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Collection Name TURNER, CARLTON: FILES

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File Folder CHRON FILE MARCH 1985-JULY 1986 703 (4)

FOIA

F06-0060/01

Box Number 2

POTTER

12

DOC NO	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
1	MEMO	C. TURNER TO F. GRAY HANDLEY RE 1987 UN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON DRUGS THE ABOVE DOCUMENT IS PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233	1	1/8/1986	
2	MEMO	SHARYN LUMPKINS TO C. TURNER RE SDEA IN BOSTON (PARTIAL)	1	4/18/1986	B6 B7(C)
3	MEMO	C. TURNER TO J. COURTEMANCHE RE NANCY REAGAN ANTIDRUG CAMPAIGN THE ABOVE DOCUMENT IS PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233	2	4/17/1986	
4	ATTACHME NT	FROM C. TURNER RE PROPOSAL THE ABOVE DOCUMENT IS PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233	1	1/1/1986	

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 21, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. REAGAN

FROM: ^{cet} CARLTON TURNER

SUBJECT: Recent Initiatives in the Drug Awareness Campaign

As you prepare for the trip to Asia, I thought it might be useful for you to know some recent changes in our awareness campaign here and elsewhere in the world.

Things are moving rapidly within Brazil.

- Under the auspices of Charles Wick and the United States Information Service, the First Ladies of five Brazilian states met in Rio during April 1986 to discuss prevention campaigns and then presented their recommendations to Mrs. Sarney, the First Lady of Brazil. Mrs. Sarney is enthusiastic and committed to becoming actively involved.
- Brazil is hosting a conference on drugs, sponsored by the Organization of American States (OAS), this week in Rio. The purpose of the conference is to look at drug abuse in its entirety and to promote a regional approach to the drug problem. Special emphasis is being placed on drug prevention and education, the health consequences of drug abuse, and the role of the media in drug awareness. PRIDE is sending an observer.

The services of PRIDE are expanding internationally.

- With the assistance of the U.S. Agency for International Development, PRIDE has a program with Belize, and Dr. Gleaton is currently in Panama to develop one there. There is also a good possibility that programs will be started in Ecuador and Peru.
- PRIDE in Canada will hold their national conference on drugs and youth on May 22-24, 1986 at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.
- After your luncheon meeting in Atlanta on March 20, 1986, PRIDE and the Pharmacists Against Drug Abuse (PADA) are considering uniting their efforts to be more effective.

Your "Just Say No" initiative is being emulated around the world.

- In Costa Rica, Mrs. de Arias, the First Lady-elect of Costa Rica who you met in Atlanta, and Mrs. de Monge, the outgoing First Lady who attended your meeting in New York, are working together to promote the "Just Say No" campaign. They also have other initiatives underway to facilitate treatment and awareness.
- In Grenada, Mrs. Blaize, the wife of the Prime Minister, is following your lead and organizing a "Say No" Walk by young people in her country on May 22, 1986.
- The National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) has found the "Just Say No" approach to be so effective that they have now extended it to adult alcohol abuse prevention.

The role of the private sector is expanding.

- Mr. Bob Rogers of NBC and I will get together to discuss the development of a documentary about cocaine and adolescent cocaine use. Bob and I worked together on NBC's documentaries "Reading, Writing and Reefer" and "The White Paper: Cocaine and Quaaludes."
- A future issue of Pharmacy Times will be devoted to drug abuse, similar to the drug abuse issue published in 1982. This will be followed by an issue of Medical Times on drug abuse, probably in 1987. Plans are to translate both of these into Spanish and make them available to Spanish-speaking people the world over.
- The Keebler Company, after their successful drug awareness comic book, developed the shopping mall program "I Believe In Me." They plan to re-issue the comic books and repeat their shopping mall program. The "I Believe In Me" film will be made available to elementary schools throughout the United States. Keebler has requested that you do a 30 to 60 second introduction to this film.
- IBM is planning to re-issue their drug awareness comic book during 1986. The U.S. Attorneys have requested that distribution be handled through their offices. I might add that, as a prerequisite to his eradication program in Belize, the Deputy Prime Minister insisted on receiving 30,000 copies of the comic books.

- The Ad Council, in cooperation with the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA), has developed public service announcements on cocaine to be aired this summer and fall.
- "The McNeil-Lehrer News Hour" (PBS) is in the middle of a two-week series devoted to drug abuse issues. This week's topics will include drugs in the workplace, drugs and sports, and the health hazards of drug abuse. The series will be distributed abroad by the United States Information Service.
- The 18th International Congress of Pediatrics will address "Child Health and Well-Being: A World Commitment" during July 1986 in Honolulu. Drug abuse will be a primary focus.

Important individuals in the government are lending their visibility to your fight.

- The public service campaign by the Congressional Wives and the National Association of Broadcasters is beginning to receive play throughout the United States. Oregon, where there is an initiative to legalize marijuana, is being heavily targeted. We will defeat that initiative.
- Secretary Bennett of Education is taking a strong stand to get drugs out of the schools. He is highlighting schools which have been successful and asking other school districts to emulate these programs or develop successful programs of their own.
- Secretary Bowen of HHS agreed last week to take an active role in educating physicians -- particularly pediatricians, family practitioners, and general practitioners -- to recognize the early clinical signs of drug abuse. The objective is to promote early diagnosis and help. One approach will be to convince medical schools to include drug abuse in the educational process for physicians.
- The U.S. Attorneys are responding to Mr. Meese's recent call to support your efforts by becoming involved in drug prevention and education campaigns. Since Mr. Meese met with the U.S. Attorneys in March 1986, my office has worked with the U.S. Attorneys in Utah, Georgia, Texas, Massachusetts, Hawaii, Washington State, and Washington, D.C. More programs are planned.

This is just a brief summary, but I assure you momentum is growing everywhere. I believe 1986 is going to be a very good year for your drug awareness campaign.

Have a great trip.

MARK O MATFIELD OREGON CHAIRMAN

ALASKA
WEICKER JR CONNECTICUT
MCCLURE IDAHO
NEVADA
MISSISSIPPI
DAKOTA
DAKOTA
KANSAS
NEW YORK
GEORGIA
NEW HAMPSHIRE
PENNSYLVANIA
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DANIEL K HOLLIVE HAWAII
ERNEST F HOLLINGS SOUTH CAROLINA
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J KEITH KENNEDY STAFF DIRECTOR
FRANCIS J SULLIVAN MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

April 15, 1986

Jack
Any meeting of this group should be with someone from the DAA on the U.P.
CT

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As Senators representing States that border Mexico, we are increasingly concerned about the drug trafficking threat that appears to be accelerating at an alarming rate along the U.S.-Mexico border. The purpose of this letter is to request an opportunity to discuss this matter with you personally at your earliest possible convenience.

Intelligence reports confirm that the drug trafficker is looking more and more at the southwest border for the shipment of his deadly narcotics cargo into the United States. With increased pressure and resources focused on the South Florida region, the smuggler has moved west with hopes of penetrating the vulnerable southwest border from Texas to California by air, by land, and by sea. The recent cocaine bust in Los Angeles, increased drug seizures at the southwest ports of entry, and the killing of Customs Patrol Officer Glen Miles, Jr. in Arizona last February are all symptoms of the growing presence of the drug trafficker along the border and the increasing drug trafficking threat to the southwestern part of the United States.

Mexico is now the number one source of marijuana and heroin entering the United States. The amount of marijuana to be smuggled into the United States through Mexico in 1986 is estimated to be twice the amount that was smuggled in last year. Additionally, a total of 4,550 pounds of Mexican heroin will be brought into the United States in 1986. This is 30% increase over last year. Mexico also accounts for 30% of the cocaine smuggled into the United States. The amount of cocaine that will be smuggled into our Nation from Mexico this year is estimated to be three times the amount that found its way over the Mexican border in 1985. It is clear, therefore, that immediate, aggressive steps are needed to tackle this national security problem head-on.

A key to any solution of this problem is the creation of a Southwest Border Drug Enforcement Task Force, consisting of the Department of Defense, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the U.S. Customs Service, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the FBI, State and local law enforcement agencies, and the border business community. We believe that the structure, coordination,

The President
page 2
April 15, 1986

and manpower strategies that were incorporated in the Vice President's successful South Florida Task Force could be effectively duplicated along the southwest border. We would like to discuss this proposal, as well as other actions that the Federal Government could take to stem the flow of drugs across our southwest border, when we meet with you.

We trust that you concur with our assessment of the gravity of the growing drug threat to the southwest. The time to address this problem is now. Consequently, we look forward to meeting with you at your earliest possible convenience to discuss this problem and the steps that we can take together to address it.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,


Pete V. Domenici, USS


Dennis DeConcini, USS


Pete Wilson, USS


Alan Cranston, USS


Lloyd Bentsen, USS


Jeff Bingaman, USS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 8, 1986

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chron file

MEMORANDUM FOR F. GRAY HANDLEY
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FROM: CARLTON E. TURNER
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR DRUG ABUSE POLICY

SUBJECT: UN International Conference on Drugs, 1987

My office has reviewed the proposed agenda for the United Nations International Conference on Drugs to be held in 1987. We have no objection to the items as suggested and strongly agree that these issues need to be addressed at a high-level international gathering.

I do make one suggestion as an addition to the proposed agenda items, and that is the relationship between non-traditional criminal organizations and the drug trade. An increasing amount of evidence indicates that narco-dollars are being used to finance some of the activities of many insurgent groups and some terrorist groups. The issue, for conference purposes, is not the specific group involved, but the economics of the issue. For example, the profits from even one consignment of narcotics could provide small terrorist cells with substantial operating capital. I believe the issue is serious enough to warrant placement on the agenda if it can be worded in such a way as to avoid becoming politicized.

Attached is a copy of an article by Mark Steinitz, "Insurgents, Terrorists and the Drug Trade" which appeared in the Fall 1985 issue of the Washington Quarterly. This article should provide more than enough unclassified information to prepare the agenda item and position paper.

Please contact Sue Daoulas of my staff if you need any additional information or would like to discuss the issue in more detail.

cc: Jon Thomas, INM

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S. Thai, and Burmese gov-
ol initiatives.

pp. 140-141.

Insurgents, Terrorists and the Drug Trade

Mark S. Steinitz

ALTHOUGH TRADITIONAL CRIMINAL organizations continue to dominate the international narcotics trade, a growing number of insurgent and terrorist groups from all parts of the political spectrum and globe have obtained money and other benefits from illegal drug-related activities in recent years.¹ These activities range widely from providing protection to drug dealers to retail trafficking to outright control over drug-producing regions. The list of insurgents and terrorists heavily involved in the drug trade remains relatively small compared to the total number of militant subnational groups, but it includes several major organizations, especially in South America and Southeast Asia. Given the lucrative nature of the drug business, even limited participation can yield sizable profits to help finance armed struggle.

In a broad sense, the increased insurgent and terrorist connections to this illicit activity are a result of a world-wide expansion in the demand for drugs, which has opened up new opportunities for what might be

termed non-traditional suppliers—to include political parties and even some sovereign governments.² A recent UN report noted that drug use has become so pervasive as to threaten the very security of some countries.³

Another key factor, however, has been the tendency for insurgency, terrorism, and the drug trade to be located in roughly the same areas. In several important instances, shifts in the pattern of the global drug trade have brought large-scale narcotics production into areas where insurgents or terrorists were already active. Conversely, in several other cases, political changes have brought insurgency and terrorism into regions where the cultivation and processing of substantial amounts of narcotics were well-established.

Despite conflicting long-range aims and initial antipathy or suspicions, insurgent-terrorist groups and those involved in the drug business share many short-term goals and can be of mutual value. This frequently—though not always—facilitates cooperation especially when co-location of insurgency, terrorism, and the drug trade occurs over any extended period. Most co-location has occurred in remote regions, explaining why the narcotics-related activity of larger rural-based insurgents tends to be more systematic and extensive than that of smaller urban terrorist groups. The latter are subject to greater police harass-

From 1979 to 1983 the author served in the Office of Intelligence of the Drug Enforcement Administration, Department of Justice. Since 1983 he has been an officer in the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, where he is responsible for political analysis on terrorism. The views in the article do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of Justice or State.

ment and generally have no "liberated zones" in which to carry out various drug-related activities.⁴ Rural insurgency and drug production (especially cultivation and processing) both thrive in rugged areas where the central government is weak and where a nationally-integrated economic infrastructure is lacking.

Paradoxically, increased insurgent-terrorist activity in the drug market could in some ways work to the advantage of anti-narcotics efforts as well as counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism programs. Overall, however, the involvement of these groups in the drug trade will serve to complicate government measures against narcotics trafficking and subnational political violence.

Evidence of Involvement

Latin America. Until the late 1970s there were few insurgent or terrorist ties to the drug business in this region. Typical of the violence that plagues many Latin American societies, feuding between these groups and the criminal underworld still erupts.⁵ Nevertheless, insurgent and terrorist connections to the area's thriving drug business have become stronger in recent years. Most of these links occur in Colombia, which has been the principal supplier of cocaine and marijuana to the United States.⁶ The group most active in Colombia's extensive narcotics industry is the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), long identified as the militant arm of the Colombian Communist Party (PCC). A largely rural-based organization, FARC has roughly 5,000 active members and supporters, divided into 23-28 guerrilla fronts, approximately half of which operate in coca leaf or marijuana growing areas.

FARC's involvement in the drug

trade began slowly but now encompasses a wide scope of activities. The group regularly collects protection money from coca and marijuana growers in its operating territory, sometimes receiving as much as 10 percent of the profit. One front is believed to have obtained \$3.8 million per month in taxing the coca industry. The 13th Front, located in the south of Huila Department, and the 4th Front, located in Putumayo Department, have been dealing with coca traffickers to obtain arms and ammunition. FARC leaders ordered one of their chief operatives in Caqueta Department to maintain direct control over narcotics trafficking activities and to collect set quotas from drug dealers.

FARC also guarantees access to a number of clandestine airfields vital to drug traffickers. Moreover, the group also appears to engage in some limited coca cultivation and perhaps cocaine refining. In November 1983 the Colombian Army discovered 90 hectares of coca and a processing laboratory next to an abandoned FARC camp in southern Colombia. According to the U. S. Embassy in Bogota, FARC's overall cooperative relationship with Colombia's drug barons appears to have been sanctioned by the PCC at its Seventh National Conference in 1982. Citing an informed source, a leading Colombian newspaper recently reported that Carlos Lehder, one of the country's leading traffickers, has offered to pay FARC for protection services.⁷

Several other militant organizations in Colombia have benefited in one fashion or another from the drug trade. The leftist 19th of April Movement (M-19), which has about 900 activists divided into both urban and rural cells, cooperated with leading Colombian drug trafficker Jaime Guillot-Lara. He supplied the group with weapons in

the early 1980s and assistance in his derterprise from high-r officials. In January 1 Lehder claimed th lished friendly con This is in sharp cont lier antagonistic rel traffickers, a result chant for kidnappir wealthy drug smug left-wing Colombia tional Liberation Ar Popular Liberation believed to levy p coca and marijuan areas of control. In lombian press repo guerrillas were arr of 150 metric tons

Elsewhere in L has been consid about the relations mystic and Maoist (Shining Path or try's coca cartels. suggests that some ers probably exto growers. The P recently reported up a major cocaine-financed terrorist Nevertheless, des expanded links, tion to the drug pears less struc than FARC's.

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the early 1980s and in return received
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 terprise from high-ranking Cuban of-
 ficials. In January 1985 drug kingpin
 Lehder claimed that he had estab-
 lished friendly contacts with M-19.
 This is in sharp contrast to M-19's ear-
 lier antagonistic relationship with the
 traffickers, a result of the group's pen-
 chant for kidnapping the relatives of
 wealthy drug smugglers. Two other
 left-wing Colombian groups, the Na-
 tional Liberation Army (ELN) and the
 Popular Liberation Army (EPL), are
 believed to levy protection taxes on
 coca and marijuana growers in their
 areas of control. In May 1984 the Co-
 lombian press reported that 24 ELN
 guerrillas were arrested in possession
 of 150 metric tons of marijuana.⁸

Elsewhere in Latin America, there
 has been considerable speculation
 about the relationship between Peru's
 mystic and Maoist Sendero Luminoso
 (Shining Path or SL) and that coun-
 try's coca cartels. Available evidence
 suggests that some local SL command-
 ers probably extort money from coca
 growers. The Peruvian government
 recently reported that it had broken
 up a major cocaine trafficking ring that
 financed terrorists, presumably SL.⁹
 Nevertheless, despite the potential for
 expanded links, the group's connec-
 tion to the drug trade presently ap-
 pears less structured and extensive
 than FARC's.

SL's recent operations in the coca-
 growing upper Huallaga valley appear
 to have less to do with gaining drug
 money than with taking political ad-
 vantage of anti-government and anti-
 U.S. sentiment in an area where a
 joint Peruvian-U.S. drug control proj-
 ect was underway.¹⁰ Sendero's
 avowedly Maoist ideology may also be
 slowing its involvement in the drug
 trade, given the Chinese leader's fe-
 rocious crackdown on narcotics abuse

in China after 1949. Whatever the ac-
 tual evidence, however, most Peruvi-
 ans seem convinced that SL is tied up
 in the drug trade. Over 75 percent of
 respondents in a recent opinion poll
 believed a close relationship exists be-
 tween traffickers and terrorists.¹¹

A number of right-wing European
 terrorists and neo-Nazis have been
 employed as "enforcers" by Bolivia's
 cocaine barons. One of these neo-fa-
 cists, Pierluigi Pagliai, shot by Bolivi-
 an police in 1982, was wanted by Ital-
 ian authorities for his alleged role in
 the 1980 Bologna railway station
 bombing that claimed over 80 lives.¹²
 In late 1984 the Bolivian government
 announced it was searching for an Ar-
 gentine terrorist who had been hired
 by Bolivian drug traffickers to kill the
 U.S. ambassador in La Paz.¹³

There is considerable evidence that
 the anti-Castro Cuban exile terrorist
 group Omega 7 has links to the drug
 business. In 1981 a top member of the
 group was arrested in possession of a
 large quantity of marijuana. During
 the 1984 trial of Eduardo Arocena, the
 alleged leader of Omega 7, numerous
 details emerged showing that Arocena
 had agreed to allow drug dealers in
 Florida to use group members as "hit-
 men."¹⁴

Southeast Asia. In 1984 Burma pro-
 duced an estimated 630 metric tons of
 opium, making the "hermit kingdom"
 the world's largest single source of il-
 legal opium. Between one-half and
 two-thirds of this harvest occurred in
 areas controlled by leftist and ethnic
 separatist insurgents, mainly the Bur-
 mese Communist Party (BCP) and, to
 a lesser extent, the Kachin Indepen-
 dence Organization (KIO).¹⁵

The BCP oversees the level of op-
 ium production in areas under its con-
 trol, especially in the Shan State, and
 collects protection taxes and some-
 times exacts forced deliveries from

farmers. BCP units traveling in caravans transport raw opium to heroin refineries near the Thai-Burmese border.

Since late 1983 the BCP has begun to establish refineries to convert opium into heroin and engage in direct sales of refined opiates to middlemen. BCP's limited moves into the refining stage have brought the group into increased conflict with the Shan United Army (SUA), a "warlord" organization that has dominated the border refining area in recent years. Although once a viable insurgency, SUA now concentrates its resources on the drug trade and is a good example of the long-term corrupting influence of narcotics money on a political movement.¹⁶

Insurgent-terrorist links to the trade elsewhere in Southeast Asia are weaker than in Burma. The Communist Party of Thailand (CPT) has given some indications of willingness to engage in trafficking, but has been badly battered by Thai security forces over the last several years.¹⁷ Heroin production laboratories are located on either side of the rugged Thai-Malaysian border where leftist Malaysian insurgents are based. In the mid-1970s there were unconfirmed reports of Malaysian Communist ties to heroin refining, but no hard evidence of linkage has emerged. In Laos, some resistance groups operate near poppy-growing areas. Although hard evidence is lacking, press reports on the location of drug seizures from Lao refugees offer some circumstantial evidence that the groups may be profiting from the drug trade.¹⁸ A recent Philippine government "white paper" charged that the New People's Army derives revenue from marijuana cultivation.¹⁹

South Asia. Between 1980 and 1983 opium production increased from an estimated 200 metric tons to 400-575

metric tons in wartorn Afghanistan where *mujahedin* guerrillas are waging a bloody struggle against Soviet invaders and their Afghan clients.²⁰ Much of the opium cultivation takes place in eastern Afghanistan where insurgent activity is greatest. The international press has frequently contained stories that the rebels derive funding from the drug trade and use narcotics sales to undermine Soviet fighting ability. In late 1983 a spokesman for the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) was reported as stating that the *mujahedin* were financing their struggle against the Soviets at least partly through the sale of opium. The official, however, provided no specific details of the insurgents' involvement.²¹

Since roughly 1983, Sri Lankan nationals have become active in smuggling Pakistani-produced heroin to Western Europe and Canada. Arrests for heroin trafficking in Sri Lanka rose astronomically from four in 1981 to over 500 in the first half of 1984, according to the chairman of the country's National Dangerous Drugs Control Board.²² In July 1984 Colombo's Minister of National Security publicly denounced Tamil separatists for involvement in international drug smuggling. In March 1985, Italian authorities issued 100 arrest warrants for Tamil drug traffickers, some of whom were connected with the separatist struggle, according to the Italian public prosecutor in the case.²³

The Middle East. Lebanon is the world's leading producer of hashish and much of the 1984 yield of an estimated 700 metric tons was grown in the fertile Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley primarily by Shiite Muslim farmers. Heroin laboratories also are believed to operate in the area. From the Bekaa, the hashish is shipped to various regional and Western markets through Lebanon's system of illegal

ports. A portion of the hashish is smuggled via Damascus and Beirut.

Although some of the Lebanese factions vying for power resemble Lebanon resemble private militias more than insurgencies, nearly all are sectarian—Maronites, Phalangists, Shiites—obtain revenue from the drug industry, either directly through the contraband or indirectly through the existence of this huge market. It is estimated at \$1 billion annually and remains one of the mainstays of the economy. The restoration of central fiscal authority in Lebanon is a major goal.

Armenian terrorist groups are numerous in Lebanon and are based in Lebanon where members of the community figure prominently in drug traffic. As the group recently asserted, it is at least some of the ways in which they get their way into terrorism.

In 1980 Nour Aramian drug smuggler was indicted for heroin smuggling and arrested in Switzerland allegedly helping Armenian terrorists with a heroin installation in Lebanon. He was arrested in Lebanon on charges, but extradition to Lebanon where he was released because of pressure from the Lebanese Minister of Justice.²⁷

Also in 1981, a group of Lebanese smugglers who were arrested on charges of smuggling documents and other items to a leftist group, the Armenian Liberation Front, were arrested. The smugglers were Armenian traffickers in Lebanon. Although

wartorn Afghanistan guerrillas are waging against Soviet invaders and Afghan clients.²⁰ Much cultivation takes place in Pakistan where insurgent activity is rampant. The international press has recently contained stories which describe funding from the drug industry to use narcotics sales to offset fighting ability. In a report by a spokesman for the U.S. State Department Administration stated as stating that the financing of their struggle is dependent at least partly on the sale of opium. The officials provided no specific details of the insurgents' involvement.²¹

In 1983, Sri Lankan narcotics became active in smuggling heroin to Canada. Arrests in Sri Lanka rose from four in 1981 to 15 in the first half of 1984, according to the chairman of the Council on International Dangerous Drugs Control.

In July 1984 Colombo's International Security publicly accused Tamil separatists for international drug smuggling. In 1985, Italian authorities issued 10 arrest warrants for drug traffickers, some of whom were linked with the separatist group leading to the Italian publication of the case.²³

East. Lebanon is the major producer of hashish. In 1984 the yield of an estimated 100 tons was grown in the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley by Shiite Muslim laboratories also active in the area. From these laboratories hashish is shipped to Western markets through a complex system of illegal

ports. A portion of the heroin is smuggled via Damascus airport.²⁴

Although some of the armed factions vying for power in fragmented Lebanon resemble warlord groups or private militias more than standard insurgencies, nearly all of them—Palestinians, Phalangists, Druze, and Shiites—obtain revenue from the drug industry, either directly or by protecting the contraband as it is transported through their areas of influence. The existence of this huge drug economy, estimated at \$1 billion in 1981, remains one of the major obstacles to the restoration of central government fiscal authority in Lebanon.²⁵

Armenian terrorists operate in numerous countries, but they frequently are based in Lebanon, especially Beirut where members of the Armenian community figure prominently in the drug traffic. As the French press recently asserted, it seems likely that at least some of these drug profits find their way into terrorist coffers.²⁶

In 1980 Noubar Sofoyan, an Armenian drug smuggler with Lebanese citizenship, was indicted in the U.S. for heroin smuggling. Sofoyan had been arrested in Switzerland in 1976 for allegedly helping fund right-wing Armenian terrorists who bombed a Turkish installation in Zurich. In 1981 he was arrested in Greece on drug charges, but extradited to Lebanon where he was released, most likely because of pressure exerted on the Minister of Justice.²⁷

Also in 1981, Swedish police arrested a group of Armenian narcotics smugglers who were also in possession of documents and publications linking them to a leftist Armenian terrorist group, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA). The smugglers were also linked to Armenian traffickers in the United States. Although the Swedes were

never able to prove that the arrested traffickers had passed money to terrorists, ASALA issued several threats against Swedish interests on behalf of the jailed drug dealers and may have been behind an unsuccessful attempt to help one of them escape custody.²⁸

In early 1983 the Turkish press, citing Interpol sources, claimed that nine kilograms of heroin seized on Cyprus belonged to a Greek smuggling ring that helped fund ASALA. The Turkish press also claimed that one of the ASALA terrorists who participated in the June 1983 attack on the Istanbul covered bazaar later hid at the home of a drug smuggler.²⁹

Europe. In the late 1970s and early 1980s Turkey became the scene of a booming heroin industry geared toward supplying European addicts. Fueled by opium and morphine base from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran, most of the Turkish heroin refining is carried out in rugged southeastern Turkey by Kurds. Although criminal organizations and families dominate this trade, Turkish officials report a degree of overlap between the traffickers and Kurdish separatists in the region. The separatists have been particularly eager to trade drugs for weapons, according to Turkish authorities. In January 1985 the Turkish press reported that Kurdish insurgents had received funding from a known drug smuggler. In May 1985 Behet Canturk, a convicted major drugs and arms smuggler, went on trial in Turkey on charges of separatism and belonging to an outlawed Kurdish organization.³⁰

Urban terrorists in Turkey have also derived income from the heroin trade. In 1981 an extensive investigation by Istanbul police into the activities of the left-wing Dev-Sol (Revolutionary Left) revealed that the group engaged in heroin sales and used the proceeds

to purchase arms.³¹ Right-wing terrorists, especially the Grey Wolves, also obtained money for weapons through heroin sales.³² The widely publicized investigations into the activities of convicted papal assailant Mehmet Ali Agca have revealed the close links between the Grey Wolves and the Turkish drug-and-gun-running Mafia—the latter aided and abetted by Bulgarian intelligence services.³³ The activities of urban terrorists in Turkey—presumably including those related to the drug business—have declined over the last few years as Turkish enforcement efforts have increased.

Italian judicial authorities believe that Maurizio Folini, a left-wing Italian terrorist, was a key member of a smuggling network that procured arms for the Red Brigades (BR) from Middle Eastern sources in the early 1980s. The network also reportedly engaged in heroin sales and sometimes bartered narcotics for guns.³⁴ Although further evidence of outright drug dealing is scarce, left-wing Italian terrorists have apparently sought to forge working relations with the country's various organized crime groups, all of whom are involved in drug trafficking. According to one repentant terrorist who belonged to *Potere Operaio* (Workers' Power), his organization had an informal agreement with the underworld in the late 1970s to kidnap for ransom, rob banks, and commit other thefts. The spoils were to be split evenly.³⁵

The BR column in Naples has made several overtures to that city's criminal band, the Camorra. In July 1982, after assassinating a Naples police chief and his driver, the BR issued a communique describing the Camorra as an "extra-legal proletariat"—a flattering term in terrorist parlance.³⁶ Several months later the BR failed in an attempt to stage a massive escape from a Naples prison that housed many Ca-

morra prisoners.³⁷

For its part Italian organized crime seems somewhat ambivalent about the terrorists. BR activity in Naples always seems to increase police patrols that invariably disrupt Camorra rackets. The Sicilian Mafia has not permitted BR activity on the island. Nevertheless, many Italians believe criminals and terrorists can and have worked together. In late 1984 an Italian parliamentary committee stated its belief that the BR and Camorra had agreed to collaborate in the killing of particularly energetic magistrates and police officials.³⁸ As the BR, decimated by extensive personnel losses, increases its recruiting among convicts and less educated youths, its cooperation with criminal groups may likewise increase.

Drug abuse in the Basque region of northern Spain has grown and so have accusations that the separatist Basque Fatherland and Freedom (ETA) is facilitating the flow of narcotics into the region. One specialist in international terrorism has charged that the influx of hard drugs into Spain is almost entirely the work of ETA, which obtains the narcotics in Colombia, ships them through Brussels and Paris, and then into Spain.³⁹

Although unwilling to go quite so far, sources knowledgeable in Basque affairs contend that ETA does play an important role in the drug scene in the Basque area.⁴⁰ In November 1984 Catholic bishops in northern Spain, who are not particularly known for their pro-Madrid views, issued a pastoral letter criticizing ETA for involvement in the drug traffic, adding that Spanish security services also used drugs as payment for information.⁴¹

Involvement in the drug traffic would entail risks for ETA given the conservative social attitudes in the Basque region. Nevertheless, ETA is reported to be short of money partly

because more Basques are refusing to pay "reparations." Additionally, ETA has had difficulty to collect taxes from businesses that refuse to pay. The group has also taken delivery of arms from southern France. Increased French police activity has made it more difficult to operate there.

ETA for its part has been prominent in drug trafficking. The group warned that it would be using alleged narcotics from the Basque region and that it was a threat to at least several years.⁴²

Factors Behind

Changes in the national drug scene and political changes, terrorism, and closer geographic proximity in many cases this has led to the involvement of international groups in the drug trade.

One such shift occurred in the late 1970s when Mexico began a drug prohibition program against narcotics. Although the government was concerned about the drug trade which was then a major export market, the government was also concerned about the more widely known drug trade in the country. Some of the reasons that Mexico used for spraying programs were government fear of drug economic anti-state elements give rise to national instability.

Whatever the reasons, the Mexican eradication program has been a devastating effort

lian organized crime ambivalent about the city in Naples always the police patrols that the Camorra rackets. The island. Nevertheless believe criminals and have worked together in 1984 an Italian parliament stated its belief that Camorra had agreed the killing of parliamentarians and police. The BR, decimated by the losses, increases its recruits and less depends on its cooperation with the state likewise increase. In the Basque region of Spain has grown and so have the separatist Basque Revolutionary Army (ETA) is famous for its role in the trafficking of narcotics into the United States. The separatist in international trafficking argued that the influx of drugs into Spain is almost entirely due to ETA, which obtains drugs from Colombia, ships them to the United States and Paris, and then

allowing to go quite so knowledgeable in Basque that ETA does play an important role in the drug scene in the United States. In November 1984 the government in northern Spain, particularly known for its views, issued a passing judgment on ETA for involvement in drug trafficking, adding that the government's services also used the information.⁴¹ In the drug traffic for ETA given the political attitudes in the United States. Nevertheless, ETA is not a money partly

because more Basque businessmen are refusing to pay "revolutionary taxes." Additionally, ETA finds it more difficult to collect taxes from those willing to pay. The group had traditionally taken delivery of payments in its southern France sanctuary, but increased French police pressure has made it more difficult for ETA to operate there.

ETA for its part, denies involvement in drug trafficking. In 1982 the group warned that it would begin killing alleged narcotics dealers in the Basque region and has carried out that threat at least several times in recent years.⁴²

Factors Behind the Linkages

Changes in the pattern of the international drug scene as well as several political changes have brought insurgency, terrorism, and the drug trade into closer geographical proximity. In many cases this has greatly facilitated the involvement of militant subnational groups in the drug-related activity.

One such shift in the drug business occurred in the mid-and late 1970s when Mexico began an aerial eradication program against opium and cannabis. Although the U.S. government was concerned chiefly with the opium, which was then fueling the U.S. heroin market, the Mexicans were more concerned about cannabis, a much more widely abused drug in their country. Some observers also believe that Mexico undertook its herbicide spraying program because the central government feared that the burgeoning drug economy might begin to fund anti-state elements and perhaps even give rise to nascent insurgencies.⁴³

Whatever the mix of motives, the Mexican eradication program had a devastating effect on opium and mar-

ijuana cultivation, greatly reducing both. The decline in Mexican opium prompted an increase in cultivation in Asia. The decline of Mexican marijuana provided a tremendous boost to the cannabis industry in Colombia. Cultivation rose dramatically, including in some areas controlled by FARC, increasing the group's exposure to the drug trade.

Bolstered by a rapid rise to ascendancy over the U.S. marijuana market, Colombian traffickers quickly began to move into the cocaine trade. In the early 1980s they began to establish their own cocaine laboratories and coca fields in southern Colombia, with the ultimate aim of eventually decreasing their dependence on Bolivian and Peruvian coca. Much of this refining and cultivation occurred in or near areas influenced by FARC, giving the group even more exposure to tempting drug profits.

The rise of Pakistan as a major heroin producer over the past several years has also been conducive to Tamil separatist involvement in trafficking. Although opium had been a traditional crop in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), the country never developed a major heroin industry until the early 1980s. Two general factors contributed to that change. First, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at least temporarily disrupted westward opium smuggling routes out of the NWFP. As huge stockpiles of perishable opium began to develop, Pakistani traffickers decided to begin converting the opium into heroin which they could market in the United States, Western Europe, and Canada.⁴⁴ Second, in 1979 Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq abruptly terminated the country's Vend system, which provided legal opium maintenance to registered addicts. As happened in the shah's Iran and several East Asian states that

enacted opium bans in the postwar era, the change in the legal status of opium in Pakistan, without any serious attempt to reduce the demand for drugs, contributed to the onset of a black market and the introduction of heroin. Compared to opium, which has a strong odor and is difficult to transport illegally into urban areas, heroin is almost odorless. Since it takes 10 units of opium to make one unit of heroin, the latter is more concentrated and easier to conceal and smuggle.⁴⁵

As large quantities of heroin began to flow out of Pakistan, police in Western countries began to focus their interdiction efforts on air flights out of Karachi, Islamabad, and Lahore. This prompted traffickers to begin making greater use of India as a departure point where Sri Lankans, including Tamil Separatists, came into increased contact with the heroin trade.

Burma, Lebanon, and Afghanistan offer three examples where political change brought insurgency or terrorism into a region where an extensive drug industry already existed.

In Burma, Communist insurgencies have been struggling against the Rangoon government in one form or another since 1948. Nevertheless, in the Shan State, where opium cultivation is the most intense, Communist insurgency was not a major factor until the late 1960s, when the People's Republic of China (PRC) markedly increased its political and material support for the BCP. As a result of this PRC support, a new insurgent front, the Northeast Command, was created in the northern Shan State.⁴⁶

In addition to this co-location, the BCP's systematic involvement in the drug trade was propelled by two other factors. In the late 1970s Peng Chia Sheng became senior officer and vice-commander of the Northeast Com-

mand. Peng was a long-time protégé of Lo Hsing-han, one of the most notorious traffickers in the Burma-Thailand-Laos tri-border area known as the Golden Triangle. In 1978 the PRC began to reduce its aid to the BCP, providing the group with increased incentive for involvement in the opium trade.⁴⁷

Long before the current round of anarchy, Lebanon had a thriving drug business. In the 1960s the UN unsuccessfully tried to substitute food crops for cannabis production in the Bekaa Valley.⁴⁸ Central government control over the valley was never very strong, but in the years following the outbreak of civil war in 1975, it nearly disappeared. As authority receded, drug cultivation increased. One U.S. journalist in Lebanon noted that hashish cultivation, once limited to a rugged northern part of the Bekaa, had spread to the Beirut-Damascus road by the early 1980s, replacing potatoes and wheat.⁴⁹ As the hashish crop grew so did the number of factions and militias needing funding.

As in Burma and Lebanon, drug production was a large-scale and centuries-old activity in Afghanistan.⁵⁰ The tribesmen who were most active in the cultivation of opium, the Pathans, have always been fiercely independent and willing to fight for what they regard as their tribal prerogatives. At times they have sought union with their Pathan kinsmen in the neighboring NWFP, their objective being the creation of a separate state, Pushtunistan. Following the April 1978 coup in which Marxist Nur Mohammad Turaki overthrew General Mohammad Daoud, the tribesmen began to oppose the new regime. With the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 in support of another Marxist, Babrak Karmal, this opposition grew into a full-fledged rebellion.

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Once again insurgency had come to a major drug-producing area.

The Turkish experience provides an example in which political developments and a shift in the drug trade both played a role—albeit at different times—in forging insurgent and terrorist links to the drug trade.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Turkey was the major source of illicit opium for most of the heroin destined for the U.S. market. The opium, which was diverted from licit cultivation, was grown mainly in the western part of the country, free from any major insurgent activity. Converted into morphine base in Turkey, Lebanon, and Syria, it was shipped via boat or overland to Marseille. There the morphine base was refined into high-grade heroin by the French-Corsican underworld—the so-called French Connection—and smuggled to the United States.⁵¹

Contact between terrorists and this well-established narcotics network occurred during the late 1960s and early 1970s, when Turkey experienced a wave of urban political violence. Turkish officials charged that urban terrorists frequently obtained weapons from smugglers, who returned from drug runs in Europe laden with guns.⁵² The life of this drugs-guns-terrorism nexus, however, was relatively shortlived.

In 1971 the Turkish military took control of the government. Not only did it crack down on terrorism, but, under prodding from Washington, it agreed to ban all opium cultivation and arrested numerous traffickers. Combined with French and U.S. enforcement measures, Turkey's actions helped break the French Connection.⁵³

In 1974 a new civilian government declared a general amnesty and released many of the drug traffickers arrested since 1971. Despite the fact

that most of their former French partners were still in jail, these Turkish traffickers were eager to return to the narcotics business to take advantage of the growing European heroin market. However, they lacked a ready source of opium. Although Turkey had resumed opium production in 1974, the government had mandated a new form of harvesting—the poppy straw method—that greatly reduced diversion of licit opium for pharmaceutical use into black market channels.⁵⁴

The solution to the traffickers' problem—the development of new sources of opium in Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan—resulted in the establishment of heroin laboratories in south-eastern Turkey, close to the source of supply. This development served to bring the Turkish drug trade into closer contact with Kurdish separatists in the area. The movement of large quantities of heroin from Turkey to Western Europe, coupled with a resurgence of Turkish urban terrorism in the late 1970s, rejuvenated and expanded the earlier drugs-arms nexus. The result was even greater terrorist-trafficker cooperation. The unprecedented widespread availability in Turkey of the more easily smuggled heroin in the late 1970s also facilitated urban terrorist links to trafficking.

Although co-location greatly enhances the probability that some forms of cooperation will develop between insurgents or terrorists on the one hand and traffickers on the other, it is not an absolute guarantee. The long-range aims of these groups are frequently in opposition. Insurgents and terrorists—particularly leftists—often want to remake society and may have strong ideological misgivings about cooperating with criminals. Traffickers generally champion the political status quo and presumably realize that there would be little place for them in the

kind of society envisioned by most revolutionaries. Basic operating styles also differ. Those engaged in the drug trade generally prefer to maintain a low profile to avoid the attention of law enforcement. Insurgents, and especially terrorists, however, seek to publicize their exploits in an effort to gain public support.

Nevertheless, it appears that these longer term differences can be and often are overridden by more pressing short-term concerns. For insurgents and terrorists, the drug trade offers sums of money that would tempt the most ardent Marxist-Leninist. For traffickers, who live in a world where the threat of violence is constant, insurgents and terrorists offer much needed sources of protection and an enforcement capability. Aside from this there are several other items that insurgents, terrorists, and traffickers are constantly searching for: arms, clandestine transportation and methods of communication, corrupt officials, false documentation, and information on the activities of police and security forces.

Implications for Government Policy

Much of the world's drug cultivation and processing occurs in less developed countries where narcotics enforcement has traditionally held a low priority. Lack of resources partly explains this, but for many years the drug trade was viewed as an American problem. Growing abuse of harder drugs in the Third World in recent years has slowly begun to alter this attitude and brought a new awareness of the dangers of drug use.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, Third World governments still attach a much higher priority to the more immediate problem of defeating domestic insurgents or terrorists who

seek to overthrow the state. Military leaders, who often exert strong influence on decision-making, remain wary of involvement in narcotics control. Not only do they view drug enforcement as outside their mission, but they fear the corrupting influence of the drug trade on their forces, especially the officer corps.

Yet, as more governments come to believe that insurgents or terrorists are being funded by the drug trade, they may give a higher priority to combating narcotics as part of and not separate from their counter-insurgency or counter-terrorism measures. Cognizant of the corrupting influence of drug money, more efforts may be made to establish special, elite paramilitary units designed solely to fighting trafficking. Colombia already has such units and the ties between FARC and the drug market appear to have been at least partly responsible for the Betancur government's tougher stance against drugs over the past 18 months.⁵⁶ Burma has begun to consider an aerial herbicide spray program against opium poppy cultivation.⁵⁷

Despite this potential residual benefit, however, the involvement of insurgents and terrorists in the drug trade must be viewed on balance as an impediment to narcotics control. Even with the assistance of the army or special units, drug enforcement is always a difficult undertaking. The presence of well-armed irregular military organizations with a stake in the survival of the trade makes that task harder. Moreover, involvement of the army or specially-created units in drug control will heighten inter-agency rivalries with regular police forces who view enforcement as their primary mission.

Insurgent and terrorist activity in the drug market may result in several unexpected windfalls for government counter-insurgency and counter-ter-

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rorism programs. As the case of Thai- land's SUA demonstrates, involve- ment in the drug trade can have a debilitating effect on the revolutionary élan of an organization. At least in ur- ban areas, terrorist contact with drug traffickers can lead to police penetra- tion. An American specialist on terror- ism with good sources in the Italian government has reported that the 1982 rescue of U.S. General James Dozier from the Red Brigade was based on information provided by drug traffick- ers.⁵⁸

As in the case of anti-narcotics, how- ever, insurgent-terrorist involvement in the drug business will probably have an overall negative impact on counter-insurgency and counter-terrorist programs. Links to the drug mar- ket open up a lucrative avenue of fin- ancing to cover operating expenses and improve fighting capabilities. Al- though precise figures are difficult to obtain, running an insurgency is usu- ally an expensive proposition. An ur- ban terrorist group such as the Red Brigade is estimated by one source to have needed \$10 million a year during the group's heyday in the late 1970s.⁵⁹ The \$4 million Basque ETA collected in 1978 from bank robberies could eas- ily be earned in a relatively few major drug deals.⁶⁰ Additionally, a group's access to drug profits would reduce its dependence on any patron state sup- porter, thus closing off one possible avenue of leverage available to a re- gime fighting insurgents or terrorists.

Notes

1. The terms terrorism and insurgency are used to describe two forms of systematic, low-level political violence conducted by militant subnational groups. The difference between the two is difficult to define precisely. The terrorist, however, has little hope of inflicting a significant military defeat on an opponent regime and relies almost exclusively on the psychological im-

pact of violence. His targets are chosen for their symbolic value and are often civilians. The terrorist avoids set battles with security forces, has no standing force in the field, rarely wears distinguishing insignia during operations, and shows little interest or ability in occupying a significant portion of territory. Although relying at times on the psy- chological impact of violence, the insurgent seeks primarily to affect political behavior through the material impact of violence and selects targets for their instrumental value. The insurgent is willing to engage security forces at least on the small unit level, wears some type of uniform, has a permanent force in the field and generally controls territory, at least in the latter stages of struggle.

2. Colombian drug trafficker Carlos Lehder set up his own neo-fascist party, the Latin National Movement. See, *Latin America Weekly Report*, October 28, 1983, p. 8. In February 1985 a leading supporter of El Salvador's rightist ARENA party was arrested in Texas in possession of nearly \$6 million, which U.S. Customs agents alleged had come from drug sales. Some U.S. officials close to the case believe at least part of the money was to be used for political purposes. See, Craig Pyes and Laurie Becklund, "Inside Dope in El Salvador," *New Republic*, (April 15, 1985), pp. 15-20. For charges that governments in Bolivia (1980-81), Bulgaria, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Vietnam have engaged in or condoned trafficking as a matter of policy see, U.S. Department of State, Narcotics Profile Paper: Bolivia (1983); Testimony of Deputy Assistant Secretary Clyde D. Taylor, Bureau of International Narcotics Matters, Department of State to the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on the Judiciary, Joint Hearing, May 14, 1985; "Vietnam Turns to Narcotics to Pay its Bills," *Wall Street Journal*, March 8, 1984.
3. *Washington Post*, January 18, 1985.
4. The dilemmas of operating in an urban area are described in, Walter Laqueur, *Guerrilla* (Boston and Toronto: Little Brown and Company, 1976), pp. 350, 404; Richard Gillespie, *Soldiers of Peron: Argentina's Montoneros* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 270.
5. Royal Canadian Mounted Police, *RCMP National Drug Intelligence Estimate, 1983* (Ottawa: Public Relations Branch, RCMP, 1984), p. 38.
6. The National Narcotics Intelligence Con-

- sumers Committee (NNICC), *Narcotics Intelligence Estimate, 1983: The Supply of Drugs to the U.S. Illicit Market from Foreign and Domestic Sources in 1983 (with Projections through 1984)* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1984), pp. 9, 18.
7. Taylor statement; unclassified cable of March 19, 1984, from U.S. Embassy Bogota reported in *New York Times*, March 21, 1984; *El Espectador* (Bogota), May 5, 1985.
 8. Statement of David L. Westrate, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Drug Enforcement Administration, Department of Justice, on Relationship of Drug Trafficking and Terrorism Before the Committee on Foreign Relations and Committee on the Judiciary, May 14, 1985; *El Tiempo* (Bogota), May 13, 1984.
 9. Cynthia McClintock, "Why Peasants Rebel: The Case of Sendero Luminoso," *World Politics*, p. 37, no. 1 (October 1984), p. 81; Agence France Presse, July 13, 1985.
 10. Taylor statement.
 11. *El Comercio* (Lima), February 9, 1985.
 12. *New York Times*, October 24, 1982.
 13. Agence France Presse, December 8, 1984.
 14. *Christian Science Monitor*, October 30, 1981; United Press International, September 5, 1984; *New York Times*, September 18, 1984.
 15. Department of State, Bureau of International Narcotics Matters, International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, 1985, Reprint Edition (February 1, 1985), p. 140; NNICC, pp. 42-43.
 16. Taylor Statement.
 17. *Ibid.*
 18. *Naeo Na* (Bangkok), August 29, 1984; *Maitichon* (Bangkok), February 2, 1985.
 19. UPI, May 13, 1985.
 20. NNICC, 38.
 21. *Washington Post*, December 17, 1983.
 22. *New York Times*, October 4, 1984.
 23. British Broadcasting Corporation, July 13, 1984; UPI, March 18, 1985.
 24. NNICC, 3, 41.
 25. Adam Zagorin, "A House Divided," *Foreign Policy*, no. 48 (Fall 1982), p. 116.
 26. *Le Matin* (Paris), cited in *Armenian Reporter*, February 7, 1985.
 27. Westrate statement.
 28. Dr. Tarik Somer, "Armenian Terrorism and the Narcotics Traffic," in *International Terrorism and the Drug Connection* (Ankara: Ankara University Press, 1984), 23-25. The title of the book is somewhat misleading in that this article is the only one in the volume that treats the terrorism-narcotics link.
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 30. *Milliyet* (Istanbul), January 15, 1985; *ibid.*, May 14, 1985.
 31. *Hurriyet*, February 19, 1981.
 32. *Washington Post*, July 3, 1983.
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 40. *El Akazar* (Madrid), April 27, 1984.
 41. Reuter, November 20, 1984.
 42. *El Pais* (Madrid), August 9, 1982.
 43. Peter A. Lupsha, "Drug Trafficking: Mexico and Colombia in Comparative Perspective," *Journal of International Affairs*, p. 35, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1981), p. 100.
 44. *Far Eastern Economic Review* (May 28, 1982), pp. 36-37.
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50. Cabinet Committee on International Nar- cotics Control, *World Opium Survey* (July 1972), reprinted in National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse, *Drug Abuse in America: Problem in Perspective*, Appen- dix, Vol. III: *The Legal System and Drug Control* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1973), pp. 434-36.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 417-21, 427, 431-33.

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54. U.S. Congress, Congressional Research Service, *Turkey's Problems and Prospects: Implications for U.S. Interests*, 96th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1980), p. 12.

55. "Rise of the Third World Junkies," *South* (February 1984), pp. 11-16.

56. Taylor statement.

57. International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, p. 140.

58. Michael Ledeen, "K.G.B. Connections," *New Republic* (February 28, 1983), p. 9.

59. Sterling, *The Terror Network: The Secret War of International Terrorism* (New York: Berkeley Books, 1982), p. 285.

60. Robert P. Clark, *The Basque Insurgents: ETA, 1952-1980* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), p. 227.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 21, 1986

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FROM: ^{CT} CARLTON TURNER

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This is just a brief summary, but I assure you momentum is growing everywhere. I believe 1986 is going to be a very good year for your drug awareness campaign.

Have a great trip.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 20, 1986

MEMORANDUM TO ANNE HIGGINS

FROM: DONNA KNIGHT *dk*
FOR CARLTON TURNER

SUBJECT: Letter from the President

Please prepare a letter from the President expressing condolences to Jack DuPuy on the occasion of the death of his wife, Mary Florence DuPuy.

Mrs. DuPuy is Carlton Turner's Mother-in-law. She died on Monday, May 19, 1986, of cancer.

Please forward the letter to me for express mail to Kentucky.

If you have any questions or need addition information, please feel free to contact me at 6554.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1986

MEMORANDUM TO CAROL MCCAIN

FROM

ct
CARLTON TURNER

SUBJECT:

Tour of the White House for Butler Elementary
School

My elementary school alma mater is coming to Washington on June 9, 1986. They would like a tour of the White House on Tuesday, June 10 or Wednesday, June 11.

The group will include 45 students representing the National Junior Honor Society and Beta Club of Butler Elementary, Butler, Alabama, and 5 adults.

I realize this is only approximately three weeks away; however, I would appreciate any help you could give in securing time for the group.

The Principal is Mirian P. Heaton. Her phone number is (205) 459-2844.


Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 1, 1986

MEMORANDUM TO KEN BARUN

FROM:  CARLTON TURNER

SUBJECT: American Academy of Psychiatrists in Alcoholism and Addictions

As you know, I am always willing to help Mrs. Reagan in whatever capacity she requests; however, due to a serious family problem, I will be out of town on May 11, 1986.

My Mother-in-Law has a terminal brain tumor and the family has requested everyone to be in Lexington, Ky for Mother's Day weekend.

I respectfully suggest someone else accept the award or the head of the organization send it to Mrs. Reagan.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

15 April 1986

Memorandum to Carlton Turner

From: Ken Barun *KB*

Subject: Attached letter

~~14 APR 1986~~

17 APR 1986

3545

C.T., you have probably received a copy of the attached letter. Would you be so kind to accept this award on behalf of Mrs. Reagan if possible. She would very much appreciate it.

If you cannot, please let me know.

II



APR 11

(914) 682-9100

21 BLOOMINGDALE ROAD, WHITE PLAINS, N.Y. 10605

THE NEW YORK HOSPITAL-CORNELL MEDICAL CENTER WESTCHESTER DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHIATRY
WESTCHESTER DIVISION

April 8, 1986

Mrs. Nancy Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Reagan:

As President of the American Academy of Psychiatrists in Alcoholism and Addictions I am honored to announce that you will be the recipient of our first Founders Award given to a public figure who has made significant contributions in the area of prevention and treatment of drug and alcohol dependency. Your efforts on behalf of children and families in communicating the problem of addictions, have been effective in so many ways.

As psychiatrists interested in prevention, treatment, education and research in the addiction field we are grateful to you for your enthusiasm, energy, time and commitment to these issues.

This year, on May 11, we will be holding our first annual meeting of the American Academy of Psychiatrists in Alcoholism and Addictions to coincide with the annual American Psychiatric Association meeting. This is the first time that a group of psychiatrists have formed together in a subspecialty society in the area of alcohol and addictions. We would be delighted if you or a representative could come to our meeting on May 11, at noon at the Massachusetts Room at the Capitol Hilton to accept the award. At that time, we will also be presenting an award to John Ewing, M.D. a psychiatrist who has made significant contributions in treatment, education and research in alcoholism over many years. Since May, 1985 approximately 450 psychiatrists have joined as founding members of AAPAA. We have been gratified by the interest and enthusiasm that the field has shown in an Academy devoted to the problems of substance dependency. It is our goal to work closely with other professional and lay groups to further public awareness and support for treatment, training and research in the addiction field. Again, I want to thank you on behalf of the American Academy of Psychiatrists in Alcoholism and Addictions for all your efforts on behalf of our patients and their families.

Sincerely,

Richard J. Frances, M.D.

Richard J. Frances, M.D., President
American Academy of Psychiatrists
in Alcoholism and Addictions

RJF:rn
cc: Carlton Turner, Ph.D.



WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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2 MEMO

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B6

SHARYN LUMPKINS TO C. TURNER RE SDEA IN
BOSTON (PARTIAL)

B7(C)

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.


April 18, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR CARLTON TURNER

FROM: SHARYN LUMPKINS 

SUBJECT: SDEA in Boston

b(6)
b(7)(c)

Talked to DEA.  will be discussing the following in Boston:

- Major law enforcement initiatives
- Short (1 para per drug) summary of drug trends (heroin availability and abuse up in areas dominated by Mexican heroin but SWA still predominate in US, cocaine availability continues at high levels of 1984, crack abuse, etc.)
- The NDEPB strategy process
- DEA strategic planning
- Major program enhancements (budget-wise)
- A little about drug testing
- State and local cooperative law enforcement programs
- Graham-Rudman-Hollings

At my request, DEA put us on their mailing list for all speeches, etc. given by Lawn, et al. I said I would periodically provide them with drug abuse talking points. (I am thinking that we could selectively provide DEA speech writers with some of the material I am working on for you in exchange for the speeches. It will let them know how we're handling the material and provide some balance to the DEA gloomsayers.)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 3, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISTOPHER HICKS

FROM: CARLTON TURNER

SUBJECT: Just Say No to Drugs Week

Per our conversation, I have enclosed the Just Say No to Drugs Week 1986 Proclamation and a Presidential pen for framing.

If you need any additional information, please let me know.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 21, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. REAGAN

FROM: CARLTON TURNER

SUBJECT: Recent Initiatives in the Drug Awareness Campaign

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Have a great trip.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 2, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR JACK COURTEMANCHE

FROM: ^{CS} CARLTON TURNER

SUBJECT: Sue Daoulas

As you know, Sue Daoulas will be leaving the White House next week to join Ambassador Bruce Chapman's staff in Vienna for 18 months. Sue will be working at the United Nations as the U.S. representative coordinating the U.N. sponsored World Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking. The Conference is scheduled for June 17-26, 1987.

One of the primary reasons for selecting Sue was her knowledge and understanding of not only the President's drug control programs, but also the First Lady's drug awareness campaign. She will insure that the First Lady's concerns and interests are made an integral part of the conference agenda.

Per our conversation, I have discussed the photo opportunity with Sue, and Friday, June 6, 1986, would be her first choice. Thus, allowing Tuesday, June 10, 1986 as a back-up date. If for any reason the photo opportunity could take place before Friday, it would be greatly appreciated and Sue will make herself available -- morning, noon or night.

Symbolism is very important in the United Nations and this photo will go a long way in expressing the commitment and concern the First Lady has about the drug problem.

Also, Donna informs me that I will be in town on Monday, so will be able to attend the meeting at 2:00pm.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

20051

May 22, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR CARLTON E. TURNER

FROM: RODNEY B. MCDANIEL

SUBJECT: Foreign Travel

for Catherine M. Bergson

This is to confirm that your foreign travel has retroactively been approved to Mexico with the Attorney General to attend the Mexican-American Law Enforcement Summit on April 13-15, 1986.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
April 22, 1986

Dear Jack:

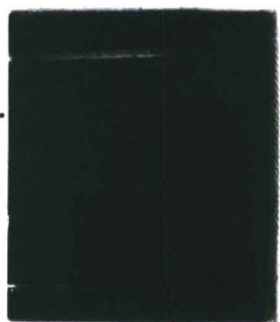
The memo I told you about on the
18th.

*Thought this material
might be of interest to you.*

Sincerely



Carlton E. Turner, Ph.D.
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Drug Abuse Policy



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 21, 1986

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Have a great trip.

MEMORANDUM TO CARLTON E. TURNER

FROM: FRED COLGAN

SUBJECT: Your meeting with Senator D'Amato

- He will be moderately interested in the Administration's initiatives as regards ERADICATION.
- He will be most interested in AIDS and your thoughts on projected (the Administration's) measures which will be corrective, but not conducive to panicking the public at large - in particular, New Yorkers.
- He is most interested in your ideas on how best to identify drug abuse prevention (awareness) approaches which will be successful.
- Your thoughts on legislation which will help enhance Enforcement/Awareness efforts by this Administration.

N.B. Remember he wrote recent legislation on Forfeiture with distribution of proceeds as follows:

1/3 to Enforcement

1/3 to Prevention

1/3 to Treatment

- He is also worried about the issue of money laundering.

- He feels strongly that this Administration is ignoring him and he is displeased.

- Lastly, he can't understand why NIDA is unproductive while NIAAA really has a handle on all significant issues.

MEMORANDUM TO CARLTON E. TURNER

FROM: FRED COLGAN

SUBJECT: Your meeting with Senator Hawkins

- She is moderately interested in eradication initiatives and doesn't appear overly concerned about AIDS at the moment.
- She is not interested in what the Administration is going to do regarding international trafficking. The Senate Foreign Affairs hearing (Ed Meese/Jon Thomas) was a dud.
- She will ping you on why she is not being kept informed by you, as to pending Enforcement/Awareness efforts, developments, and/or initiatives by the President.
- Also, why YOU are not keeping in touch re the First Lady's UN meeting/conference.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 18, 1986

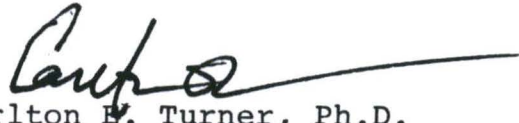
Dear Dr. Williamson:

Kim Hallamore has forwarded to me a copy of your letter to him dated March 10, 1986.

I certainly appreciate your views.

When your travels bring you to Washington, please stop by the office for a visit.

Sincerely,



Carlton E. Turner, Ph.D.
Director, Drug Abuse Policy Office and
Deputy Assistant to the President

John S. Williamson, M.D.
Medical Center Plaza
85 Kirman Avenue
Suite 202
Reno, NV 89502-1390

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 17, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR JACK L. COURTEMANCHE

FROM: CARLTON E. TURNER

SUBJECT: Nancy Reagan Institute

In conversations with Mrs. Reagan, we have discussed ways for her to continue her fight against drug abuse after leaving Washington. One way would be to follow an approach similar to the one put forth by Dennis Alfieri (attachment 1). An excellent mechanism could be established with some minor modifications and a name change to the "Nancy Reagan Institute for Drug Awareness." Mrs. Reagan has seen a brief outline (attachment 2).

The primary focus of Mrs. Reagan's drug abuse program has been to raise awareness, nationally and internationally, about the problem of drug abuse among young people. She has accomplished this by:

- drawing attention to the negative consequence of drug abuse by visiting treatment centers and talking with young addicts; and
- motivating positive alternatives by fostering and supporting grassroots commitment and action through private sector involvement, parents groups, and young people.

Mrs. Reagan's efforts and concern about the drug problem have real meaning for a great number of people and organizations. She is seen as working for a better future -- for individuals, families, and communities. I see the Institute as both a good method for Mrs. Reagan to continue her drug awareness program and a focal point for concerned people of the world to continue benefiting from her assistance.

The Institute would also provide a lasting, and much needed, non-competitive atmosphere for unifying the diverse groups who are working for a common goal: a drug-free generation. The following are additional thoughts I have regarding the Institute:

Philosophy: Working toward a drug-free generation by:

- providing a mechanism through which community leaders and concerned citizens could increase the effectiveness of existing programs, as well as design and vigorously implement new domestic and international drug abuse prevention and control activities; and

- serving as a source of information and guidance to assist and encourage worldwide private sector involvement in efforts to reduce drug abuse.

Specific Functions:

- * Coordinate the national and international utilization of the Nancy Reagan Speakers Bureau.
- * Ensure the continuation and coordinate the use of the Nancy Reagan Drug Abuse Fund.
- * Act as a resource and reference center for drug abuse prevention and educational materials and programs from around the United States and the world.
- * Continue the dialogue with past and present First Ladies of foreign countries and First Ladies of States.
- * Provide an attractive building which includes facilities for seminars, workshops, lectures, conferences, etc.
- * Dedicate a room for displays of program-related memorabilia collected throughout tenure as First Lady.
- * Serve as a clearinghouse for events, activities and programs, at the pleasure of cooperating organizations.
- * Assist organizations in obtaining funding, when and where appropriate, for programs which promote drug awareness.
- * Honor and acknowledge successful endeavors, including awards, financial gifts, gifts-in-kind, etc.
- * Sponsor, under the auspices of the Institute, selected facilities targeted at helping young people (i.e. STRAIGHT) and "innocent victims" (i.e. Hale House).

Mrs. Reagan has truly made a major contribution to the betterment of mankind. She is the model which others now emulate. The legacy she will leave has already been established, but would, through the Institute, be strengthened over the coming years.

Recommendation: Begin planning now toward the establishment of an Institute similar to Dennis Alfieri's proposal. Dennis would be the logical choice to bring this concept into reality.

Please let me know if you would like to discuss this concept in more detail.

Lic. No. 398854

ALKEN

**CONSTRUCTION
INC.**

ALKEN DEVELOPMENT CO.

DENNIS V. ALFIERI

Vice President - Development

**7 NORTH FIFTH AVENUE
ARCADIA, CALIF. 91006**

(818) 359-2511

THE NANCY REAGAN DRUG ABUSE CENTER

Los Angeles, Ca.

Purpose

The Center would be considered an information place. People of all ages, (placing emphasis on youth) could learn more about the use of drugs and what can be done to combat our nations number one problem. We would also want to take time out to emphasize Unity and "The Family".

The most important function of this Center would be very simple, "Awareness and Help".

Facilities

Possible locations for the Center should be within the boundaries of Los Angeles County, however, does not have to be limited to there. Downtown L.A., the Mid-Wilshire District, Hollywood, North Hollywood or Burbank are well recognized areas and easy to get to.

Management/Staff

An Executive Director, a P.R./Fundraiser, Counselors and Celebrity Guest Lecturers would be needed to support such a Center including a Bd. of Dir.

Fundraising

- Individual Support
- Corporate
- Grants
- Matching Funds Program
- Donor Wall

Public Relations

Mailings, personal contact, a video tape, a PBS/NETWORK TV series, as well as, an ongoing monthly meeting with guest speakers for our contributors, would be ways in which we would keep The First Ladies message circulating around the nation.

We need to create the perfect slogan. "Invest in America's Future - Young People", or "Stop the Madness", are examples of what we are looking for.

Dedication Ceremonies

A small building or suite of offices (donated) is all we would need to get started. In 1987, His Holiness The Pope will be visiting Los Angeles. What a more perfect way to dedicate The First Lady's Center by having him attend the ribbon cutting ceremonies.

DONORS
(partial listing)

Mrs. Bloomingdale
Armand Hammer
David Murdoch
Mr. and Mrs. Sprague
Mr. and Mrs. Tuttle
Mr. Sinatra
Mr. and Mrs. Hope
A.C. Lyles
Mr. and Mrs. William Wilson/Marsha Hobbs
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Mr. and Mrs. Glen Holden
Hon. and Mrs. Edwin Meese
Merlin Olsen
EIC Bd. Members: Michele Lee
 Tim Reid
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Merrill Lynch
The Sports Industry
The Studios
The Entertainment Industry
The Networks
Rockwell
Lockheed
Other Defense Contractors
Beverly Enterprises
Nat. Med. Ent.
Other Health Ind. Leaders
The Insurance Companies
And many others...

SPECIAL INITIATIVE:**--- (B) Establish the "Nancy Reagan Institute for Drug Awareness."**

- Purpose:** To provide for the continuation of the First Lady's Drug Awareness Campaign after leaving office.
- Goals:** To continue involvement by the First Lady, both nationally and internationally, in promoting drug awareness and working toward a drug-free generation.
- Timing:** Begin in 1986 and continue through eternity.
- Funding:** The "Institute" should be a 501(c)(3) tax exempt organization funded solely by private donations and corporate contributions.
- Location:** California (Los Angeles) or another metropolitan area which would provide adequate access to celebrities, the media, resources, and an international airport.

SPECIFICS: (For Consideration)

- * A room to display program-related memorabilia collected throughout Mrs. Reagan's tenure as First Lady.
- * A resource and reference center for drug abuse prevention and educational materials from around the United States and the world.
- * Continuation of the "Mother to Mother" newsletter which could be expanded to include past and present First Ladies of foreign countries and First Ladies of States.
- * Provide an auditorium for seminars, workshops, lectures, conferences, etc.
- * Coordinate the national and international utilization of the Nancy Reagan Speakers Bureau.

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