquarters from embarrassing insights and information.

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 produced and exported from Southeast Asia. Alongside the traditional opium trade, heroin is being produced there now. 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.

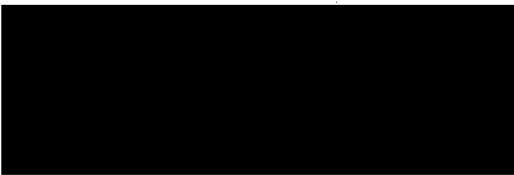
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CHICAGO, ILL.  
NEWS

E - 456,183

MAY 7 1971



# Capital capers: CIA chief in odd bet

By Lynn Langway *Of Our Washington Bureau*

WASHINGTON — It's a sure bet that one of the world's wildest wagers was made this week at a Washington cocktail party.

Poet Allen Ginsberg informed CIA Director Richard Helms that he was doing an "undercover investigation" of the CIA and hoped to publish it soon.



Ginsberg

Ginsberg told the startled Helms that he intended to prove that CIA agents "are helping to smuggle in opium from Southeast Asia."

When Helms challenged the poet, saying he'd never prove the charge, Ginsberg made a bet:

If he was proved wrong, he would give his prized Tibetan amulet to Helms but if Helms was wrong, the CIA director would have to promise to meditate "in the lotus po-

sition for one hour every day, thinking about love and peace."

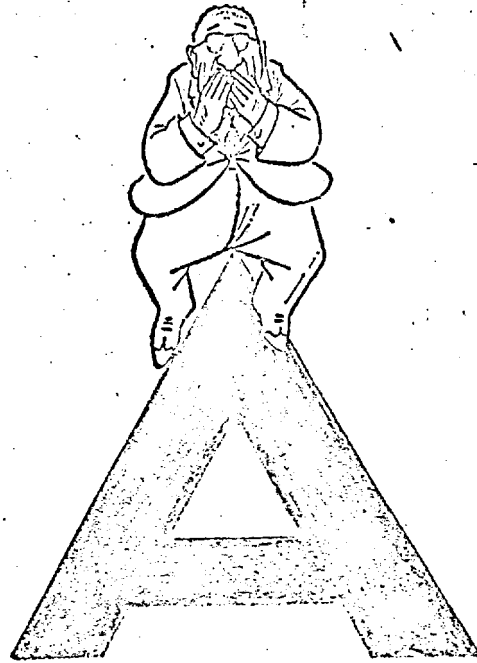
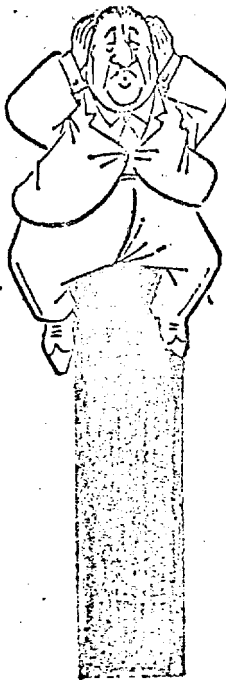
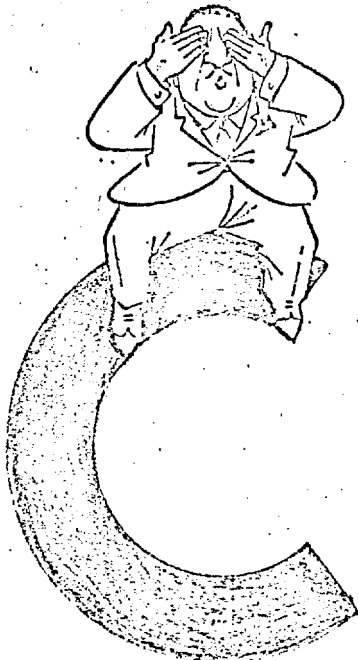
The bet was accepted, although Helms said he didn't know where he'd wear the amulet.



# Is the CIA Mixed Up in

## Flora Lewis

## Dope Traffic?



Vadillo—Siempre (Mexico)

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 on April 13 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."

On April 29, 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 northern Burma, northeastern Thailand and Laos (the fertile triangle) 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 Helms his "vajra" 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 openly 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. I've improved mind-consciousness. Anything that might help save

5 MAY 1971

The Washington Merry-Go-Round*Laotians Accused in Heroin Traffic**By Jack Anderson*

A Royal Laotian prince and the Laotian Army commander have now been identified as the principal traffickers in the heroin used by U.S. troops in South Vietnam.

Furthermore, a congressional investigation has confirmed our earlier allegations that the Central Intelligence Agency is involved in the Laotian heroin operations.

The investigation was made by Reps. Robert Steele (R-Conn.) and Morgan Murphy (D-Ill.), both members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Steele is preparing a report that will allege CIA Air America aircraft have been used to transport the drug from northern Laos into the capital city of Vientiane.

It says, however, there is no evidence that the CIA had any official policy of letting its planes be used to move the drugs. Furthermore, it adds that the agency has now cracked down on the practice.

According to the draft report, prepared by Steele for House Foreign Affairs Chairman Tom Morgan (D-Pa.), the deadly drug is transported from opium fields in Laos to the battlefields of South Viet-

nam in the following manner:

First the raw opium is hauled from deep in Northern Laos through Burma and into the Laotian town of Ban Pouci Sai, with former Nationalist Chinese soldiers-turned-drug smugglers riding shotgun on the shipments.

At Ban Bouci Sai, the Laotian Army commander, Gen. Ouan Rathikoun, takes over. He supervises the shipment of the opium into Vientiane, using American-supplied planes and protecting the smuggled cargoes with U.S.-supplied arms.

Once it reaches Vientiane, the morphine base is processed in Gen. Rathikoun's labs into "Number Four" heroin, a pure grade of the deadly drug almost unknown in Southeast Asia until traffickers began turning it out especially for American troops.

**Protection and Payroll**

Throughout Laos, the heroin operation is protected and abetted by Prince Boun Oun, Inspector General of the realm.

Once processed, the heroin is flown into South Vietnam aboard military and civilian aircraft from both Laos and South Vietnam.

Some of the carefully wrapped packages of the white powder are air-dropped near U.S. troop emplacements in the fields. Others reach the troops after being landed at outlying air strips or flown di-

rectly into Saigon's Tansonnhut airport.

With Vietnamese custom officials looking the other way, the heroin passes into illicit channels. The congressman identifies South Vietnamese Premier Tran Thien Kheim as the man behind the corruption of the customs agents, but they stop short of calling him an outright trafficker.

The angriest language in Steele's draft report is reserved for U.S. diplomats who have failed to use their leverage against such men as Rathikoun and Prince Boun Oun to get the drug traffic cut off at its source.

Steele points out that in Turkey some progress has been made, although slowly, though diplomatic channels to cut off the flow of heroin to the United States.

In a future column, we will detail how American ex-GIs and deserters, assisted by corrupt Thai officials, are beginning to move huge quantities of heroin into the United States to replace the Turkish supply.

**Kosygin on Arms**

The U.S. embassy, reporting to the State Department from Moscow on Sen. Ed Muskie's confidential conversations with Kremlin leaders, gave this account of the discussion on disarmament:

"Muskie began by talking about desire to reduce military expenditures. He said in

past two years, Senate had subjected defense budget to great scrutiny. As result, administration's budget in 1969 had been cut by six billion dollars.

"He expressed interest in MEFR (Mutual Balance Force Reduction) in Europe as part of desire to reduce armaments. He also advocated broadest possible agreement at SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks).

"Kosygin responded that U.S.S.R. has always favored disarmament. He asserted that Soviet military budget was 25-27 per cent of U.S. military budget, and nothing was hidden in other parts of budget.

"He said Soviet noticed and 'appreciated' Senate's action in cutting military expenditures by six billion dollars. Soviet also noticed President's statement that military budget might have to be larger next year.

"Soviets 'follow these events closely,' said Kosygin. Specifically on SALT, Kosygin said both sides are approaching question differently, with 'great wariness and care' but 'with great desire of finding a solution in limiting strategic armaments.' "

Footnote: The hush-hush report noted that Muskie had emphasized the "unofficial character of his visit and fact he carried no message and was not negotiating any agreement."

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GARDEN CITY, N.Y.  
NEWSDAY

MAY 1 1971

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## Drugs and the CIA

In her last two Viewpoints columns—the second of which appears today—Flora Lewis has reported some shocking revelations about the heroin trade in Indochina; shocking in part because they suggest a tacit tolerance if not connivance on the part of the CIA. At the same time she quotes CIA Director Richard Helms as indignantly denying the implication that his agency is engaged in smuggling dope.

We believe they are both right—though they appear to be contradicting each other. Flora Lewis is a serious and responsible journalist and Richard Helms is an honorable man doing a sometimes distasteful but necessary job (given the reality of international power politics).

We believe that heroin is going into Vietnam from Laos and Thailand but we also believe Mr. Helms when he says his people are not directly involved in this rotten business.

The problem, as Miss Lewis rightly concludes, “isn’t whether to blame the CIA for the drug traffic.” The problem stems from an immoral war that for too long has been punishing innocent Asians and corrupting well-intentioned Americans.

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1 MAY 1971

# The New Opium War

by Frank Browning and Banning Garrett

**M**R. PRESIDENT, THE SPECTER OF heroin addiction is haunting nearly every community in the nation." With these urgent words, Senator Vance Hartke spoke up on March 2 in support of a resolution on drug control being considered in the U.S. Senate. Estimating that there are 500,000 heroin addicts in the U.S., he pointed out that nearly 20 percent of them are teenagers. The concern of Hartke and others is not misplaced. Heroin has become the major killer of young people between 18 and 35, outpacing death from accidents, suicides or cancer. It has also become a major cause of crime: to sustain their habits, addicts in the U.S. spend more than \$15 million a day, half of it coming from the 55 percent of crime in the cities which they commit and the annual \$2.5 billion worth of goods they steal.

Once safely isolated as part of the destructive funkiness of the black ghetto, heroin has suddenly spread out into Middle America, becoming as much a part of suburbia as the Saturday barbecue. This has gained it the attention it otherwise never would have had. President Nixon himself says it is spreading with "pandemic virulence." People are becoming aware that teenagers are shooting up at lunchtime in schools and returning to classrooms to nod the day away. But what they don't know—and what no one is telling them—is that neither the volcanic eruption of addiction in this country nor the crimes it causes would be possible without the age-old international trade in opium (from which heroin is derived), or that heroin addiction—like inflation, unemployment, and most of the other chaotic forces in American society today—is directly related to the U.S. war in Indochina.

The connection between war and opium in Asia is as old as empire itself. But the relationship has never been so symbiotic, so intricate in its networks and so vast in its implications. Never before has the trail of tragedy been so clearly marked as in the present phase of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. For the international traffic in opium has expanded in lockstep with the expanding U.S. military presence there, just as heroin has stalked the same young people in U.S. high schools who will also be called on to fight that war. The ironies that have accompanied the war in Vietnam since its onset are more poignant than before. At the very moment that public officials are wringing their hands over the heroin problem, Washington's own Cold War crusade, replete with clandestine activities that would seem far-fetched even in a spy novel, continues to play a major role in a process that has already rerouted the opium traffic from the Middle East to Southeast Asia and is every day opening new channels for its shipment to the U.S. At the same time the government starts crash programs to rehabilitate drug users

among its young people, the young soldiers in Vietnam are getting hooked and dying of overdoses at the rate of one a day. While the President is declaring war on narcotics and on crime in the streets, he is widening the war in Laos, whose principal product is opium and which has now become the funnel for nearly half the world's supply of the narcotic, for which the U.S. is the chief consumer.

There would have been a bloodthirsty logic behind the expansion of the war into Laos if the thrust had been to seize supply centers of opium the communists were hoarding up to spread like a deadly virus into the free world. But the communists did not control the opium there: processing and distribution were already in the hands of the free world. Who are the principals of this new opium war? The ubiquitous CIA, whose role in getting the U.S. into Vietnam is well known but whose pivotal position in the opium trade is not; and a rogue's gallery of organizations and people—from an opium army subsidized by the Nationalist Chinese to such familiar names as Madame Nhu and Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky—who are the creations of U.S. policy in that part of the world.

The story of opium in Southeast Asia is a strange one at every turn. But the conclusion is known in advance: this war has come home again—in a silky grey powder that goes from a syringe into America's mainline.

**M**OST OF THE OPIUM IN Southeast Asia is grown in a region known as the "Fertile Triangle," an area covering northwestern Burma, northern Thailand, and Laos. It is a mountainous jungle inhabited by tigers, elephants, and some of the most poisonous snakes in the world. The source of the opium that shares the area with these exotic animals is the poppy, and the main growers are the Meo hill tribespeople who inhabit the region. The Meo men chop back the forests in the wet season so that the crop can be planted in August and September. Poppies produce red, white or purple blossoms between January and March, and when the blossom withers, an egg-sized pod is left. The women harvest the crop and make a small incision in the pod with a three-bladed knife. The pod exudes a white latex-like substance which is left to accumulate and thicken for a day or two. Then it is carefully gathered, boiled to remove gross impurities, and the sticky substance is rolled into balls weighing several pounds. A fraction of the opium remains to be smoked by the villagers, but most is sold in nearby rendezvous with the local smugglers. It is the Meos' only cash crop. The hill tribe growers can collect as much as \$50 per kilo, paid in gold, silver, various commodities, or local currency. The same kilo will bring \$200 in Saigon and \$2000 in San Francisco.

There are hundreds of routes, and certainly as many methods of transport by which the smugglers ship opium—

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## Some U.S. Allies Found Wanting

To the Editor:

There is a law to the effect that anyone aiding another in the act of a crime is equally guilty as an accessory. On this basis Uncle Sam has quite a few points against him. According to an article in the May issue of Ramparts, Marshall Ky, vice president of S. Vietnam is the biggest pusher of dope in that country. We have supported Ky for over six years with billions of dollars and over 40,000 of our boys have died in his cause. While President Nixon is declaring war on narcotics and on crime in the streets he is widening the war in Laos whose chief product is opium.

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) not only protects the opium in Long Cheng and various other pick up points, but has also given clearance and protection to opium laden air craft laden with dope in flying it out to sea drops.

One holds his breath when contemplating all the brigands, dictators and pirates that Uncle Sam has protected and dealt with. To name a few: Chiang Kai-shek whose lobby in Washington is one of the largest; the former dictator of Cuba, Batista who made a fortune on Cuban peasants and then forced into exile. Syngman Rhee of Korea (ousted by his own people); Franco of Spain whom we have spread the red carpet to for 30 years for allowing us to build fortifications in his country. Trujillo of the Dominican

Republic, murderer of thousands of his people and who built a mansion on a hill top surrounded by high walls upon which were built pill boxes armed with guards and whose private army guarded his many ships at sea — this man was on good terms with the United States and was dined and wined on one of his trips to Washington.

When a country, the richest in the world becomes a mecca for brigands and pirates such as the above we may question the entire picture. Good citizens do not make bosom friends out of robbers and thugs and generally one can get a good idea of one's character by the company he keeps.

V. P. MOCK

Chippewa Falls

# Part Two . . . . .

# New Opium War

The KMT are tolerated by the Thais for several reasons: they have helped in the counterinsurgency efforts of the Thai and U.S. governments against the hill tribespeople in Thailand; they have aided the training and recruiting of Burmese guerrilla armies for the CIA; and they offer a payoff to the Border Patrol Police (BPP), and through them to the second most powerful man in Thailand, Minister of the Interior Gen. Prapasx Charusasthira. The BPP were trained in the '50's by the CIA and are now financed and advised by AID and are flown from border village to border village by Air America. The BPP act as middlemen in the opium trade between the KMT in the remote regions of Thailand and the Chinese merchants in Bangkok. These relationships, of course, are flexible and changing, with each group wanting to maximize profits and minimize antagonisms and dangers. But the established routes vary, and sometimes doublecrosses are intentional.

In the summer of 1967 Chan Chi-foo set out from Burma through the KMT's territory with 300 men and 200 packhorses carrying nine tons of opium, with no intention of paying the usual fee of \$80,000 protection money. But troops cut off the group near the Laotian village of Ban Houei Sai in an ambush that turned into a pitched battle. Neither group, however, had counted on the involvement of the kingpin of the area's opium trade: the CIA-backed Royal Lao Government Army and Air Force, under the command of General Ouane Rathikoune. Hearing of the skirmish, the general pulled his armed forces out of the Plain of Jars in northeastern Laos where they were supposed to be fighting the Pathet Lao guerrillas, and engaged two companies and his entire air force in a battle of extermination against both sides. The result was nearly 30 KMT and Burmese dead and a half-ton windfall of opium for the Royal Lao Government.

In a moment of revealing frankness shortly after the battle, General Rathikoune, far from denying the role that opium had played, told several reporters that the opium trade was "not bad for Laos." The trade provides cash income for the Meo hill tribes, he argued, who would otherwise be penniless and therefore a threat to Laos' political stability. He also argued that the trade gives the Lao elite (which includes government officials) a chance to accumulate capital to ultimately invest in legitimate enterprises, thus building up Laos' economy. But if these rationalizations seemed weak, far less convincing was the general's assertion that, since he is in total control of the trade now, when the time comes to put an end to it he will simply put an end to it.

### Morphine Refineries

It is unlikely that Rathikoune, one of the chief warlords of the opium dynasty, will end the trade soon. Right outside the village of Ban Houei Sai, hidden in the jungle, are several of his

refineries--called "cookers"--which manufacture crude morphine (which is refined into heroin at a later transport point) under the supervision of professional pharmacists imported from Bangkok. Rathikoune also has "cookers" in the nearby villages of Ban Khwan, Phan Phung, and Ban Khueng (the latter for opium grown by the Yao tribe.) Most of the opium he procures comes from Burma in the caravans such as Chan Chi-foo's; the rest comes from Thailand or from the hill tribespeople (Meo and Yao) in the area near Ban Houei Sai. Rathikoune flies the dope from the Ban Houei Sai area to Luang Prabang, the Royalist capital, in helicopters given the United States military aid program.

Others in the Lao elite and government own refineries. There are cookers for heroin in Vientiane, two blocks from the King's residence; near Luang Prabang; on Khong Island in the Mekong River on the Lao-Cambodian border; and one recently built by Kouprasith Abhay (head of the military region around Vientiane, but also from the powerful Abhay family of Khong Island) at Phou Khao Khouai, just north of Vientiane. Other lords of the trade are Prince Boun Oum of Southern Laos, and the Sananikone family, called the "Rockefellers of Laos." Phoui Sananikone, the clan patriarch, headed a U.S.-backed coup in 1959 and is presently President of the National Assembly. Two other Sananikones are deputies in the Assembly, two are generals (one is Chief of Staff for Rathikoune), one is Minister of Public Works, and a host of others are to be found at lower levels of the political, military and civil service structure. And the Sananikones' airline, Vaha Akhat, leases with opium-growing tribespeople. But the opium trade is popular with the rest of the elite, who rest RLG aircraft or create fly-by-night airlines (such as Laos Air Charter to Lao United Airlines) to do their own direct dealing.

### CIA Protects Opium Traders

Control of the opium trade has not always been in the hands of the Lao elite, although the U.S. has been at least peripherally involved in who the beneficiaries were since John Foster Dulles's famous 1954 commitment to maintain an anti-communist Laos. The major source of opium in Laos has always been the Meo growers, who were selected by the CIA as its counterinsurgency bulwark against the Pathet Lao guerrillas. The Meos' mountain bastion is Long Cheng, a secret base 80 miles northeast of Vientiane, built by the CIA during the 1962 Geneva Accords period. By 1964 Long Cheng's population was nearly 50,000, comprised largely of refugees who had come to escape the war and who were kept busy growing poppies in the hills surrounding the base.

The secrecy surrounding Long Cheng has hidden the trade from reporters. But security has not been complete. Carl Smith reported in the *Eastern Economic Review*, "Over the crews loading

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## THE CIA: 'WE TOO ARE HONORABLE MEN'

In his first public address since appointment as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Richard Helms had several points he wished to make to the American people via the forum provided by the American Society of Newspaper Editors:

Item: "We do not target on American citizens."

Item: "We not only have no stake in policy debates but we cannot and must not take sides."

Item: "The elected officials of the U. S. Government watch over (the Central Intelligence Agency) extensively, intensively and continuously."

Item: "We understand as well as anyone the difficulties and the contradictions of conducting foreign intelligence operations on behalf of a free society."

Item: Finally, "The nation must to a degree take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to her service."

Mr. Helms, one of our more impressive civil servants, one reminiscent in several respects of a young J. Edgar Hoover striving diligently to invest his sector of the Federal bureaucracy with a degree of excellence second to none, essayed to counter what he characterized as a "persistent and growing body of criticism which questions the need and the propriety for a democratic society to have a Central Intelligence Agency.

He recognized at the outset that there is extant an "inherent American distaste for peacetime gathering of intelligence." Be that as it may, we have come a long way from the age of our innocence between World Wars I and II. The stars in our eyes no longer twinkle as

if we had never heard of the dirty business of spying, much less engaged in it. We undertake it because it is a very necessary business to our survival.

Or, as Mr. Helms put it pithily, this is a "fearsome" world, and to live in it we must know not only who the tigers are, but where they lurk, what lengths their fangs and claws are, and if they are likely to ambush us, to attack frontally, or merely to growl.

That is why we have a CIA. We have it because Pearl Harbor finally proved to us that if we kept bungling the intelligence bit, we might soon not have a country. The fact that Army Intelligence didn't let Navy Intelligence in on what it knew in those days, and vice versa, and the State Department didn't communicate with either and perhaps the White House didn't hear from anyone at all, brought the CIA into being by act of Congress at the urgent behest of an alarmed and aroused President Truman.

It has been in business since. We seldom, almost never, hear of its successes. That is in the nature of the cloak-and-dagger business. To publish information is to "blow the cover" on individuals and organisms, rendering them useless for the future. We do hear of its many duds — abortive coups and invasions and incidents (some of which, doubtless, the CIA may never have heard of at all, but of course cannot say one way or the other).

We do, in the necessary aura of mystery that envelopes the agency, suspect any and every thing of having CIA sponsorship. Some of the rumors are outlandish. Mr. Helms chose to scotch but one — that the

CIA is somehow involved in the world drug traffic. We are not." Ah, well, it was a great tale while it lasted, and the ramifications were endless. As with drugs, we daresay, so with a great many other issues and areas.

But the CIA's raison d'etre stems from stern reality, not fun and games. In Mr. Helms' words, "the United States, as a world power, either is involved or may with little warning find itself involved in a wide range and variety of problems which require a broad and detailed base of foreign intelligence for the policy-makers." The director emphasized that neither he nor the CIA makes policy. The elected and appointed representatives of the people of the United States perform that task. But the CIA does gather and correlate information — factually, objectively, painstakingly — on which current and future policy must be based.

As Director Helms counsels, we must "take it on faith" that his agency is reliable, steadfast, devoted and honorable. That is difficult in a free society, accustomed to the exercises of checks and balances upon all governmental authority. But, whatever the railings against reality, we have no alternative other than to trust the CIA, the President, the Congress and the Government. Our lives are literally in their hands.

# SPYING AND A FREE SOCIETY-- CIA CHIEF SPEAKS OUT

A rare glimpse inside this nation's most secret agency. That's what the CIA Director provides in this defense of his organization against recurrent attacks. He tells what the CIA does—and reassures Americans as to what it does not do.

*Following are excerpts from an address by Richard Helms, Director of Central Intelligence, to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Washington, D. C., April 14, 1971:*

I welcome this opportunity to speak to you today about the place of an intelligence service in a democratic government. In doing so, I recognize that there is a paradox which I hope can be dispelled:

On the one hand, I can assure you that the quality of foreign intelligence available to the United States Government in 1971 is better than it has ever been before.

On the other hand, at a time when it seems to me to be self-evident that our Government must be kept fully informed on foreign developments, there is a persistent and growing body of criticism which questions the need and the propriety for a democratic society to have a Central Intelligence Agency.

I am not referring to the occasional criticism of CIA's performance—the question of whether we gave advance warning of this coup or that revolt, or how accurately we forecast the outcome of an election or a military operation. By necessity, intelligence organizations do not publish the extent of their knowledge, and we neither confirm nor deny challenges of this nature. We answer to those we serve in the Government.

What I am referring to are the assertions that the Central Intelligence Agency is an "invisible government"—a law unto itself—engaged in provocative, covert activities repugnant to a democratic society and subject to no controls.

This is an outgrowth, I suppose, of an inherent American distaste for the peacetime gathering of intelligence. Our mission, in the eyes of many thoughtful Americans, may appear to be in conflict with some of the traditions and ideals of our free society. It is difficult for me to agree with this view, but I respect it. It is quite another matter when some of our critics—taking advantage of the traditional silence of those engaged in intelligence—say things that are either vicious or just plain silly.

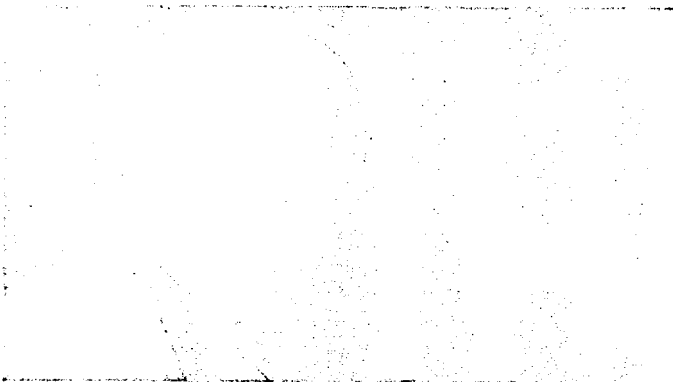
There is the charge, for example, that the Central Intelligence Agency is somehow involved in the world drug traffic. We are not. As fathers, we are concerned about the lives of our children and grandchildren, as are all of you. As an agency, in fact, we are heavily engaged in tracing the foreign roots of the drug traffic for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, and this arrant nonsense helps not at all.

As a general rule we are silent, because we must maintain the security of our intelligence operations, but we also recognize that the people of the United States have a legitimate interest in every arm of their Government. There is, fortunately, enough fact in the news reported in the public domain to meet that public interest.

I propose, therefore, to discuss with you the legislative

charter of the CIA, the unique functions of a central intelligence organization, and finally—in order to reconcile our security requirements with the democratic society we serve—the role of intelligence in policy formulation, and the controls, checks and balances under which we operate. . . .

Our charter, the National Security Act of 1947, provides that in the interest of national security the Central Intelligence Agency will advise the National Security Council on intelligence activities of the Government, make recommendations to the National Security Council for the coordination of such activities, correlate and evaluate foreign intelligence, perform additional services of common concern



—Wide World Photo

Mr. Helms to editors: "Statute forbids the CIA to have any police powers. . . . We do not target on American citizens."

and such other functions and duties relating to intelligence as the National Security Council may direct.

This latter language was designed to enable us to conduct such foreign activities as the National Government may find it convenient to assign to a "secret service." These activities have always been secondary to the production of intelligence, and under direct control by the executive branch. Obviously, I cannot go into any detail with you on such matters, and I do not intend to.

And may I emphasize at this point that the statute specifically forbids the Central Intelligence Agency to have any police, subpoena or law-enforcement powers, or any domestic-security functions. I can assure you that except for the normal responsibilities for protecting the physical security of our own personnel, our facilities and our classified information, we do not have any such powers and functions; we have never sought any; we do not exercise any. In short, we

In matters directly affecting the security of the United States, the President and his National Security Council want



what we call "national" intelligence—evaluations which reflect the considered and agreed judgment of all of the intelligence components of the United States Government. The production and dissemination of this national intelligence is the responsibility and the primary function of the Central Intelligence Agency. We can produce these agreed evaluations, of course, only by consulting and co-ordinating the views of the entire intelligence community.

There is nothing arcane or mysterious about this term, "the intelligence community." It is simply a name for all of the intelligence assets at the disposal of the United States: the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the intelligence components of the various armed services, the National Security Agency, the intelligence elements of the Department of State, and, when appropriate, those of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Atomic Energy Commission. They are all represented on the United States Intelligence Board. This board is chaired by the Director of Central Intelligence, not as the head of CIA but as the principal intelligence adviser to the President and the National Security Council.

The United States Intelligence Board co-ordinates the assets of the United States for foreign-intelligence collection and sees to it that there are neither gaps nor unnecessary duplication in filling the information requirements of the nation's policy makers.

Just what are these national requirements for foreign intelligence? There are the obvious ones, of course, in the era of



—Dept. of Defense Photo

Russian missiles quit Cuba. "Our files included a wealth of information on Soviet missiles. We knew what to look for."

thermonuclear deterrence: What is the scope of the strategic threat to U. S. security? What are current Soviet intentions? How soon will Communist China have an intercontinental ballistic missile?

America's intelligence assets, however, do not exist solely because of the Soviet and Chinese threats, or against the contingency of a new global conflict. The United States as a world power either is involved or may with little warning find itself involved in a wide range and variety of problems which require a broad and detailed base of foreign intelligence for the policy makers.

What, for instance, caused the fighting between Honduras and El Salvador, and what can be done to ease the situation?

What are the implications of impending British withdrawal from the Persian Gulf for the world's petroleum supplies?

Where are the pitfalls for the United States in the confrontation between black African nationalism and so-called white southern Africa? . . .

A mass of detailed knowledge is required, of course, for the planning of military operations, but I would like to stress

that accurate intelligence is equally essential to the planning and implementation of actions taken to forestall conflict. . . .

Certainly a potential aggressor is deterred if he finds that timely intelligence has enabled his prospective victim to take countermeasures. And when it comes to waging peace, it would be unthinkable to conclude a strategic-arms-limitation agreement with the Soviet Union without the means for monitoring compliance.

The potential benefits of an arms-limitation agreement are self-evident in terms of reduced threat, eased tension and economy—but only if they can be achieved without endangering national security. That, in turn, requires that the agreement should be honored by each side, and the Soviets have traditionally rejected international on-site inspection. The United States, then, can safely undertake such an agreement, however desirable, only if it has adequate intelligence assets to assure itself that the Soviets are living up to their part. . . .

Every year at budget time there is a debate over what portion of our national wealth we must assign to defense and survival—what weapons must we buy, and how many?

The United States and the Soviet Union each have a wide variety of choices among systems to be developed, and these choices interact. The key to choice is knowledge—knowledge of the accuracy, reliability and numbers of Soviet ICBM's, knowledge of Soviet progress in advanced radars for ABM's—knowledge, if you will, of Soviet knowledge of our own progress.

Whatever the semantics of first strike, mutual deterrence, assured-destruction capability or equivalent megatonnage, the answers must come from an accurate measurement of Soviet offense against our defense—Soviet defense against our offensive capabilities. . . .

Even in this day of the information explosion, we read everything that comes into Washington—Department of State cables, Department of Defense traffic, our own reports, and the American and foreign information media. Then we bring to bear on that information every last bit of expert analysis at the service of the United States Government.

From the time this agency was created, we have had to deal with the fact that some of our most important intelligence targets lie in totalitarian countries where collection is impeded by the security defenses of a police state—for example, Communist China.

In the face of such limitations, the analytical process can often extract meaningful conclusions from a volume of fragmentary information. To do so requires ingenious minds and much painstaking work. . . .

The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 affords a good example of how this across-the-board analysis—comprehensive in its scope and intensive in its concentration—serves the policy maker.

In the early '60s, thousands of Cubans fled their country. Many brought valuable information. Many, in good faith, brought misinformation. Some purposefully told stories intended to provoke U. S. action against Castro. And a few were Castro's agents, planted to mislead us.

It was obvious at the time—from shipping intelligence alone—that the Soviets were engaged in a substantial military-aid program in Cuba, but the crucial question was whether there were any strategic offensive weapons on the island that threatened the continental United States.

The intelligence community established a joint interrogation center in Florida to sift and winnow and evaluate these thousands of reports centrally. It was a mammoth undertaking, but where possible we checked every weapon report against U-2 photography of Cuba, and against other intelligence sources. One report, for example, claimed there were

underground submarine pens at Matanzas. Our analysts had the facts to disprove this, given the geological structure of the shoreline and the crucial inshore depths in the bay.

Another report alleged that light bombers were being stored in a particular cave. We have a comprehensive speleological survey of Cuba, which showed that this particular cave curved sharply a few yards inside its entrance—too sharply to admit a vehicle, let alone an aircraft. We also had the photography to show that there had been no work to alter the shape of that cave.

A merchant seaman gave us a detailed description of what he thought might be a rounded concrete dome covering missiles—complete with range and bearing from the pier where his ship had docked. A map of Havana and a recent city directory established that it was a relatively new movie theater.

The watch for missiles, however, was complicated by the fact that there were defensive surface-to-air missiles in Cuba, and to the untrained observer one missile looks pretty much like another.

In fact, some of these "missile" reports we checked turned out to be torpedoes, fuel tanks and even industrial pipe and mooring buoys.

Our intelligence files in Washington, however—thanks to U-2 photography of the Soviet Union and to a number of well-placed and courageous Russians who helped us—included a wealth of information on Soviet missile systems. We had descriptions or photographs of the missiles, their transporters and other associated equipment, and characteristic sites in the Soviet Union. We knew what to look for.

Guided by this background, the interrogators were able to sort out from the flood of reports the ones which established the arrival of MRBM and IRBM [medium-range and intermediate-range ballistic missile] equipment in Cuba. We were then able to locate the sites under construction by reconnaissance and tell President Kennedy the exact scope of the threat.

There remained the question—for the policy makers—of what to do. This required a determination, among other essentials, of whether the Soviets would be able to strike at the United States with their weapons in Cuba in the event of a U. S. ultimatum.

Again, thanks to all our collection sources and to the central analytical process, we were able to inform the President precisely how long it would take to make the missile sites in Cuba operational. The rest of the Cuban missile crisis is history.

### On Tap: a Vast Army of Experts

The intelligence analysts who participate in reaching these conclusions, of course, run the gamut from some who have just begun an intelligence career to others who have devoted a lifetime of study to their speciality. To strike a more typical mean, one of the experts who enabled us to give President Johnson a correct appreciation of the Middle Eastern situation in May, 1957—just before the start of the June war—held a doctorate in Near Eastern studies, had lived for several years in Arab villages and at the time had spent 12 years with CIA. . . .

About half of our substantive analysts have graduate degrees. Almost 1 in 3 has his doctorate. We have capabilities in 113 foreign languages and dialects. We can call on the expertise of anthropologists, chemists, metallurgists, medical doctors, psychiatrists, botanists, geologists, engineers of every variety, statisticians, mathematicians, archaeologists, and for

esters. Our people have academic degrees in 298 major fields of specialization from accounting to zoology. . . .

Ironically, our efforts to obtain foreign intelligence in this country have generated some of the more virulent criticism of the Central Intelligence Agency. It is a fact that we have, as I said, no domestic security role, but if there is a chance that a private American citizen traveling abroad has acquired foreign information that can be useful to the American policy maker, we are certainly going to try to interview him. If there is a competent young graduate student who is interested in working for the United States Government, we may well try to hire him.

The trouble is that to those who insist on seeing us as a pernicious and pervasive secret government, our words "interview" and "hire" translate into "suborn," "subvert" and "seduce"—or something worse.

We use no compulsion. If a possible source of information does not want to talk to us, we go away quietly. If some student groups object to our recruiting on campus, we fall back to the nearest federal office building. Similarly, we welcome the opportunity to place research contracts with the universities, but, again, these are strictly voluntary.

### When an Agency "Wraps Itself in Secrecy"—

And so I come to the fundamental question of reconciling the security needs of an intelligence service with the basic principles of our democratic society. At the root of the problem is secrecy, because it is axiomatic that an intelligence service—whatever type of government it serves—must wrap itself in as much secrecy as possible in order to operate effectively. . . .

We have made it our practice not to answer criticism. Former Senator Saltonstall summed it up pretty well when he said that in an open society like ours it is impossible to inform the public without informing our enemies.

I cannot, then, give you an easy answer to the objections raised by those who consider intelligence work incompatible with democratic principles. The nation must, to a degree, take it on faith that we, too, are honorable men devoted to her service. I can assure you that we are, but I am precluded from demonstrating it to the public.

I can assure you that what I have asked you to take on faith the elected officials of the United States Government watch over extensively, intensively and continuously.

Starting with the executive branch, the Central Intelligence Agency operates under the constant supervision and direction of the National Security Council. No significant foreign program of any kind is undertaken without the prior approval of an NSC subcommittee which includes representatives of the President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense.

In addition, we report periodically and in detail on the whole range of foreign-intelligence activities to the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, a group of men who have distinguished themselves in government, industry, education and the professions. This board, originally created in 1956 under the chairmanship of Dr. James Killian of M.I.T., has been headed by Gen. John E. Hull, Mr. Clark Clifford, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, and currently by retired Adm. George W. Anderson.

Our budget is gone over line for line by the Office of Management and Budget—and by the appropriate committees of the Congress as well. . . .

In short, the Central Intelligence Agency is not and cannot be its own master. It is the servant of the United States Government, undertaking what that Government asks it to do, under the directives and controls the Government has established. We make no for-

## Helms of the CIA

# Glimpse of an 'Invisible Empire'

By Benjamin Welles

Mr. Welles covers national security affairs as a correspondent in the Washington Bureau of the New York Times.

WASHINGTON—"I can tell when he walks in the door what sort of a day it's been," said his wife, Cynthia. "Some days, he has on what I call his 'Oriental look'—totally inscrutable. I know better than to ask what's happened. He'll talk when he's ready, not before, but even when he talks he's terribly discreet."

The director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Richard Helms, apparently brings his problems home from the office like any other husband—at least to hear Cynthia Helms tell it. And these days Helms' job is definitely one of the most problem-ridden in Washington.

Successive budget cuts, balance-of-payments restrictions, bureaucratic rivalries, and press disclosures that have hurt the CIA's public image have all reduced its operations considerably. President Nixon has recently ordered a fiscal and management investigation into the intelligence "community," a task which may take longer and prove more difficult than even Nixon suspects because of the capacity of the intelligence agencies to hide in the bureaucratic thickets.

### A Mixed Blessing, Perhaps

Both Nixon and his principal foreign affairs adviser, Henry Kissinger, are said to regard the community as a mixed blessing: intrinsically important to the United States but far too big and too prone to obscure differences of opinion—or, sometimes, no opinion—behind a screen of words.

Considered a cold-blooded necessity in the Cold War days, the agency now seems to many students, liberal intellectuals, and congressmen, to be undemocratic, conspiratorial, sinister.

The revelations in recent years that have made the agency suspect include its activities in Southeast Asia, the Congo, Guatemala, the Bay of Pigs; the



Richard Helms

U-2 flights; its secret funding thru "front" foundations of the National Student Association plus private cultural, women's and lawyers' groups; and, finally, two years ago, the Green Berets affair.

The 53-year-old Helms knows all this, better than most. As the first career intelligence officer to reach the top since the CIA was created in 1947, his goal has been to professionalize the agency and restore it to respectability. One of his chief preoccupations has been to erase the image of the director as a man who moves in lavish mystery. If Helms rules an "invisible empire," as the CIA has sometimes been called, he is a very visible emperor.

Helms wears three official hats. First,

as director of central intelligence, he is the senior intelligence adviser to the President and Congress. Second, he is the President's representative [and chairman] on the United States Intelligence Board, a loose conglomeration of agencies handling high-grade intelligence and spending, between them, more than \$4 billion yearly. Third, he is director of the CIA.

In some ways, the CIA is the tail that wags the intelligence dog. Under the National Security Act of 1947 which created it, the CIA alone carries out services "common" to the other intelligence agencies.

This is its charter for such "black tricks" as the National Security Council may order it to perform, from bugging

# THE WAR COMES HOME



WE ARE  
RIGHT SMACK  
IN THE MIDDLE OF  
A HEROIN EPIDEMIC

his lethal powder—the “white death”—has spread to all levels of American society, with the syringe becoming as much a part of suburbia as the Saturday afternoon barbecue. There are half a million addicts walking the streets right now. They will spend \$15 million today feeding their habit. They'll get more than half this money from crimes they'll commit in the big cities. One of every four of these addicts is a teenager, and for the 18-35 age group, heroin overdoses have become a major cause of death.

This is terrifying. But it isn't news. Every time you turn on the TV or pick up the newspaper you hear about heroin. Senators rise regularly to read grim statistics into the Congressional Record. President Nixon himself has spoken somberly about the way heroin is stalking our streets with “pandemic virulence.”

But all this talk isn't going to change things. Neither is sending Henry Kissinger to Turkey to see what can be done about the Middle East opium field. And the President probably knows it. The heroin problem is going to get worse, with more young people becoming addicted and dying, until the U.S. gets out of Southeast Asia. Heroin and the War are connected with a horrible symbiosis.

In its May issue, Ramparts magazine tells the shocking story of the New Opium War:

- how clandestine CIA involvement in the parapolitics of Southeast Asia has allowed this area to produce 80% of the world's opium, replacing the Middle East as the major source of heroin.
- how a U.S.-sponsored network of anti-communists—Meo tribesmen in Laos, nationalist Chinese guerrillas and Burmese border police—participate in the opium harvest, in its processing into heroin and transportation to checkpoints throughout Indochina and finally to the U.S.
- how the major figures in South Vietnam's government—from Diem and Madame Nhu in the past to Nguyen Cao Ky today—have profited from the heroin traffic with tacit American support.
- how Saigon has become a major stop along this new heroin route, with up to 20% of some American GI platoons coming home addicts and at least one soldier a day dying from overdoses.

“The New Opium War” is another example of how the war comes home, wrapped in lies and distortions and ringing chaos with it. It is also another page in Ramparts coverage of the ever-deepening U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. We began in 1966 (before opposition to the war was fashionable) with the expose of the joint efforts of Michigan State University and the CIA to set up the Diem regime. We will continue until the killing is over.

## "Chicago 7" Veterans Ready Radio Series for Hanoi

"Chicago 7" member Rennie Davis, a leading figure in the upcoming pro-Hanoi demonstrations in the Nation's Capital, is supporting a new anti-American project. The pro-Communist revolutionary has joined with Abbie Hoffman, another "Chicago 7" member, and others to form radio WPAX in New York. The group is preparing a series of programs for use by Radio Hanoi as an "alternative to the programming of the Armed Forces Network."

Davis and his gang have already delivered four-and-a-half hours of taped music and commentary to the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris peace talks. The programs are scheduled to be broadcast in half-hour segments from Hanoi three times daily.

In a letter to persons considered sympathetic to WPAX, Hoffman said "the Armed Forces Network is the voice of the Pentagon. In addition to censored news, any music with references to peace, black liberation, alternative culture or other 'controversial' material is also banned."

"We have an obligation to fill this void," the letter continued, "and assure that GIs have the opportunity to hear another opinion and have the proper perspective."

WPAX will also have an advisory panel of some 50 persons, including Dwight McDonald, literary critic and staff writer for the *New Yorker*. McDonald, who teaches English at the University of Massachusetts, told the *Washington Evening Star*—which initially published the WPAX story—that he was "definitely" a member of the panel.

According to John Giorno, a leader of WPAX, the North Vietnamese approved the idea of the broadcasts several months ago, after which WPAX was organized to produce the programs. "They totally dug it," Giorno said. "We got together the first programs and Abbie flew over with them. He arrived back March 24 and said we can do anything we want to, as much as we want."

Giorno said in the first program, the "People's Peace Treaty"—a "treaty" that calls for the U.S. to capitulate to Hanoi—was read and that Viet Nam veterans signed it. That show was followed by Allen Ginsberg's poetry. Giorno stressed Ginsberg's poetry consisted of his contention that the CIA sponsored much of the opium traffic out of Laos as a means of controlling certain segments of the American population.

Other programs include such subjects as Women's Liberation, the supposed suppression of servicemen

in the United States, legal advice for GIs, black news and ex-GIs discussing the Army. Giorno maintains that Hanoi will broadcast the programs in both AM and shortwave and will cable the WPAX group when the shows start running.

At WPAX meetings, notes the *Star* reporter, there is discussion of the Federal Treason Act and the Trading With the Enemy Act, but the group feels it can elude these laws since WPAX interprets them to apply only to "declared wars."

"The way we've set up WPAX," Giorno says, "if they go after us for treason, they're going to have to do it on the grounds of free speech. If they go after us it will be a bigger trial than the [Chicago 7] conspiracy trial."

An atmosphere of intrigue at these meetings is created by such legal speculation and by the level of contact with the Communists. The pro-Hanoi revolutionaries say their latest talks have been with Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, head of the Viet Cong delegation in Paris, who is their principal contact.

Giorno commented that some unnamed American radio stations have expressed interest in broadcasting the shows and the group hopes that the shows "will eventually be able to reach all of the three million members of the armed forces."

Something akin to treason is, of course, afoot, and one wonders what Robert Mardian, head of the Internal Security division in the Justice Department, plans to do about it—if anything. Mardian, it is recalled, did virtually nothing to prevent revolutionary groups from using HEW facilities when he served as its general counsel.

AMARILLO, TEX.

NEWS

M - 48,935

NEWS-GLOBE

S - 75,677

APR 22 1971

## Security Unheralded

Any public official who can serve as the director of a government agency for five years — and keep his mouth shut, is deserving of a meritorious award. But Richard Helms, head of the Central Intelligence Agency deserves an award not only for minding his own business — our international security — but for doing it in the face of mountainous vilification from all about him.

Last week he talked to a convention of newspaper editors in Washington, D. C., his first public speech since 1966 when he became head of CIA. He made some very potent points. His address drew little notice, nor many headlines. But what he said has meaning for the frightened folk who insist that their conversations are bugged, their telephones tapped, their privacy invaded. In fact, the CIA "does not target on American citizens," Helms asserted.

Helms said the CIA is not an "invisible government." It is not "involved in world drug traffic."

International espionage is a fact of international life. It must be so long as there are enemies. For instance, Helms said that it would

be "unthinkable" to conclude a strategic arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union "without the means for monitoring compliance."

The United States "must have the means of detecting new developments which might convert one of the regular Soviet air defense missile systems into an ABM network," Helms said.

"We make no foreign policy," he said. "The nation must to a degree take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to her service. I can assure you that we are but I am precluded from demonstrating it to the public," he added.

"We not only have no stake in policy debates" within the administration "but we cannot and must not take sides. The role of intelligence in policy formulation is limited to providing facts — the agreed facts — and the whole known range of facts — relevant to the problem under consideration."

The faint hearts, the guilt-torn cannot see the world as it is. And as it is, national survival depends on accurate intelligence information.

22 APRIL 1971

# CIA Aids Opium Traffic

by Frank Browning and Banning Garrett

*(Editor's note: The following article has been made available to subscribers of College Press Service prior to its release nationally because of CPS's involvement in the story's inception.*

*Sandwiched between the president's State of the World message, in which he announced an all-out campaign to halt the world's opium traffic, the Laotian invasion, and this spring's growing anti-war protests, the story is an explosive one. Sen. George McGovern and Rep. Ronald Dellums are both pressing for hearings in Congress on the U.S. government's complicity with world opium trade, and details on these and other subsequent developments will follow in other stories.)*

"Mr. President, the specter of heroin addiction is haunting nearly every community in this nation." With these urgent words, Senator Vance Hartke spoke up on March 2 in support of a resolution on drug control being considered in the U.S. Senate. Estimating that there are 500,000 heroin addicts in the U.S., he pointed out that nearly 20 per cent of them are teenagers. The concern of Hartke and others is not misplaced. Heroin has become the major killer of young people between 18 and 35, outpacing death from accidents, suicides or cancer. It has also become a major cause of crime: to sustain their habits, addicts in the U.S. spend more than \$15 million a day, half of it coming from the 55 per cent of crime in the cities which they commit and the annual \$2.5 billion worth of goods they steal.

Once, safely isolated as part of the destructive funkiness of the black ghetto, heroin has suddenly spread out into Middle America, becoming as much a part of suburbia as the Saturday barbecue. This has

gained it the attention it otherwise never would have had. President Nixon himself says it is spreading with "pandemic virulence." People are becoming aware that teenagers are shooting up at lunchtime in schools and returning to classrooms to nod the day away. But what they don't know--and what no one is telling them--is that neither the volcanic eruption of addiction in this country nor the crimes it causes would be possible without the age-old international trade in opium (from which heroin is derived), or that heroin addiction--like inflation, unemployment, and most of the other chaotic forces in American society today--is directly related to the U.S. war in Indochina.

The connection between war and opium in Asia is as old as empire itself. But the relationship has never been so symbiotic, so intricate in its networks and so vast in its implications. Never before has the trail of tragedy been so clearly marked as in the present phase of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. For the international traffic in opium has expanded in lockstep with the expanding U.S. military presence there, just as heroin has stalked the same young people in U.S. high schools who will also be called on to fight that war. The ironies that have accompanied the war in Vietnam since its onset are more poignant than before. At the very moment that public officials are wringing their hands over the heroin problem, Washington's own Cold War crusade, replete with clandestine activities that would seem far-fetched even in a spy novel, continues to play a major role in a process that has already rerouted the opium traffic from the Middle East to Southeast Asia and is every day opening new channels for its shipment to the U.S. At the same time the government starts

STATOTHR

## Inside the CIA

For the first time, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency has made a public speech about this most secret government operation. In telling of the work of his operatives, Richard Helms noted that other countries are even more secret about gathering intelligence—what the man on the street calls spying. In Great Britain, for example, it is not even public knowledge who is in charge of such activity.

When he had finished his talk to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Helms had uncovered only the top of the CIA iceberg. He gave an inkling of the enormous store of information in its books and files and photos (some from U-2s). But of sinister activities obviously no word.

In the James Bond world of international spying many things obviously are done that no nation dedicated to righteous and ethical practices could own up to. One charge Helms did deny — that the CIA is somehow involved in the world drug traffic. Helms' speech to the editors was intended to dispel

such suspicions and his appearance did much to explain why he has been enjoying a greater confidence in his integrity, honesty and judgment on Capitol Hill.

He insisted that the CIA has no policy axes to grind, that it merely digs up information for the policy-makers to act on. And, he said, "We do not target on American citizens." He might have added, but did not, "unlike the FBI and the Army." In the end, however, Helms conceded that the American public must take his word for it that his agents do not overstep the boundaries of morality.

"The nation must to a degree," he said, "take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to her (America's) service."

It's frustrating in a government of, by and for the people to be asked to take anything on faith. But Helms' assurances are better than none and he himself appears to be the kind of official Washington, particularly agencies like the FBI, could use more of.



PHILADFLPHIA, PA.  
BULLETIN

E - 640,783  
S - 681,833 1971

## The case for spying

For all his reputation as the Nation's Chief espionage agent, Richard McGarragh Helms, of St. Davids, Pa., would cut a poor figure in a spy thriller.

No flair for the dramatic, just a quiet-spoken man in a dark gray business suit, to match the federal agency he has headed the last five years — the Central Intelligence Agency.

In his first public address as CIA director, Mr. Helms also showed himself recently to be a man with a passion for logic and precision, in articulating ideas and in making distinctions.

His topic was spying itself, its role in a "fearsome" world. Spying was not, said Mr. Helms, an optional activity, to be curtailed or abandoned, under pressure of critics who take advantage of the CIA's "traditional" silence to make "vicious and just plain silly charges . . ."

In the last violence-ridden quarter of the 20th Century, Mr. Helms asserted, it

was an absolute necessity — despite the fact that the CIA's mission, to help keep the President informed of international developments, may "appear in conflict with some of the traditions and ideals of our society . . ."

The problem posed by the CIA was not eliminating it but "to adapt intelligence work to American society." And in this, Mr. Helms said, the American public would have to accept, "on faith," that he and his CIA associates are "honorable men," devoted to the nation's service and subject to intense scrutiny by the elected leaders of the Federal Government.

It was a persuasive argument Mr. Helms outlined for the American Society of Newspaper Editors meeting in Washington, D.C. And, granted the intense scrutiny Mr. Helms cites, it is an argument the public is disposed to accept.

## LAOS: ANATOMY OF AN AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT

By Roland A. Paul

WHEN President Kennedy came to office in 1961, he was startled to learn that almost 700 American soldiers, more than half of whom were members of the Special Forces, were in Laos, while about 500 Soviet troops were there providing logistics support to the local communist forces, the Pathet Lao and their North Vietnamese allies.

Fearing the possible consequences of such a confrontation and considering American interests in Laos to be small, President Kennedy sought to disengage. Negotiations ensued at Vienna, at Geneva, in Laos and elsewhere. The result was the ambiguous compromise set forth in rather unambiguous language in the Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and the Protocol to that Declaration, signed by 13 communist and non-communist countries in July 1962, commonly known as the Geneva Accords of 1962.

Under the mantle of this agreement, the Laotians themselves established a tripartite government composed of right-wing royalist elements under General Phoumi Nosavan, neutralist elements under Prince Souvanna Phouma and communist elements whose nominal leader was Prince Souphanouvong (Souvanna Phouma's half brother). The balance of power in the government was given to the neutralists, and their leader Souvanna Phouma became Prime Minister, a post he holds today.

The Geneva Accords themselves required Laos to disassociate herself from all military alliances, including SEATO, prohibited the introduction of foreign military personnel and civilians performing quasi-military functions (except for a small French training mission), precluded the establishment of any foreign military installations in Laos and forbade the use of Laotian territory to interfere with the internal affairs of another country. Pursuant to this agreement the Americans and Soviets withdrew their military personnel. The North Vietnamese, however, failed to withdraw most of their 6,000-man force that remained in Laos.

Nevertheless, a relative peace settled over this somnolent "Land of the Million Elephants" for about one year, to be shattered in 1963 by an exchange of assassinations. The non-communist officer Colonel Ketsana was murdered and shortly thereafter the pro-Chinese Foreign Minister Quinim Pholsema was killed. These sparked a renewal of the fighting in Laos, which has raged ever since.

To understand the nature of the hostilities in Laos, one must bear three points in mind. First is the fact that the Laotians are a very peaceful, in some cases indolent, people. Accordingly, they generally make poor soldiers. This is true whether they march, or walk, under the red flag of communism or the white elephant and parasol emblem of the neutralist government. They are no match for the well-trained soldiers of North Vietnam. Until recently, this was evidenced all too frequently by the flight of government forces upon finding that they were facing an opposing force composed of North Vietnamese.

There is one exception to this behavior, however. The 250-300,000 Meo tribesmen (no one knows precisely how many there are) and the other smaller Montagnard tribes come from different stock and have been hardened by centuries of nomadic life, slash-and-burn farming, principally opium poppies, and oppression at the hands of their neighbors, historically the Chinese. Sustained and supported by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency,

ATLANTA, GA.  
CONSTITUTION

M - 203,790

APR 18 1971

Ray Murphy

## The Spy Who Talked

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Richard Helms had not made a public speech in five years. By all things right he should have been nervous, edgy, itchy. For he had to defend his organization, the Central Intelligence Agency, before one of the toughest audiences in the country, the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Helms came to the podium assured, quiet, reserved and totally competent to discuss the philosophy behind the spy system he runs.

First, he looks like a spy -- spare figure, dark blue suit, quiet striped tie, white shirt, graying hair combed straight back. Second, he speaks like a spy, restrained and understated.

His agency has been under sharp attack. It has not defended itself publicly. It has felt that it must not blow either its cover or its cool. Now, however, it is clear that the CIA is beginning to feel it must defend itself in an overheated situation.

Some of the criticism has been "vicious, and some just silly" he said. One silly illustration: The charge that CIA is deeply involved in the world drug traffic. "We are not," he declared.

A more difficult question is whether the CIA is spying on its own constituency or requiring Americans to act as spies for it. "We do not target on American citizens," Helms said. Rather, he insisted that the intelligence organization is involved in the massive collection of sometimes miscellaneous information—the depth of the ocean alongside the deck in Somaliland, the sharp turns in caves in Cuba—which can be pieced together to mean something in the long run.

For example, the CIA had a report that Cuba was storing fighter planes in a large cave. Helms' agency was able to discount the report because spelunkers knew there is a very sharp turn several yards inside the cave which would make it impossible to store any vehicle there.

Basically, though, Helms came to maintain that his agency must be in an objective, credible position. It will not work if he or his agency take sides in strategy decisions. "If we did," he said, "the officials involved would suspect that we stacked the evidence," to bolster Helms' own position.

"We must have credibility... an intelligence organization without credibility is of no use," he added.

So in its zeal to protect its credibility with the elected officials, the CIA may have let down its defenses with the public at large. There is wide spread, and growing, public criticism of the agency.

In his understated way, Helms conceded that his agents sometimes "chafe" under this criticism. Yet he must continue to coordinate the data from the entire intelligence community — the CIA, National Security Agency, State Department, military intelligence units, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Atomic Energy Commission and others.

So now he had come to declare the agency's worth — not beg for indulgence. He had come to say that his associates are dedicated, professional — and human. He had decided to drop the cloak long enough to explain that even in England the identity of the security agency's director was a state secret.

Helms has his hands full trying to convince the public his agency is not a shadow government. But he convinced me. This is a firm resolve not to make fun of the CIA next time it tries to assemble data to save my neck.

## Taking the CIA on Faith

Welcome indeed are CIA director Richard Helms' assurances that the quality of his agency's work "is better than it has ever been before," that "we do not target on American citizens," that "we not only have no stake in policy debates but we cannot and must not take sides," that "the elected officials of the U.S. Government watch over (CIA) extensively, intensively and continuously," and that "we understand as well as anyone the difficulties and the contradictions of conducting foreign intelligence operations on behalf of a free society." Whether his assurances are based on fact or feather-fluffing is, of course, another matter, and one which he conceded the public cannot judge. "The nation must to a degree take it on faith," he told the American Society of Newspaper Editors, "that we too are honorable men devoted to her service."

In all due respect to Mr. Helms, no one questions his honor or devotion, or that of his agency's staff. Moreover, on the basis of what little independent knowledge is available to us, we suspect that the high marks Mr. Helms gave the CIA are generally quite deserved. But that is not the point. The point is that the public has no firm or reliable basis on which to make any satisfactory judgment of the CIA at all. It is a secret agency. Mr. Helms is surely aware of the irony implicit in his plea that the nation accept on faith the CIA's devotion to democracy. For it is the essence of a democracy that matters of public policy be examined in public, not taken on faith.

Take, for instance, the one specific charge that Mr. Helms defended the agency against in his ASNE speech—that "the CIA is somehow involved

in the world drug traffic." He said: "We are not." But does the CIA have connections with others involved in drug traffic? If it does, would it not have double reason—the dirtiness of drugs and the protection of a particular intelligence operation—to deny the charge? For that matter, would a CIA confession have any more objective validity than a CIA denial?

The core of the matter lies, we believe, in Mr. Helms' observation that "the United States, as a world power, either is involved or may with little warning find itself involved in a wide range and variety of problems which require a broad and detailed base of foreign intelligence for the policy makers." As a general proposition, this is unassailable: nobody in his right mind would contend the United States does not need to collect foreign intelligence. In the specific application, however, questions arise: How much intelligence is enough? Does an able and ambitious intelligence agency's anticipation of contingencies in a given place or situation induce policy makers to posit an American interest there? Does the CIA's perception of the world as "fearsome," in Mr. Helms' word, affect its judgment of what contingencies it ought to prepare for and of what information it ought to pass on to the President?

To be sure, it is no more reasonable to expect the director of Central Intelligence to question publicly the premises of American global policy than to expect him to denounce the CIA as incompetent, imperial and anti-democratic. It is always going to be unsettling in our society, nonetheless, to be asked to take the CIA—or any other agency or operation of government—on nothing more than faith.

RICHMOND, VA.  
NEWS LEADER

E - 119,238

APR 17 1971

### *Keep the Cloak:*

Those who make their living beard- ing the government, find that one of their greatest advantages is the un- ending list of targets available to them. And because they never regard any response to their accusations as satisfactory, the bureaucracy-baiters revel in a self-perpetuating business. President Nixon surely knows this fact of political life, but occasionally he makes one doubt.

The other day Mr. Nixon allowed Richard Helms, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, to speak before the American Society of News- paper Editors. Given that Helms never has made a similar address in his five years as director of the CIA, it was apparent that Mr. Nixon, rather than Helms, wanted to bring a few things out from the shadows as a counter to ever-mounting criticism.

So Helms dutifully told the editors—and by extension, the American people—that the CIA really isn't fil- led with bogeymen, but rather with honorable men seeking to aid the na- tion's defense. Helms explained that the CIA has neither the power nor the inclination to use police-state tac- tics, and that the Agency is closely monitored by high-ranking govern- ment officials who insure that it can't get out of hand.

Such was the tenor of Helms' speech, and a reasonable man would be hard-pressed to argue with it. Un- fortunately, that is the point: Reason-

able men realize that the CIA is not about to turn into Nixon's Gestapo; unreasonable men believe the CIA is incapable of becoming anything else. Helms therefore made a speech that probably changed no minds, but in- stead brought the CIA what it needs least—attention.

Mr. Nixon thus handed the anti- CIA (and anti-Administration) forces more fodder for their verbal cannon. New attacks on the CIA were inevit- able, of course. But there is no reason why Mr. Nixon should have encourag- ed them. It would have been far bet- ter to let Helms keep wearing the same cloak of near-anonymity he don- ned five years ago.

Reg Murphy

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STATOTHR

## editorials

## CIA footnotes

In his first public address since he became director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) five years ago, Richard Helms defended his organization before a luncheon meeting of newspaper editors Wednesday, and said that the CIA is necessary for the survival of a democratic society. He asked the country "to take it on faith that we, too, are honorable men devoted to her service."

Helms did not attempt to clarify any foundation for that faith, although he did note that CIA intelligence played an important part in determining the American success in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis (thanks to "a number of well-placed and courageous Russians who helped us").

Elsewhere in Washington on the same day, Sen. George McGovern asked Helms to comment on published reports that South Vietnamese Vice-President Nguyen Cao Ky may be involved in the opium trade in Southeast Asia. He cited a recent article in Ramparts magazine implicating the CIA in an international opium business. The Ramparts article contended that opium production and distribution in the Fertile Triangle region of Burma, Northern Thailand, and Laos is conducted with the knowledge of the CIA, and that CIA operations there actually serve to protect opium supplies and facilitate their movement. ✓

Helms did not comment on the allegations; apparently an admonition from the director every five years that Americans must accept the CIA "on faith" should be sufficient.

There might be more to it: that Helms should offer a footnote to American diplomatic history almost ten years after the incident happened suggests a possible precedent. Perhaps, in another five years or so, the CIA director will emerge from his office once more, and renew his request for an extension of public faith in his agency. And then he might add another footnote about how the CIA almost won that Vietnam War all by itself.

ons such as the B-1 bomber and the MBT 70 tank.

## OTHER ISSUES

There are other issues as well. Why do we need over 400 major and some 3,000 minor bases scattered in some 31 countries around the world? If, indeed for these bases, many of them redundant but held since World War II, should be reviewed.

Why, a quarter of a century after World War II, should the United States be providing over 300,000 troops and \$14 billion a year to the NATO alliance? Our European allies have a larger population than we do. They are now as wealthy as we are. They are shouldering none of the costs of the Asian war. Yet we continue with this tremendous outlay of military expenditures for the defense of Europe.

We should cut our forces in NATO in half. We should continue to provide the nuclear umbrella for the defense of Europe. But the Europeans should provide most of the manpower. It is time to Europeanize NATO as it is time to Vietnamize the Asian War. If the Europeans are unwilling to defend themselves against a Russian attack in the center of Europe, then there is no reason why we should bear the major share of that burden.

How does it weaken us to review our bases and to question why NATO should not be Europeanized when their economic strength is as great as ours?

## CONCLUSION

By reforming procurement, by reviewing our commitments, by taking a realistic view of the Russian and Chinese threat, by doing away with unneeded and overlapping weapons, and by limiting the expansion of our nuclear strategic terror, we could make great savings in the defense budget without endangering our security.

And as real security is based on a balance between military and domestic needs, and between the strength of our weapons and the strength of our economy, in my view we would in fact enhance our overall security.

If we persist in the present military excesses we will weaken this country rather than strengthen it.

We should reduce our military expenditures rather than to increase them as our military needs in Asia decrease.

The charge of "neo-isolationism" hurled at those who advocate reform is badly misplaced. In fact, if the military fails to reform, it may so endanger its own credibility as to bring about the very neo-isolationism it claims to oppose.

Instead of hurling epithets at those who would reform the system, those who really want us to remain strong and free should urge the Pentagon to provide this country with a leaner, stronger, and far less costly, more efficient military force.

## DRUG TRAFFIC IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I am increasingly concerned about reports that members of U.S. Armed Forces serving in Indochina are being afflicted with hard drug addiction on an alarming scale, and that Southeast Asian growers and smugglers not only supply these drugs but a lion's share of the illicit world supply as well.

In light of the grave implications for our own society, I have written to Secretary of State William Rogers and Central Intelligence Agency Director Richard Helms, asking for a thorough investigation of this matter. In addition, I have asked for a report on diplomatic

initiatives which have been undertaken to end the vast production of opium in the Fertile Triangle region encompassing parts of Burma, northern Thailand, and Laos.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter to which I have referred; a recent report by Gloria Emerson in the New York Times on the availability of heroin in Vietnam; and a report in the current issue of Ramparts magazine on the Southeast Asian opium market be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

U.S. SENATE, COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY, Washington, D.C., April 13, 1971.

Hon. WILLIAM ROGERS, Secretary of State, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The traffic in hard narcotics, the opium derivatives, is among the most insidious and deadly threats to our domestic safety and well-being.

These drugs destroy hundreds of thousands of lives each year, and the number is growing rapidly. Beyond that, hard drug addiction authors a vast proportion of all other crime—as much as 90 percent in New York City, for example—which is committed by users seeking funds to sustain their habits. A recent study in the District of Columbia found that 45 percent of a sampling of the D.C. jail population was addicted to heroin.

This general grave concern is now coupled with the more recent problem of hard drug addiction acquired by United States servicemen returning from Indochina. The Commissioner of New York's Addiction Services Agency has written to me that,

"Most recent reports on drug addiction and drug abuse do indicate that there is an increase in these phenomena among American servicemen and there is very little doubt that a significantly greater part of New York servicemen returning to civilian life have been or are addicted, or have developed a propensity to addiction."

Dr. Robert DuPont, director of Washington, D.C.'s Narcotics Treatment Administration, reports that his agency has undertaken a systematic study of the relationship between military service and heroin use. He told me recently that,

"Our earlier investigations showed that about 25 percent of the heroin addict patients in treatment with the Narcotics Treatment Administration, and about 25 percent of the heroin addicts admitted to the D.C. jail, are veterans."

Last year the Veterans Administration established the treatment of drug dependence as a special medical program, including plans for 30 specialized units for the rehabilitation of drug dependent veterans. V.A. Administrator Donald Johnson has advised me that his agency is not in a position to assess the true magnitude of this problem.

In his State of the World Message, President Nixon quite properly singled out plans to deal with the international sources of supply of heroin as an essential, central element in any serious effort to control this vicious drug. He indicated that the Administration has worked closely with a number of governments, particularly Turkey, France, and Mexico, to seek an end to illicit production and smuggling of narcotics.

On the basis of this background, I am deeply disturbed by reports, including those contained in the current issue of Ramparts Magazine, that the vast majority of all heroin production comes not from Turkey, not from France or Mexico, but from Southeast Asia,

and that U.S. policy and personnel, instead of discouraging this traffic, have actually assisted its growth.

I would very much appreciate your comments on the following points raised in the enclosed article:

(1) The report that, according to the United Nations Commission on Drugs and Narcotics, at least 80 percent of the world's 1200 tons of illicit opium comes from Southeast Asia. According to an Iranian report to a United Nations seminar on the subject, some 83 percent of the world's illegal supply originates in the Fertile Triangle region which includes parts of Burma, northern Thailand and Laos.

(2) The report that Nationalist Chinese or Kuomintang forces operating in that region control and profit from the opium trade, that these forces supplement their income by performing missions for the United States, and that the Burmese government has protested this activity both to the United States and the United Nations.

(3) The report that opium is the basic source of income for Meo tribesmen in Laos, and that General Vang Pao, commander of Laotian counterinsurgency forces made up of Meo tribesmen and supported by the United States, uses aircraft supplied by this country to transport opium from the surrounding area to the base of Long Cheng.

(4) The report that General Ouane Rattikone of the Royal Laotian Army exercises broad control over the opium traffic in Laos, including ownership of several "cookers" for refining it, and that he and other interested parties transport raw opium in equipment supplied by the United States military assistance program.

(5) The implication that opium production and collection in Laos is conducted with the knowledge of Central Intelligence Agency officials, particularly in the area surrounding Long Cheng, and that CIA operations there actually serve to protect these supplies and facilitate their movement.

(6) The report that high Vietnamese officials, including Vice President Ky, have been and may currently be involved in the transport of opium from the Fertile Triangle region to Saigon and in its distribution there.

Certainly these reports, along with others in the article, warrant a thorough investigation. Indeed, considering our determination to end the menace of heroin addiction in this country, I will be surprised if such an investigation has not already been completed and if we are not currently involved in vigorous diplomatic efforts to close off this source. Considering the number of independent sources which have reported knowledge of vast opium production in the Fertile Triangle region, it seems to me that it would be impossible for it to escape the attention of U.S. agencies operating there.

Along with your comments on the points listed above I would, therefore, very much appreciate a report on initiatives the United States has undertaken to cut off this major source of opium supply, including any restrictions on military assistance aimed at preventing the use of American equipment in collecting and transporting this treacherous commodity.

Sincerely,

GEORGE McGOVERN.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 25, 1971]

GI'S IN VIETNAM GET HEROIN EASILY

(By Gloria Emerson)

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM, February 24.—It is so easy to buy heroin from peddlers in Vietnam wherever there are American troops or convoys that a tiny plastic vial can be purchased for \$3 outside the headquarters of an American general.

On the 15-mile Bien Hoa highway, which



BALTIMORE, MD.

NEWS AMERICAN

APR 15 1971

E - 219,140

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# Editors Told Key Russians Serve as Spies for CIA

Chicago Sun Times

WASHINGTON — The Central Intelligence Agency says it has penetrated the Soviet government with a "number of well-placed" Russian spies.

Richard M. Helms, in his first public speech in five years as director of the CIA, Wednesday cited the spies' key role in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and implied that some of them are still operating in the Soviet Union.

By surfacing the claim at this time, Helms apparently sought to serve notice to The Kremlin that the United States has secret ways of checking on its good faith in current negotiations on strategic weapons, the Middle East and other critical issues.

**HELMS SAID THE CIA** was able to detect Russian missiles in Cuba in 1962 "thanks to U-2 photography of the Soviet Union and to a number of well-placed and courageous Russians" who provided crucial details on Soviet missile systems.

Helms was asked later if he was referring to Col. Oleg V. Penkovsky, the Soviet military intelligence official who served as a double agent for both the CIA and British intelligence. Helms replied that his remarks covered Penkovsky and "others."

Penkovsky was arrested Oct. 22, 1962, at the height of the Cuban missile crisis, and executed May 16, 1963. But the Soviet government has made no public mention of additional spies in the case.

**HELMS' SPEECH** thus left the

implication that "other" CIA agents remain in place inside the Soviet Union.

Helms obtained clearance from President Nixon before accepting the invitation to speak before the annual convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Herbert G. Klein, the President's communications director, saw nothing unusual in the CIA making a public defense of its operations at this time.

But Helms' speech created a considerable stir in view of the current clamor over Army and FBI "syping" on civilians. He went to great lengths to insist that the CIA has "no domestic security role."

"We do not target on American citizens," he said.

**HE DENIED AS "VICIOUS"** a charge that the CIA is involved in the world drug traffic. Sen. George McGovern, D-S.C., demanded Wednesday that the CIA and the State Department investigate allegations by Ramparts magazine that the CIA

facilitates the movement of opium out of Southeast Asia.

Helms conceded, on the other hand: "Our mission, in the eyes of many thoughtful Americans, may appear to be in conflict with some of the traditions and ideals of a free society . . . assertions that the Central Intelligence Agency is an 'invisible government' — a law unto itself, engaged in provocative covert activities repugnant to a democratic society and subject to no controls . . ."

"It is difficult for me to agree with this view, but I respect it."

CHICAGO, ILL.  
SUN-TIMES

M - 541,086  
S - 697,966

APR 15 1971

# CIA director tells of spy net in Russia

By Thomas B. Ross

Sun-Times Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Central Intelligence Agency stated Wednesday that it has penetrated the Soviet government with a "number of well-placed" Russian spies.

Richard M. Helms, in his first public speech in five years as director of the CIA, cited the spies' key role in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and implied that some of them are still operating in the Soviet Union.

By surfacing the statement at this time, Helms apparently sought to serve notice to the Kremlin that the United States has secret ways of checking on Soviet good faith in current negotiations on strategic weapons, the Middle East and other critical issues.

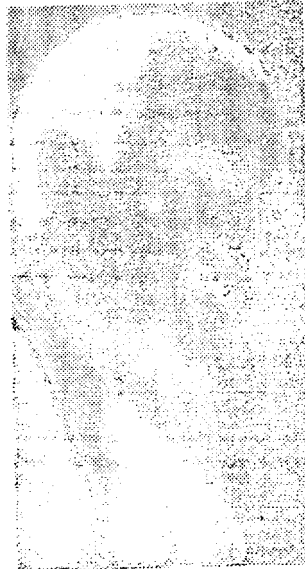
Speaking to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Helms said the CIA was able to detect Russian missiles in Cuba in 1962 "thanks to U-2 photography of the Soviet Union and to a number of well-placed and courageous Russians" who provided crucial details on Soviet missile systems.

## Refers to Penkovsky?

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CIA director Richard Helms addresses annual convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington. (AP)

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## Don't target on Americans

But Helms' speech created a considerable stir in view of the current clamor over Army and FBI "spying" on civilians. Helms went to great lengths to insist that the CIA has "no domestic security role."

"We do not target on American citizens," he said.

Helms acknowledged that the CIA collects "foreign intelligence in this country" by tapping university experts and interviewing persons who travel to Communist countries.

"The trouble," he lamented, "is that to those who insist on seeing us as a pernicious and pervasive secret government, our words 'interview' and 'hire' translate into suborn, subvert and seduce or something worse."

## Calls charge vicious

He denied as "vicious" a charge that the CIA is involved in the world drug traffic.

Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.) demanded Wednesday that the CIA and the State Department investigate allegations by Ramparts Magazine that the CIA facilitates the movement of opium out of Southeast Asia.

Helms conceded, on the other hand:

"Our mission, in the eyes of many thoughtful Americans, may appear to be in conflict with some of the traditions and ideals of a free society . . . assertions that the Central Intelligence Agency is an 'invisible government, a law unto itself, engaged in provocative covert activities repugnant to a democratic society and subject to no controls. . . ."

"It is difficult for me to agree with this view, but I respect it."

E - 333,224  
S - 558,018

APR 15 1971



"only if it has adequate intelligence to assure itself that the Soviets are living up to their part."

Helms said: "There is a persistent and growing body of criticism which questions the need and the propriety for a democratic society to have a Central Intelligence Agency.

"It is difficult for me to agree with this view, but I respect it. It is quite another matter when some of our critics—taking advantage of the traditional silence of those engaged in intelligence — say things that are either vicious or just plain silly."

Helms said that the CIA had no domestic security functions and had never sought any. "In short," he said, "we do not target on American citizens."

He denied as vicious a charge that the CIA was involved in the world drug traffic.

Senator George S. McGovern (Dem.), South Dakota, demanded yesterday that the CIA and the Department of State investigate allegations by Ramparts magazine that the CIA facilitated the movement of opium out of Southeast Asia.

In a speech today, Senator Henry M. Jackson (Dem.), Washington, told the newspaper editors that a relentless Soviet arms build-up threatened the survival of the American nuclear deterrent force.

Jackson said popular opinion, which holds that the military balance leans heavily in the favor of the United States, was wrong.

Jackson said the arms race must be brought under control at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. He repeated his proposal that the United States should buy more time and should consider a partial, interim agreement — for an initial period of one year — with the Soviet Union.

**IN DEFENSE OF THE CIA:** Richard Helms, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, addressing the annual convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington. Newbold Noyes of the Washington Star, the society's president, is at left. (AP Wirephoto)

# Helms Says CIA Is Necessary To Survival Of Democratic Society

From Post-Dispatch Wire Services  
WASHINGTON, April 15—The director of the Central Intelligence Agency says his agency is necessary to the survival of a democratic society and asks the nation "to take it on faith that we, too, are honorable men devoted to her service."

Richard Helms, in his first public address since he became head of the agency in 1966, said yesterday, "We propose to adapt intelligence work to American society, not vice versa."

He spoke with the approval of President Richard M. Nixon before a meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Helms said that the success of American intelligence in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis was due in part to "a number of well-placed and courageous Russians who helped us."

He told reporters later that he was referring to persons who provided information on Soviet missile systems.

American intelligence would have "a major and vital role in any international agreement to limit strategic arms," Helms said in his speech.

He said that the Soviet Union continually has rejected proposals for a treaty on nuclear territory and that the United States could undertake an agreement to limit such arms

WASHINGTON POST  
13 APR 1971

Associated Press

CIA Director Helms addresses newspaper editors.

# Russians' 1962 Aid Confirmed by CIA

By Chalmers M. Roberts  
Washington Post Staff Writer

In his first public speech as CIA director, Richard Helms yesterday declared that "a number of well-placed and courageous Russians" helped the United States in identification of Soviet weapons in Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis.

He mentioned no names, but the reference clearly appeared to be to Col. Oleg Penkovsky, the Soviet intelligence officer who brought much information out during visits to London in the 16 months prior to the missile crisis. He was arrested that October and subsequently executed for treason.

"The Penkovsky Papers," published as a book in 1965, were widely believed to be based on CIA interrogations, and the claim was made in the introduction that Penkovsky's information was invaluable during the Cuba crisis. Talking to newsmen after the speech, Helms acknowledged that the Russians he mentioned included Penkovsky.

However, not until Helms' speech yesterday at a luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors had an American official in a position to know come so close to crediting Penkovsky openly.

Helms detailed the kind of work the CIA and other U.S. intelligence agencies did at the time, trying to separate fact from fiction about what Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev was doing in Cuba. He then included this paragraph:

"Our intelligence files in Washington, however—thanks to U-2 photography of the Soviet Union and to a number of well-placed and courageous Russians who helped us—included a wealth of information on Soviet missile systems. We had descriptions or photographs of the missiles, their transporters and other associated equipment, and characteristic sites in the Soviet Union."

This enabled specialists, with the help of pictures taken over Cuba to "tell President Kennedy the exact scope of the threat," Helms said.

Much of Helms' speech was a defense of the CIA against charges it is an "invisible government." He denied reports the CIA is "somehow involved in the world drug traffic." Without mentioning recent charges against the FBI, Helms said that "we do not target on American citizens."

The closest Helms came to discussing the CIA's role in current policy issues was his reference to the ongoing strategic arms limitation talks. He said it would be "unthinkable" to conclude a SALT agreement with the Soviet Union "without the means for monitoring compliance."

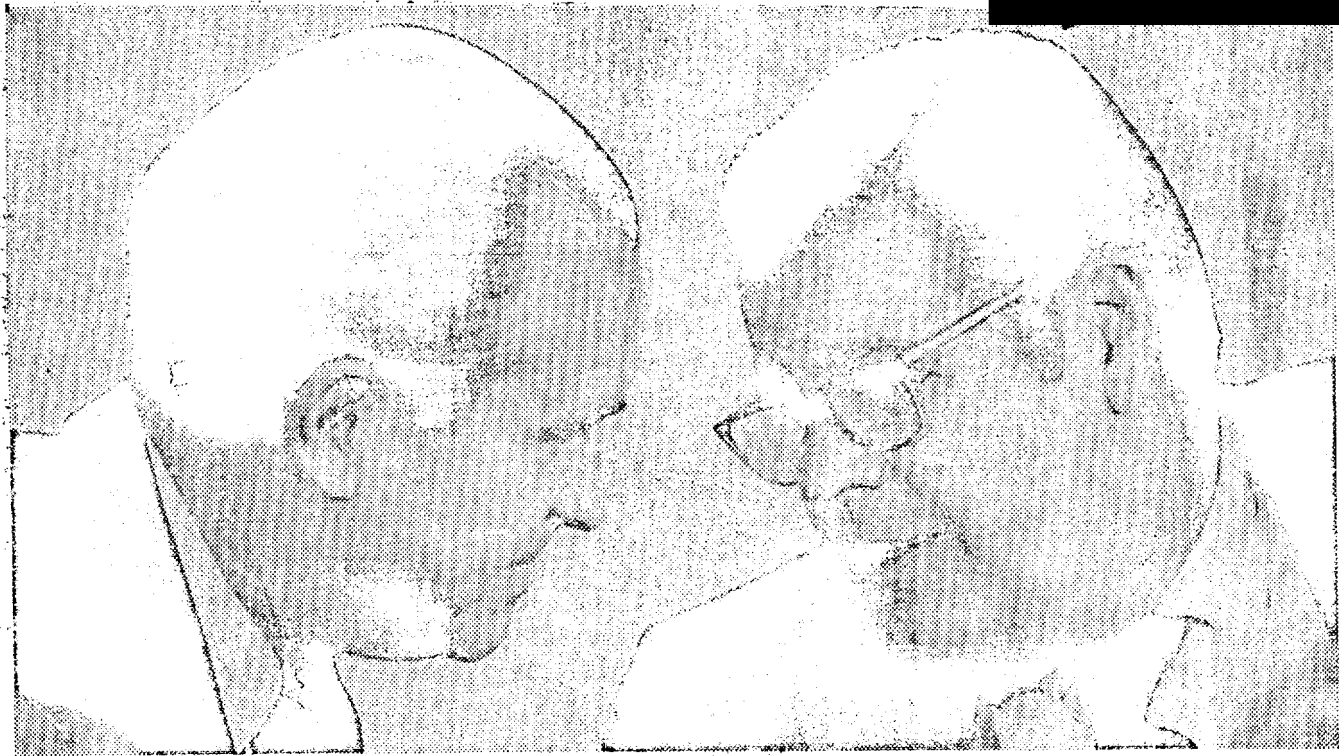
He mentioned checking on both offensive and defensive missile systems with a special reference to the possibility raised in the Pentagon that the Soviets might upgrade certain surface-to-air missile systems.

The United States "must have the means of detecting new developments which might convert one of the regular Soviet air defense missile systems into an ABM network," Helms said.

"We make no foreign policy," he said. "The nation must to a degree take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to her service. I can assure you that we are but I am precluded from demonstrating it to the public," he added.

Helms, who has been with CIA since its creation in 1947 and has been its director since mid-1966, declared that "we not only have no stake in policy debates" within the administration "but we cannot and must not take sides. The role of intelligence in policy formulation is limited to providing facts—the agreed facts—and the whole known range of facts—relevant to the problem under consideration."

The CIA under one of Helms' predecessors, Allen Dulles, was widely charged with advocacy in the Bay of Pigs debacle and in other covert activities. This was said to have been changed after a probe of the Bay of Pigs that set up the guidelines listed by Helms.



—United Press International

CIA Director Richard Helms (left) talks with Newbold Noyes Jr., president of the American

Society of Newspaper Editors and editor of The Star, during the editors' conference yesterday.

# CIA Has Agents in Kremlin

## Spies Are 'Well-Placed,' Helms Tells Newsmen

By THOMAS B. ROSS  
Chicago Sun-Times Service

British, CIA Agent

The head of the Central Intelligence Agency says the CIA has penetrated the Soviet government with a "number of well-placed" Russian spies.

Richard M. Helms, in his first public speech in five years as director of the CIA, yesterday cited the spies' key role in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and implied that some of them still are operating in the Soviet Union.

By making the claim at this time, Helms apparently sought to serve notice to the Kremlin that the United States has secret ways of checking on its good faith in current negotiations on strategic weapons, the Middle East and other critical issues.

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### Semantic Troubles

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Helms conceded, on the other hand: "Our mission, in the eyes of many thoughtful Americans, may appear to be in conflict with some of the traditions and

ideals of a free society... Assertions are made that the Central Intelligence Agency is an 'invisible government' — a law unto itself, engaged in provocative covert activities repugnant to a democratic society and subject to no controls...

It is difficult for me to agree with this view, but I respect it."