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THE SHIFTING PATTERN OF NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING: LATIN AMERICA

REPORT OF A STUDY MISSION TO MEXICO, COSTA RICA, PANAMA, AND COLOMBIA

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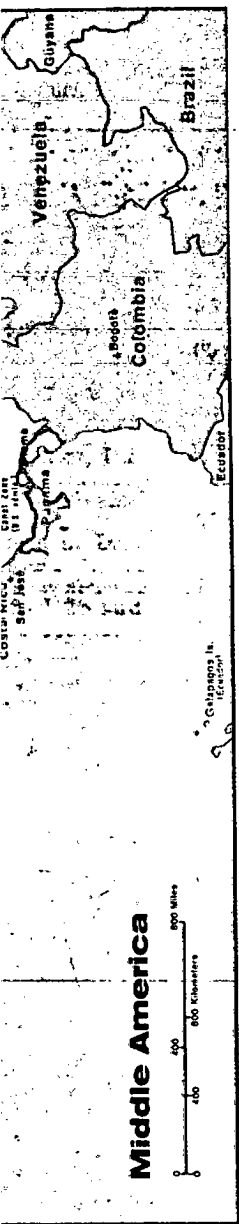
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INTRODUCTION

Six years after the U.S. Government declared "war" on illegal narcotics traffic, drug abuse is once again reaching epidemic proportions all across the Nation. This time, however, the widespread abuse of heroin is not confined to our major cities but reaches into small towns as well. The drastic increase in narcotics traffic and abuse in this country and the deep concerns of President Ford, the U.S. Congress and the American people prompted a study mission to the critical areas of Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama, and Colombia.

On December 22, 1975, President Ford called a special meeting of a U.S. congressional task force on international narcotics control to put into perspective United States-Latin America interests in attacking this worldwide menace which threatens to destroy the youth of our nations. At this meeting President Ford pledged he would do "whatever it takes", including tough diplomatic measures to stem the flow of illegal narcotics into the United States.

Armed with these Presidential assurances and having conducted many hearings and investigations into narcotics traffic and drug abuse, we undertook this vital mission of exchanging ideas, views and information with representatives of those countries critical to stemming the flow of narcotics into the United States. To this end we held a series of conferences at the highest levels including in-depth discussions with President Echeverria of Mexico, President Oduber of Costa Rica, President Lakas of Panama, and President Lopez of Colombia.

Through these open and frank discussions a clear, although frightening picture has emerged of this common enemy we all face. Last year alone, it has been estimated that drug-related crime in the United States amounted to over \$17 billion. One must realize that this deadly traffic does not provide "one single dime" to the treasury of any of the nations involved and seriously threatens the good relations and good will existing between the peoples of Central and South America and the United States.

The major sources of the most threatening of illicit narcotics have been directly traced to Mexico and Latin America. Recent estimates reveal that over 90 percent of all heroin seizures in the United States had their sources in Mexico, establishing Mexico as the center of a billion dollar a year narcotics business. Latin America now supplies almost all of the cocaine abused in the United States. Costa Rica, Panama, and Colombia are all significant producers of marihuana and provide key links in the cocaine smuggling chain. The trafficking of cocaine through Colombia alone, has an estimated street value in the United States of over \$500 million annually.

These statistics clearly reveal the tremendous size and scope of illegal narcotic traffic to the United States. Attendant massive criminal activity by highly sophisticated and powerful organizations accompanies drug trafficking. The lucrative nature of drug trafficking has

led to the increasing involvement of otherwise legitimate businesses normally engaged in international air and sea traffic. The producers and traffickers are heavily armed, often possessing inside information on the government eradication and enforcement programs, which suggests the possibility of high level political tie-ins or protection.

The efforts to control this traffic are even further complicated by the enormous physical magnitude of geography, production and transportation. The rugged topography of the growing areas, the thousands of miles of unpatrolled coastline (both here and abroad) and the thousands of remote clandestine airstrips, are all factors that provide tremendous obstacles to effective enforcement efforts...

Clearly, we have been losing this war. With the breakup of the so-called "French connection" and the temporary ban on opium-growing in Turkey, new circuitous lines of supply have been established. As a result of massive U.S. efforts the estimated number of narcotics addicts dropped from 600,000 in 1970 to 300,000 in 1974. But now the total has once again risen to over 500,000.

The situation is becoming increasingly dire. The United States is now faced with a massive and growing problem of narcotics addiction. The number of addicts has increased to over 500,000, and the social and economic costs are staggering. The government must take immediate and effective action to control this traffic and to provide treatment and rehabilitation for addicts.

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PART I: WORLD NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING AND THE U.S. GOVERNMENT RESPONSES

Transitional History of Narcotics Production and Trafficking

The traditional route of illicit heroin traffic to the United States has been through Europe. With the advent of the United States-Turkey opium ban and as the U.S. Government began a serious crackdown accompanied by initial cooperation from the Europeans, the tide began to turn on drug trafficking. These efforts, however, have been countered by the narcotics traffickers who have shifted the trafficking routes to and through Latin America where customs inspections and anti-smuggling efforts have been less than thorough.

The successful efforts of the U.S. Government in bringing about the Turkish ban forced the traffickers to look for new source countries. The close proximity to the United States of the new growing areas, vast unpatrolled borders, long coastlines, and rugged topography combine to provide excellent conditions for the manufacture and trafficking of heroin, cocaine and marihuana.

In addition, the historic uncontrolled traffic of smuggled contraband has complicated the problem. Many Latin American countries have put on blinders to the traffic in cigarettes, whiskey and other goods being smuggled from the United States. This attitude has led to the corruption of many officials on both sides of the border who are responsible for smuggling control. The transition from cigarettes to narcotics is simple by itself, but enormous in its profit potential and effect upon society. Lacking an indigenous addict population to provide a visible reminder, cooperation in the past from Latin and Central American nations has been half-hearted at best. A lack of understanding of the depth of the problem is one of the contributing factors to continuing traffic.

The results of the U.S. failure to seriously attack this pattern of diversion to the Western Hemisphere has resulted in the increased complexity of the problem. New agricultural methods have been applied to the narcotics crops resulting in larger yields and an increase in the number of crops per year. The area production percentage of U.S. narcotic suppliers reveals how drastic the change has been. Prior to 1972 and the Turkey production ban, 90 percent of all heroin seized was of the high quality fluffy white variety originating in Europe and Asia. The test seizure statistics for 1975 reveal that 80-90 percent of all heroin now originates or transships through Mexico. In four short years the vultures who ply this nefarious trade have outmaneuvered and outclassed meagre control efforts. These obvious, halfway measures cannot work. To be effective, the traffickers' moves must be anticipated. We are dealing with a problem that attracts the most devious—we must be decisive if we are to prevail.

These dramatic changes in trafficking patterns are not confined to heroin alone. In cocaine and marijuana, both of which are traditional products smuggled throughout Mexico and Latin America, the rates of increased use and abuse of these drugs of choice by American youth have led to increased South American production and trafficking. Once the smuggling links are connected the product trafficked is of little importance as long as the great profits and low risks exist.

The traffic in cocaine is traditionally based in the northern countries of South America where it has been cultivated and used by the Indian population for generations. The distinguishing factor for consumption is that the Indians traditionally used the coca leaves legally while the illicit U.S. market is cocaine. As the markets in the United States, Europe and in their countries have increased in recent years, so has the move toward increased production. The vast majority of cocaine traffickers have developed from within the traditional family-tied smuggling operations throughout Latin America. It has been an easy transition to move from contraband to cocaine and marijuana.

Using present control methods, the outlook for a total control of all narcotics traffic through Mexico and Latin America is not good. The success of growers and traffickers in their present locations provides little hope that any greater degree of success can be attained.

Many of the elements involved in the upsurge of narcotics traffic are new ones. Unfortunately, many have been known and understood for years. This report will delineate areas we feel have the potential for solving one significant aspect of the problem.

We are greatly encouraged by the meetings we held and are optimistic of the results of this mission.

U.S. Worldwide Control Efforts

In response to a better understanding of the problem at home, a recognition of the need for international cooperation and more directly as a result of some success in certain areas, our governmental efforts in the control of illicit narcotics traffic has changed over the years. An explanation of the role of the Department of State in narcotics control is attached to this report in the appendix (p. 48).

As the drug culture in the United States came to fruition in the 1960's the need for an all-out effort at control became apparent. Preliminary investigations led to a better understanding of world trafficking and in turn its effect upon our Nation. This new pursuit led to an agreement with Turkey to ban the production of poppies which dried up the source of most of the illicit heroin entering the United States. This highly successful program resulted in the recent shift in traffic to Mexico and Latin America. Here, where problems are not restricted to combating the traffic, but also includes production, our Government's effort has been modified.

The Federal narcotics program has as its long-term goal the control of all illicit narcotic production, processing, and trafficking through the international community. A more immediate and realistic goal is to control all U.S. bound illicit traffic, particularly heroin through interdiction and eradication efforts.

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atives must be employed to show the same creativity that traffickers exhibit. This was evidenced in a draft report which was not published by the Murphy Commission and written by Mr. Tom Peters:¹

"Imaginative tactics could have come from the State Department, the CIA or the DEA. Within the Department, they could have been initiated by AID or the Senior Adviser. None of these organizations provided sustained sources of usefully creative ideas. The CIA and DEA provided many tactical approaches.

"Most, however, were not implementable. * * * AID reacted with its traditional approach in response to the narcotics program. This approach, though quite fruitful in many contexts, would have required many years for successful implementation.

The Peters appendix concluded:

"Most new issues confronting the U.S. foreign policy machinery in the 1970s and 1980s will be like drugs in that they will deal with issues relating to domestic problems. Implementation of U.S. foreign policy will increasingly require an understanding of the levers necessary to predict and potentially influence internal economic and social behavior of important allies and adversaries. Socio-economic interdependence will continue to increase rapidly.

"The State Department should take the lead in suggesting creative answers to issues in areas which have traditionally been peripheral to national security analysis. Response to the drug case gives us no reason to view the future with optimism."

A unilateral response by the United States cannot solve the international problem of narcotics.

The most significant effort in the short-term is to bring an awareness in the drug producing and trafficking countries that this problem is a mutual problem. Not only are these countries risking an increasing national narcotic problem of their own, but the element of corruption could and has led to political instability internally.

To help stem this problem, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration has stationed over 200 agents in 40 different countries to serve in a liaison and advisory role with their counterparts in drug enforcement. In addition over 10,000 foreign enforcement personnel have received narcotics enforcement training from U.S. agencies. The highest priority in the present U.S. program continues to be the strengthening of the capabilities of the relatively new, ill-equipped and inexperienced foreign narcotics enforcement agencies. Almost three quarters of the current U.S. budget is devoted to bilateral enforcement assistance.

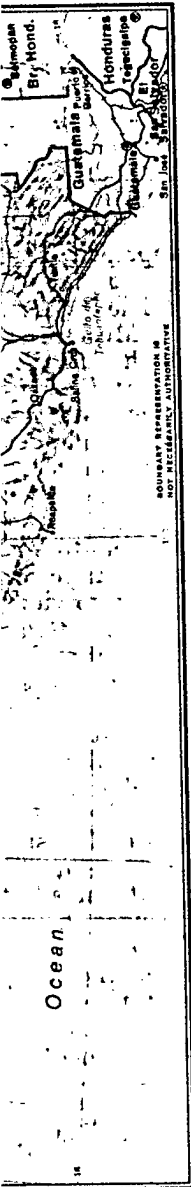
¹ Excerpts from "Effectiveness of Turkish Opium Control," Part I, hearings before the Subcommittee on Future Foreign Policy Research and Development, Committee on International Relations, 94th Congress, 1st Session.

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PART II: INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY SITUATION REPORTS

MEXICO

In our view, the most critical issue confronting the Governments of Mexico and the United States is the continuing traffic in illegal narcotics, primarily heroin.

In the last 18 months, Mexico has emerged as the primary source of narcotics destined for the United States. As much as 90 percent of the heroin seized in the United States by the Drug Enforcement Administration now comes from Mexico. At the present time, \$1 billion in Mexican wholesale heroin is coming into the United States on an annual basis. (A recent estimate by a high Mexican official places this figure at nearly \$2 billion.) The emergence of Mexico as the primary source of heroin in the United States is the result of the effective disruption of the French connection and their "White heroin" traffic. These efforts created a heroin shortage on the east coast. Mexican narcotic suppliers recognized the opportunity and diversified their resources to meet an increased demand. By decentralizing their distribution organizations, Mexican traffickers were able to expand their activity to smaller U.S. cities, but it also began to appear in almost every city in the United States.

Despite claims by the Mexican Government that more and more narcotics are seized and hundreds of defendants are arrested each year, the Mexican share of the U.S. narcotics market rose from approximately 38 percent in 1972 to 90 percent in 1975. A review of these efforts indicates that much more is needed to bring about the reduction of Mexican narcotics flowing into the United States. However, 1976 offers great promise for an effective program of joint United States and Mexican enforcement efforts.

Mexican enforcement and eradication programs have been in effect in Mexico for more than 30 years. These heroic efforts have unfortunately been accompanied by the increased availability of brown heroin, marihuana, and other dangerous drugs. It is not difficult to understand how the early efforts in eradication and enforcement failed.

Increasing arrest and seizures have not stopped the flow of narcotics from Mexico. In 1947 aerial surveillance of an area north of Culiacan revealed a total of 4,000 opium fields. In 1975 a similar survey again located almost the same number of fields in the same areas. Years of development enforcement expertise and technology have had little effect on reducing production. In the late sixties the United States unilaterally initiated Operation Intercept, which brought about long lines of automobiles at border points of entry. This bold stroke by the Nixon administration resulted in Operation Cooperation, the beginning of our joint enforcement programs.

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Our joint programs began with years of diplomatic discussions, informal conferences in Mexico, Canada, and the United States which pointed out many desirable options and ideas. Finally in 1974 all the years of rhetoric resulted in positive actions. For the first time Mexico officially acknowledged that it was a source country for opium, marihuana and dangerous drugs.

The Mexican Government further gave recognition to the fact that its country was a transshipment country for European heroin and South American cocaine. A number of illicit amphetamine tableting operations surfaced in Mexico in the early 1970's.

Although several serious issues emerged during our discussion, the one underlying characteristic that prevails throughout the top level ranks of the Mexican Government is a willingness to create new programs to eliminate the problem.

After our arrival in Mexico City, on January 6, 1976, we began with a meeting with Mexican Attorney General Pedro Ojeda-Paullada. By Executive Order the Office of Mexico's Attorney General was placed in charge of the eradication campaign and the overall enforcement effort. Therefore the views of Attorney General Ojeda regarding narcotics enforcement were of considerable importance to our investigation.

Attorney General Ojeda stated that each of our respective countries must do its part to continue improving our efforts. He stressed that it would be helpful if jointly desired programs of narcotics control, such as effective exchange programs of intelligence information were established. We both must attack this problem with complete respect for each others sovereignty. As an example of this, he said U.S. officials must be in contact only with his office concerning narcotics problems. However, narcotics control is not, he said, a large or insurmountable problem—we both have to be flexible to meet the needs of circumstances.

The Attorney General disagreed with the U.S. white paper on drug abuse that it tends to reduce the importance of the need to control marihuana. He feels the question of marihuana control and current legal changes, including decriminalization of marihuana in the United States, should be regulated by the legal requirements of the 1961 Single Convention. He feels we must treat marihuana as an illegal substance. To explain this, he said heroin and marihuana traffickers are usually the same groups and Mexico is obliged by international treaty to handle marihuana violations the same as other illicit narcotics. Both countries, he said, must increase efforts at all levels to combat narcotics traffickers as well as increase the exchange of information. He praised the statement of President Ford concerning the need for increased activity in narcotics control.

The Attorney General recounted steps taken by the United States and Mexico during October and November of 1975 that have resulted in increased cooperation and increased efforts directed at narcotics control.

He said the problems of the current eradication campaign are especially in the areas of planning and execution. There was concern over equipment needs and organizational problems at the beginning, but now they have been largely overcome. Some, but only a few poppy

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The Attorney General said the poppy-growing current campaign coordination. This is the use of herbicides to solve the problems for using this more experiments and herbicide could.

On January 7, he said. He explained that the campaign began July 1974 this year's campaign its expansion aspect.

The Attorney General said the use of herbicides began up on all fronts. From November 20 to January 23, to January 23, the field being one-half.

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fields have been harvested. He is content with the progress of the campaign and the assistance rendered by the United States. There are some specific needs of the campaign that are still to be worked out with the U.S. Government.

The Attorney General described the remote and rugged aspects of the poppy growing areas. He confirmed the augmentation of the current campaign and the steps taken to improve efficiency and coordination. The most important feature of the current campaign is the use of herbicides. He explained the political sensitivities and the problems for both governments that delayed a practical means of using this more effective tool. He went on to describe the necessary experiments and demonstrations before final decisions on the type of herbicide could be made.

On January 7, a second meeting was held with the Attorney General. He explained that the planning for the eradication campaign began July 1974 but general discussions concerning development of this year's campaign in the sense of selection of Mexican states and its expansion aspects began only in January 1975.

The Attorney General said the eradication campaign without the use of herbicides began November 13, but it did not automatically start up on all fronts. In early December the intensive phase began. From November 20 to December 22, 273 fields were destroyed; from December 23, to January 6, 646 fields were destroyed, the average size of the field being one-half acre.

When asked about the total acreage, Attorney General Ojeda said there was estimated to be approximately 15,000 to 20,000 fields; if we use the latter, about 6,600 hectares. This is both poppy and marihuana. Of these, an estimated 12,000 fields are opium. We asked when would the opium be harvested? The Attorney General said plantings were made in September, October, and November. Some of the earlier plantings were ready to harvest in December, although isolated fields could have been ready earlier.

When asked about the effectiveness of reconnaissance, the Attorney General said present phototechniques were limited by aircraft speed and personnel management problems, resulting in some reduced output. The Government of Mexico is considering the use of Lear jet aircraft that can fly higher, faster, and map much greater areas. Mexican officials are now discussing this possibility of rental with several local companies.

We recognize the enormity of the enforcement problem. Dealing with the sophisticated trade is indeed a complex problem. We were able to see firsthand during an overflight of the remote growing areas the difficulty that enforcement personnel encounter.

The Attorney General was most cooperative in providing assistance for the field inspection. Dr. Alesandro Gertz Manero, head of Mexico's eradication program accompanied us on the helicopter flight near the town of Altamirano. During an overflight of the growing area, we were shown fields that had already been destroyed. Although it was encouraging to view tangible results, it was quite obvious the overall effort of eradication was not achieving the desired goals at that time. It was easy to see how impractical is the "stick-beating" method of destroying the crops. It was reported that on some occasions the

soldiers would even miss fields next to them. Hopefully, with the spraying technique now being instituted, greater progress can be accomplished. The herbicide gramaxone should provide a constructive difference in the eradication program. This reduces drastically the manpower effort which was originally required. The Mexican Government should be commended for adopting a more realistic approach in their eradication efforts.

While the sincere intentions of the Government of Mexico deserve praise, the bottom line results at the time of our visit were poor, for by January 1976 there were reports of less than 5 percent poppy eradication out of 20,000 acres. Although the decision to utilize the helicopter spray equipment had been made in December 1975 the entire system did not become operable until the end of January 1976. This was not the fault of the Mexicans but poor planning and makeshift equipment delayed the operation.

The present campaign has taken on a sense of permanency, and resources will be maintained in the field on a year round basis to identify and destroy opium fields. The intensive eradication phase is not expected to be completed until late April 1976. Current information provided by the Department of State indicates that, as of March 18, 1976, using for the most part, aerial sprayed herbicides, over 18,000 poppy fields representing some 1,500 acres have been destroyed in a 12-state area of Mexico. The current campaign for the first time was extended to include new growing areas in the southern region of the Sierra Madre Mountain chain. The 12-state area represents over 600,000 square miles in the western part of Mexico extending some 1,200 miles from north to south.

A major breakthrough in the control of heroin came as a result of two meetings we had with President Luis Echeverria-Alvarez. It was after a 6-hour meeting chaired by President Luis Echeverria-Alvarez that finishing touches were put to a recommendation that for the first time would establish formal organizations that will coordinate, in their respective countries, the entire spectrum of the narcotic regulatory educational, rehabilitative, and informational agencies. The proposal will lead to the creation of an action oriented, permanent joint working group that will present recommendations to both the Mexican and United States organizations to bring about effective action and coordination of all drug abuse related activities. For the first time, we are working from the premise that narcotics is a mutual problem.

The parallel high-level commissions should be a high profile program of bilateral cooperation aimed at (1) sensitizing the public, (2) improving and upgrading coordination between the two countries and among various public agencies within each country, (3) laying economic groundwork for turning drug growing peasants to a more socially acceptable activity, and (4) monitoring the effectiveness of the enforcement program.

The Commission should be permanent, regularly staffed and budgeted bodies bringing together experts in and outside the Government. The experts must be able to deal with both the enforcement and education aspects. President Echeverria indicated that the Mexican Commission might consist of representatives from the Departments of Defense,

Interior, Education, and media, and each other periodically.

President Echeverria is creating new programs who cultivate opium. The programs would be subject to government efforts.

One outstanding problem is the Mexican Government and the common market. The common market and the common market of the Mexican Government for the opium acceptance of the common market.

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The Mexican Government our two national cars and airports and the United States should be by Echeverria's important but as broad as they have more than they are fully.

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Interior, Education, Health, the Attorney General, Congress, news media, and sociologists. The National Commissions would meet with each other periodically to strengthen collaboration.

President Echeverria noted the Commission might cooperate in creating new rural employment opportunities for the poor campesinos who cultivate the poppies for monetary gain. Income replacement programs would be explored along with more conventional crop replacement efforts.

One outstanding merit of the Commission is that it would help the Mexican Government in dealing with the problem of public apathy and the campesinos' inability to resist the temptations proffered by the traffickers. A broader more intense public commitment on the part of the Mexican Government could help bring about popular disdain for the opium grower and trafficker which might lead to a greater acceptance of income substitution.

As our enforcement, rehabilitation, educational, and diplomatic efforts find themselves breaking through the years of development, a system of monitoring becomes more and more important. It is a credit to the personal commitment of the Mexican Chief Executive that he proposed such a vehicle.

The Mexican President is well aware of the mutual problems facing our two nations. The 2,000-mile border with the movement of people, cars and airplanes, is of major concern to the Governments of Mexico and the United States. Economic factors as well as educational aspects should be brought to bear through a broader approach. President Echeverria stated that enforcement and interdiction efforts are important but this is not enough to cope with an international problem as broad as the traffic of narcotics. He stated that both Governments have more than demonstrated to the public from the highest level that they are fully committed to combating the dangers of drug trafficking.

To grasp the overall problem of narcotic trafficking, one must understand the opium production and distribution system in Mexico. The production of Mexican opium is illegal. It is apparent that both the Mexican and United States Governments are lacking in knowledge of the patterns of opium cultivation in the producing areas. This lack of knowledge is an important obstacle in bringing about an effective eradication program. This information is easily available and could be collected with present Mexican assistance. What is needed is for this opium intelligence program to be given the needed priority.

The total acreage of opium poppy grown in Mexico is unknown. The Attorney General of Mexico said that estimates for this year indicate that there are 12,000 fields of opium. The regional office of DEA in Mexico estimate that there may be as many as 15,000 to 18,000 fields.

Opium is grown throughout many regions of Mexico. The tri-state area of Sinaloa, Durango, and Chihuahua is perhaps the oldest and the largest growing area. The southern zone has recently developed into the second area of importance.

To meet this new challenge in the southern range, the Mexican Government began its destruction operation near the end of 1975. This new tactic should prove very important. Up to now the southern range has only received token attention from the Mexican eradication effort.

The major heroin groups which have been identified consist of families who have been associated with the heroin traffic for many years, some dating back to the beginning of World War II. There are well identified groups in the trafficking cities of Culiacan, Durango, Monterrey, and Tijuana.

These major traffickers apparently are organized to perform most of the processing and distribution functions. The chemists who process the heroin are reportedly often jealously guarded by the organizations. Although the chemical process and laboratories are quite unsophisticated it appears that they may present a choke point in the supply and distribution system. After processing, the heroin is distributed in small amounts by courier to the border areas. At the border numerous smuggling groups may be contacted to transport the heroin. It is at this stage, after the heroin has left the processing areas, that it is much more difficult to intercept. The number of persons involved in the distribution system within Mexico is incredibly large.

It is unlike the traditional pattern of distribution in the eastern United States, where New York served as an import center for almost all French heroin reaching the United States. Rather, the Mexican heroin distribution system is decentralized, so that small weekly shipments are made to individual cities in the United States from within Mexico. This decentralized distribution system makes interdiction in the United States or at the border an almost impossible task.

Individually these small operators are a vulnerable target for law enforcement. However, their large numbers pose a problem, given current enforcement resources, making effective neutralization of these groups an unlikely near-term prospect.

Protection and corruption are the traditional means by which the major trafficking groups have been able to operate and to eliminate competition. The pattern of payoffs and protection has been reported at all levels of government and in all related government agencies. This is particularly true of state governments in the tristate area, where government involvement in the traffic has reportedly been established for many years.

However, much evidence has recently surfaced that illustrates the sincerity of the officials of the Mexican Government, who have pledged their total commitment to solve this problem. Recent efforts at joint prosecution indicate the dedication of the enforcement and judicial branches of the Mexican Government. We have been informed that the Mexican Supreme Court has recently disciplined three judges on charges of taking some \$600,000 in bribes from a northern Mexican heroin smuggling gang. Their dismissal follows an investigation by the office of the Mexican Attorney General. The dismissal of these officials is positive proof that a campaign against corrupt officials has been launched in Mexico.

The Mexican authorities make no distinction between hard narcotics and marihuana enforcement. The heroin trafficker who corrupts a government official, regardless of rank, is no different than the marihuana dealers who also corrupts. Many officials of the GOM made it known to us that the Presidential release of the white paper de-emphasizing the importance of marihuana in the United States disturbed them. The current trend to decriminalize marihuana in the United States will create more problems for the Mexican enforcement officials. The increased demand that will result from further decrim-

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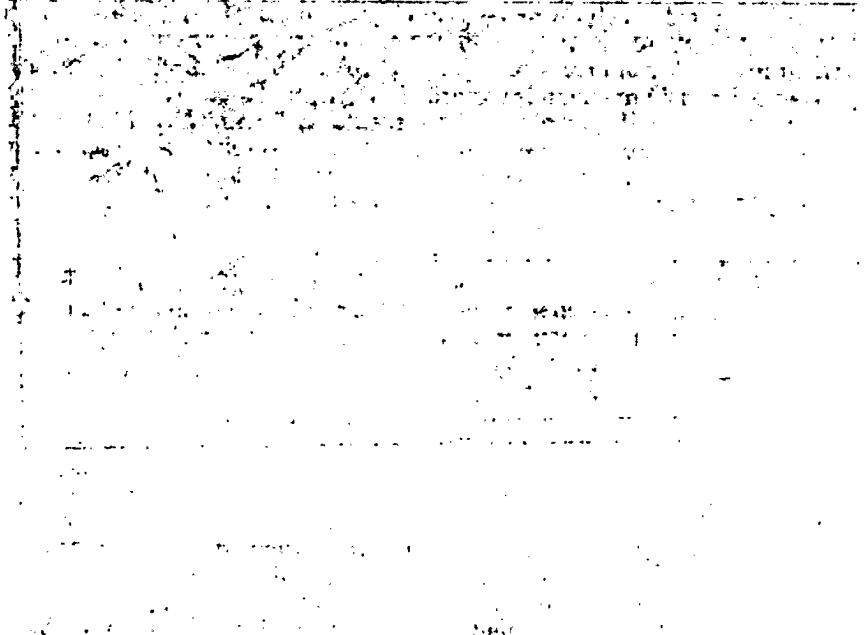
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inalization of marihuana will increase the production of marihuana and hence the traffic. More traffic in any drug equals more opportunities for corruption.

Joint United States and Mexican efforts to curb narcotics trafficking began with this involvement of U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency "BNDD" in Mexico in the 1950's. From the early days DEA has constantly worked to develop operational procedures that will not only improve Mexican enforcement programs but also U.S. enforcement. Since 1973 the Mexico Government has permitted the "presence" of several teams of DEA agents. Today in response to the increasing demands on our joint enforcement efforts, special agents are currently working in the producing area of Mexico. During these peak periods of narcotic production the relationship between DEA and the Mexican colleagues is very important.



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PART III: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Mexico, Central and South America represent the major source and transit route for illegal narcotics entering the United States. Most recent estimates reveal that over 90 percent of the heroin and cocaine seized in the United States has its origin or transits through Mexico and Colombia respectively. Virtually, all countries throughout the region are being used for the transit of illegal narcotics and the growth of marihuana. The last few years have seen dramatic increases in the activities of narcotics growers and traffickers as the traditional sources of supply from Europe and Asia have been combated.

Because of the proximity of the region, the hundreds of clandestine airstrips and thousands of miles of unguarded coastline, efforts to stop the illegal traffic at the U.S. border would be virtually impossible in the short term. With the encouragement of enormous profits and the backing of sophisticated and well-financed organizations there is much encouragement for local involvement in drug trafficking. Throughout the region, inhabitants have great difficulty in understanding the serious implications of this threat to their society.

In recent years the government of those countries in which the largest amounts of illicit narcotics are produced have begun to understand the need for effective international control. This understanding which has been generated from the highest levels of government has led toward increasing cooperation and assistance with out own objectives and goals. Most notable among these has been the creative initiative from President Echeverria calling for bilateral commissions with a joint working group. In both Costa Rica and Panama where a major problem lies in the transiting of narcotics, recent statements by President Oduber and President Lakas have been extremely encouraging in their support for joint efforts to control this problem. Colombia's President Lopez has undertaken a significant reorganization of narcotics control agencies that has resulted in more effective interdiction operations and joint working efforts with U.S. enforcement teams.

These significant steps represent a new determination on the part of those countries we visited to take the effective measures necessary to combat drug traffic. Much more is needed to achieve our goals of bringing an end to the use and abuse of illegal narcotics, as there are many major obstacles that remain in their path. Let me discuss these problems. (25)

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Due to the enormous profits in narcotics trafficking and the relatively low standard of living throughout these areas, corruption remains a major problem. To the Mexican federal policeman who earns the meager sum of \$150 to \$200 a month, the easy profits from the drug traffic provide a formidable temptation. This problem which persists throughout all the growing and trafficking countries is compounded as long as the end results of this deadly traffic remain thousands of miles away in the United States. While this problem persists from the lowest to high levels of government, recent estimates suggest that the leaders of these nations have begun to recognize the need to end this situation. Pursuant to a pledge by the Mexican Government to eliminate corruption, we have been informed that the Mexican Supreme Court has recently disciplined three judges on charges of taking some \$600,000 in bribes from a northern Mexican heroin smuggling gang. Their dismissal followed an investigation which had been launched by the office of the Mexican Attorney General. These dismissals offer positive proof that a campaign against corruption is underway in Mexico.

INCOME SUBSTITUTION

Many of the same ills that led to corruption of government officials plague poor farmers and small distributors who grow and traffic illicit narcotics. The need for economic development in the rural areas of most growing countries has led to the cultivation of illicit drugs. By providing alternate income opportunities, whether it be through crop substitution programs or the development of agri-industrial projects it is possible to realize the reduction and elimination of illicit cultivation at its source.

REGIONAL APPROACH

The problems of corruption, adequate intelligence gathering, successful eradication and interdiction are shared throughout the producing and trafficking nations. In order to effectively deal with each of these issues on an individual basis, it is necessary to coordinate the efforts of all nations involved. We must initiate and encourage cooperation between all nations affected by narcotics trafficking. More cooperation is needed in the extradition and joint prosecution of narcotics traffickers. To enhance our coordinated efforts, we must establish a narcotics intelligence sharing organization to provide the necessary up to date accurate intelligence on a regional basis.

Most of these needed reforms are contained in the innovative proposal of bilateral commissions as put forth by President Luis Echeverria Alvarez of Mexico. For the first time, it calls for mutual cooperation not only in the area of narcotic interdiction and enforcement, but throughout the broad spectrum of the drug problem, including regulatory, educational, rehabilitative and informational agencies.

By the creation of a joint working group, as recommended by President Echeverria, we will be able to combine the resources and energy to attack this problem from both sides. Implementation of

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this agreement and the effectuation of a joint working group must be brought about without delay. The ultimate success of our combined endeavors lies in the coordination of various plans of our two countries.

BUREAUCRATIC OBSTACLES

Throughout our international narcotics control program, the single element most responsible for preventing our maximum efficiency and total output are bureaucratic obstacles. Our need for a quick response whether it be in providing vital equipment and supplies for our own operations or that of a joint venture is vital to the success of our overall efforts.

EQUIPMENT SUPPLY

In Mexico the ultimate success of poppy crop eradication through the use of herbicides has been greatly affected by our failure to provide the necessary equipment in a timely fashion. The effectiveness of controlling narcotics crops as well as the safety and welfare of our personnel is at stake. A recent undercover operation in Colombia required the use of specialized equipment for the protection of the agents involved. Because of bureaucratic delays in procurement of this equipment, the agents were forced to begin the operation without the proper safeguards. The bureaucratic response to these requests resulted in the dispatch of officials from Washington to perform a feasibility study on the request. After the selection of agreed upon materials, the requests then were required to be processed and procured through local AID officials. This again resulted in a lengthy delay between time of request and response by appropriate officials in Washington. Further delays were caused by the shipment of improper equipment elements. The requested equipment was finally delivered during our visit some 2 months after the operation had begun and only 20 days from the end of the program. It is important to note that while our agencies were subjected to this precarious operation the cost of this much needed equipment was only \$400.

It is quite apparent that the Drug Enforcement Agency has been inhibited in some of its activities. There must be a fundamental change in our program approach directly from the State Department. Clearly, the Department of State has failed to provide overall guidance and initiative. More than once the efforts of our drug enforcement personnel have been thwarted by AID and State Department efforts out of fear of offending their host country or "rocking the boat."

CIVIL AIR PATROL

The effectiveness of our interdiction programs in this country is greatly hampered by the sheer size of our vast coastline and the approximately 2,000 miles of border shared with Mexico. The task of providing adequate border and customs patrol for such a large area is cost prohibitive. Unless we are able to stop the free movement of planes, ships and land vehicles across our common borders, we will be unable to stop the flow of narcotics.

During World War II, the Civil Air Patrol was used as a coastal patrol to protect our borders. While the present day threat is not

direct, it is just as deadly. The CAP, which now carries out 80 percent of all aircraft search and rescue operations in the United States today at a saving to the Air Force of millions of dollars each year is equipped and could be used in a reconnaissance role in this war. The 50,000 members of the CAP and their privately owned planes could be the eyes and ears of the local enforcement personnel. By merely reporting to narcotics authorities or local enforcement organizations the sighting of clandestine border crossings of aircraft failing to file flight plans or ships that are suspicious, they could assist in the interdiction of narcotics.

It was pointed out to the State Department officials in a recent meeting upon our return, that since all the planes involved were privately owned, governmental cost would be restricted to operating expenses.

Here would be another noose about the drug traffickers. Since few aircraft are available to DEA and customs this civilian force could be a great asset in apprehending the traffickers. The CAP maintains one of the largest civilian radio networks in the Nation and this too could provide intelligence communications.

We are in a war with the drug traffickers. Let us use every means at our command to combat this threat to our citizens.

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Meeting with President Daniel Oduber Quiros and Foreign Minister Gonzalo Facio Segreda at the Presidential Palace.

APPENDIX 1

IN-COUNTRY PROGRAMS
Mexico—January 6-11, 1976

DELEGATION MEETINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

U.S. Embassy briefing on United States-Mexican relations with officials from economic, commercial, political and cultural sections participating.

Special briefing on narcotics matters. Mr. Frank Alberti, Mr. Edward Heath and Mr. Bert Moreno participating.

Discussion with Mexican Attorney General Licenciado Pedro Ojeda Paullada. Also present were: Dr. Alejandro Gertz Manero, Head of eradication program and Special Assistant to Attorney General. Ambassador Joseph J. Jova and representatives of DEA and Embassy narcotics section.

Private meeting with President of Mexico Luis Echeverria Alvarez.

Reception in honor of delegation by Ambassador Joseph J. Jova to meet with officials of Government of Mexico:

The Hon. Pedro Ojeda Paullada y Senora, Attorney General of the Republic.

The Hon. Fernando Castro y Castro y Senora, Assistant Secretary, Foreign Relations.

The Hon. Don Manuel Tello Macias y Senora, Assistant Secretary, Foreign Relations.

The Hon. Sergio Gonzalez Galvez y Senora, Assistant Secretary, Foreign Relations.

Dr. Guida Belsasso y Senora, Director, Mexican Center on Drug Abuse Studies.

Dr. Alejandro Gertz Manero y Senora, Chief of Staff, Office of the Attorney General.

Dr. Robert DuPont, Director, National Institute for Drug Abuse.

Mr. Richard Bucher, Assistant to the Director, National Institute for Drug Abuse.

The Hon. Luis Danton Rodriguez Jaime y Sra, Member of the House.

The Hon. Mario Ruiz de Chavez y Sra, Member of the House.

The Hon. Jose Humberto Mateos Gomez y Sra, Member of the House.

Mr. Francisco Cinta y Sra, Office of the President, National Council of Tourism.

Mr. Fernando Gonzalez Parra y Sra, journalist Ovaciones.

Conference convened by President of Mexico Luis Echeverria Alvarez attended by Cabinet officials and other representatives: Foreign Minister Alfonso Garcia Robles, Attorney General Pedro Ojeda Paullada, Minister of Health Gines Navarro Diaz de Leon, Minister of Education Victor Bravo Ahija Under Minister of Government Garcia Rameriz, Chief of General Staff Brig. Gen. Alberto Sanchez Lopez, Ambassador to the U.S. Jose Juan de Oloquie, Director General of Mexican Center for Drug Abuse, Education Guido Belsasso,

Congressman D. Mateos, Congressman Luis Danton Rodriguez Jaime, Congressman Alexandro Gertz, Ambassador Joseph John Jova, National Institute for Drug Abuse Director Robert DuPont.

Field inspection of current eradication efforts by Mexican Government near the town of Altomarino in the state of Guerrero.

Press Conference held at Presidential Palace to announce the agreement reached on joint working task forces by President Luis Echeverria Alvarez and members.

Costa Rica—January 11-13, 1976

U.S. Embassy briefing by Ambassador Terence A. Todman, DCM Lyle F. Lane and DEA representative Bruce Van Matre.

Discussion with Minister of Public Security Mario Charpentier.

Meeting with President Daniel Oduber Quiros and Foreign Minister Gonzalo Facio Segreda at the Presidential Palace.

Meeting with President of Legislative Assembly Lic. Alfonso Carro, at the Assembly.

Discussion with Minister of Health Dr. Herman Weinstock.
U.S. businessmen's meeting at the Ambassador's residence.

Reception in honor of delegation by Ambassador and Mrs. Terence A. Todman to meet with Embassy officials.

Panama—January 18-14, 1976

U.S. Embassy briefing with Embassy officials including Ambassador William J. Jordan, Mr. Raymond Gonzales and SAIC, Mr. Marcelino Bedulla.

Meeting with President of the Republic of Panama, His Excellency Demetrio B. Lakas.

Meeting with Governor of the Canal Zone, Mr. Harold R. Parfitt, followed by a tour of Miraflores locks.

Dinner in honor of delegation to meet with military representatives at residence of Lt. Gen. Dennis P. McAuliffe.

Helicopter overflight of canal zone accompanied by Lt. Gen. McAuliffe.

Colombia—January 14-17, 1976

U.S. Embassy briefing with Ambassador Viron P. Vaky. Other participants included DCM Robert W. Drexler, Leonard G. Shurtleff, Embassy Narcotics Coordinator, Donald Johnson, political counselor, Stephen Gibbon, economic counselor.

Meeting with Foreign Minister Dr. Indalecio Lievano Aguirre.
Private meeting with President of Colombia, Alfonso Lopez Michelson at Presidential Palace in Bogota.

Meeting with Narcotics Enforcement Representatives including DEA Regional Director Louis Bachrach, Octavio Gonzales, Mr. Hensgen (Bernard), USIS and Leonard G. Shurtleff, Embassy narcotics coordinator.

Dinner in honor of Delegation to meet with Colombian officials given by Ambassador and Mrs. Viron P. Vaky.

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U.S. Embassy briefing by Ambassador Terence A. Todman, DCM Eric R.

Discussion with Minister of Public Security, Mario Caraballo.

Meeting with President of Legislative Assembly Lic. Alfonso Carro.

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APPENDIX 2

JOINT STATEMENT OF HON. LESTER L. WOLFF AND HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, PRESIDENTIAL PALACE IN MEXICO ON JANUARY 10, 1976

The spiraling incidence of drug abuse in the United States and the deep concern of President Gerald Ford and the U.S. Congress in finding a solution to this problem has prompted our visit to your great nation.

President Ford, three weeks ago, called a meeting of a U.S. congressional task force to put into perspective Mexican-United States interest in attacking this cancer which threatens the health and vitality of the youth of our two nations.

We attach great significance to the creative proposal by President Luis Echeverria in establishing for the first time formal organizations that will each coordinate in their respective countries the entire spectrum of the narcotic regulatory, educational, rehabilitative and informational agencies which are represented here tonight.

The proposal initiated by President Echeverria, and contributed to by United States Ambassador Jova and Mexico's Attorney General Ojeda Paullada, would lead to an agreed mechanism, including a joint working group that would also present recommendations to both organizations in order to bring about effective action and coordination of all drug abuse related activities.

The success of our joint endeavors will be measured in results rather than rhetoric, derived only from the elimination of illicit drug traffic between our two nations and, ultimately, the eradication of drug abuse by our young people.

Seeking to overcome the menace of narcotic traffic that confronts our two nations, my colleague, Congressman Gilman, a Member of the House of Representatives International Relations Committee, and I, as chairman of the International Narcotic Control Committee, have undertaken this vital mission of exchanging ideas, views and information with various members of the Mexican Government.

In our meetings with President Echeverria he has demonstrated his leadership and active support and concern in finding a permanent solution to this dreadful problem confronting both of our nations.

The meeting this evening is a culmination of a series of conferences we have engaged in at all levels of the Government of Mexico, many of which are represented in this room tonight.

Because of the urgency of the narcotics problem, the plans outlined here must be implemented with all possible speed. This is a critical factor in the success of this plan.

My colleague, Mr. Gilman, and I will be taking back a personal message from President Echeverria to President Ford and to the U.S. Congress. The personal commitment of you, Mr. President, and all of us here tonight, that our plans become a reality, we consider a prime mission. Mr. Gilman and I will meet with President Ford upon our return to help implement our discussions here.

Mr. President, we thank you for the cooperation extended to us by your officials and agencies in making this a productive, momentous mission, with a special word of thanks to the Secretary of Defense and the Attorney General whose staffs have been most cooperative.

We look to the future with confidence because with our united efforts, we cannot fail.

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APPENDIX 6

LETTER TO PRESIDENT FORD FROM PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA ON NARCOTICS COOPERATION

Following is English text of subject letter:

Mr. PRESIDENT: Messrs. Lester L. Wolf and Benjamin A. Gilman distinguished Members of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, accompanied by His Excellency Joseph John Jova, your country's Ambassador to Mexico, paid me a visit last Wednesday, January 7, at which time we took up, among other subjects, the matter of the increase in drug abuse in the United States and in the illegal traffic in narcotics and psychotropic substances between our two countries.

In view of the importance and seriousness of the problem, I asked Messrs. Wolf and Gilman to meet with me again, which we did last Saturday, January 13, with the Attorney General of the Republic, the Secretaries of Foreign Affairs, Public Education, and Health and Welfare, as well as the Director of the Mexican Center of Drug Addiction Studies, who has charge of coordinating preventive, curative, and rehabilitation activities in that field.

As a result of those talks, it was possible to confirm the evident interaction that exists between supply and demand and the complexity of the problem and of its solution which takes in widely varying sociological aspects, involving educational factors—including those relating to mass communications media—health factors, and of course action directed toward the prosecution of crimes against health.

It was recognized also that in recent years, with strict respect for the sovereignty of each state, there has been effective cooperation between the two governments which has made it possible to obtain excellent results in the struggle against the drug traffic and the use and abuse of illicit drugs. Nonetheless, it is necessary to increase our joint action in order to obtain still better results.

I put forward to the U.S. legislators the idea of creating twin national commissions, one in each of our countries, which would undertake a study of all aspects of this question and propose solutions that would enable our two governments to embark on new lines of action and expand the coordination of their efforts.

In my opinion each national commission might be composed of officials of the executive branch responsible for the prosecution of crimes against health, the elimination of the illicit use of narcotics and other dangerous drugs, and the cure and rehabilitation of the victims of drug addiction. Members of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the respective Congresses, as well as representatives of family heads and of the mass communications media would also be invited to participate in the commissions.

Each national commission would study the problem and recommend actions which would be discussed at meetings of the two commissions. The commissions should establish machinery that would insure the efficacy and celerity of their work, possibly through executive committees, the frequency of their meetings would be agreed upon according to their work requirements.

For my part, I am proceeding to establish the Mexican Commission pursuant to the terms stated above in the understanding that my government will continue to act intensively in the fight against the traffic in narcotics and other aspects of this problem, maintaining, as it has done hitherto, the close coordination existing between the competent agencies and organs of our two governments.

In view of the foregoing, I take pleasure in proposing that you consider the desirability of establishing a United States Commission for the purposes stated above, which would be in contact with the Mexican Commission on a standing basis.

Feeling certain, as I do, that this proposal on a matter of such extreme importance to mankind will merit your sympathetic response. I take this occasion to renew to you the assurance of my highest consideration and personal esteem.

APPENDIX 17

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT GERALD FORD TO PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA
(Translated from Spanish by Library of Congress)

Mr. President: I greatly appreciate your letter relating to our efforts to face the tragic problem of the use of drugs that affects many citizens of our two nations. I receive your initiative with pleasure and consider it a proposal of major importance.

I have given instructions to my working team to consider, urgently, the most effective way in which to cooperate closely with the commission and the executive committee that you are setting up in Mexico. Your idea of parallel and similar organizations seems to me appropriate to our common desire to increase the effectiveness of our cooperation.

As you suggest, the initiative should be considered a development that can support the measures that our governments are taking at the present time jointly and separately.

Our success in reducing in a short time the critical narcotics problem that we are facing depends largely on the vigor with which we maintain the efforts that we are deploying now. This new initiative will strengthen our cooperation in the long run. I am encouraged by the reports about the intense activity your government is deploying at present and I have confidence in its permanent progress.

For our part, I have formed a special group under the direction of the White House for improving our own effectiveness in the fight against the narcotics traffic that enters the United States from Mexico and the contraband that moves from the United States toward Mexico. These matters, it seems to me, must be subject to the mutual interest of our governments, as well as must be revised, permanently, in accord with the context of your initiative.

I am pleased with the fact that your initiative includes the aspects of prevention and rehabilitation, as well as of execution of the law relating to the narcotics problem. The spirit of a federal program that couples the effort to control the demand for drugs with the effort to control the supply of drugs is the basis of our program to reduce their consumption.

You may be sure that for our part we shall also face all aspects relating to this problem.

I hope in the near future to rely on concrete proposals for action, which will have to be combined with the new effort you have initiated. At that time it will be useful for my representatives to meet with yours in order to make sure that both of us are advancing in the coordinated manner that your letter contemplates.

I take this opportunity to express to you my gratitude for the cordiality and good will with which you and the members of your government received my representatives, Ambassador Jova, Ambassador Vance, and Attorney General Levi, at their recent meeting with Attorney General Ojeda Paullada.

I also hope that we can keep in contact to tighten the cooperation between our two countries in relation to this problem.

Sincerely,
GERALD FORD,
President of the United States of America.

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APPENDIX 8

SPEECH OF HON. LESTER L. WOLFF, "CONGRESS AND NARCOTICS CONTROL IN THE AMERICAS" BEFORE THE CENTER FOR INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS, NEW YORK, N.Y., MARCH 13, 1976

Thank you and good evening. I hope I am not going to disappoint you by not announcing a new war on drugs and not informing you that we have finally turned the corner in our efforts to curb drug abuse and drug related crime. It has occurred to me that there has been a surplus of fiery rhetoric in the past and a lack of objective reflection.

I would like to take a step back this evening and provide you with my thoughts on the importance of formulating a constructive and comprehensive narcotics control program. More importantly, I will place the issue of narcotics control in perspective with relation to the other concerns which we share with the countries in Central and South America. I hope to analyze the roles which the major actors in this drama play: the President, the State Department, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the Domestic Council, the Congress, and the leaders of foreign nations. I will briefly describe the findings of the study mission which I led in January to Mexico, Costa Rica, Colombia, and Panama, where I was able to have frank discussions with each of the chiefs of state. And finally, I will direct this talk toward the goal of developing federal policies which can contribute to a coherent and successful narcotics control program.

Before I continue, I would like to read a quotation from a draft appendix to the Murphy Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy. I think this quotation will help to place narcotics in the proper perspective—that is, it is an issue which clearly has an impact upon our foreign relations, yet also directly affects domestic programs and the quality of life in the United States. I hope you will keep the quotation in mind during the course of the speech; and I quote:

"Most new problems confronting the U.S. foreign policy machinery in the 1970's and 1980's will be like drugs in that they will deal with issues related to domestic programs. Implementation of U.S. foreign policy will increasingly require understanding of the levers necessary to predict and potentially influence internal economic and social behavior of important allies and adversaries. Socio-economic interdependence will continue to increase rapidly.

"The State Department should take the lead in suggesting creative answers to issues in areas which have traditionally been peripheral to national security analysis."

Tonight is a propitious time to discuss narcotics control in the Americas because our policy is in a true state of flux. The Secretary of State has recently returned from Latin America where narcotic control was prominently on his agenda. Additionally, within the past two weeks the President has reaffirmed his commitment to the topic of narcotics control. Furthermore, the President has commissioned a Task Force from the Domestic Council to examine problems on the Southwest Border: specifically illegal trafficking in aliens and narcotics. This task force is planning to report to the President next week. Our policy is open to change and I hope that after the give and take during the question and answer period, I will have new suggestions to pass on when I return to Washington.

Our relations with the other nations in the Americas are clearly entering a new phase. I feel this is appropriate as we are encountering a new world situation. In the past, we have clearly ignored the needs and interests of the peoples of Central and South America at best we have taken the people for granted and have focused what little resources we provided on the political leaders and the powerful economic cliques in the various countries. Now, we must contend with the rising demands and nationalistic trends of the peoples of Central and South America. Not only are we now faced with in an inter-dependent world,

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but we are also aware of the movements toward self-determination which are taking place in almost every country in the world. On top of this, we see the explosive problem developing from the use of Cuban troops in Angola, Zaire, Libya, and Syria. Premier Castro is appealing to minority populations around the world and the success or failure of his efforts at triggering the festering sores of oppression will have direct and immediate effects upon the national interests of the United States in Latin America and elsewhere.

Contrary to the thinking of Chairman Mao—diplomacy does not begin exclusively at the end of a barrel of a gun. The time for armed intervention in the affairs of Central and South America has long since passed. We have the agricultural and technological and other resources which should be the guiding factors in our new policies. We must aim for policies which clearly result in mutual improvement of the lives of the citizens in each of the American countries.

Let me however turn to the specific subject of narcotics control as it may well be the most important issue in our bi- and multi-lateral Latin relations in the coming decade. As we know, heroin abuse is now once again at the highest level of the last five years. It is plaguing not only New York City, Detroit, and other large urban centers, but now is reaching into small towns and suburbs across the United States, as well. Unfortunately, today almost all of the heroin which is now abused in the United States is a product of the opium fields of Western Mexico. Here we have a situation where the actions of a campesino in Sinaloa directly affect the life of a person in New York. The internal affairs of Mexico directly affecting the domestic affairs of the United States. The only means available for correcting this problem with respect to heroin abuse is through our foreign policy.

We now have a new understanding of the correlation between supply and demand. First of all, not everyone who experiments with heroin becomes an addict. More importantly, demand for heroin, is not inelastic, as it was originally believed. As drug enforcement efforts become more successful, the availability of heroin is decreased, its price increases, and the number of addicts on the streets decreases. The average heroin user has only a certain earning capacity: in addition, there is an evaluation of the risks involved in possessing and dealing in illegal substances. At a certain level, the user makes the decision either to seek alternate substances like barbiturates or alcohol, a combination of both, or to begin a treatment program. Evidence supporting these premises are derived from the recent Turkish experience. We were able to see dramatic reductions in the number of users when the Turkish Government banned the growing of poppies, cut off the flow of a major source of illicit opium, addict rehabilitation halved.

Enforcement is only one of our options, and not always the most attractive one. Furthermore, there are limits to the type of enforcement programs which are acceptable. As a strong proponent of enforcement, I will not permit abuse of the law as a law enforcement device. My observation is that domestically we must increase the public education programs which inform our citizens of the end results and social cost of heroin abuse. At the same time we need to provide a comprehensive treatment program for those seeking rehabilitation. However, I maintain that the most immediate effective means for reducing the number of heroin users, and concretely cutting into the massive level of drug-related crime, is by eliminating the substances which are refined into narcotics at their source. At the present time our most important target must be the opium fields in the Sierra Madre Mountains in Mexico. We must work with the Mexican government to promote programs which will destroy the illegal fields which exist, and to encourage the farmers to substitute income producing pursuits. Narcotics enforcement which is aimed at interdiction at the border or elsewhere will never remove more than five to ten percent of the average supply. Therefore, eradication is our most sensible option.

For this reason one can see that our international narcotics control assistance is unique, it is different from all other aspects of our foreign assistance. It is, in reality, reverse assistance aid in narcotics programs is for the people of the United States. Narcotics control is also unique in that it cuts across functional divisions which are useful for other aspects of our foreign policy. Our programs must include the input of experts in public education, commerce, psychology, medicine, law enforcement, drug treatment, and diplomacy. Furthermore, our policies must deal with the issue on a regional basis rather than on a bilateral plane. The traffickers and financiers involved in this nefarious trade do not respect political borders, but operate wherever they meet the least resistance. Our policies must be innovative enough to respond to this challenge. Part of this response must be formulated by the Congress.

Lately we have the legislative branch attempting to speak with a unified voice, but is attempting to speak with a government. One determination of the intel most recent examination and a Member of Congress are different. We have all heard that has no real bite. It was supreme. It Congress could bite but they real and our teeth are to wear out our

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Lately we have all seen signs that the power pendulum is swinging toward the legislative branch. The Congress has not always been able to speak with a unified voice, but there is clearly a pattern of increased activity. The Congress is attempting to reassert its equality as one of the three branches of the federal government. One of the most noticeable areas where this is occurring is in the determination of our foreign policy. Congressional examinations of the operation of the intelligence community and of our policy in Angola are two of the most recent examples. As a member of the International Relations Committee and a Member of Congress for 12 years, I can say that the Members of the Congress are different today from those in the Congress when I was first elected. We have all heard it said that the Congress is a body which barks loudly but has no real bite. This may have been true in the past when the seniority system was supreme. It was not far from the truth when observers concluded that the Congress could not make an impact upon foreign policy because they could bite but they really had false teeth. Well, Congressmen are a lot different today and our teeth are sharper, as many have not been part of the system long enough to wear out our incisors.

The House of Representatives was created as a forum for representing the needs and desires of that amorphous group referred to as "the people." Our short terms insure that we be responsive to our constituents to remain in office. Narcotics control is a gut issue which is of interest to citizens in every district. Which citizen is unaffected by the twenty billion dollars of annual drug related crime? Who has not known someone who is disturbed over the escalation of drug abuse in our schools and our towns? Who among us has not heard of a friend's hesitations to walk the streets because of the fear of being mugged even in daylight? These concerns are voiced to each member of the House of Representatives when they get back to the hustings.

Congressional action on narcotics control falls into four functional categories: first, raising the issue to the appropriate individuals; second, investigating the scope and patterns of narcotics abuse; third, legislating appropriate laws to combat the problem and fourth, monitoring the implementation of the corrective programs. I have actively participated in each of these ventures and would like to share some of my impressions with you.

On December 22, 1975, I was privileged to lead a Congressional task force to the White House where we shared our concern over the increase in the level of drug abuse with the President. At the conclusion of the meeting he pledged to do whatever is necessary to constructively respond to this problem. We have seen some outward signs that the President will carry out this pledge: he sent Secretary Kissinger as his envoy to Latin America and he has personally communicated with the heads of state in Mexico and Colombia. I supplemented this Presidential pledge with a study mission of my own to Mexico, Costa Rica, Colombia and Panama where I raised the issue of narcotics control and discussed the need for cooperative programs with each of the Chiefs of State. I was pleased to receive positive commitments for positive action from each of those individuals.

Congressional missions can be important for several reasons. First of all they spark interest among our own officials and foreign leaders. While the State Department shys away from active narcotics enforcement programs because of the hostility they may receive from foreign officials who are sensitive about the topic, we are able to discuss these sensitive issues with the heads of state with confidence that Congress is committed to narcotics control and are willing to take legislative action to support this position. As an aside, I must say that foreign leaders are very cognizant of the Congressional power of the purse. My study missions in the past have served as lightning rods. Sometimes my presence results in harsh newspaper headlines as in Turkey. In other countries, like Thailand, it has reached the level of a contract being put out on my life. However, in each case the level of cooperation has increased after my visits even if only for the interim period.

I think it is highly important for Congressmen not only to engage in first hand investigations, but also to personally inform foreign leaders of the interests of the Congress and the people we represent. That may be the role which the State Department was designed to fulfill, but unfortunately they leave much to be desired in this region.

The second role of the Congress is to investigate the nature and scope of the problem. Sometimes Congress has to not only dig for answers, it must learn what question to ask. For me this means travelling to the producing and transit countries and meeting with all of the individuals who can influence our pro-

gram. In the area of narcotics control I refuse to limit myself to the State Department, CIA, and DEA officials. For example, during a recent visit to Thailand I met with the military leaders of the Shan state of Burma who control the distribution of 400 tons of opium gum each year. It is important that we hear all sides of the issue, that is, conferring with insurgents and traffickers as well as the official government spokesmen. Only then can appropriate policies be formulated. I might mention that my visit in South East Asia culminated in a proposal for the United States to purchase 400 tons of opium from a consortium of Shan groups. The second facet of the investigative responsibility is met by formal congressional hearings. As Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Narcotics Control and also as the Chairman of the House International Relations Subcommittee on Future Foreign Policy, I have convened numerous hearings on our narcotics programs overseas and the control situations in various countries.

Often the hearings result directly in the formulation of legislation, which is the third role of the Congress in narcotics control. Last week the International Security Assistance bill passed the House and two of its provisions are related to narcotics control. The first was one of my amendments which would improve Congress' oversight capability, and even more importantly, would insure that narcotics control is a prominent item on our foreign policy agenda. This amendment requires that no assistance may be provided to any country where illegal traffic in opiates has been a significant problem until the President certifies in writing to the Congress that the country in question is significantly reducing the amount of opiates entering the market. If the written certification cannot be made, this provision in the Foreign Assistance Act requires that all assistance, military and economic, will have to be terminated.

The second amendment concerns the treatment of U.S. citizens imprisoned in Mexico and serves another type of function. It informs the President of congressional concern over this matter and insures that corrective steps are taken. Section 412 of the Bill states: "The Congress, while sharing the concern of the President over the urgent need for international cooperation to restrict traffic in dangerous drugs, is concerned that such efforts must be consistent with respect for fundamental human rights. The Congress, therefore, calls upon the President to take steps to insure that United States efforts to secure stringent international law enforcement measures are combined with efforts to secure fair and humane treatment for citizens of all countries."

The President, through the Secretary of State, is required to report every 120 days on the progress toward obtaining full respect for the human and legal rights of all U.S. citizens detained in Mexico. Congress certainly does not condone the involvement of U.S. citizens who engage in narcotics trafficking. However, this legislation is meant to require that the State Department implement a balanced approach toward narcotics enforcement. They must complement their enforcement incentives with actions which prevent the extortion, beatings, torture, forced confessions and other barbaric practices, which have been practiced in Mexico.

Both of these legislative measures will complement the desire of Congress to monitor the implementation of our narcotics control program. For too long the Congress has been willing to appropriate funds and then assume that our task is completed. We have been victimized by the programming, carryover and impoundment of funds so that the ability of the Congress to control policy through the appropriations process has been severely undermined. Oversight is a critical responsibility of the Congress. I feel that it would be appropriate for the Congress to approve line item appropriations for narcotics control so that we are more aware of the use of funds which taxpayers provide.

The State Department and the President have accused the Congress of meddling in the administration of foreign policy. I have found that the greatest obstacle toward the implementation of enunciated policies is not the Congress but the foreign policy bureaucracy. I might advise the State Department of the admonition to Heal Thyself.

My conclusion, from five years of involvement in narcotics control, is that the major obstacle in the formulation and enactment of a coherent and effective narcotics control policy is the action or, more properly, the inaction of the State Department and AID. The governing principle of the State Department is to maintain friendly relations with foreign governments. Therefore, topics which could produce a hostile foreign reaction are avoided whenever possible. For example, in 1978 the President encouraged our State Department to elicit

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increased cooperation from the Mexican Government on narcotics control. The Country Director was in the process of negotiating a salinity convention and saw that pressing for a narcotics agreement might interfere with the convention. The result was no narcotics control activity during that year. A similar situation is currently taking place in Panama where the Canal is superseding all other concerns.

The State Department officials abroad often times take on the point of view of their host countries and tend to side with their concerns, rather than with our domestic needs. Foreign policy becomes more important than domestic affairs. The plight of the local farmer looms more important to them than the citizens in New York who are held hostage by the addict population. I have often felt that congressional visits are necessary to counter their presentation of the interest of the U.S.

The other operating guideline of the State Department is the avoidance of meddling in the internal affairs of another country. I am sympathetic to this policy. The problem arises over the definition of internal affairs. I do not consider the illegal growing of opium for export anywhere in the world to be an internal affair. Unfortunately, the only time that we are able to engage the assistance of host governments in eradicating those poppy fields is when they are victimized by a domestic abuse problem.

The problem with the State Department is not restricted to its approach to narcotics control but includes their structure and performance. In 1971, the Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control was created with the responsibility for developing and coordinating our world-wide narcotics control program. This response has been an abysmal failure. The General Accounting Office found that after the C.C.I.N.C. selected the 60 critical countries with respect to narcotics control, the policy of our government was never clearly enunciated and passed on. One year later, several of the Ambassadors did not know their country was on the list and very few had taken affirmative action. Another problem is the Executive Director of the cabinet committee, an Assistant Secretary in the State Department has overseen the disposition of the narcotics control budget since 1978. The purpose of this move from A.I.D., which previously controlled the narcotics budget, was to streamline the procurement operation so that equipment would reach the field more rapidly. Well, during my recent trip I found that we have taken a giant step backward. In January 1978, D.E.A. put in a request for communications equipment for a project labelled "Operation Kitchen" in Colombia. The equipment was for monitoring the movement of known traffickers. Well, the State Department narcotics division retains several A.I.D. consultants and they were called in to do a feasibility study.

In June, the operation began and the study was still underway. At the end of the Summer the decision was made to reject the request. Yes, the consultants found, communication equipment was needed but they suggested an alternate type which was supposed to perform the same function. In January, other devices, costing only \$400 a piece, were flown in on the plane that I arrived on one month from the termination of the ongoing operation. I have since been informed that this example allowed the State Department narcotics adviser to get a handle on the problem and it will not occur in the future. I feel that this budget should be taken out of the hands of A.I.D. completely, whereas they currently handle all equipment procurement. I also think the budget should be taken from the State Department and given to the Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration.

For too long, narcotics control has been given a low priority status on our foreign policy agenda by the State Department. No other issue has as direct an impact upon domestic conditions and it should be treated accordingly. Our foreign policy is meant to primarily benefit the United States, not the interests of other nations. Earlier in this speech I read a quotation from an appendix to the Murphy Commission. The entire analysis of that appendix complements my observations about the problems with the State Department's handling of narcotics control. The appendix observes that the State Department is not likely to respond creatively or rapidly to new foreign policy initiatives. The only major success was the negotiation of the ban on Turkish poppy growing and that was a result of Presidential instruction which was enforced by Domestic Council activity. At the present time the major initiatives with Latin America are being handled by a Domestic Council task force. It is time the State Department was removed from

the leadership of the C.O.I.N.C. and also from coordinating our operations abroad. Narcotics control would be better coordinated by the Drug Enforcement Administration.

With this discussion as background, I would like to discuss the findings of my recent study mission to Mexico. I will discuss the nature of the problem, the major obstacles which we face in narcotics enforcement, and, finally, the program which can respond to the current conditions. You must forgive my lack of sophistication in the fields of sociology and anthropology and please understand that the over-simplification of the structure of Mexico is not intended. However, I feel that it is necessary to discuss the social structure to place the trafficking syndrome in the proper perspective.

Rather than referring to Mexico as a homogenous unit, it is more useful to think of the country as a group of isolated units with separate cultures. The different states function more as independent entities than as states as we use the term in the United States. There is clearly a lack of social integration in Mexico which is exacerbated by the geography of the country. There is no modern transportation system to make interaction between the various regions easy. Furthermore, the various states are made up of people who represent different cultures. In short, the commitment of the citizens is more directly to their respective families, villages, and states, rather than to the central government.

The opium farmers live in small towns and plant their illegal crops on the public land in the Sierra Madre Mountains; however, they plant their food crops near their homes on private land. The central government and the laws against opium cultivation are viewed almost as irrelevant. Very rarely is a farmer imprisoned for the cultivation of poppies, even though it is illegal. As I have maintained, most of the opium is planted in the western states which contain the rugged Sierra Madres. These mountains help to physically isolate the people from the policies of the central government in Mexico City. The federal tax revenue goes mostly to the officials in Mexico City. These officials have only loose ties with the governors of the western states. These governors have small budgets and hence have weak ties with the peasants in the small towns. The result is a lack of effective policy implementation from the President to the farmer.

An even more major problem is the low pay which state and local officials receive. This encourages the system of corruption which flourishes. It is easy for a major trafficker to buy the protection of the local enforcement personnel. Local police have to purchase their jobs and this means they begin each week with a deficit. They make this up by extorting payments of protection or services and also from a 40% bounty which they receive for seized contraband. Narcotics is not categorized as contraband and thus there is little incentive for the local policeman to interfere unless he is going to resell the merchandise himself.

Another complication is the outlook of the Indians, a minority population who have long been ignored by the central government. These people have their own culture and subsist on an annual income of roughly \$250 per year. Suddenly they are provided with the chance to earn roughly \$2,000 for a kilo of opium and the choice is obvious.

What then is the bottom line on the production of opium? Estimates vary from \$1-2 billion dollars in Mexican wholesale prices on the amount of heroin which was exported from Mexico last year. This total far outdistances the combined value of the four leading legal exports from Mexico: sugar, shrimp, coffee, and cotton. It amounts to $\frac{1}{3}$ of total exports, more than the total derived from tourism. Although no income is provided the central government from export duties, there has been no noticeable decline in the wealth of government officials. Many of the production areas are basically lawless and the federal authorities are afraid to conduct eradication programs. As many as 1,000 clandestine air-trips in the mountains are known to be exclusively for flying contraband in and out, and yet the federal forces cannot knock them out because of the military power of the trafficking groups. I have painted a rather dismal picture of opium cultivation in Mexico and the statistics bear this out. In 1972, 88% of the seized heroin in the U.S. came from Mexico. Recent statistics point to 90% of the heroin coming from Mexico.

Let me review the major obstacles to controlling the growth of opium in Mexico and then I will turn to our prospects for control.

First, the two thousand mile border which we share with Mexico is impossible to adequately patrol. We know that roughly two hundred planes a day fly past our radar net unnoticed. Contraband of every possible nature moves across our

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border carried by car, boat, man and animal alike. Sealing the border to narcotics will never be very successful. We have tried massive customs searches—operation intercept—and found that the only noticeable result was massive border delays and Mexican hostility. The only means for us to reduce the percentage of interdiction will be through crop eradication.

Second, the Mexicans have in the past failed to commit the resources necessary to meet the problem up to recently, the Attorney General had only 500 Mexican Federal police at his disposal. They are responsible for combatting all serious crimes, not just narcotics trafficking. The Army which used to devote several thousand troops to the manual eradication effort using sticks to knock off the poppy heads has held back on their deployment this year because of the introduction of herbicides. The Army's role cannot be dropped without some noticeable loss in the overall program.

Third, there is a lack of political and administrative control in many of the producing areas. Guerrero and Sinaloa, for example, have large areas where Federal troops will not venture. The trafficking syndicates have traded in the past with American organizations for military supplies in return for narcotics. Guns have replaced gold as coin of the realm for narcotics. The result is that the traffickers have greater quantities and more modern forms of military hardware than the officers who are trying to enforce the laws. It also provides weapons for the insurgencies.

Fourth, the lack of Federal control over practices in the individual States. There is also a real lack of control by the Governors over the affairs in the small towns. Thus, even when the President in Mexico City makes a policy statement, there is some reason to believe that there will be a lack of implementation at the village level.

Fifth, the widespread corruption or system of "mordida" which is endemic to many parts of Latin America. As long as enforcement officials are poorly paid and expect to be paid for protection, the traffickers will be able to operate almost with immunity.

Sixth, in recent years we have found that legitimate export and travel companies have been involved in the trafficking of narcotics. Prominent businessmen travel using diplomatic passports and this makes customs interception much more difficult. Even more complex, are the problems which are caused by ship and air companies which use their facilities to transport narcotics to the United States.

Seventh, there is no sharing of narcotics intelligence between the various states in Mexico, or between the various countries in Central America.

Eighth, high ranking police and judicial officials have been involved in providing protection for known traffickers. I was pleased to see that President Echeverria was sincere in his pledge to search out corruption in the Mexican system wherever it was found to exist. Just one month ago an entire three judge panel in Sonora was dismissed for accepting \$600,000 from a trafficking group. Furthermore, an indictment is expected in the next two weeks of one of the major police officials in Mexico. Unfortunately, we found that the trail of corruption leads to some very high places in Mexico City, where it will be harder to eradicate.

Ninth, there is no overall investigative body in Mexico which can conduct an anti-corruption probe, nor is there a group to supervise the narcotics control program. The effort is split between the Attorney General who controls the Mexican Federal police and the eradication program, and also the Army which has the manpower and equipment to implement the campaign. There is little cooperation between the military and Attorney General and there is a vague division of their responsibilities.

Tenth, there is a lack of narcotics communication equipment. In many of the producing areas the public radio announces the daily eradication schedule and warns the traffickers of the direction the herbicide spraying helicopters are going. No operations can be planned and executed without the traffickers finding out.

Eleventh, our new view of marijuana as a less harmful substance greatly troubles the Mexican leaders. Marijuana abuse is a major domestic problem for them and as we move toward decriminalization, the joint efforts to curb marijuana trafficking will be questioned.

What are the prospects for narcotics control in Mexico? As we know, eradication and enforcement efforts have been conducted for 80 years in Mexico with little effect on the size of the crop. I felt that it was important to meet

our operations abroad. The Drug Enforcement Administration has made the findings of my report the basis of the program, and, finally, the program will give my lack of sophistication a chance to understand that. However, I feel that the trafficking syndrome is more useful to separate cultures. The United States as we use social integration in the various regions easy to represent different directly to their respective government. In illegal crops on the plant their food crops and the laws against rarely is a farmer illegal. As I have maintained which contain the isolate the people from the federal tax revenue have only loose ties with small budgets and results. The result is a lack of farmer. State and local officials flourish. It is easy enforcement personnel. They begin each week of protection or services of contraband. Narcotics incentive for the local merchandise himself. Minority population who people have their own per year. Suddenly they a kilo of opium and the opium? Estimates vary in the amount of heroin in our outdistances the common: sugar, shrimp, coffee, the total derived from government from export of government officials. The federal authorities is 1,000 clandestine air- or flying contraband in because of the military dismal picture of opium in 1972, 88% of the seized amount to 90% of the heroin the growth of opium in with Mexico is impossible red planes a day fly past nature moves across our

with the President as he is the only individual who can motivate the bureaucracy to take action, resolve the split between the Attorney General and the Army and most important of all, take some steps to counter corruption in the Government. I was pleased with President Echeverria's pledges to take corrective steps in each of these areas. The most promising program from our point of view, is the use of gramaxone, a widely used agricultural herbicide, on known poppy fields. The Mexicans are using a primitive form of aerial infrared mapping system to locate the poppy fields and the aerial survey is also useful as a means of verification. It is suspected that 20% of the fields make up 70% of the harvest so the infrared photography can be used to locate the large fields and the 18 helicopters we provided can go in and spray them. Last week I was informed that 9,000 fields have been destroyed. I am encouraged that the eradication campaign will now be a year long effort which responds to the fact that many farmers plant two or three successive crops on the same field. We estimate that there are 20,000 fields so we can see some progress is being made by the helicopter spraying operation. Unfortunately, it is not enough.

Before speaking of the other narcotics control program which complements the eradication effort, I would like to briefly discuss my observations of narcotics trafficking in Costa Rica, Panama, and Colombia. Costa Rica is currently used as a transit country for narcotics being smuggled into the U.S. This country has no military forces and the coastline is accessible to the smugglers who bring in their cargo by boat or in light planes which land on the hard-packed beaches. More importantly, Costa Rica is used as a refuge by known traffickers. In addition there are several probes underway. The name of Robert Vesco has surfaced a number of times. I will investigate this possibility.

Colombia is the major base for the trafficking in cocaine. It has also become the Latin American center for trafficking in counterfeit money and counterfeit passports. Only prosecution of major conspiracies will make a dent in the trade which is conducted thru Colombia.

Panama has a double involvement in narcotics trafficking. First of all, there are several hundred clandestine landing strips which are used as waystations for narcotics on the route north to Mexico and the U.S. Secondly, the canal is used for illicit sea cargo coming from all parts of the world. Much of the narcotics which reaches the U.S. is concealed in ships and the search capability at the canal is inadequate to deal with the magnitude of the problem.

Other South American nations like Peru and Chile produce coca which is the base for cocaine. Argentina and Brazil are major import centers for narcotics produced in other parts of the world. I have met with the Ambassadors from many of the critical South American countries in an attempt to elicit their early support for control programs. If the eradication is successful in Mexico, the traffickers will try to move their operation to other areas. The officials in the target countries must be prepared before a foothold is secured.

Other than the use of herbicides, the most constructive option for narcotics control is the formation of a joint working force in Mexico and the U.S. . . . A permanent action-oriented working group coordinating the activities of two parallel commissions. The commissions would coordinate the narcotics regulatory, educational, rehabilitative and informational agencies. In these commissions we would focus all of our bilateral programs. The idea was proposed by President Echeverria in a meeting with Congressman Ben Gilman and myself on January 7, 1976.

By the time we met with the Mexican President on January 10, we discovered that a strange thing had happened to his proposal. It seems a funny thing happened to the translation. The foreign minister of Mexico informed me that the President really said "a commission" not "commissions." Well, when the President introduced the translator he said she was the best in the entire country and I certainly agree. Nevertheless, on Saturday evening, the President rejoined our discussion and moderated for a full 8 hours until 1:00 a.m. The result was his endorsement of parallel commissions with a joint executive committee.

I am happy to inform you that I was able to receive a translation today of President Ford's secret letter to President Echeverria expressing our President's view of the proposal. President Ford states:

"I receive your initiative with pleasure and consider it a proposal of major importance.

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I now look to the Thank you.

"I have given instructions to my working team to consider urgently the most effective way in which to cooperate closely with the commission and the executive committee that you are setting up in Mexico. Your idea of parallel and similar organizations seems to me appropriate to our common desire to increase the effectiveness of our cooperation."

Later in his letter President Ford says: "For our part, I have formed a special group under the direction of the White House for improving our own effectiveness in the fight against the narcotics traffic that enters the U.S. from Mexico and the contraband that moves from the U.S. toward Mexico. These matters, it seems to me, must be subject to the mutual interest of our governments, as well as must be revised, permanently, in accord with the context of your initiative."

The success of this program initiated by 2 Congressmen stands as a constructive example of congressional input into the formulation of narcotics control in the Americas. On the strength of other meetings in Mexico we were able to reach an agreement in principle with the Presidents of Costa Rica, Panama and Colombia on similar commission ideas. These commissions will provide us with the coordination and monitoring capacity which has been needed for many years.

I now look to the future with greater optimism.

Thank you for your letter of the 10th of October, 1974, and for the information you provided regarding the situation in Mexico. I am pleased to hear that the situation is improving and that the Government is taking steps to deal with the narcotics problem. I am sure that your efforts will be successful.

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APPENDIX 10

STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON POLITICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE, JANUARY 27, 1976

U.S. CITIZENS IMPRISONED IN MEXICO

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you Mr. Chairman and the other members of this subcommittee on Political and Military Affairs for conducting these important hearings and affording me the opportunity to testify before you today.

As you may know, Congressman Lester Wolf and I recently returned from a study mission on international narcotics trafficking that took us to Mexico, to Central and South America. While the thrust of our mission was to assess the joint efforts of our two nations in the eradication and interdiction of illicit narcotics traffic, we also took the opportunity to express the deep concern of the Congress and the American people in trying to resolve the many problems arising from the imprisonment of American citizens in Mexican jails.

In the numerous conferences with Mexican officials, I expressed the fear that any abuse of civil rights might lead to a cleavage in our joint efforts of seeking to prevent the use and abuse of narcotics in the United States and Mexico. We discussed this issue at great length with the Mexican Attorney General, with high-ranking members of the Mexican armed forces and with members of the Mexican Congress. As a result of these meetings, I was invited to take a first-hand look at one of the Mexican Federal prisons where Americans were being held. At the invitation of Mexican Senator Humberto Mateos, I had the opportunity to visit Lecumberri prison, where Mrs. Mateos is engaged in volunteer work with the inmates.

Lecumberri Prison, located in the outskirts of Mexico City, is the oldest such institution still in use in the Federal District. With the exception of the addition of one-cell block, the basic structure of the facility has remained unchanged since its construction in 1900. At the present time, the all-male facility is used to house inmates either awaiting sentencing or whose cases are on appeal. The period of time between trial and sentencing is at a minimum eight months and sometimes as much as two years. At the time of my visit in December of 1975, there were 68 Americans being held in Lecumberri with the majority charged with narcotic trafficking.

By our standards, the methods of operation in the Mexican prison were both startling and appalling. The operation of Lecumberri is administered under the "Faena" system, typical of many Latin American countries. With only the basics for a crude existence being provided by the government, all additional necessities for a mentally and physically healthy life must be purchased. Protection from harassment, adequate clothing, a clean cell and even a decent meal rested entirely upon the ability of the inmates to purchase those items from the administrators, guards or other inmates. For those who could afford it, there were even television, stereos and inmate servants.

To the 68 Americans, this means their family and friends must support them throughout their entire prison term at great expense and inconvenience. Initially, a substantial protection fee is extracted from each prisoner and the prisoner then "buys his cell" similar to a condominium arrangement. On the average, a prisoner must spend about \$50 a week to survive in Lecumberri. Unfortunately, this costly system has spread far beyond the basic wants and needs of food, clothing and shelter. There were stories of payments to send a letter, to see the administrators and even to visit the doctor. It is obvious that the one part of this system, leading to earned good time for work performed, is the center of corruption. For every two days working on a job, one day of your sentence is subtracted. This important aspect of this prison system has led to the wholesale selling of prison jobs through payment averaging about \$1,500 a piece.

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Throughout my visit to Lecumberri, I was accompanied by Peter Wood, a consular officer of the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City assigned to assisting imprisoned U.S. citizens. Mr. Wood was a welcome sight to many of the American prisoners, particularly since he was bringing money from their families for their subsistence. Mr. Wood is one of only two U.S. Officials who process all arrests of Americans in Mexico City Federal District each month and who routinely visit the prison to handle all of the U.S. inmate problems. His visit on that occasion was extremely welcome since he had not been there for nearly a month and many of the prisoners were in dire need of money and assistance. With an average of over 200 Americans being arrested in Mexico City Federal District each month, Mr. Wood and his assistant are confronted with a losing battle in trying to keep up with their escalating work load, in trying to keep an accurate account of the number and location of American prisoners and in trying to provide the adequate service they are entitled to as American citizens.

Most of the complaints expressed to me by the American inmates dealt with their problems in understanding and receiving their rights under the Mexican legal system. Their frustration dealt not only with the simple corruption that exists behind the prison walls, but extended to tales of lack of and inadequate counsel, of exorbitant legal fees, of inability to communicate their arrest to U.S. authorities, of torture before and after their convictions and being forced to sign confessions written in Spanish and not translated into English.

Other major problems for U.S. prisoners arising under the Mexican legal system, include the arrest and pre-conviction stages of the proceedings. These stages include problems of notification and access, interrogation, and incarceration.

With regard to notification and access, many prisoners complained that the American Embassy was not notified and was not allowed access to them for many weeks subsequent to their arrest. In my discussions with our embassy officials I learned that of 35 cases in the period from October 1975 to December 1975 only on two occasions was the embassy notified by the Mexican government of the arrest of an American. I expressed personal concern about this issue in my talks with Attorney General Pedro Ojeda and received his assurance that he would investigate the situation and would take appropriate steps to provide a remedy.

It is during the interrogation period, that many prisoners complained of receiving severe beatings, electric shocks and "cold water treatment". Since there is no need for confessions in most narcotic possession cases, this type of coercion was entirely unnecessary and unwarranted.

The final phase that a prisoner is subjected to is the actual incarceration. Many of the earlier problems reoccur here. In addition to the general problems of prison life, which I previously discussed, the prisoner is faced with threats of physical violence by guards and inmates alike in order to maintain control over the system. Each cell block has an inmate "mayor", who works with the prison administration to control all activities and thereby share the benefit of such a system. In cell block "O" where most of the Americans were housed, the "mayor" was a convicted murderer.

Clearly, the overall situation in the Mexican penal system is appalling. It is even sadder to note that in most cases the Mexicans treat their own citizens equally as bad and often with more severity, since they are assumed to understand the consequences of their acts. Prison is not a nice place for anybody in any country. An observer might even say that with enough money life in Lecumberri is better than in some American jails. But one thing is very clear, every prisoner I talked to was not prepared for the fate that they are now facing.

While we certainly are not empowered to modify the Mexican legal system even if we desired to do so, we can, however, bring pressure to bear to signify the importance that we attach to this problem. We should increase our efforts in this country to educate our youth about the horrors of foreign prisons before they commit a crime. We should also insist that the State Department increase the size of their staff to adequately handle the case loads and accurately follow through on every single case. We should bring pressure to bear on the Mexican government to insist on the fair and lawful treatment of all American prisoners. I am sending a letter to Secretary of State Kissinger expressing these very thoughts.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for focusing attention on this problem and for holding these hearings. It is through a public forum such as this that we can help bring about some needed reforms for important civil rights.

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... APPENDIX 11 ...

JOINT STATEMENT OF HON. LESTER L. WOLFF AND HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN PRESENTED AT THE MEXICAN-UNITED STATES INTER-PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE, FEBRUARY 26, 1976

We welcome the opportunity to participate in this important conference with our neighboring Mexican colleagues. One of the most critical issues confronting the bilateral relations between our great nations is the significant illegal traffic of narcotics crossing our border.

Despite considerable efforts in the last few years to curtail this flow of illegal narcotics, recent estimates reveal that over 90% of all heroin seizures in the United States had their sources in Mexico. Beyond the obvious considerations of drug addiction and abuse, the increase in narcotics trafficking has other serious effects on the societies of both our nations. For the citizens of Mexico, this means that nearly a billion dollars a year is placed in the hands of organized crime. For the citizens of the United States, this translates into over \$20 billion a year in the costs of drug related crime. Neither of our nations exploited by this dirty, vicious business adds one single dime to its own treasury.

Twenty-six years of enforcement efforts that began along our common border have finally reached a stage where an effective bilateral program can be implemented. The basis for real action lies in the recognition by both of our countries of the enormity of this problem. While past seizures and arrests on the streets and highways and at all ports of entry have had in themselves little effect on the growing narcotics traffic, events of the last few months have pointed to the beginning of improved efforts at curbing this traffic.

The Congress of the United States recognizes the increasing narcotics problem that confronts our two nations. Assured by President Ford of his total commitment, Congressman Gilman and I undertook a vital mission early last month of exchanging ideas, views and information with the representatives of our American neighbors most affected by narcotics activities. The major sources of this vast illegal narcotics traffic has been traced to Latin America and Mexico. With this in mind, we traveled to many of those countries most affected by the narcotics traffic and held a series of conferences at the highest levels including in-depth discussions with President Luis Echeverria Alvarez of Mexico, President Daniel Oduber of Costa Rica, President Demetrio Lakas of Panama, and President Alfonso Lopez of Colombia.

It was gratifying to receive from each nation we visited the personal commitment to join with us in a cooperative effort to bring about a halt to illegal narcotics activities. These efforts represent a monumental step forward in finding a permanent solution to this deadly problem.

Our study mission to Mexico confirmed the enormity of this problem which is compounded by the existence of hundreds of clandestine airstrips, the lack of effective customs control along our common border and favorable climate and soil conditions which permit the growing of two and sometimes three poppy crops per year in distant, often inaccessible mountainous areas. Our study mission recognized the unmistakable relationship between the traffic in heroin and those who traffic in marihuana. We recognize that current efforts to deemphasize the importance of marihuana abuse in the United States is detrimental to the effective elimination of this dangerous trade. Both marihuana and heroin traffickers use the same clandestine routes employing the same underworld organizations and benefiting the same criminal elements.

In recognition of these obstacles, we held a marathon session on January 10 with President Luis Echeverria Alvarez to put into perspective U.S.-Mexican interests in coordinating an all out attack on this menace which threatens to destroy the youth of both our nations. At this meeting, President Echeverria initiated a creative proposal for the establishment of formal organizations that will coordinate in their respective countries the entire spectrum of the narcotic regulatory, rehabilitative, and informational agencies. The proposal will lead to

the creation of an action-oriented, joint working group that will present recommendations to both the Mexican and U.S. organizations in order to bring about effective action and coordination of all drug abuse activities.

President Echeverria's proposals have been hailed as a most significant forward step in bringing about a coordinated program aimed at reaching a permanent solution to this menacing problem.

Hopefully, the implementation of this agreement will bring an end to mere rhetoric and will launch a concrete action-oriented plan. The effectuation of this critical, joint working group must be brought about without any delay. The ultimate success of our combined endeavor lies in the coordination of the various plans of our two governments. President Echeverria's letter outlining his proposal was met with immediate and positive response by President Ford. On our part, we have initiated a series of meetings that will lead to the implementation of this proposal.

Much evidence has recently surfaced that illustrates the sincerity of our Mexican colleagues who have pledged their total commitment in permanently solving this problem. In November 1975 through the efforts of Mexican Attorney General, Pedro Ojeda Paullada, the Mexican Government announced the decision to use herbicides in the destruction of narcotic fields. This decision could well be the most important enforcement tool placed in the hands of thousands of army and judicial personnel attacking this problem in the mountainous terrain of Mexico.

The successful program of joint prosecution is another significant milestone in the dedication of the enforcement and judicial branches of the Mexican Government. We have been informed that the Mexican Supreme Court has recently disciplined three judges on charges of taking some \$600,000 in bribes from a northern Mexican heroin smuggling gang and their dismissal follows an investigation by the office of the Mexican Attorney General. The dismissal of these officials is positive proof that a campaign against corrupt officials has been launched in Mexico.

The Mexican and United States commitment to a total and permanent elimination of this problem is genuine. Our two governments must now join hands in putting our thoughts and words into deeds—in bringing forth a real attack on those criminal elements that persist in producing, distributing and selling heroin and marijuana. As legislators we have an obligation to foster the public's will, but also to enhance and provide public safety. To achieve these goals, we must all work together, using our combined resources and efforts to win not only the battles, but the entire war.

The success of our joint endeavors must be measured by results rather than rhetoric. Such action will result in the elimination of illicit drug traffic and ultimately the eradication of drug abuse in our two nations.

We want to extend our sincere appreciation to the President and people of Mexico for the proposed innovative initiatives which will benefit both our nations. Though we recognize this is primarily our problem, it illustrates what good friends working together can do to solve mutual problems.

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APPENDIX 12

MEXICAN WHITE PAPER ON THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST DRUG TRAFFIC PRESENTED AT THE MEXICO-UNITED STATES INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

I. On February 15, 1976 the intensive phase of the Campaign against the sowing, farming and harvest of narcotics, that was begun November 20, 1975, showed the following result:

PLANTATIONS OF POPPY AND MARIHUANA DESTROYED: 11,047

On the intensive phase corresponding to the same temporality, a total of 3,361 plantations were destroyed last year.

That means an increase in the destruction very superior to 300% above the preceding total.

II. At the present time there are 230 elements on land, and 130 on air services that take part in the Campaign, which represents a 75% increment with regard to the former year.

III. The Campaign also includes an aspect of interception that is carried out fundamentally through retention points on the roads, surveillance of airports, railroad and bus stations, and urban and suburban investigations about drug laboratories in our country.

IV. There are approximately 2,200 elements of the Mexican Army that assist the Federal Judicial Police on the destruction of plantations. Combined to the work done during the Campaign we have the studies about investigation and prevention that the Mexican Center of Studies about Drug Addiction develops and the activities of support that are performed by the Ministry of Health and Welfare, the State and Municipal Governments and the staff of the Custom Service.

V. The critical zone of farming and traffic in the country has been divided into 10 areas which are as follows:

1. State of Oaxaca.
2. Guerrero.
3. Michoacan and Colima.
4. Jalisco and Nayarit.
5. Durango.
6. Sinaloa.
7. Chihuahua and Sonora.
8. Baja California.
9. Mexico City and Valley of Mexico.
10. Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas.

VI. In a lapse of time of two and a half months we have eradicated the poppy plantations in the States of Oaxaca, Guerrero, Colima, Nayarit, Jalisco and Michoacan.

By depending on all the strength of destruction to eradicate the sowing and farming in the zone of Sinaloa, Chihuahua and Durango, the services for fumigation and transport will allow that at the beginning of March all the plantations that at present are found growing on the said zone shall be destroyed.

Taking into consideration the conditions of altitude, which include, with priority, places of 5,000 to 9,000 feet, the marginal zones and the climatic conditions that point out the optimum temperatures for the said crops, it's been foreseen that starting next March new sowings will be started again in several States of the Republic. These forecasts will allow the mobilization of our forces in an orderly and systematic fashion to reach those zones of plantation and achieve their destruction before any possible harvest.

The statistical analysis which has been begun will let us know, in a very short term, the temporalities, specific locations and systems of sowing, farming and harvest, achieving with this information the previous programming of the activities in the Campaign and, consequently, optimum results.

VII. Mexico faces with active seriousness the problem of the sowing, farming, and harvest of natural narcotics, concretely poppy and marihuana, that constitute a source of raw materials that concurring with other sources evolves toward the great market. We don't consider that production is the determinant factor in the economic mechanisms that rule supply and demand; as partial responsibility in the world problem, we have imposed on ourselves the total destruction of plantations of narcotics in our territory in the following three months.

In this task, we have eradicated the crops of poppy in the States of Oaxaca, Guerrero, Colima, Nayarit, Jalisco and Michoacan, and by the month of March we will have abated the totality of crops in Sinaloa, Chihuahua and Durango.

We are also conscious that the destruction of these crops does not mean the overcoming of the problem, this will have been solved when the growers are convinced by our permanent action, that they will not be able to achieve a single crop of narcotic drugs.

The permanent action programmed with the increase of human and material resources and the utilization of modern technology in the agricultural field, allows us to assert that the destruction mechanism will function in accord with the constant cycles of sowing of narcotics during the whole year, with the same results that we have achieved up to now.

VIII. In agreement with the bilateral treaties to fight the traffic of narcotics, the Embassy of the United States in Mexico relies on staff furnished by the Drug Enforcement Administration that, on service on the said Embassy, acts as an informative link regarding the several international operations against drugs. It is our opinion that these crimes are generated in the United States and they are finished there, with an intermediate process feasible to be developed in Mexico or in any other Latin American country. That is the reason why we need the current of information that the American Embassy can provide us by means of staff specialized in the subject. At the same time, we feed back that information in the cases that, because of technical reasons of juridical type or because of material impossibility, we cannot proceed against the criminals in our country.

The staff that we have previously mentioned does not act in any way on police functions, because this is against our legislation and we cannot admit it at all.

IX. We are conscious of our responsibility to exterminate the crops of narcotic drugs, which will generate the lack of the Mexican product in the great market of drugs in the United States, but we also know that there must be some actions done in the market of consumption to abate the demand. The drug consuming countries recognize it that way, because the unlawfulness does not lie in the plant, but in the person who produces them has the need for its product and requires its consumption.

Our Campaign programming and the initial results indicate that Mexico will finish the production of these drugs in the national territory.

REPORT SUBMIT

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APPENDIX 13

REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO ON NARCOTICS

(By Dr. Guido Belsasso, January 10, 1975)

The preoccupation with the problem of drug addiction and the necessity to understand this phenomenon in order to control its causes led to the establishment of various theories. It is evident that this phenomenon manifests itself with great impact, that it constitutes one of the greatest difficulties in our society and that we have to face it with serenity and frankness. It is a symptom that calls for the understanding of complex social forces and their effects on individuals and groups.

Receiving expressions of concern from various sectors, President Echeverria, who began his term not a long time ago, ordered a plan be put into effect, so that at the end of his presidency the integration of efforts and the implementation of necessary measures could be achieved and the insufficiency of activities, carried out until now by national agencies, dealing with this problem, could be corrected.

A national strategy has been worked out in conformity with the President's guidelines, embracing all the necessary elements for the control of narcotics traffic and drug abuse: the elaboration of policy, the investigation of the causes of this problem, the modification of legal aspects in order to give a strong regulatory support to the institutional activities and to coordinate them at the highest level of political decisionmaking in the country.

In the task of combatting drug abuse, two aspects have been distinguished: the Offer of products modifying mental and behavioral characteristics of individuals on one hand, and the Demand on the other hand.

Thus, in order to combat the supply of drugs the Attorney's General Office of the Republic improved the operations to the highest degree possible by coordinating them between various national agencies and institutions and the Armed Forces, in order to achieve its goals with greater efficiency in the fields of legal control, administration of justice, national security and social protection of the Mexican society. The results of this improvement are very promising and merited already the recognition by foreign governments and international organizations.

A combat strategy against drug addition, that is, against the Demand, called for an integrated effort of scientific research, for training of personnel, for prevention, treatment and rehabilitation and above all for coordinated activities between the institutions involved. For this end, the Mexican Center for the Study of Drug Addiction—C.E.M.E.F. (Centro Mexicano de Estudios en Farmacodependencia) was established in 1972.

We can say briefly, that until 1971 there was a lack of coordination of various activities carried out by national institutions and insufficiency of guidelines for lowering the growing incidence of use and abuse of drugs, especially among the young.

Thus, the Office of the Attorney General used to combat the production and illegal traffic of narcotics, which has been on the increase during the last five years; the Department of Health and Welfare used to control the production and sale of medicines with hallucinant or addictive effects; the institutions of health and social welfare used to give attention to drug addicts by advising on policy formation and activities in psychiatric clinics and hospitals. In the field of prevention and social rehabilitation; and problems related to child and juvenile delinquency, the institutions of higher education used to carry out tasks of basic and applied research concerning drugs and their effects in their epidemiological, social and cultural aspects; the urban authorities used to act

Translated by the Library of Congress (57)

The projected goals are:

- To protect population groups menaced but still completely free of drug problems;
- To facilitate the access to treatment;
- To determine the incidence and extent of the drug problem in the country;
- To provide the necessary means for scientific research of the problem in its various aspects;
- To supply various institutions of the Executive branch of the government the decentralized agencies and other state entities or individuals working in the field of drug addiction, with scientific information, facilitating the exchange of data and coordinating their operations;
- To maintain a continuous reciprocation of services with foreign and international agencies.

The agent who coordinates, promotes, integrates these operations and who issues policy directives and makes decisions is the Executive Board of the Mexican Center for the Study of Drug Addiction. The Executive Board is composed of representatives from the Departments of Health and Welfare, Ministry of the Interior, Department of Public Education, Attorney's General Office and Department of Justice. The bi-monthly meetings of the Executive Board make it possible not only to carry out the operations without interruption but also to facilitate the inter-departmental communications and decisionmaking on the highest political level of the country.

The system also includes the so-called Juvenile Integration Centers, entities of private initiative but with the official support and supervision. These centers, in addition to their specialized clinical services, constitute a valuable assistance in the community research programs, functioning as nuclei of activities with the aim of uniting the efforts of their area. These centers stress the importance of the initial approach to the problem (which indeed must begin at the community level) and constitute the first step in the medical and welfare process.

The achievements of the Juvenile Integration Centers can be efficiently measured by the vertical decrease of cases admitted to psychiatric hospitals with problems of acute poisoning, the decrease resulting from this primary handling of the problem. It is a promising sign that the goal for 1976, to count on at least one Juvenile Integration Center in each Federal district, will be fully achieved. To the 26 Centers in operation at present, 11 more will be added before the end of the year, constituting enlarged possibility of detection and treatment strengthened by preventive measures of information and research.

In order to give a general point of reference that would permit indication of the operations against drug addiction in detail, it was necessary to conceive a system of information which would record that such tasks have better defined objectives and can be evaluated at any moment. To this end the support that the Department of Public Education gave was of great importance not only in facilitating the acquisition of data on incidence and extent of drug addiction in the schools of Mexico, but also in providing computation and storage of data by electronic devices.

This information system on the epidemiologic research on the national level is supplemented by studies about other facts added to some useful data in order to constitute data banks which will allow, instantaneously, knowing the extent of the phenomenon and its distribution in the society of the national territory and to discover rapidly the ways for dealing with the complexity of socio-economic, political and cultural factors facilitating the control not only of the manifestation but also of the causes of the drug problem. In the beginning Mexico could not count on qualified personnel to face these problems.

We had to use training facilities that the United States Government offered to us. However, today we can count not only on the training facilities for our personnel in conformity with the requirements of our national idiosyncracies but also we can offer our accumulated experience to other countries—including the United States, who can use our data for their ethnic and minority groups.

In cooperation with various academic and professional institutions numerous projects of research have been carried out:

- Description of the detection techniques of drugs in biological medium;
- Rapid identification of pharmaceutical products;
- Improvement of laboratory equipment;
- Psychological and social research related to convicts of drug abuse;
- The study of psychiatric variations and circadian secretion of hormones caused by amphetamines;
- The variation in quality and quantity of active components of marijuana traced back to the geographical region of its production; and finally

A whole series of bio-medical and social aspects.

This research higher education and when means stimulation

Since 1972 in order to be in charge of the Scientific information freedom of expression etc. preparation of resulting from

The news must be nature as to combats drug does not rest of ment, has the conviction that order.

Secondly, the increase of drug last few years.

Thirdly, the geographical location of the United States, illegal native increasing the

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We have significant goals and Latin America a unique position

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Mr. President order to guarantee carried out by the support itself. The pro lack of political causes efficient

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This research activity had a very favorable repercussion in the institutions of higher education in those areas of the country where such research was carried out and when the institutions were provided with material, technical and financial means stimulating creative activity.

Since 1972 the necessary contacts have been established with the news media in order to enlist their support for a preventive action and teaching those in charge of the program to approach the problem without bitterness or falacies. Scientific information was supplied to the newspaper reporters, respecting the freedom of expression in the preparation of news releases dealing with the drug problems etc. In addition, we are trying to prepare unified guidelines for the preparation of information materials in this field, especially the scientific data resulting from our research.

The news media have a great responsibility in the prevention of drug addiction. They must be aware that their handling of the drug problem must be of such a nature as to favor any activity that praises social values, promotes health and combats drug traffic. They must bear in mind that any news or guidance that does not rest on adequate criteria, based on scientific research and social advancement, has the dubious privilege to worsen the problem of drug addiction.

We believe that in Mexico various factors have combined for the prevention of the existing drug abuse.

First of all, the general admission that the social situation must improve and the conviction that social evolution must avoid a violent change of the established order.

Secondly, there exists a clear understanding of the serious menace that the increase of drug addiction presents to the public health, especially during the last few years.

Thirdly, the international responsibility of the country resulting from its geographical location which makes it like a bridge for the entry of drugs into the United States, drugs which have been made in other countries, in addition to the illegal native production in response to the demand of the United States, increasing the production in Mexico itself.

It is appropriate to mention here that Mexico and the United States act in cooperation in trying to face the drug problem. The initial approach in this collaboration was of a repressive nature in which all the institutions of social defense of the Mexican government participated. The participation of the police force in the frontier zone was the next step and the results were encouraging followed by the exchange of scientific data, of experience, equipment and trained personnel. However, this kind of international cooperation does not limit itself to the United States. An active cooperation is maintained with various international agencies and institutions in other countries.

We have signed agreements with agencies in Europe and Latin America that have goals and functions similar to the C.E.M.E.F.

Latin America has priority in our contacts abroad, mainly because we are in a unique position to escape problems that more advanced countries encounter.

The strategic model for combatting the drug problem followed by Mexico revealed itself of great efficiency and became an example for other countries. Supported by international organizations like the W.H.C. and the U.N.S.D.R.I. we organized two Latin American seminars which brought together 15 countries, in which similar methods are followed, facilitating the exchange of research data and the comparison of programs whose applicability to other third world countries was evident.

It is satisfying to mention that the C.E.M.E.F. has been designated by the World Health Organization as an International Center for Research and Training with responsibilities for Latin America and that this decision is being implemented.

Mr. President, at this critical moment of reorientation that you promote in order to guarantee the development of our society, it must be said that the activities carried out against drug addiction and narcotics traffic, must be strengthened by the support of many other institutions in the country and the community itself. The promotion and integration of efforts should not be hampered through lack of political or financial support. To fight against the drug addiction and its causes efficiently is a responsibility that we cannot escape.

The results of our strategy indicate that we are on the right road, but it is evident that by itself it will not be sufficient to avoid the worsening of the problem. The welfare of the community, its social health, comprises all aspects of life and brings about satisfactory results in a given sociocultural and economic context. The satisfaction of needs is an essential and necessary task, and calls for an action to transform the system of domination and dependency into something that would allow the liberation of the oppressed and just development for all the peoples of the earth.

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APPENDIX 14

ARTICLES AND ANALYSIS OF STUDY MISSION BY FOREIGN NEWS SERVICES

(From Novedades, Mexico City, Mexico, Jan. 11, 1976)

TWIN COMMISSIONS OF MEXICO AND U.S. TO FIGHT AGAINST DRUG TRAFFIC

At the end of a meeting with President Echeverria U.S. Representatives Lester L. Wolff and Benjamin H. Gilman stated that an agreement had been reached on the establishment of two "twin" commissions in Mexico and the U.S. for the purpose of stepping up the actions that the two governments have so far undertaken for the elimination of the drug traffic.

The establishment of the commissions, said Mexican Chancellor Alfonso Garcia Robles was the result of extensive conversations between the visiting Congressmen and government officials of our country with a view of setting up adequate mechanisms in the fight aimed at stopping the drug traffic.

Congressman Wolff said that drug addiction in the United States has become a "crucial problem" and a constantly increasing problem in Mexico for which reason stepped up joint efforts have to be made to enable the authorities concerned to take much more effective steps. To see that this is materialized is the responsibility of those who took part in the meeting.

At present there are between 200,000 and 400,000 drug addicts in the neighboring country. The figures are steadily climbing.

He pointed out that it was still too early to evaluate that information that so far has been received on this subject, that is, the indiscriminate use of drugs in certain states of the U.S. At the same time he reaffirmed that drug abuse is punished as a criminal action; the same applies to drug traffic.

On the other hand, he said, that during the last six months exports of "sicotropicos" [meaning unknown] to foreign countries such as Mexico have considerably diminished, as an individual, he said, and without speaking on behalf of my government I consider those "sicotropicos" tablets as dangerous as any other drug and its use likewise constitutes a grave problem.

With regard to the so-called trade of U.S. arms for Mexican drugs he pointed out that he could not give an explanation; he added that this was a somewhat "very delicate" subject that required the attention of the authorities of both countries.

As a result of the conversations that took place between the U.S. Congressmen and Mexican officials both parties agreed to establish for the first time formal organizations of which each would coordinate in its respective country the whole gamut of regulatory, educational, rehabilitative and informative organizations as far as narcotics are concerned.

CONCRETE RESULTS

"The success of our joint efforts, they said, must not be measured by rhetoric but by results which hopefully shall contribute to the elimination of illegal drug traffic and, ultimately, to the eradication of the use of narcotics by the young."

They finally stated that they would transmit President Echeverria's greetings to his colleague Ford with the formal pledge to materialize the plans that had been outlined and for which purpose had come to Mexico.

Mr. Pedro Ojeda Paullada, the Attorney General of the Republic, likewise listened to the statement made by the U.S. representatives and said that the "twin" commissions would first turn to the grave problems caused by the indiscriminate use of narcotics so as to alert the people and obtain their help in solving that problem.

Articles translated by Translating Services, Library of Congress.

He finally stated that the U.S. will be in our country

INTENSIVE EDUCATION

Faced with the United States combat drug traffic

United States announced the new meeting between the presence of the general of the Republic Mr. Joseph John

The United States Mexican authorities intensive education by the use and of the school system

Congressman Wolff said that drug addiction in the United States has become a "crucial problem" and a constantly increasing problem in Mexico for which reason stepped up joint efforts have to be made to enable the authorities concerned to take much more effective steps. To see that this is materialized is the responsibility of those who took part in the meeting.

"President Ford will examine, with President Echeverria, the problem would have in a young people of

"We attach great importance Echeverria aims to coordinate national, rehabilitative that we discussed

"The proposal of the United States and the creation of an agency will submit recommendations and coordination

"The success of the achievement of our two nations

"Trying to eradicate drug traffic, my colleague, Representative Wolff, committee and multinational Drug Control Commission ideas, points Government.

"During our support and problem that aff

"The urgency of practice as soon plans."

On his part, depends on the in Spanish

Replying to the number of that it is scarce 200,000 and 400,

He finally stated that they would receive in a few days three planes from the U.S. that will be used for the transportation of personnel charged to carry out in our country a permanent campaign aimed at fighting drug traffic.

[From El Universal, Mexico City, Mexico, Jan. 11, 1975]

INTENSIVE EDUCATIONAL AND INFORMATIVE ACTIVITIES WILL BE CARRIED OUT

Faced with the increasing narcotics traffic in both nations lately, Mexico and the United States came to an agreement for establishing "twin" agencies to combat drug traffic more efficiently.

United States representatives Lester Wolf and Benjamin H. Gilman announced the news at the presidential palace of Los Pinos a few minutes after the meeting between the American Congressmen and President Echeverria in the presence of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Garcia Robles, the Attorney General of the Republic, Pedro Ojeda Paulada and the United States Ambassador Mr. Joseph John Jova.

The United States representatives acknowledged the achievements of the Mexican authorities and explained that the "twin" agencies will carry out an intensive educational and informative activity about the serious harm caused by the use and abuse of drugs. This activity will be carried out in and outside of the school system.

Congressman Lester Wolf read the following communiqué:

"The out-of-control increase of drug abuse in the United States and the deep preoccupation of President Gerald Ford and the Congress finding a solution to this problem, are the reasons for our coming to your great country.

"President Ford invited a congressional working group to meet him and to examine, with proper attention, the benefit that Mexico and the United States would have in attacking the cancer that menaces the health and vitality of the young people of our two nations.

"We attach great importance to the constructive proposals of President Luis Echeverria aiming to establish for the first time "twin" agencies, each of which will coordinate, in their respective countries, a whole series of regulatory, educational, rehabilitating and informative agencies, concerning the narcotics problem that we discussed here this evening.

"The proposal of President Echeverria to which the Ambassador of the United States and the Attorney General of Mexico have contributed, will lead to the creation of an agency agreed upon by both sides, comprising a working group will submit recommendations to both agencies in order to achieve good results and coordination of all the activities relating to drug abuse.

"The success of our common efforts will not be measured by rhetoric but by the achievements, that, we hope, will eliminate the illegal drug traffic between our two nations and finally eradicate the use of drugs by our youths.

"Trying to eradicate the danger of the drug traffic that our nations face, my colleague, Representative Gilman, member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and myself, in my capacity as President of the Committee for International Drug Control, have undertaken this important mission for the exchange of ideas, points of view and information with various members of the Mexican Government.

"During our meeting President Echeverria manifested his leadership, active support and preoccupation for finding a permanent solution to this terrible problem that afflicts our nations.

"The urgency for dealing with the drug problem requires the plans be put into practice as soon as possible and that there is a great need to implement such plans."

On his part, Congressman Gilman stated that the achievements of any plans depends on the sincerity of those who implement them. He finished his remarks in Spanish: "Esperamos que nuestras esperanzas se conviertan en realidad".

400,000 DRUG ADDICTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Replying to various questions of press reporters, Congressman Wolf said that the number of drug addicts increased considerably in his country, but specified that it is scarcely possible to establish true statistical figures which vary between 200,000 and 400,000.

FOREIGN NEWS

U.S. REPRESENTATIVES

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(From El Sol de Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico, Jan. 18, 1976)

MEXICAN HERBICIDES FOR 20,000 PLOTS OF NARCOTIC PLANTS

There will be no experiments with harmful chemicals.

"Mexico and the United States will intensify their cooperation for combatting drug addiction and narcotics traffic, whose creation was agreed upon at the end of last week" said Attorney General of the Republic Pedro Ojeda Paullada, after the joint committee begin operating.

Nevertheless, Mexico will be able at any moment to do without this American assistance, because it is insignificant and symbolic. The local authorities insisted that this aid would not be attached to any specific action.

"In accepting this cooperation we would like to demonstrate our good faith towards the United States" the Attorney General added.

He said also that during an 80 to 90-day campaign it will be possible to destroy about 20,000 plots of narcotic plants extending over 6,600 hectares within a geographic extension of 600,000 square kilometers, divided into 90 zones.

He explained that the herbicides are of Mexican origin, normally used by the Mexican peasants and that Mexico will not be a place for experimenting with harmful chemicals.

The Attorney General announced during his interview in the Mexican Petroleum Building, just before the closing ceremonies of the International Women Year, that two Scotland Yard experts will give lectures on how to combat drug traffic. Their visit was arranged despite the creation of a Technical Institute in the office of the Attorney General which eliminates the necessity of foreign help in this field, to which have particularly contributed United States and French Security agents.

The equipment provided by the United States to Mexico consists of small airplanes and helicopters, soil-to-air communications systems, and communication facilities from one base to another, revolvers, and "so-called machine guns" to be utilized by the police when required.

We have insisted that the material equipment supplied by the United States should be to a certain degree of symbolic nature and we did not allow that such aid would be earmarked to a particular action.

The creation of Mexican-United States committees was agreed upon last Saturday at the end of the meeting that took place between President Luis Echeverria and United States Congressmen Lester L. Wolff and Benjamin H. Gilman.

Nevertheless on the United States side no steps will be taken until both Congressmen finish their visits to other Latin American countries and submit their recommendations to the respective authorities.

In agreement with Ojeda Paullada, at least as Mexico is concerned, additional programs will be submitted for study from the beginning of next week for combatting the production and traffic of drugs.

The joint committees—comprising a joint working team—will study in detail educational, regulatory and information aspects of this problem.

The Study Center for Drug Addiction [El Centro de Estudios de Farmaco-dependencia] and its opposite number in the United States, the National Institute for Drug Abuse (NIDA) will cooperate in projects for prevention and cure of drug addiction.

Without restricting itself to the eradication of narcotic plants, the perspective of combatting the drug problem widens. This new effort will be extended to include campaigns of news media and the area of education with the necessary precautions.

According to the Attorney General, the drug combatting units are able to destroy—at least theoretically—100 plots of marihuana or red poppies daily, and proceeding at this rate only 20 to 22 days will be necessary to eradicate all that was planted, but in reality the eradication campaign will take 80 days to three months.

In addition to this eradication of narcotic plants it is necessary to destroy heroine laboratories and intercept the opium before it leaves the country.

In this eradication campaign Mexican herbicides are used, according to Ojeda Paullada, which are employed by the farmers of potatoes and sugar cane and which have no harmful effects on human beings.

We will never allow the use of chemicals—like the defoliants—whose name alone causes panic—or other chemicals harmful to the eco-system, the Attorney said.

"We will never to explain what he

ILLEGAL DRUG

BOGOTA, January 18.—The United States seriously threaten continent; so was

"Drugs today co America to the Un conference.

The drug route dollar crime probl after returning fr countries where ill.

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DRUG BUSINESS

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He said "that d United States con governments, we v

"We will never become an experimental field for harmful chemicals" he added to explain what he calls "the misinterpretations."

[From El Sol de Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico, Jan. 18, 1976]

ILLEGAL DRUG TRAFFIC THREATENS SOUTH AMERICAN AND U.S. RELATIONS

BOGOTA, January 17.—The multimillion dollar drug transactions from South America to the United States does not lend to the well being of any country and seriously threatens relations between Washington and the rest of the American continent; so was revealed by an American congressman.

"Drugs today constitute the most important product of exportation from Latin America to the United States" declared, Lester L. Wolff (D., N.Y.) during a press conference.

The drug route between Latin America and Manhattan leads to a 20 billion dollar crime problem in the United States. Wolff made these statements shortly after returning from a tour thru Colombia and various other Latin American countries where illegal drug traffic is a major problem.

The impressive figures show that the Colombian cocaine traffic to the United States amounts to 500 million dollars annually, which is almost 1/3 the countries total exports. Still, not one country involved in this dirty business receives any of the American money directly. Worse yet, this drug traffic is threatening the good relations between the United States and central and South America, Wolff said.

He indicated, "that despite the enormity of the problem; we will return to the U.S. confident that thru cooperation and compromise, we will reach effective control of the illegal drug traffic."

Wolff and his colleague, Ben Gilman (R., N.Y.), from the House on Foreign Relations Committee, have just completed a 10 day tour seeking information on drug traffic on the Latin-Manhattan-route, which includes Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama, and Colombia.

[From Heraldo de Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico, Jan. 18, 1976]

DRUG BUSINESS TO THE UNITED STATES AMOUNTS TO 20 BILLION DOLLARS

The Most Important Product of Export from Latin America, According to U.S. Authorities

Mexico Receives More Income from Heroine Than it Does from its Tourist Industry

Drug Traffic Seriously Threatens Relations Between Washington and Latin America

Bogota (AP).—The multimillion dollar drug transactions from South America to the United States does not lend to the well being of any country and seriously threatens relations between Washington and the rest of the American continent, so was revealed today by a high ranking American congressman.

"Drugs constitute the most important export product of Latin America to the United States", declared Lester L. Wolff (D., N.Y.) during a press conference.

"The Drug route between Latin America and Manhattan amounts to a 20 billion dollar crime problem annually in the United States", said Wolff after terminating a visit to Colombia as part of a tour thru various Latin American countries where drug traffic is a major problem.

He indicated that "heroine which arrives from Mexico to the U.S. has a market value of 1 billion dollars; more than the entire tourist industry in Mexico."

The impressive figures also demonstrated that Colombian cocaine exported to the United States amounts to 500 million dollars.

"Worse, still," Wolff added, "is the fact that the illegal traffic of drugs is threatening the good relations between the United States and Central and South America."

He said "that despite the enormity of the problem, we are returning to the United States confident that thru cooperation and compromise, with the L.A. governments, we will reach an effective control of the drug traffic."

WHAT MATTERS MOST IS TO FIND THE SOURCE

The Congressmen told the reporters that "the most important part in the international fight against drugs is to eliminate the sources that produce drugs since it is impossible to seize the drug that is circulated in small quantities near the places of consumption."

According to the advance studies made by the two Congressmen, Colombia does not produce cocaine as do Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chile but the country has been used as a major center in which members of the "Mafia of drug traffickers" meet for the purpose of carrying it to the U.S. "The drug traffic from Colombia produces more than \$500 million on the wholesale market," Wolff pointed out.

"A large amount of marijuana is produced in Colombia but it is impossible to try to destroy all cultivations because they consist of both wild bushes and such that can be grown all over the country. Nevertheless we are carrying out joint investigations with Colombian technicians for the purpose of reducing those cultivations to a minimum."

POLITICIANS INVOLVED

Although they did not give details about numbers and countries the U.S. Representatives stated that "the drug traffickers were protected by their political friends thanks to which they were able to quietly carry out their transactions. Now, we can tell you that, thanks to preparatory talks we had with the four chiefs of state (Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama and Colombia) we have started very ambitious programs of which we cannot give details at this time because we do not want to show our cards to our enemies and their political protectors because once those programs are established and implemented they will do a lot to obstruct that ominous traffic."

THE PRICE WE PAY FOR THE DRUG

"Our youth is that part of the society that is mostly affected by the consumption of drugs all over the world although this does not mean that we are the only ones that consume narcotics; large quantities of narcotics are shipped to Europe," Wolff said.

"Furthermore, it is not certain that the price of drugs is exclusively fixed by the way we want it; for the purpose of evaluating a shipment of drugs we have to determine first the price that is paid for it in the originating country and the retail price paid for in the country of consumption."

The two Congressmen stressed that it was absolutely necessary that the American countries enter in close collaboration for the purpose of fighting the drug problem since they were all affected by it.

"The drugs, Wolff said, put an end to a large system of a nation's democratic life."

The drug traffic and the crime associated with it involve \$20 billion a year in the U.S.

MEXICO—PRINCIPAL PRODUCING COUNTRY

In spite of the rigorous control that is carried out at the Mexican-U.S. border each year more than 90% of the opium produced in Mexico from amapola goes to the U.S. only 10% of the production is seized by the authorities. It has been estimated that the value represented by this traffic is \$1 billion.

"In Mexico we had extensive conversations with President Echeverria about the destruction of amapola cultivations in that country. In contrast to the marijuana in Colombia amapola is produced with technical assistance. I can tell you that we will visit some of those plantations near Mexico City."

THE FOX AND THE WOLF

With the U.S. Representatives came another Member of the U.S. Congress, Mr. Fox, and according to Gilman "with a fox and a wolf in our investigating team we should definitely be in a position to do something about the drug traffic problem."

"The main purpose of our 10-day visit to American countries is to show those nations and friends the interest all countries of America have in the fight against the drug problem since this is something that is dealing a deadly blow to our youth. For this reason, President Ford established drug control as one of the highest priorities in the U.S."

This union, the time so as to prevent more, we have to prevent traffickers have more which they operate For 1976 they are to fight drug traffic

COLOMBIA STRONG

The cocaine view of the fact that U.S. Congressman on a Latin American Luis Echeverria intensive drug traffic

In accordance with committee on International different countries to the U.S. is more crime involve more stated: "Colombia matter of fact, it is Ecuador, Bolivia a

The comments in to the studies and agreed on steps with checking the alarm

The U.S. Congress head of state, Alf to the U.S. President sources" of cocaine adverse factors for "media" with their

The two Representatives amapola cultivation increased drug traffic principal bridge as fact indicate that they