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# TURKISH OPIUM BAN NEGOTIATIONS

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## HEARING

BEFORE THE

### COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

## H. Con. Res. 507

AND IDENTICAL AND SIMILAR RESOLUTIONS RELATING  
TO THE RESUMPTION OF OPIUM PRODUCTION BY AND  
THE TERMINATION OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY

JULY 16, 1974

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs

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## TURKISH OPIUM BAN NEGOTIATIONS

TUESDAY, JULY 16, 1974

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
Washington, D.C.

The committee met at 10:15 a.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Thomas E. Morgan (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Chairman MORGAN. The committee meets this morning to begin the hearings on House Concurrent Resolution 507 and other identical and similar resolutions relating to the resumption of opium production by Turkey and the possible effect of that action on the Foreign Assistance Act. This resolution is cosponsored by 239 Members of the House.

[The text of the resolution follows:]

[H. Con. Res. 507, 93d Cong., 2d Sess.]

### CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the President of the United States in 1971 declared that the drug problem in our Nation had "assumed the dimensions of a national emergency," and that "heroin addiction was the most difficult to control and the most socially destructive form of addiction"; and

Whereas it has been estimated that prior to 1972, 80 per centum of illicit heroin entering the United States was produced from a Turkish opium base; and

Whereas in 1972 the Turkish Government agreed to ban the growing of the opium poppy in exchange for \$35,700,000 in assistance to be provided by the United States to compensate losses accrued to the Turkish farmers and to assist in developing alternative crops; and

Whereas the Turkish Government's ban on opium has resulted in the reduction in both quantity and quality of heroin available on the streets of America, which has in turn contributed to the reduction of the estimated number of heroin addicts by more than 60 per centum; and

Whereas the Turkish Government has permitted the germination of poppy seeds which could be ready for planting this fall; and

Whereas the Turkish Government is presently deliberating over the possibility of lifting the ban on opium poppy production in Turkey; and

Whereas the Foreign Assistance Act authorized the President of the United States to cut off aid to any nation that he determines had not taken adequate measures to prevent illegal drugs from entering the United States; and

Whereas the revocation of the opium ban in Turkey is counterproductive to measures precluding illegal heroin from entering the United States; Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the President should—*

(1) immediately initiate negotiations at the highest level of the Turkish Government to prevent the resumption of opium production; and

(2) if such negotiations prove unfruitful, exercise the authority provided by the Congress under the Foreign Assistance Act, to terminate all assistance to the Government of Turkey.

Chairman MORGAN. We hope to hear from six Members today. The first witness this morning is Congressman Lester L. Wolff, a member of this committee, who will testify on House Concurrent Resolution 507 which he introduced. Congressman Wolff will be followed in turn by Congressman Robert H. Steele, Congressman Morgan F. Murphy, Congressman Charles B. Rangel, Congressman Louis Frey, Jr., and Congressman James F. Hastings.

Congressman Wolff, on behalf of the committee it is a great pleasure to welcome you this morning as a witness. Your statement has been received and I am sure read by most members of the committee. Without objection, you may summarize your statement. The full statement will be put into the record.

You may proceed.

## STATEMENT OF HON. LESTER L. WOLFF, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

### INTRODUCTION

Mr. WOLFF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I appreciate the opportunity of testifying before the committee on House Concurrent Resolution 507 which was coauthored with another member of this committee, Mr. Derwinski of Illinois, together with the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. Rodino, and Mr. Rangel of the Judiciary Committee.

As you have indicated, there were 239 members who have joined in cosponsorship of this resolution, 25 of whom are members of this august committee. In addition to that, I might say that there are now 251 members of the House in toto who have joined in cosponsoring this resolution.

This includes the Speaker of the House. It includes the majority leader and the minority leader and the chairman of the Rules Committee as well.

As you indicated, Mr. Chairman, I should like to summarize the statement that I have put into the record to see to it that other members who are desirous of testifying will have adequate time.

I would first like to direct the committee's attention to the fact that an agreement was made with the Government of Turkey. The Government of Turkey has since disavowed that agreement and instead said, in fact, that an agreement was not made.

I have a statement from the U.S. State Department which puts on paper the exact agreement that was made with the Government of Turkey.

### U.S. NARCOTICS ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY

At the time the agreement was made we pledged some \$36 million to the Government of Turkey. The Government of Turkey has since collected some \$20 million and there still is some \$17 million that is in the pipeline. One of the purposes of this resolution is to see to it that the additional \$17 million does not get to Turkey since they have breached the agreement. But what about the \$20 million that has

already gone to Turkey, where has that gone? Very little of it has gone to the farmer. The farmer got one payment and has not received any payment since, and that is one of the reasons for this objection to continuing the ban on opium.

First of all, this was a bad agreement at the outset. I don't think we addressed the problem. It is not only to replace the crop of opium which has been a historic crop of Turkey but it was also to see to it that the farmers have some opportunity for a meaningful income. Even with the growing of opium over the years, the farmers have not had sufficient income to even justify calling it a starvation income.

What should have been done is, added to the crop substitution program for those who wanted to continue to farm, a program of industrialization so that these areas would become agri-industrial rather than just straight agricultural and the young people who no longer wanted to engage in farming would have the opportunity of earning a living in an industrial project. We have had difficulties keeping our young people on the farm, and so has Turkey.

#### THE ECONOMICS OF OPIUM PRODUCTION IN TURKEY

In the time that Turkey was producing opium—in all the years that it produced opium—only 1 percent of the people of Turkey were engaged in the production of opium poppies. Less than 1 percent of their total GNP was involved in the production of opium.

Actually the farmer got some \$25 to \$50 a year on an average for his part in producing the legal opium poppy. That does not mean that it was not profitable to produce the opium poppy because although on a licit basis he got some \$25 to \$50 on an illicit basis, when he went around the corner from the Government agent who was collecting opium and turned his opium in, he got somewhere around \$100 for that same amount that he turned in.

What was \$25 to the opium farmer in Turkey resulted in a sale in the American market equivalent to some \$250,000. So who profited by the growing of opium in Turkey? Those people who were engaged in the illicit traffic. Certainly the poor Turkish farmer did not profit.

#### TURKISH OPIUM AND CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES

What has been the effect of the Turkish growth of opium upon the United States? It has been proven that some 80 percent of all the heroin in the United States had its origin in the poppy farms of Turkey. I don't know whether or not you gentlemen are aware, but 2 years ago the figures that came to us as to the cost of drug-related crime in the United States were some \$27 billion, and that means that it cost the taxpayers of your districts and my district an enormous amount just merely to cope with drug-related crime in the United States.

The cost to a narcotics user in the United States today has risen to somewhere around \$30,000 a year. How does he satisfy that habit? By engaging in crime. When people talk of law and order, when people talk of crime in the streets, you must relate it back to heroin and drug-related crime, and you must relate that back to the poppy fields in Turkey.

I should just like to read for the record a statement made by Jerome Hornblass, who is the commissioner of the New York City Addiction Service Agency. This is not some gung ho cop who wants to put everybody in jail, but it is a doctor who is treating the victims of drug addiction.

He says:

As Commissioner of New York City's Addiction Services Agency, which cares for over 40,000 addicts in 400 treatment facilities of every modality at a cost of about \$90 million annually, I can state with some degree of authority that the lifting of the opium ban by Turkey will have serious consequences for all New Yorkers.

If the United States Government, bowing to pressure from Turkish poppy growers, agrees to a lifting of the ban, it will be a backward step that is almost guaranteed to lead to an upsurge in heroin addiction nationally, with a consequent rise in addict-related crime. I therefore urge all Americans to support resolutions that give the President authority to withhold military and economic aid to Turkey unless that nation agrees to cooperation with us in the war against heroin.

I now read to you a statement of Daniel Courtenay, community officer, Narcotics Division, New York City Police Department.

He says:

Lifting the ban on growing the opium poppy by the Turkish Government would definitely have a severe impact on the already overburdened law enforcement efforts of the New York City Police Department. Any addition to the necessary and legitimate supply of opium for medical use on the world market will correspondingly increase the supply in the illicit market. Police Commissioner Michael Codd has stated that any overproduction in excess of world market needs can only exacerbate the conditions and situations with the result that the excess would find its way to the underworld.

Since the Turkish ban went into effect, a definite downtrend was noticed in the heroin availability in New York.

The crimes of robbery and burglary are often associated with the heroin addiction problem of a city. These crimes become the source of money for the purchase of narcotics to maintain the addict. The crime analysis section of the New York City Police Department reported an 18 percent decrease in burglaries and a 12 percent decrease in robberies in the year 1972 against the same period in 1971. The 1973 figures for the same crimes were practically the same as the year 1972. This is but one indication of what can be accomplished when drugs are in short supply. The increased supply of heroin as a result of the Turkish Government's lifting the ban on poppy growing will reverse the downward trends still prevalent in 1974 in these two key drug related crimes.

It is my belief and the belief of my staff of investigators that should the Turkish Government resume production of opium, the results will be measured in New York City in the number of human casualties; first, in the form of an increased number of heroin addicts and second, in the form of the victims of violent street crime. There is no worthwhile benefit to be gained from the removal of the ban in Turkey.

I could go on and relate to you any number of people who have indicated that Turkey going back into the business will have catastrophic effects upon the people of this Nation. Interpol has indicated that it not only means an increase in crime and drug addiction in New York or in the United States but throughout the world.

Mr. Cusack, who is the chief of the narcotics section in the drug enforcement agency, indicates in his testimony that is before you in the record that Turkey going back into the business will be catastrophic to all of the progress that we have made throughout the world, not only to the United States. And he says that it is impossible to control the production of opium from 100,000 farmers on half-acre plots as the Turkish Government has indicated.

## DIFFICULTIES IN CONTROLLING OPIUM PRODUCTION

Mr. Macomber, our American Ambassador to Turkey, stated even before he came before our committee in a public statement that the only way Turkey could go back into the business and control it would be to plant the Turkish production in a football field and then station armed guards shoulder to shoulder around that football field. So it is quite obvious the statement that has been made by the Turkish Government that they can control this is nonsensical and it is begging the question.

## NO NEED FOR TURKEY TO RESUME POPPY CULTIVATION

Dr. Du Pont, who has appeared before the United Nations Committee in Geneva on International Narcotics Problems, has indicated that there is no need for Turkey to go back into the business of producing opium. The world market is such that the present production can meet the demands of the licit market in the world. I point to the fact that drug manufacturers throughout this country have been coming to Members of Congress and asking for increases in the production of opium.

I offer for the committee's view statements that have been made by various of the drug manufacturers who are today playing a role in Turkey's going back into the business of producing opium.

Now you might say, well, why can India produce opium and do it and Turkey cannot? India has historically produced licit opium for the U.S. market and for the world market. Two years ago there was a shortage of world opium because there was a crop failure in India, and in addition to that the Soviet Union made extraordinary purchases. This year, according to the United Nations, there will be no shortage, and in fact there will be a 20-ton excess production.

What does that mean if Turkey goes back into the business? It means that there will be anywhere from 100 to 200 tons of excess production that will find its way into the veins of the kids of this Nation.

## EFFECT OF CUTTING AID TO TURKEY ON NATO

Now we come to another point, and I think that this is important, and that is the question of NATO and what its effect of cutting aid to Turkey will have upon NATO. You gentlemen remember when General Goodpaster was here 2 weeks ago I asked very pointed questions of him. I said:

General, do the Russians maintain any naval bases in the Mediterranean?

He said that:

They have no naval bases that you would say are under their sovereignty or control. However, they do have established access to several bases.

Then I asked:

I understand that we have the capability of taking out those facilities if necessary.

General Goodpaster's answer was:

I would put it that we have the capability of dealing with the Soviet naval forces. The extent to which they would be able and would wish to try to use bases of that kind in an actual emergency I think becomes very, very questionable.

### I went on and asked:

Now in a briefing that I had in your area I was made to understand that we have the capability of closing the Strait of Marmara in the Dardanelles. Am I correct in that?

General Goodpaster answered:

Yes, we evaluate that we have that capability.

Gentlemen of the committee, the reason that Turkey has been important to NATO in the founding of NATO was that we could, in effect, neutralize the Soviet Navy in the Mediterranean and also bottle up the Soviet fleet. That is the capability today that the United States maintains and has available to us in addition to which—and I am not breaching security by saying this, it is common knowledge—there are certain listening areas that we have that are provided to us in Turkey. We do have the sophisticated and scientific technology to be able to accomplish that purpose today by other means.

Then the point comes, well what about the 400,000 troops that Turkey has? Well, let me say, gentlemen, and this is from briefings that I have had with various of our military authorities, those 400,000 troops would not last very long if the Soviet Union decided to move through the Turkish area, but the fact is that they would not be able to put their fleet through the straits, nor would they be able to bring them into any area of the Mediterranean.

I also pose to you the other point, and that is what happens to NATO if heroin becomes available at low prices to our troops who are based in Europe?

I go back to Vietnam and a report that has just been issued, "The Vietnamese Drug User Returns." I don't know whether or not you gentlemen are aware of it but it is estimated now that more than 34 percent of our troops in Vietnam used heroin, 38 percent used opium. This is from an official report of the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention File, the Executive Office of the President of the United States.

#### RESUMED POPPY CULTIVATION A THREAT TO NATO

What happens to our troops when narcotics become available in Europe? What happens to the capability of those NATO troops to perform?

Let me tell you this. General Davison recently made a statement in February of 1974 and he said:

The single greatest threat to the discipline and professionalism of the Army in Europe is drug abuse.

I say to you that the threat to NATO is greater from the abuse that would be visited upon these troops by the availability of heroin at prices that the troops can afford to pay than it would be if we by any means attempted to disturb our NATO ally.

#### U.S. WOULD NOT LOSE TURKISH BASES

Then I offer you finally as proof of what this would mean to NATO a statement made by the Foreign Minister of Turkey, Mr. Gunes, who today sits not in Turkey but in Peking. On July 10 he said that even if Washington cut off aid to Turkey, as some Congressmen had threat-

ened, Ankara would not "change the status" of about two dozen vital military bases maintained here under the joint command of the two North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies.

Gentlemen, I offer you the statement in conclusion, a statement was made by our President, and this comes not from any newspaper but it comes from an official publication of the Republican Party called First Monday. (Excerpted from President Nixon's remarks to the International Narcotics Control Conference, Department of State, Sept. 18, 1972). It was issued in October of 1972. He said:

The men and women who operate the global heroin trade are a menace not to Americans alone, but to all mankind. These people are literally the slave traders of our time. They are traffickers in living death. They must be hunted to the end of the earth. They must be left no base in any nation for their operation. They must be permitted not a single hiding place or refuge from justice anywhere in the world and that is why we have established an aggressive international narcotics control program in cooperation with the governments in more than 50 countries around the world. That is why I have ordered the Central Intelligence Agency, early in this Administration, to mobilize its full resources to fight the international drug trade, a task, incidentally, in which it has performed superbly.

He went on to say in the case of Turkey, and at that time he was commenting upon the agreement that we made with Turkey:

\* \* \* case of Turkey, the courageous decision to eradicate the opium poppy itself. And that action, incidentally, is a great tribute not only to that government, but to our own government and particularly to those in the State Department and in the Embassy in Turkey who worked on this problem.

In working on narcotics control around the world, I want you to convey this personal message from me to the foreign officials with whom you may be meeting. Any government whose leaders participate in or protect the activities of those who contribute to our drug problem should know that the President of the United States is required by statute to suspend all American economic and military assistance to such a regime and I shall not hesitate to comply with that law where there are any violations.

I consider keeping dangerous drugs out of the United States just as important as keeping armed enemy forces from landing in the United States. Dangerous drugs which come into the United States can endanger the lives of young Americans just as much as would an invading army landing in the United States.

And what is our goal now? We are living in an age, as we all know, in the era of diplomacy, when there are times that a great nation must engage in what is called a limited war. I have rejected that principle in declaring total war against dangerous drugs.

We are going to fight this evil with every weapon at our command and with your help and the support of millions of concerned Americans, we are going to win.

Gentlemen, which is more important, our commitment to Turkey or your commitment to your constituents?

Which relations are more important, our relations with Turkey or our own relations with our sons, our daughters, the sons and daughters of the constituents of our country?

I thank you, Mr. Chairman. I thank the committee.

[Mr. Wolff's prepared statement follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. LESTER L. WOLFF, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. Chairman, the legislation we are considering today is significant in several respects. First, it is an entirely appropriate response to a policy by a foreign government that has acted in a way hostile to the interests of the United States

and the world community. Second, it will require the President of the United States to act within his statutory powers enumerated in the Foreign Assistance Act to protect the United States from the return of a massive influx of heroin. Finally, it will set the important precedent that foreign assistance given by this country is not a "dole" to be handed out without any regard to the consequences of our actions. We must establish once and for all that the United States will not stand for other nations profiting from our generosity, and then turning around and inflicting immeasurable human misery on our people, the dollar cost of which alone runs into the billions annually.

Perhaps an appropriate starting point for consideration of Congressional action is the firm and sensible policy enunciated by President Nixon in September, 1972. Before a conference of senior American narcotics officials, the President said,

\*\*\* winning the battle against drug abuse is one of the most important, the most urgent national priorities confronting the United States today. \*\*\*

In working on narcotics control around the world, I want you to convey this personal message from me to the foreign officials. \*\*\* Any government whose leaders participate in or protect the activities of those who contribute to our drug problem would know that the President of the United States is required by statute to suspend all American economic and military assistance to such a regime and I shall not hesitate to comply with that law where there are any violations.

I consider keeping dangerous drugs out of the United States just as important as keeping armed enemy forces from landing in the United States. \*\*\*

These remarks were not made lightly, and they should not be taken lightly, either by foreign nations who encourage narcotics trafficking, or, indeed, by the United States Congress, which initially gave the President the authority to cut off assistance. Nor do I believe that the action by the Turkish government can be interpreted in any way other than as an action falling within the prohibitions of the statute, for reasons which will be enumerated in my discussion.

An examination of the situation within the Turkish economy will give some indication of the motivations of the Turkish government in lifting the ban, and will strengthen the argument of those of us who argue for a firm United States response. The 1972 "World Opium Survey" put out by the Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control, indicated that "poppy growing is an insignificant part of total Turkish agricultural production (which reached about \$3 billion in 1970). It also constitutes a minor factor in Turkish export earnings as exports of opium, gum, seeds, and pods have constituted less than 1% of total export earnings in recent years. \*\*\* In 1971, 89,283 farmers cultivated poppies. For the economy as a whole, income from opium growing amounted to an estimated \$5 million to \$6 million."

The 1971 agreement between the United States and Turkey in which Turkey banned the cultivation of opium poppies, was achieved by an American promise to pay Turkey \$35.7 million, significantly higher than any reasonable offset of losses from legitimate income from poppy production for several years. Of course there is no question that the illicit underground market for Turkish opium to be refined into heroin for peddling by organized crime elements added income to the Turkish farmers' pocket, and the loss of this blood money was felt by them. But the critical question remains, of course, should the United States acknowledge the legitimacy of this extra income, by its docile acquiescence in the resumption of poppy cultivation? I think that question answers itself.

Why then, despite legislation, sec. 109 of P.L. 92-226, the Foreign Assistance Act Amendments of 1971, clearly mandating a cutoff of assistance when a country permits illegal narcotics trafficking, should the Turkish government take the drastic action that it has? The Turkish government has stated in its communique of July 1 that it chose to permit recultivation because of the needs of the Turkish farmers and the needs of the legitimate opium market for medicinal uses. I would even question that apparently forthright statement. We know that some farmers have been hurt—but why—and that our government has been more than lethargic in instituting effective development and crop substitution projects. We also know that there is a great deal of confusion as to how much of the compensation has actually reached the farmers, very little I am told. Nonetheless, the Turkish government never made any efforts to remove these stumbling blocks and clarify any ambiguities in the bilateral understandings. Nor did it

even seek to renegotiate the agreement with the United States. The only conclusion that can be drawn from these actions is that the government was not interested in actually helping the Turkish farmers, for it cannot be denied that the potential benefits available under the agreement might well have left the Turkish farmers in a vastly improved position. Rather, some demagogic Turkish politicians chose to use this issue as a symbol of Turkish nationalism, as a means of using a convenient target to forward their own aims, trying to show this new coalition government was better(?) than the one that negotiated the U.S. agreement. I do not wish to belittle the propriety of developing nationalistic appeals, in underdeveloped areas, but at the same time I must point out that this particular issue was built upon deception and in fact undermined pressing humanitarian concerns of the Turks, the Americans and in fact the entire world community. The success of the appeal cannot be doubted—all Turkish political parties adopted the cry, which was framed as a reaction to the former government. But once again I ask, is this sufficient reason for the United States to forego its obligation to protect its own young people, and continue to subsidize the illicit activity which wreaks devastation wherever its effects are felt?

The other reason put forth by the Turkish government is the legitimate medicinal needs of the pharmaceutical concerns. Here again, the Turkish government position is less than selfless. We have been bombarded with propaganda over the last several years from the pharmaceuticals companies informing us of a licit opium shortage throughout the world. Yet the facts belie this contention, at least insofar as we are talking about the availability of opium to the pharmaceutical companies. Indeed, the interests of the large multinationals have been contrary to this agreement or in fact any agreement that would reduce the legitimate market—note that I say market, not *supply*—for many years. In May of 1973, Walter Minnick, who at that time was the Chief of the Division of Federal Drug Management for the Office of Management and Budget, testified before the Government Operations Committee that "the drug companies were opposed to our getting the Turks out of the business, because that eliminated their source of supply." In the same testimony, Minnick further said, however, that according to the World Opium Survey, only five per cent of the licit world supply came from Turkey, with about half coming from India.

Nonetheless, a bad growing season and extraordinary purchases by the Soviet Union were said to have caused a shortage for the current fiscal year, and based on that assumption, we acted in Congress. According to a letter I received recently from Linwood Holton in the State Department, "The President and the Congress have acted to avert a temporary shortage of medicinal opiates in the United States by providing for the release of up to 45% of the strategic opium stockpile. Periodic releases will be made to the extent needed to enable U.S. manufacturers to maintain minimum, yet safe inventory levels. We assume we shall continue to receive our proportionate share of opium imports from India. The U.S. stockpile release should not, therefore, affect the marketing of world production of opium for medical and scientific requirements." In addition, to the availability of the American stockpile, it is expected that improved climatic conditions, and the absence of abnormal purchases by the Soviet Union which were witnessed last year, coupled with improved procedures which will lead to a higher yield of morphine base, from existing acreage will combine to significantly raise the amount of licit medicinal product available from India in the coming year.

In light of these considerations, it becomes increasingly clear that Turkish politicians have been using the rallying mechanism of the opium ban and its anti-American slogans to make the more fundamental and serious problems faced by that government, such as the tremendous increase in the numbers of Turkish laborers returning after working in other European nations.

In viewing the Turkish announcement, we must consider the situation that will evolve concerning the enforcement efforts that will be made to prohibit the massive new quantities of opium from being diverted into illicit channels.

That a massive new enforcement mechanism would be essential is beyond doubt; we are all familiar with many of the facts and figures concerning the heroin epidemic which swept our nation in the late 1960's, due largely to the illegal entry of Turkish derived heroin. To briefly highlight some of the critical problems that will surely arise, however, I would like to offer a few quotations:

As commissioner of (New York City's) Addiction Services Agency, which cares for over 40,000 addicts in 400 treatment facilities of every modality at

a cost of about \$90 million annually, I can state with some degree of authority that the lifting of the opium ban by Turkey will have serious consequences for all New Yorkers.

If the United States Government, bowing to pressure from Turkish poppy growers, agrees to a lifting of the ban, it will be a backward step that is almost guaranteed to lead to an upsurge in heroin addiction nationally, with a consequent rise in addict-related crime. \* \* \* I therefore urge all Americans to support results that give the President authority to withhold military and economic aid to Turkey unless that nation agrees to cooperation with us in the war against heroin.

JEROME HORNBLASS,

*Commissioner, New York City Addiction Service Agency.*

Lifting the ban on growing the opium poppy by the Turkish government would definitely have a severe impact on the already overburdened law enforcement efforts of the New York City Police Department. Any addition to the necessary and legitimate supply of opium for medical use on the world market will correspondingly increase the supply in the illicit market. Police Commissioner Michael Codd has stated that any overproduction in excess of world market needs can only exacerbate the conditions and situations with the result that the excess would find its way to the underworld.

Since the Turkish ban went into effect, a definite downtrend was noticed in the heroin availability in New York.

The crimes of robbery and burglary are often associated with the heroin addiction problem of a city. These crimes become the source of money for the purchase of narcotics to maintain the addict. The crime analysis section of the New York City Police Department reported an 18% decrease in burglaries and a 12% decrease in robberies in the year 1972 against the same period in 1971. The 1973 figures for the same crimes were practically the same as the year 1972. This is but one indication of what can be accomplished when drugs are in short supply. The increased supply of heroin as a result of the Turkish government's lifting the ban on poppy growing will reverse the downward trends still prevalent in 1974 in these two key drug related crimes.

It is my belief and the belief of my staff of investigators that should the Turkish government resume production of opium, the results will be measured in New York City in the number of human casualties; first, in the form of an increased number of heroin addicts and second, in the form of victims of violent street crime. There is no worthwhile benefit to be gained from the removal of the ban in Turkey.

DANIEL COURTENAY,

*Community Officer, Narcotic Division, N.Y. City Police Department.*

Every empirical study indicates that the Turkish poppy growing ban has dramatically diminished heroin supply on the East Coast of the United States. Dr. Robert DuPont, Director of the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, cites statistics concerning the decrease of drug availability since the ban went into effect.

"From the peak of over ½ million heroin addicts, 1973 saw for the first time rates of overdose deaths, drug related hepatitis, and drug related property crimes (all indicators of heroin dependency) decline throughout the United States. The quality and quantity of heroin have decreased, while the price has increased. One milligram of heroin in New York City cost 44 cents in 1972; by mid 1973 it had risen to \$1.52. Street level purity of heroin sold to addicts decreased 52% during the same period, from 7.7% to 3.7%. A heroin shortage has existed for almost 24 months."

It is common knowledge that Turkey was unable or unwilling to control the diversion of opium in the past, and actions taken to date offer no hope of any change in that situation when the farmers again enter cultivation. The profits from illegal sales are simply too great, the incentives too high, to assure a sufficient control situation. As John Cusack, Chief of the International Operations Division of the Drug Enforcement Administration testified to an ad hoc hearing I sponsored in New York last week.

"While we are inclined to accept the good intentions of the Turkish government in its promise to adopt a fool proof system of control, should it reestablish

opium production, we must be guided by past experience where the most conservative observers estimate that at least half of the opium produced in Turkey entered the illicit traffic. The conditions responsible for this situation have not changed. To a great extent, they are beyond Turkish control and involve narcotic traffickers in the United States, Western Europe, as well as those in Turkey. There are numerous unscrupulous individuals who, through their interaction, have been in the past and would be again responsible for penetrating the Turkish system of opium control and diverting vast quantities to the illicit traffic for heroin manufacture and to again infect Western Europe and North America.

"It is simply impossible to control the production of opium by 100,000 farmers on half-acre plots in Turkey. This production is simply too vulnerable to criminal elements in Turkey and abroad, and there is no system that can prevent substantial diversion. The cost of attempting to develop and implement such a system would be economically prohibitive."

Following his statement, I further questioned Mr. Cusack on control possibilities. I would like now to play a tape of that portion of the questioning.

This attitude was reflected at the Third Special Session of the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs at Geneva last February, and has been echoed virtually every time a narcotics enforcement official discusses the Turkish opium ban. I would further cite a General Accounting Office Report, which discussed the possibility of customs agents and border patrols reducing the smuggling of heroin. The GAO said "Although these efforts may deter amateurs and small scale smugglers, they have not had and probably cannot have any real impact on the organized groups engaged in large-scale heroin smuggling." And it must be noted that the Turkish government, despite its promises for tough controls, has already taken the first step to flood the illicit market by permitting cultivation in seven provinces, which is an increase from the four provinces that were permitted to grow opium immediately prior to the ban.

So once again the choice for the Members of Congress becomes stark and clear. If we do not act to cut off assistance, it cannot be on the premise that this time opium production will be controlled—no one seriously believes that. Heroin will flow in this country once again virtually unchecked, for once it is in the traffic channels, large scale control is impossible. The French Connection now broken stands ready to resume traffic. The problem is either eliminated at the source, or it is permitted to return to crisis levels.

Another aspect of the proposition we consider today must be dealt with—we must review the likely consequences of United States action to cut off assistance to Turkey in light of our own military defense requirements. There has been a fear expressed that if we cut off assistance—if we deny the President's request for over \$200 million in military and economic assistance for FY 1975—Turkey will retaliate against our NATO commitment. We have, since World War II, given the Turks almost \$6 billion. To first dispose of this apparent threat, I cite the statement by Turkish Foreign Minister Turan Guner in the New York Times last Thursday, July 11. Guner said that even if Washington cut off aid to Turkey, as some Congressmen had threatened, Ankara would not "change the status" of about two dozen vital military bases maintained there under the joint command of the two North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies. I think this position is understandable, in light of the real defense requirement of Turkey. The likelihood of such a response from Turkey—particularly if all other assistance is cut off—is, from a strategic standpoint, very small. Even if we take the military possibilities on a "worst case basis"; General Goodpaster assured this committee only three weeks ago that we would still maintain the capability of knocking out the Dardanelles and bases available in the Mediterranean, should that unlikely necessity occur, denying to the Soviets their use and bottling up the entire Soviet Mediterranean fleet.

Let us turn, however, to the scenario which would unfold when the heroin market is back in action. It is appropriate to recall America's experience in Indochina, when according to Marine General Lew Walt testifying in Senate testimony, "our forces were caught up in a massive heroin epidemic when, overnight, high grade heroin became available everywhere at \$1 a vial." Only recently, Admiral Noel Gayler told this committee that during the Vietnam conflict difficulties faced by our Pacific forces from drug abuse resulted in the impairment of the effectiveness of our fighting forces.

As late as February, 1974, UPI carried a story quoting General Michael S. Davison, the American Army Commander in Germany, as saying that drug

abuse was the "single greatest threat to the discipline and professionalism of the Army in Europe. Since our NATO troops will soon be availed of large quantities of low priced heroin, the meaningfulness and security of NATO forces may hinge on the Turkish action, and this situation ultimately puts in jeopardy the security of the United States itself for what we face is a repeat of the Indochina drug epidemic that has produced 350,000 Indochina addicted veterans.

Mr. Chairman, the legislation we are considering today will put our nation firmly on record, not only in words, but in definitive action, against the tolerance by foreign nations of the trafficking in death which the opium trade represents. This approach will send more than a message—it will send an unmistakable warning—that United States generosity will no longer be extended to nations which spit in the face of mankind. If the Turks say that the drug problem is ours, not theirs, let us say to them that economic development and military supply is their problem, not ours. What is actually involved here is that the Turks do not believe we will take meaningful action—that we are in reality a paper tiger. Let them know that we place a non-negotiable price on the lives of the kids of this nation.

We cannot afford \$27 billion in drug related crime in this country. Our constituents want to walk our streets in safety without fear of some junkie beating them over the head for money to buy the next fix.

This approach, which was taken before by the House and Senate in relation to Thailand at the height of the Indochina conflict, was dramatically successful in winning the cooperation of the Thai government without any serious long-term rupture in Thai-American relationships. It will be successful in this case.

When efforts to halt heroin traffic are characterized as a "war," that characterization is carefully chosen. Indeed, the Washington Post, in a recent editorial, pinpointed the accuracy of the analogy. The editorial reads:

"Indeed, if the Turkish Government had announced that it intended to land secret agents at night on American shores to poison and kill thousands of Americans and to subvert the foundations of American society—which, of course, is exactly what heroin does—then that would be regarded as an act of war and handled accordingly."

The condemnation which the outrageous act by the Turkish government merits in the civilized world cannot be mistaken. Perhaps the most eloquent statement of the interests of mankind in stopping drug traffic was made by President Nixon, who said in 1972:

"The men and women who operate the global heroin trade are a menace not to Americans alone, but to all mankind. These people are literally the slave traders of our time. They are traffickers in living death. They must be hunted to the end of the earth. They must be left no base in any nation for their operation. They must be permitted not a single hiding place or refuge from justice anywhere in the world and that is why we have established an aggressive international narcotics control program in cooperation with the governments in more than 50 countries around the world."

Mr. Chairman, this legislation should be reported out promptly, so that the Government of Turkey, and our own foreign policy officials, understand that the American people cannot and will not tolerate a reestablishment of the heroin trail. The Senate acted last week on a similar measure, by an 81-8 margin. If it is to be argued that this move will strain relations with Turkey, it is even more important that our closest relations are our children.

#### FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you, Mr. Wolff. Your full statement has been made a permanent part of the record.

Mr. Wolff, your resolution calls for negotiations and a cutoff of assistance if negotiations fail.

Since those negotiations have already failed, what in your opinion should we do to update your resolution?

Mr. WOLFF. First of all, Mr. Chairman, negotiations have failed because there were really no negotiations. I feel that this matter has been played down by the State Department instead of being given the importance that it needs. I must say at this point that I feel that

Ambassador Macomber has done a magnificent job with what he has had available to him. I fear, however, greatly that Mr. Macomber in his being brought back to the United States might be sought out as a whipping boy by either the State Department or some other people and relieved of his job. I think this would be a great tragedy.

We don't need whipping boys, we need some way to reverse the decision that has been made by the Turkish Government. The fact that the Government has said that they are going back into production and are distributing seeds to seven provinces, not four that they had before, indicates that they did not want to really control the production.

However, even with the distribution of the seed they will not put that seed in the ground until October. I think negotiations are still possible, Mr. Chairman, but they have to be begun at the highest levels.

Remember, Mr. Kissinger was only about 30 minutes from Ankara when he was in the Middle East. I think that we must make a final effort. That effort must be made by either Mr. Kissinger, the President, or the Vice President of the United States before the seed goes into the ground. If that does fail then I believe that we must cut off the aid to Turkey.

As you recall, the administration has requested about \$250 million of military and economic assistance.

#### EFFECTS OF A CUTOFF OF AID

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Wolff, you say that Mr. Macomber has done a good job. Now section 481 of the foreign aid bill authorizes the President to furnish assistance in order to get countries to cooperate with the United States in its efforts to help control the production of and trafficking in narcotics. A complete cutoff of all aid could adversely affect any future effort to keep Turkish heroin out of the United States.

Would you care to comment?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I feel first of all that the assistance that has been given in the past to Turkey was misused and never got into the hands of the farmers to whom it was supposed to go.

Second, I feel that Turkey has already breached the agreement but that does not mean that there are not negotiations that are still possible with Turkey to get them to reverse this decision. It is not that we are trying to interfere with the internal affairs of the Government of Turkey; we are concerned with the external affairs of the Government of Turkey and what happens to what they grow in their country, when it comes into our country.

Now as for the idea of cutoff of aid, Turkey says that they want to be independent of the United States. I say that they should be fully independent of the United States if they go ahead and put this seed into the ground.

#### U.S. MUST INDUCE TURKEY NOT TO GROW POPPIES

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Wolff, you say in your statement that you do not believe it possible to prevent the illegal diversion of opium under any circumstances, from Turkey. If this is true, what is the alternative for the United States?

Mr. WOLFF. The United States must see that Turkey does not plant opium—and I would refer you back to the statement that was made by Mr. Macomber—“except in an area the size of a football field” and not in some 90,000 farms that they are going to plant opium.

Turkey never came to our Ambassador to inform him they were going back into production although it was agreed in my presence by Mr. Gunes, the Foreign Minister, that they would not go back into production before they spoke to our Ambassador. They never spoke to our Ambassador before they rescinded the agreement with us.

I should like, if the chairman will permit, to let you listen to a statement that I took on tape—and there are no tape gaps here, Mr. Chairman—from Mr. Cusack who says that it is impossible to control the production of opium from licit channels in Turkey and that they cannot go ahead. There is no need for Turkey to go back into this business and I think that what we should do is to renegotiate the plan with them.

Chairman MORGAN. Would it not be better to help the Turks establish an effective system of control and keep negotiations going rather than just say that you cannot grow any poppies?

#### DIFFICULTY IN CONTROLLING OPIUM PRODUCTION

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Chairman, I think that is almost “whistling into the wind,” thinking that we can control the production of this product. The only reason really that India can control their product is that they have an indigenous addict population, they have opium eaters and users who take up the excess production.

Mr. Cusack on this tape says that even after 5 years we would only be able to control 80 percent of the production. Turkey by planting 200 tons—and that is what will come out of their production, 200 tons in the 90,000 farms that they have—even if they control it after 5 years there will still be sufficient in the illicit channels to be able to take care of the entire supply of the U.S. market.

I must also let you know, Mr. Chairman, that Turkey in an amnesty agreement just recently released from prison all of those people who were tied into the so-called French Connection so the apparatus is available now to those illicit characters who are engaged in this traffic and standing by for the first crop to come out of the ground to reestablish the so-called French Connection.

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you, Mr. Wolff.

Mr. Frelinghuysen.

#### NEED TO CONTROL POPPY CULTIVATION

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It is a pleasure to have you before us, Mr. Wolff, and I have listened to your testimony with interest.

As a New Jersian, I quite obviously share your concern about the likely consequence of the resumption of poppy production in Turkey. My interest is in knowing what we can do that would be sensible. I notice your resolution has a lot of support, but I don't see that it says very much.

It says that we should negotiate, and that we have failed in seeking a basis to discourage the decision of the Turkish Government to resume poppy production. Then it says if negotiations prove unfruitful, the President should exercise the authority provided by Congress to terminate all aid to Turkey.

I think the language of the act as it is presently written does not terminate assistance, it suspends assistance. That does not seem to me to accomplish anything at all.

You say that we have an obligation to protect our own young people. Of course we do but how do we protect our own young people if the Turkish decision remains in effect? There surely will be leakage of opium into illegal channels, and according to you there is no possibility of adequate Turkish control over the crop. I just don't see how this is going to accomplish much.

It surely will be an object lesson to Turkey that she should worry about our concerns if we should terminate or suspend aid.

It seems to me—and I share the chairman's attitude—that what we need to do is to control poppy production as much as possible. I do not see why it is not conceivable that Turkey could develop a program which would allow it to make a modest contribution to the legal production of opium. It may not be possible, but at least we would keep our hand in if we had some way of encouraging international cooperation toward that end.

In other words, the practical goal of protecting our young people seems to me to require more than a threat or a carrying out of the threat to terminate aid.

#### SUSPENSION OF ASSISTANCE

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Frelinghuysen, you have made a number of points. First of all let me say that, as you are aware I am sure, under the Foreign Assistance Act amendment on international narcotics control, the President is required to suspend aid to any nation not fully cooperating in narcotics control.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. And he also had said, I am well aware, because you have just told us, that he plans to do that. I am not arguing against what is in the law and it may well be that we should tighten up what is in the law.

How do we prevent whistling in the wind, to use your expression?

Mr. WOLFF. First of all I do not think that we should subsidize the growing of opium that will find its way into this country.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. No one is advocating that, Mr. Wolff.

Mr. WOLFF. That is what we would be doing in effect by continuing economic assistance. That is No. 1.

Second—

#### U.S. SHOULD HELP DEVELOP ALTERNATE CROPS

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. It is not really No. 1. In your own statement you suggested that ways might be found to divert Turkish farmers to grow something else. So it might be a constructive use of our economic assistance if we could help develop alternative crops for Turkish

farmers. I think we should not jump at conclusions—that our assistance is automatically a subsidy for poppies. What if economic assistance should be provided to discourage the growing of poppies by encouraging planting of other crops.

Mr. WOLFF. I am not opposed to economic assistance; in fact to the contrary I have supported the idea of an alternative plan. The present Turkish Government has not been too receptive to that.

Secondly, and I think it is most important, the one basic reason why Turkey is going back into the business that they did not believe that the United States or the Members of this Congress, to quote a story that appeared in one of their papers, had "guts enough to stand up to the situation and take the steps that are necessary to followup on any statements that have been made relative to a cutoff of or suspension of aid."

I must remind you too on that subject that the House did vote to cut off aid to Thailand 2 years ago at a time when the Vietnam War was at its height and the Senate as well voted to cut off aid to Thailand at that time because they were not doing anything actively to cut the illicit traffic in these areas.

#### NEED FOR ACTION

Subsequent to the House and Senate action the Government of Thailand took very active steps in controlling the illicit traffic through their country. So, what I am saying to you is that what we have asked for here is for the President to act and have the authority to further act in this specific case because of the history that we have had already, but the dereliction upon the part of the administration in not carrying this thing through to the point whereby we evidence to the Turkish Government our intent is, to my mind, perhaps the most serious problem that we face.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Wolff, I really fail to follow your argument or agree with you. You say that Ambassador Macomber has done a magnificent job and yet there has somehow been a dereliction of duty. How can you justify a statement like that? It would seem to me that all you are worried about is that there be sufficient authority in the Executive to act, but there already is that authority in section 481 of the law.

Are you just pointing the finger and saying: Why doesn't the Executive use that authority? I think it is quite clear the President has said himself that he is planning to use it. I had thought what you were suggesting is somehow that we needed to tighten up on our resolve.

What you seem to be saying is that the Turkish Government decided that we really didn't have any guts, to use your expression, and that they were going to test us out.

Well, that would seem to imply that if we come back pretty vigorously they might decide they had better back off and not resume the production of poppies because our resolve is firmer than they thought. I think that is a pretty far-fetched kind of an operation to be engaged in.

If it is a question of one side playing chicken and the other side playing chicken, we may end up feeling smugly satisfied—but without protecting our young people.

Chairman MORGAN. The gentleman's time has expired.  
Mr. Derwinski.

ECONOMICS OF OPIUM PRODUCTION

Mr. DERWINSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wolff, as a cosponsor of your original resolution I commend you for your continuing interest and the leadership you displayed in this subject.

One point I think has to be clarified, especially in light of some of the questions Mr. Frelinghuysen has properly raised.

I refer to your statement this morning where among other things you point out that for 1971, the Turkish economy as a whole, the income from opium growing amounted to an estimated \$5 to \$6 million. Then you properly make the point that the \$35.7 million that we would provide would be more than adequate to take care of that basic crop replacement. Then of course you gave substantial figures on the tremendous profits in illicit opium processing.

In other words, you clearly feel that from a practical economic standpoint we are more than adequately covering the loss of legal revenue to Turkish farmers who have been growing opium.

Mr. WOLFF. Yes; I would say that. I feel very strongly, and this opinion is shared by a great number of other people who have been looking into this problem, that it is not an economic problem so far as Turkey is concerned. If it were an economic problem, this problem could be very easily solved. It is a political problem.

It must be understood that the greatest export that Turkey has is human labor, and the reason that they have human labor is that they don't have enough jobs for their people at home. That is why originally I had recommended, and still recommend, the idea of a program of limited industrialization that would not interfere with American industry, that could serve Turkish interests and European industry in order to meet whatever economic problems they have.

It must be understood that with the world suffering the economic problems present today, Turkey is getting an influx of Turkish labor returning home from places like West Germany. They don't know what to do with their people. Therefore, the present leaders in Turkey are trying to mask these severe economic problems that they are having by saying: well, the answer to that problem is to get our farmers back planting opium and this will be the answer to the economic problem. All that is doing is postponing the agony for these people and for these farmers.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Wolff, I have here a letter that I received from the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, and I presume all of us who cosponsored the original resolution may have received it. The letter is dated May 14, and I am quoting from the Ambassador's letter:

Should the Government decide to resume cultivation in a restricted area, it will take foolproof measures to prevent illicit opium trade.

Now you have addressed yourself to that in your official statement. I would like to have you reemphasize, if you would, your concern over whether or not foolproof measures could be developed and maintained over the areas of opium growing.

## STOCKPILING ILLICIT OPIUM

Mr. WOLFF. In the first place, when the Turkish opium ban was set up and agreed to with the United States there were four provinces that were growing opium and now the Turkish Government has enlarged that to seven—hardly a measure of control. How do you control 97,000 farms throughout Turkey?

To give the committee an idea of the problems of control, there is no method of determining the yield of opium from the poppy on a particular farm. The farmer in his scratching of the opium poppy gets, under daylight conditions perhaps, a certain amount of opium from the plant. He then scratches a little bit more at night and he gets a little bit more, and that little bit more can be put in the ground. In fact it has been put in the ground as a dowry sometimes for the farmer's children.

In other words, Turkish opium can go underground for some 50 years without having any effect whatsoever upon the quality of that product, and then it goes to the illicit market. There is absolutely no way, even with the licensing that took place before, that you can possibly control the illicit supply of opium to the illicit dealer.

This is a statement that was made by Dr. Du Pont at the international conference in Geneva. It was made by Mr. Cusack. It was made by Mr. Bartels, the head of our DEA. It has been made by Interpol, by the International Narcotics Officers Association. There is no one that will tell you that you can control this.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

## U.S. AID FAILED TO REACH THE FARMER

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Whalen.

Mr. WHALEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wolff, in your remarks you indicated that the money which the Congress provided the Turkish Government was ill-used. Are you implying that there was wrongdoing here? I wonder if you could elaborate a little bit on that statement?

Mr. WOLFF. Approximately \$2 million of the \$20 million that was given to the Turkish Government reached the farmers and that reached the farmers in one payment. The second payment was never made. Much money has gone into planning at top levels of the Turkish Government and money is being reserved.

I am not charging that there was wrongdoing, but certainly they were doing wrong in what they were doing. They did not in any manner, shape, or form assist farmers in a period where they needed assistance in the transition period to other crops.

I must say that there are a great many farmers who used to produce opium who are now producing substitute crops with the assistance of some of our agricultural people, but no system of marketing has been set up. Unfortunately, the money that has been designated for long-range projects and not to tide over the farmer as was originally intended.

Mr. WHALEN. So you are not suggesting any wrongdoing or that Turkish politicians are lining their pockets with American funds?

Mr. WOLFF. No; but I can say this, that there are some Turkish politicians and Turkish people in the political field who have ties with other people outside, the so-called French Connection that have been mentioned very prominently in the press.

Now I must get back to what Mr. Derwinski said. With all the controls of a military government previously, how is it that they were not able to exercise controls sufficiently? Turkey really had to get out of the opium business, prompted by the world community—not by the United States, but by the U.N. itself. How can they hope to affect controls today?

The big point is that it really is not wrongdoing, that the money has not been received by the Turkish farmers, but perhaps it is the wrong policy that has been adopted and maybe there has been some sabotage of the idea of crop substitution by some in high places in order to get back into the opium business.

Mr. WHALEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Lagomarsino.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to commend the gentleman for his leadership on this issue and say that although I recognize there are some problems, as has been pointed out by Mr. Frelinghuysen and Mr. Derwinski, I agree with you. I agree this is something that we should do.

I should like to also commend the gentleman for being one of the few who is consistent on this issue. He is one of the few on this committee who voted for my amendment to the Rhodesian chrome bill that would have the same affect there; in other words, to say we would not buy chrome from Turkey either if they were following this policy.

It is rather interesting that some 13 years ago when I was first elected to the California State Senate, I introduced a resolution memorializing Congress to take the very action that you are proposing here today with regard to those nations that don't do everything possible to prevent the exportation of narcotics, particularly heroin, to our country. I pointed out in that resolution that that action should include withdrawal of foreign aid.

Now, the legislature in its lack of wisdom at that time deleted that phrase, but at least it shows that I have been very interested in this for some time. So I commend the gentleman, and hope that we are able to pass this resolution.

Mr. WOLFF. Thank you.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Zablocki.

#### NEED TO STOP ILLEGAL DRUG TRAFFIC

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to commend our colleague for his past efforts and his enthusiasm in this area. Of course, we all agree with him that illicit drug traffic must be stopped.

My only concern, however, is whether the total termination of economic and military aid and sales and grants to Turkey would be the answer. It appears to me it is necessary to take the profit out of the illicit drug trade if we are going to have better enforcement and control. I will have to join our chairman in saying that even if we don't give a dime to Turkey, the illicit traffic from that country to other

parts of the world, including the United States, will still take place. Is that not true?

Mr. WOLFF. Why should we pay them, however, to do it? You say if we don't give a dime to them they will do it. Well, I say don't give them the dime. Since they are going to do it, why give them the dime?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Well, then you are in support of terminating all assistance—military sales, military grants, and some \$23 million in economic aid?

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Zablocki, this resumption of opium is going to hurt this country very badly. It is going to affect us in a variety of ways.

You have aptly stated your view that you are opposed to drug traffic, naturally. I think we all are, but the important element is the hurt that is going to be felt by the American people.

We had something of epidemic proportions here. We had 600,000 addicts in the United States, and as a result of the Turkish ban it has gone down to 200,000. Every law enforcement officer that I have spoken to has indicated that that will go back up again to 600,000 and perhaps surpass that. They are hurting our people. Should we not hurt them?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Well, I am not prepared to reply to that question. I certainly think that if we have greater control on the illicit drugs that enter this country, whether from Turkey or Mexico or India or Thailand, or wherever, we would still have our problems with methadone, perhaps just as serious as the problems with heroin, and we certainly are not getting methadone from Turkey.

I want to support the gentleman. I have no further questions.

I thank the gentleman.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Biester.

#### OPIUM PRODUCTION IN TURKEY

Mr. BIESTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I just have a limited number of questions for our colleague.

How long has opium been grown in Turkey?

Mr. WOLFF. Oh, hundreds of years.

Mr. BIESTER. How far back?

Mr. WOLFF. I don't know, but I don't go back that far. It goes back for many years; 1900 B.C., I understand, so they have been around for a long time.

Mr. BIESTER. 1900 B.C.?

Mr. WOLFF. That is what my colleague from Illinois has just indicated.

#### DRUG ADDICTION IN TURKEY

Mr. BIESTER. About 4,000 years.

What is the addiction rate in Turkey?

Mr. WOLFF. Little or none, and that is one of the problems that we have, not that they have. The Turkish Government has said that this is our problem, and I think it is our problem, but so is the defense of Turkey, and the problem of trying to stop this product once it reaches the illicit channel.

Mr. BIESTER. In other words, they have been producing it for about 4,000 years and have a low addiction rate?

Mr. WOLFF. That is right.

Mr. BIESTER. What are some of the economic aid programs that would be cut off? What do some of these programs do; to whom are they directed in Turkey?

#### U.S. ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY

Mr. WOLFF. Unfortunately we have not heard in our briefings as yet as to what these programs are, but we do know that there is about \$40 million in economic assistance and an additional \$17 million in the pipeline that has not been expended in the original agreement and some well over \$100 million in military assistance.

Mr. BIESTER. Let's pass the military assistance for a moment. Do you have any idea what some of these programs do?

Mr. WOLFF. I do not.

Mr. BIESTER. You have not looked into that?

Mr. WOLFF. Oh, yes.

Mr. BIESTER. Well, what do they do?

Mr. WOLFF. In the past?

Mr. BIESTER. What have they done in the past?

Mr. WOLFF. In the past there have been aid programs that have been used for the general betterment of the people there. There have been educational programs. We had a university, Robert College, that we founded many years ago, about 100 years ago, that by the way, the Turkish Government took over after our funding it for all these years. We have had a number of agricultural projects with Turkey.

Mr. BIESTER. Agricultural products?

Mr. WOLFF. Projects. General agriculture. Wheat and wheat irrigation projects and the like, yes.

Mr. BIESTER. Teaching farmers how to do a better job in producing their crops?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Mr. BIESTER. We will cut that off?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Mr. BIESTER. Thank you.

Mr. WOLFF. I don't want them to be able to produce opium in any better fashion.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Kazen.

#### U.S. INTERESTS IN TURKEY

Mr. KAZEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wolff, I want to thank you for your testimony before the committee. I am one of those coauthors of your resolution because I think that something has to be done to cut off some of the supply that gets to this country.

Let's look at the other side of it and we see what it is that preoccupies the administration in any hesitancy that there may be in implementing this type of a resolution.

Just what are American interests in Turkey now?

Mr. WOLFF. I have indicated that in addition to the fact that Turkey is a democratic nation that it has been a partner in NATO. Of recent date—not as good a partner as perhaps they were in the past, as indicated by the fact that during the Middle Eastern war Turkey permitted the overflight of its territory by the Soviets and would not permit us to overfly its territory. This is in the Senate testimony that was in the Record last week as well as testimony that was taken by this committee. It is considered to be one of the anchors of NATO in the Middle East.

Mr. KAZEN. We do have bases in Turkey.

Mr. WOLFF. Yes, we do.

Mr. KAZEN. How vital are those bases to the United States?

Mr. WOLFF. I can't tell you how vital they are, but perhaps before you came in you read a statement by Mr. Gunes, Foreign Minister of Turkey, who said that although there has been a threat of cutoff of aid to Ankara "it would not change the status of two dozen vital military bases maintained under the joint command of the two North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies."

It must be understood that Turkey has an adversary to the north, even with all the détente we talk about. Turkey has problems there as well, and they do need the protection of the United States. If they didn't need the protection of the United States, we should move our bases out right now.

Mr. KAZEN. What I am trying to do is weigh the advantages, because apparently this is going to have a very serious impact in our relations with Turkey if something is not done by the Turkish Government itself.

Mr. WOLFF. Right.

Mr. KAZEN. And you are satisfied that it would be overall advantageous to the United States to go through with this type of a resolution?

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Kazen, I must say that I have to give consideration not on the emotional basis but on a purely factual basis. If we are having détente, and I question seriously détente in all of its meanings, obviously the threat there does not seem to be as great as it was, but I have never requested one of our troops to be withdrawn from NATO. But I must say that in considering the security of the United States—and, I think this comes first in our considerations—we must consider our internal security as well.

We have a very good history which is a very bad history of the effects of Turkey's inability to control its production and effect upon the young people of our country. If you talk about casualties in a war, I certainly consider 600,000 addicts in the United States casualties of the drug war. I certainly consider 300,000 casualties that we suffered in the way of drug abusers in Vietnam as casualties of a war, and this to my mind is as important as any war that we will ever fight in this world.

I say to you, therefore, that we should take whatever steps are possible in order to preclude a direct attack, as the President has indicated, a direct attack upon the young people of our Nation which I believe that the Turkish resumption of opium will provide.

Mr. KAZEN. I would hope that the passage of this would have that effect.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOLFF. Thank you, Mr. Kazen.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Findley.

#### CUTOFF OF AID AND TURKISH POLICIES

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Wolff, if the President should exercise the authority in response to a resolution of this sort and terminate all assistance to Turkey, what effect do you think that would have on Turkey's policies?

Mr. WOLFF. First of all I do believe that when the committee passes this resolution—and I do believe here again that we have some 25 members of this committee who are cosigners of this resolution, and more than a majority of the Congress—when we do pass the resolution, that it will signal to Turkey our intent and our sincerity of purpose.

I do not think, and this is confirmed by individual conversations that I have had with many people who are involved in this problem, that Turkey truly believes the seriousness of U.S. intent, and I believe that they will make some accommodations, and they will not go ahead with the planting even though the seeds are distributed already.

Mr. FINDLEY. Well, my question was, if the resolution is passed and the President subsequently cuts off all aid, what effect would this have on Turkish policies? Do you think it would cause Turkey to prohibit the production of opium?

Mr. WOLFF. I don't think it would come to the point where the President would have to cut the aid.

Mr. FINDLEY. I see. You see it more as a signal?

Mr. WOLFF. That is correct.

Mr. FINDLEY. I see.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Yatron.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wolff, I too want to congratulate you on your very fine presentation. I would like to ask won't a cutoff of assistance to Turkey result in an inability on the part of the United States to influence the Turks in any way whatsoever? And it seems to me that as a start if we can keep even part of the heroin out of the United States that we are ahead of the game.

Would you care to comment on that?

#### CUTOFF OF AID A CLEAR SIGNAL

Mr. WOLFF. We don't seem to be able to influence them with the aid so I see really no chance that we can, if we continue to give them aid, exert any greater influence than if we cut it off. I think that the cutoff date will be a clear signal to them, as Mr. Findley has stated, that we do mean to cut off this aid if they go back into the production and go back into feeding this product into the illicit channels.

I don't think that we will have any greater clout with them with the aid than we will have with the ability of the President to cut this aid off. He has that ability today under the Foreign Assistance Act. However, it was needed in the situation in Thailand for the Congress to

go on record, and it certainly is needed today in the question of Turkey.

I might remind the gentleman that there are other countries in the Middle East who have the opportunity of growing opium. Greece can produce opium, but the Greek Government only recently came out with a statement that even though they have the ability to produce opium, they will not visit this scourge upon mankind and produce it.

I think that this is the type of policy that the Turkish Government should consider, not only their own personal feelings, or their political, internal political needs, but I think they should realize the effect that this will have upon the entire world community.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Burke.

Mr. BURKE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

#### THE FRENCH CONNECTION

Mr. Wolff, I would like to commend you also on this resolution. I being a cosigner am glad to have cosigned it but there is one thing that bothers me about it.

When the Turkish Government did cut down on opium it didn't cut down on the addiction and a good deal of that opium that did come in was, I believe, the brown heroin subsequently that came in from Mexico. I think the police reports will show that the majority of the heroin picked up in the last 1½ or 2 years came from Mexico or areas to the south of us.

Now would you have the same idea with regard to Mexico if this came about, particularly since the Mexican Government or at least the Mexican people think it is our problem rather than their problem and the difficulties of controlling their borders?

Mr. WOLFF. First of all let me say to the gentleman from Florida that he is well versed in this problem since we visited a number of nations of Southeast Asia trying to stop the flow of narcotics from that area and there was a turn around in that area. I explained before that opium as it is grown and converted into gum can be stored under ground and that was what was coming into the United States from Turkey, a very limited supply. I might say that the Corsicans and the French Connection tried to buy a couple of kilos of opium and opium gum recently and they were not able to buy it because of the shortage.

What has happened is that the Turkish supply of stored opium has been cut. There is very little more that is left. In other words, the Government took our money. There was some stuff stored under ground. They are reaching the end of the supply and now they thumb their noses at us. As to the number of addicts in the United States, it went from 600,000 to 200,000.

I am glad you mentioned Mexico. I have here a letter from a staff member of our Embassy in Mexico that says, "I am not going to sign my name but I want this information confidential." It says that we should place an embargo on products for Turkey and that it would be wise to restrict military aid and so forth.

[The letter follows:]

To: HON. LESTER L. WOLFF of N.Y., The House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Date: July 8, 1974.

Re Drug traffic from Turkey and Latin America.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE WOLFF: I work for the U.S. Embassy here in Mexico City. I am not going to sign my name but I want this information confidential.

We should place an embargo on products from Turkey because of their further involvement in the heroin rackets.

Perhaps you know Turkey has brought some of its poppy crop over here to Mexico. The climate is the same and it is nearer the money of the United States and Canada.

You would be wise to introduce legislation restricting military aid to Turkey and all other countries found to be exporting heroin to the U.S.

The other members working here in the Embassy feel the same because we are more aware of the problem down here.

Respectfully yours,

U.S. EMBASSY EMPLOYEE.

MEXICAN OPIUM

Mr. WOLFF. There is opium and heroin grown and produced coming into the United States from Mexico. The Mexican Government, however, is cooperating with us unlike the Turkish Government. I might tell you, Mr. Burke, that the quality is very poor.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Wolff, I know that it is not as high a grade but I also know that it is cheaper to buy. Unless I am mistaken, there has been an increase in heroin users in this country recently and it has been because of the cheapness of heroin coming in from Mexico and other areas.

Now cooperation is one thing. The reason why I mention this is first of all Mexico is cooperating but their people aren't. That is the first thing. They are still growing it. The borders there are long and they are hard to patrol and it is very difficult in parts of Mexico to even know where they grow it because they can't get inside but they can get it outside by way of planes and helicopters and so on.

Now what bothers me is these connections still remain no matter how we pay other countries. I think it is about time that we recognize ourselves that it is our problem and that we start getting a little tougher to the pushers instead of feeling sorry for them or worrying about what is right. In Turkey when somebody is picked up they are pretty rough with them. I think of the problem of the two girls and the young man that were picked up and the sentence they got.

Mr. WOLFF. They are much tougher on our people than they are on their own.

Mr. BURKE. Well, you say that but I am not so sure. I understand they are very tough on all of them. Maybe they don't use them. Maybe it is our people who are trying to smuggle this stuff out. I don't know.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Burke, I might tell you in the recent amnesty, our people were not released, but their people were. I agree in getting tough as well in our own country.

Mr. BURKE. I think we ought to increase our border controls and we frankly ought to make a little bit more than we do about the fact that somebody else ought to do it for us. The trouble is I think we

are waiting too much for other people to do it for us instead of doing it ourselves and clamping down more on people in this country.

Chairman MORGAN. The gentleman's time has expired.  
Mr. Fountain.

#### NEED FOR AN ALTERNATE TO AN AID SUSPENSION

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I feel very strongly about the subject of opium and what comes in, and I am indignant that Turkey has not been more successful in their efforts and yet I am a little bit concerned about us, too, in this country and what our basic responsibility is.

As Mr. Wolff knows, and I commend him for his efforts in spotlighting this subject, I am sympathetic with his resolution but I hesitated to join because of reservations as to whether this is the appropriate way to go about it. Somehow I can't help but think that we have adopted an attitude in this country that somebody else ought to solve our problems. At the local level they go to the State and the State comes to the Federal and now we on the Federal level are going to other countries and begging them or blackmailing them, as they have done us, for doing something of that sort in an effort to solve some of our internal problems—problems which frankly ought to be solved here in the home, the church and the school, and through adequate administration and enforcement of our own laws.

I have concern about this. I don't know what I will do when it comes to voting on it. Nonetheless, I do think this is a serious problem and I think the executive has a responsibility. That is what the State Department is for and I do think we ought to resort to all other means before doing to Turkey in effect what the Arabs did to us.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Winn.

#### THE U.S. AMBASSADOR IN TURKEY

Mr. WINN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am also concerned, Congressman Wolff. I have sat in two or three meetings with you and the Ambassador to Turkey and it looks to me like congressional action by this committee may lead to possible confrontation between this committee and the State Department. I am sure that your opinion is, and I have heard you express it, basically that you think this is the way to bring the pressure and the attention to the Turkish Government.

Mr. WOLFF. I think somebody has to do it, Mr. Winn.

Mr. WINN. Well, if I am not mistaken, it is my opinion that the Ambassador to Turkey will bring it to their attention plus the fact that hearings are being held and how many Members of Congress have cosponsored your resolution. It does not seem to me that we are short of individuals giving our message to the Turkish Government.

Mr. WOLFF. I just wish they would get the message.

Mr. WINN. Well, they may get the message but they might not do anything about it.

Mr. WOLFF. That would be unfortunate for both of our Governments.

Mr. WINN. My position is that I would feel that we ought to take maybe a wait-and-see policy for at least a little while and maybe not overreact as quickly as some individuals would like.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Winn, I must respond by asking you to come to the treatment centers, come to the homes that have been broken by drugs in this country. I don't think that those people can wait.

I agree with what Mr. Burke has said and what other gentlemen here have said; we have to take strong measures in this country. It is a problem, but the fact remains that we have to attack this from every avenue that we possibly can. The big problem that we have is trying to attack this once the product is distributed, and in small quantities it can be easily distributed. You cannot put an opium field in your pocket or in the heel of your shoe.

The legislators from Turkey are coming here and I understand my colleague from Illinois is going to invite some of the Turkish legislators to come and visit a detoxification center. They don't have the problem in Turkey; we do have the problem here.

#### TURKEY SHOULD HELP THE UNITED STATES CONTROL DRUG ABUSE

We have a mutual assistance treaty with Turkey. Isn't it up to them to come to our assistance when we need help? Sure it is our problem but can't we get some help from them?

Mr. WINN. Well, I don't know if we are going to get help or not. I am not defending them in any way, believe me. I was on the select committee for 3½ years and I know very well the drug problems that you are talking about.

Mr. WOLFF. Yes.

Mr. WINN. We have other things in other agreements and other treaties with the Turkish Government that I think we might want to take into consideration.

Mr. WOLFF. I hope they live up to those other treaties better than they have lived up to the agreement that we made to have them stop growing poppies.

Mr. WINN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Bingham.

Mr. BINGHAM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

As you know, Mr. Wolff, I am a cosponsor of your Concurrent Resolution 507 and I certainly want to join in congratulating you on your leadership in this area. I think it is worth emphasizing that your resolution, in effect, while indicating the determination and the readiness of the Congress to support drastic action, is asking the President to negotiate on a high level basis.

#### POLITICAL IMPACT OF AN AID CUTOFF IN TURKEY

Mr. WOLFF. That is correct.

Mr. BINGHAM. And it is not in that sense slamming the door. I greatly prefer your resolution for that reason to House Concurrent Resolution 556 which proposes final action at this stage.

I would like, too, to compliment you on the report that you filed with Mr. Rangel following your visit to Turkey in March. I think

you have very well described the situation there and you certainly described vividly the political problems that the Turkish Government faces; in fact, you describe them so vividly that I share the concern about what the result would be if this ban on aid finally went into effect. Since your resolution calls for intensive negotiations to see if that can't be prevented, I think that is the basic approach that we can take at this time.

Mr. WOLFF. I thank the gentleman for his comments, and not only that but I thank him for his support knowing full well that even in his district he has long worked on the problem of addiction.

#### THE MONDALE AMENDMENT

Mr. BINGHAM. Thank you.

I just wonder if you have any comment to make on the resolution in the other body. Senator Mondale has, I understand, proposed a resolution.

Mr. WOLFF. Senator Mondale put in an amendment to an existing piece of legislation which was on the floor for the Drug Abuse Act and it passed 81 to 8 in the Senate. This would suspend aid if the President thought that the crop that was planted in some way got to the United States in the form of illegal drugs. I am afraid, however, there is one point of difference I have with that amendment. I would agree to the idea of the suspension because that is all I am asking.

When I say a cutoff of aid, that does not mean that you cut it off interminably, it is really a suspension of aid. But, you don't suspend something after you have had the problem visited upon you, you suspend something until the problem has been solved. The one way to find out if the problem has been solved is if they produced the crop and there is no leakage to the United States. The aid can be given. To give the aid at the same time that they are sending the stuff here would seem to be after the fact rather than as a prophylactic to the problem.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Bingham, will you yield?

Mr. BINGHAM. Yes, I yield.

#### MONDALE AMENDMENT NOT GERMANE

Chairman MORGAN. There is a jurisdictional problem because the Mondale amendment was offered to a bill over which the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee has jurisdiction and, of course, under the House rules the conference report if it comes back would be in parliamentary difficulty. So I will ask the speaker to hold that on his desk until there is some discussion with the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

#### SECTION 481 OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT

Mr. BINGHAM. May I just ask Mr. Wolff about his interpretation of section 481 of the act which House Concurrent Resolution 507 would require be implemented. As I understand that, it requires that aid be suspended and sales suspended if the President determines that the Government has failed to take adequate steps to prevent the drugs from being sold illegally within the jurisdiction, not automatically to suspend aid when the opium is cultivated.

Mr. WOLFF. But it also does indicate if you read it in toto that it suspends aid if such country has failed to take adequate steps to prevent narcotics produced or processed, or other substances in whole or in part in such country or transported through such country from being sold illegally within the jurisdiction of the United States or independent personnel or from entering the United States unlawfully.

What I am saying is that we have adequate evidence that Turkish opium has found its way to this country in the past and even today the residual quantity that was held in storage has found its way to the United States.

Chairman MORGAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Gilman.

#### NARCOTICS TRAFFIC AND ORGANIZED CRIME

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to compliment the gentleman from New York in his capacity as subcommittee chairman of the Committee on International Narcotics for having spent so much time in the past few months in focusing attention on this problem, for his trip to Turkey to try to convince the Turkish governmental officials to rescind their decision lifting the opium ban and for conducting a hearing in New York City within the past week and for bringing some informative material to the attention of this committee.

I, too, am a cosponsor of this measure and wholeheartedly support the resolution seeking to cut off aid to Turkey unless it rescinds its action.

Mr. Wolff, in the course of your investigation and hearings did you find any evidence of criminal elements being tied to the recent campaign in Turkey seeking to rescind its opium production ban?

Mr. WOLFF. I could not find any hard evidence of this. However, it was indicated by a reporter for Newsday who won a Pulitzer prize for a series called "*The Heroin Trail*" at the meeting which you attended in New York that a Mr. Franchese, who is in some legitimate enterprises, is also a very vital factor in the whole French Connection. The fact is that the apparatus of the so-called French Connection stands by.

Now they had put their money into legitimate enterprises, if you want to call them that, gambling enterprises and other enterprises, while the product from Turkey was unavailable. However, I do find that there has been activity in both the United States as well as at Geneva and I have heard talk of it in Turkey as well by various pharmaceutical companies of the United States encouraging the Turkish Government to go back and plant opium. That is not illegal activity but at the same time it is encouragement to the Government of Turkey.

#### SOURCES OF LEGAL OPIUM

Mr. GILMAN. Have you been approached by any of these pharmaceutical companies that have urged the return of Turkish opium production?

Mr. WOLFF. I have been approached by their lobbyists. Yes, I have.

Mr. GILMAN. Is there another supply available to the pharmaceutical companies besides Turkey?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes, there is. India has supplied virtually all of their needs, plus the fact that strangely enough members of the pharmaceutical companies have been going out to areas like Thailand and Hong Kong to purchase the confiscated supply. They might have gone to the New York City Police Department because somebody stole the stuff that was in the safe at the police department and they might have gotten it just as well from there. As you know, they have been active. They showed the committee some of the work that has been done plus the fact that articles in Medical News have indicated that they have encouraged the Turks to go back into the business.

Mr. GILMAN. Actually there are other available producing countries that could meet these needs, is that not so?

Mr. WOLFF. India particularly, yes.

#### TURKEY AND THE SINGLE CONVENTION ON NARCOTICS

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Wolff, there has been a great deal of comment about objections to our interference with the internal affairs of other countries. It is my understanding that Turkey was a signatory or a party to an agreement in the United Nations.

Mr. WOLFF. Single convention.

Mr. GILMAN. The Single Convention to the United Nations back in the fifties that prevented Turkey from engaging in opium production, isn't that correct?

Mr. WOLFF. Yes. The Single Convention specifically states that any country that cannot control the illicit traffic must go out of business or suffer the consequences of international sanctions.

Mr. GILMAN. And Turkey comes within the provinces of that convention.

Mr. WOLFF. Yes, it does.

Mr. GILMAN. So there is presently a ban by the United Nations on Turkey's opium production, isn't that correct?

Mr. WOLFF. I would not say a direct ban but the international body on drug control has requested that Turkey not go back into the business. Dr. Du Pont stated specifically in Geneva that they should not go back into the business our own drug enforcement agencies tried to prevail on Turkey not to go back into the business.

Chairman MORGAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Thank you, Mr. Wolff.

Mr. WOLFF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank the chairman as well for having appointed me to chair the special subcommittee and to give this opportunity to me and Mr. Steele, who is a member of that subcommittee, as well as other members of this committee.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Wolff, both yourself and Mr. Steele and a former member of this committee who is now a member of the Rules Committee, Mr. Murphy, have done a great deal of work in this field. You can be assured that the full membership of the committee appreciates those efforts.

Mr. WOLFF. Thank you.

Chairman MORGAN. Our next witness is a distinguished member of this committee, Congressman Robert H. Steele, from Connecticut.

I understand, Mr. Steele, that you do not have a prepared statement. You may proceed.

**STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT H. STEELE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT**

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for this opportunity to testify and also commend you, Mr. Chairman, and other members of the committee for your deep interest in this problem and your very prompt attention to it with these hearings here today.

Mr. Chairman, I think that we are faced with the most serious single problem in narcotics control that we have had to face in this country since 1971 and I believe that the seriousness of the situation necessitates an immediate and strong response by Congress. I personally believe that there is only one practical step remaining to the United States which stands a chance of heading off a new deluge of Turkish-originated heroin on the United States, and that step is to suspend the U.S. assistance to the Turkish Government unless Turkey reinstitutes a ban on the growing of opium poppies.

Turkey's opium ban has been a key to our success in stemming the tide of heroin addiction in the United States. As I think we are all aware, prior to the Turkish Government's ban on the cultivation of the opium poppy—which went into effect in 1972—well over 50 percent, and some estimate up to 80 percent, of all the heroin that reached this Nation originated in Turkey.

As a result of the cessation of poppy cultivation in that country, together with sharply increased law enforcement efforts internationally and domestically and a vastly increased rehabilitation program, we have seen a major decrease in the use of heroin in the United States and also the amount of addiction in this country. It has been estimated, and I think this is particularly important in view of the query from the gentleman from Florida who rightly expressed great concern over Mexican heroin, that even with an increase in Mexican heroin, the number of heroin addicts has dropped by 50 percent since 1971 in this country, from more than 500,000 to 250,000.

It is very clear that the progress we have made is now being threatened, for the Turkish Government has not only announced that it will drop the ban and resume poppy production, but that it intends to allow poppy cultivation in seven Provinces, a dramatic increase from the four Provinces in which cultivation was to be allowed in 1972 before the ban went into effect. I think it is extremely important that we all understand that this is not simply a token return to opium production, this is a return with a vengeance for full-scale production of opium in Turkey.

I just want to very briefly give an idea of what some of the consequences of the decision by the Turkish Government to resume opium production can be. Let me cite the case in my own State of Connecticut. As a result of the Turkish opium ban and increased law enforcement, prevention and treatment programs, we have turned the tide in the war against heroin addiction in Connecticut, as in a number of other States. That progress is now in very great jeopardy.

Just to give you an idea of the kind of progress that has been made in one State, I would cite statistics that show that admissions to drug treatment programs of heroin users decreased in Connecticut from 1,959 in 1971 to 1,176 in 1972 to 544 in 1973, and that in part is a result of the Turkish ban on the production of opium. As one drug treatment director told me, we will not only see the effects of the Turkish opium crop in the streets of our cities but in our morgues as well, across this country.

Now in conclusion I would like to address the Turkish situation itself and specifically the economic impact and the economic considerations that the Turks had to take into consideration in making their decision.

Despite the recent assertions by the Turkish Government, poppy cultivation simply no longer was a significant factor in the Turkish economy at the time that the ban went into effect. According to the official Turkish Government statistics furnished to the study mission the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Murphy, and I undertook for this committee in 1971, Turkey's total export earnings in 1969 were approximately 534 million U.S. dollars.

Legal exports of opium products in that year were valued at only \$2.6 million. Moreover, while illegal sales do not show up in these figures, it appears clear that even the financial gains for Turkish farmers who are selling into the illicit market are very small when compared to the nation's total export earnings. It is estimated that illegal sales net approximately three times the legal price in Turkey. That means that illicit opium trading nets less than \$8 million annually in U.S. dollars.

This, it is true, would have some impact on the small farmer. Therefore, we agreed to provide some \$35 million to compensate the losses of the farmers and to assist in developing alternative crops and industries. I think it is consequently clear that the economic gain of renewing poppy cultivation, particularly in light of the amount of money this Nation was willing to furnish to the Government of Turkey, was extremely small at best. There is only one place where it is financially beneficial and that is on the illegal market, and there is only one significant group that will benefit and that is organized crime in Turkey. The resumption of opium production will provide the crooks a bonanza in Turkey. I think it is time we look at this problem this way and not as a situation where we are going in and depriving Turkey of a major part of her legitimate economy.

Another thing that I am very concerned about are the reports which have come from high-level members of the U.S. Government that organized crime played a major role in Turkey in fanning public passions on the opium question and in inspiring a press campaign calling for the resumption of opium production in Turkey.

In sum, Mr. Chairman, I say this: It seems to me that over the years Turkey has not had a greater friend than the United States; as a matter of fact, you could make the statement that Turkey has had no real friend but the United States. Ever since President Truman sent the *Missouri* to the straits we have really only asked Turkey's help in three things. One was to support us in Korea, which Turkey did with enormous heroism and effectiveness. We have asked that they cooperate

with us in a mutual defense effort which they have done to the benefit of the United States and the benefit of themselves. Finally, we have asked that instead of taking the very minuscule economic benefit that opium provides them, that they acknowledge our friendship, and that they acknowledge what I think is a moral obligation to the world to keep opium production under control.

I think Mr. Wolff put it very well, however. They cannot keep it under control. There is no way in the world they are going to control this except to ban the production of opium. I think that they are sitting back and waiting to see what our response is going to be. The question is how seriously do we regard this menace. If we regard it seriously enough, I think that we have to take strong action and I believe it will stimulate and generate the kind of negotiation that can lead to the kind of agreement they took not only willingly but with great fanfare in 1971.

If you read the speech of the Premier of Turkey in 1971, when they announced this ban, you will see one of the most eloquent and finest statement of Turkey's moral obligation to the world that was ever written. I hope that this kind of effort can make the Turks take another look at their own statement and their relationship with the United States and reassess how important it is to them.

Thank you.

#### U.S. ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN TURKEY

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you, Mr. Steele.

Mr. Steele, in 1971, the United States agreed to give Turkey \$35.7 million to help ease the economic difficulties resulting from the decision to ban poppy cultivation. That program got underway in 1972 when the United States furnished \$300,000 for the control of the 1972 crop, \$400,000 for the payment of experts hired to give advice on alternate crops, \$5 million for foreign exchange offset, and \$4.9 million for development of alternate crops. The United States committed \$10 million for this, but the Turks only drew down \$4.9 million. And, in 1973, the United States provided only \$5 million for foreign exchange offset. It appears that the program was slow getting started.

Do you feel that neither the Turks nor the United States moved fast enough in implementing the antiopium program in Turkey? Was there some fault on both sides in this situation?

#### SLOW START TO THE ANTI-OPIMUM ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Mr. STEELE. I certainly think we could have moved faster. I think we could have moved more effectively. I don't think it is the main question here, but I certainly acknowledge that point and I think Members in the BNDD would acknowledge that and the new drug administration knows that, yes.

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you, Mr. Steele.

Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to commend Mr. Steele for his testimony. As one of the acknowledged experts on this subject, we have all listened with interest.

My question really is very simple. You say that Congress has only one practical step to take and that is suspension of our foreign aid. Yet, your pitch is basically that we should try to keep discussions going to get the Turks to reconsider their recent unfavorable decision. In other words, I would guess that you would favor ways of inducing the Turks to grow alternative crops. This suggests that we should try not to cut off all ties absolutely.

#### AID SHOULD BE SUSPENDED

Mr. STEELE. I certainly don't want to see ties totally cut off and I don't believe from talking with Ambassador Macomber and others that those ties would be cut if we suspended aid. I think they could be curtailed and I think there would be problems in our relations, but the ties would not be cut off.

What I would recommend is that we set a date for suspension of aid and we negotiate as vigorously as we can in the period leading up to that date. You say that is a threat. Perhaps, but it seems to me that we have no alternative. They have put their cards on the table, they have played their hand and they are wondering what hand we are going to play. We don't have any hand to play except this one in my opinion.

#### AID CUTOFF COULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. You say this is a practical step. In your opinion what is the likelihood that suspension would lead to a reimposition of the ban on poppy cultivation? I would think your proposed action would simply drive the Turkish Government into a corner and make a ban less likely. Since this is basically a political step there seems to be general agreement that our economic aid will really not be a factor. If we take an action with economic and political overtones, if we give a clear impression that we are trying to force the hand of another government, it might make it less likely that they would be able to do as we wish—in this case reimpose a ban on growing poppies.

#### POLITICAL SITUATION IN TURKEY

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Frelinghuysen, I always respect your very wise views on a situation such as this and I cannot take direct issue with that point. However, my estimate is that chances right now are zero and you are not going to decrease those chances any more. It is zero and that is as low as you can go.

I think this is indeed a political situation. I think the Turkish politicians got themselves into this position during the election by demagogically playing on national pride and exaggerating the economic impact of opium. Obviously Turkey is not eager to have anyone tell them what to do. However, it seems to me their position is also based on what the United States will do, or what they think we will do.

What if we give them a political alternative which is important to Turkey. We now give them substantial aid. There is \$23 million in economic assistance, \$80 million in grant military, \$90 million in foreign military credit sales assistance. Here is something they will also

have to consider, since suspension of aid will exert very strong political pressure in the other direction.

Now our choice literally, it seems to me, is either to roll over and play dead or stand up and make an effort here. I don't know any other effort that can be made. I listened to Ambassador Macomber as you did. I have heard him several times now tell the story, and it seems to me that the Turks made a calculated decision that we would not respond vigorously because it just was not important enough for us to do so. I think we have no choice and that is why I made that statement.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Well, I would not question the value of vigorous response, but I am looking for a practical one. I would guess that we have heard ad nauseam that we cannot buy friends with our aid. I would doubt very much by a promise to give aid if they do something, or a threat not to give aid if they do not do something, that we are going to influence the Turkish Government's judgment. It seems to me we may well move them in the wrong direction.

I also feel that your assumption that there is no way the Turks can grow poppies and control the production is a poor reflection on them. I think quite logically they can say if the Indians can do it and others can, why not give us the benefit of a doubt, help us in developing effective methods of control as a practical way of coping with what we all agree is a very grave problem.

Mr. STEELE. We did that, for example, for many years and we were evidently unsuccessful. No matter what the Turkish Government says it is going to do in terms of control, it simply cannot deliver, given the nature of their bureaucracy.

I really think this is a clearcut decision where we have one realistic option and we don't have any others that really are going to have an effect. It sounds fine to say, "Let's work with them to try to control it," but the chances of controlling it are virtually nil.

Chairman MORGAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. Zablocki.

#### TARGET DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to join the others in commending and congratulating Mr. Steele.

You did state that we ought to set a target date for fruitful negotiations?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Would you say October of this year? Mr. Wolff said that was the date they would have to put seeds in the ground.

Mr. STEELE. That would be a very good date. I think that the administration has to be clear to the Turks how deadly serious we are in the Congress and how we are going to move if we don't get action. I think that that would create a far better environment than we have now, where we are making zero progress.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. In a negotiation at the highest level would you recommend that we again make an agreement to pay a sum for the ban on growing opium poppy as we did in the past? I think that was a mistake. Do you think we should enter into such an agreement again?

## NEED FOR HIGH LEVEL ACTION

Mr. STEELE. Yes, but I would not offer as much money. I think that the \$35 million bore very little resemblance to what the real economic impact was.

With regard to negotiations, I think it is appropriate that they be handled by the Secretary of State himself and that we make clear the seriousness with which we, in the United States, view this problem. I know that Secretary Kissinger being in Damascus was what, an hour from Ankara, I don't think the Secretary's personal involvement is an immediate solution to all problems in the world but I think we have to address it on this basis and let the Turks know how seriously their best friend in the world regards this and what a tremendous blow it is to us.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I support the basic intent and principle but I wonder how we will measure whether negotiations are fruitful? Can the Government of Turkey, for example, guarantee to our negotiators that the seeds will not be planted after the farmers have them? Will they demand their return? It is a difficult situation.

Mr. STEELE. Yes; I see no reason why that could not be done, demand that they be returned or not be planted. After all, Turkey has shown it has the enforcement structure to police an absolute ban. They have done it very, very well.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. If they had the structure to ban the growing of opium, they should have the structure to control growing opium.

Mr. STEELE. No; that is an absolutely different thing.

Mr. WOLFF. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEELE. I have to totally disagree. They are two entirely different things.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I would agree with that.

Chairman MORGAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. We must try to help the Turks control opium growing.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Derwinski, will you yield to Mr. Gilman for a question?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yes, of course.

Mr. GILMAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for affording me the opportunity to request permission to submit my statement for the record. I recognize the time limitations and ask that my statement be submitted as part of the formal record and distributed to the members of the committee.

Chairman MORGAN. Without objection, so ordered.

[The statement of Hon. Benjamin A. Gilman appears in the appendix, p. 76.]

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Derwinski.

## INCREASED U.S. ASSISTANCE AS AN INVESTMENT

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Steele, I recognize that you will be leaving the committee this year and I think it is probably appropriate for me to stress that you and your colleague, Mr. Murphy, when you both conducted the study back in 1971 performed an invaluable service. I am pleased that Mr. Murphy will be following you before the committee

because the two of you really have helped educate the rest of us on the overall world problems and the need for effective drug control. I want to take this opportunity to commend you.

You put together some figures which are very interesting. Basically you said that the same Turkish farmer who receives approximately \$2.6 million in legal opium return would get about three times as much from his illicit peddling. That comes to about \$10 million.

Now would I be correct in saying that in view of the tremendous tragedy to individuals, the crime element that enters into it, the need for an addict to commit burglaries and crimes to satisfy his habit, that our original figure of \$35.7 million to help the Turks end this production is not necessarily a ceiling. It is really in our national interest in the process of negotiating the whole thing back on track that there is not any magic about that figure and if in terms of present political and other considerations some adjustment is necessary that would still be in our national interest? In other words, what I am really saying is that in negotiating with the Turks we are prepared also to take into light current realities and not those that existed 3 years ago.

Mr. STEELE. Well, I think that is very well put. I think that we have to enable the Turkish leadership to go back to their constituents and say: "Look, this is the agreement that we have thrashed out with the United States. The United States is our No. 1 ally, we need the United States and the United States needs us. In the interest of human welfare and our alliance we are going to cooperate on the opium problem, and the United States is going to provide additional assistance to help make up the lost income from opium.

Mr. DERWINSKI. You and Mr. Murphy reported to us, I believe, that less than 1 percent of the Turkish exports came from this legal opium trade, so it is clear that this is not a devastating factor in their economy.

Mr. STEELE. It is negligible.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Fountain.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to join others in commending Mr. Steele, Mr. Wolff and others who have spotlighted this problem. I think they have done the country a great favor. I hope something meaningful can come out of these efforts.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GUYER. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Yes, I yield.

#### FARM SUBSIDIES

Mr. GUYER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, inasmuch as time is running out I just want to report that I would like the privilege of offering a prepared statement which I will not do at this time, but I was privileged to be with Mr. Wolff and others in New York and I was enormously impressed with testimony and statistics. I think you will find that the Turkish people have survived for 3 years without growing opium on the same level they did before.

The amount of subsidy is five times the amount of crop. The author of the book "Heroin Trail" who spent 6 years in tracing the opium to the veins of the user did report that it is not particularly money that these people need and there is a crying definite need for replacement. He said that orchards and canning plants were of greater need. If people lived for 3 years without the crop, they can now. There is a distinct coincidence that this is an election year and the fact that seeds will keep for 3 years. There were 21 illegal refineries in the French Connection. This is more than just a local connection. If you have a plug, I think you would put the guarantee on pretty fast. I don't think this committee should be negotiators or take the part of the Department of State but this thing can be handled at the proper level and by the proper people.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Wolff.

Mr. WOLFF. I have no questions of my colleague. We have been working together very closely over the years on this, Mr. Steele, Mr. Murphy and I. We have centered our interests on the overall problem. I feel very strongly that if we do not address ourselves to this problem, all the work that has been done in the past will just fall by the wayside. I want to congratulate Mr. Steele for his work in pioneering this effort.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have no questions. I would like to commend Mr. Steele for his interest, his work and his efforts in bringing this important problem to the attention not only of our committee but of the entire Nation.

Mr. STEELE. Thank you.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Bingham.

#### CONTROL OF OPIUM IN INDIA

Mr. BINGHAM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I, too, would like to commend our colleague.

I do have one question and that has to do with the comparison between India and Turkey. One of the points made in the report submitted by Mr. Wolff and Mr. Rangel is that one of the problems in the Turkish political situation is the knowledge that the United States had approved an increase in India's production. Why is it in your judgment that India can control the illicit sale of opium and Turkey cannot?

Mr. STEELE. I think the main difference goes to the roots of their bureaucracy. One is British and the other is Ottoman. The difference in the efficiency and effectiveness of the bureaucracies is just night and day literally.

For example, in talking to law enforcement officers they tell us when there is any kind of leakage, even a report of a half a kilo of opium getting out; the Indian officials apologize, they track it down if it takes a year to do it. There is an eagerness and a thrust there that just does not exist on the Turkish side. On the Turkish side, no matter what the top man may say, the fact of it is the order has to then filter down the enforcement levels and it just never gets to the bottom.

Mr. BINGHAM. Thank you.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Yatron.

Mr. YATRON. I thank you, Mr. Steele. I do want to congratulate you and commend you for a very fine presentation, Mr. Steele, and say that I support the resolution and support all of the work that you and Mr. Wolff and Mr. Murphy and others on the committee have been doing on this, and it is much needed legislation.

Thank you.

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you, Mr. Steele.

Mr. STEELE. Thank you.

Chairman MORGAN. Our next witness is the distinguished former member of this committee who handled international narcotics control problems for the committee with distinction until he got promoted to the Rules Committee.

Mr. Murphy.

**STATEMENT OF HON. MORGAN F. MURPHY, A REPRESENTATIVE  
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS**

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the privilege of appearing here today. As long as the accolades are being tossed about so freely I would like to state for the record that if it were not for your guidance and your intense interest in this matter at the time Mr. Steele and Mr. Wolff first approached you regarding this world problem, the work and the reports might not have been made.

Mr. Chairman, I would like permission to submit my statement for the record and instead of reading it, I think the ground has been well covered here today, I would just like to make a couple of points.

Chairman MORGAN. Your statement will be made a permanent part of the record.

Mr. MURPHY. I think what happened here, Mr. Chairman, is simply this. I have been to Turkey on four or five occasions, and I just came back from Turkey shortly after Mr. Rangel and Mr. Wolff were there.

After our 1971 world heroin report, the President called Ambassador Handley to Washington, made a big to do about the humanitarian aspects of the opium ban, and the Turks in good faith imposed a ban, but that was the end of it. No major official of the U.S. Government or the executive branch went back to Turkey to see if they were having any difficulties working out the ban, to see if the planting of new crops was working, or just what problems the Turks were having with it.

I happened to be over in Turkey in Istanbul and Ankara talking with the officials of the Turkish Government when Secretary of State Kissinger was about 90 minutes away by air in Damascus and Syria and Tel Aviv and Israel. The Turks were chagrined and saddened by the fact that no major official of this Government could stop by our great ally the Turks and compliment them on their job and look to see if we could help them in any way.

I relate this to being a salesman and just be looking for new business and never bothering to take your old customer for lunch or dinner. I think this is where we failed.

I think Dr. Morgan put it in proper context. Did we find out that the money the \$23 million was getting down to the farmer? Our people were in effect coming up with a good plan for the rotation of crops.

So I think that we have kind of failed in that matter along with the Turks, and I think we let this thing slide along and our attention focused on the golden triangle and the Mexican picture. I think we neglected our good friends in the Turkish Government.

I think now action is called for. What I recommend is that the President of the United States or Vice President Ford, or Secretary of State Dr. Kissinger, undertake immediately to go to Turkey, or have the Turkish top officials brought here and shown the streets of New York.

I have invited certain members of the Turkish Parliament to visit the city of Chicago to see the problem first hand, to go into Spanish Harlem, or black Harlem in New York.

The Turks are our great ally. They came to our aid in Korea when a lot of other countries didn't. I think they will understand this and go along with it.

I think maybe we have to up our money settlement to them a little. Mr. Steele has correctly diagnosed this as a political face saving device for the Turkish politicians. We are all politicians, and we know the situation. We have to let them save face. We have to get around this idea that the Turkish press is trying to paint that the United States is interfering with domestic policy within the Turkish borders. This is not the case.

As Mr. Derwinski pointed out from Mr. Steele's testimony and Mr. Wolff's testimony, we are talking about legal revenues of about \$2.5 million from the exporting of opium in 1969 and 1970. So I think this problem is not an economic problem easily solved.

What I think we have now is some demagoging by certain Turkish politicians. We have to satisfy the Turkish press, and I think the way to do that is to have Dr. Kissinger or Vice President Ford, or the President himself, go to Turkey.

Now they have undertaken trips in the Middle East before. Unfortunately, I think they were ill-advised not to stop by our good friends in Turkey and compliment them on the fine job that they were doing, and tell them how the American people really feel about this. After all, when I attended a luncheon in Turkey they said, "You know, Mr. Murphy, you come, Mr. Steele comes, Mr. Wolff comes over, and Mr. Rangel and other Members of Congress, but we don't feel that you represent the true feeling of the American people." My retort to that was: "You are going to get the true feeling of the American people when you lift that ban." This feeling has been manifested in the Senate's vote of 80 to, I think, 18 or 12 to impose section 481 of the Foreign Assistance Act.

Now I think the President has a great opportunity here—Watergate aside—with Dr. Kissinger for personal diplomacy at the highest level. I think we can bring this off before October. I have not given up faith.

Some may charge this resolution is a threat but I call it a resolution on the part of the U.S. Congress representing the people of this great country that this is a serious problem facing our country. What we do need is some top leadership to go over and explain it to the Turks and I think it can be worked out as it was in 1971.

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you again for all your help; not only for appearing here today, but for your encouragement to undertake

this antinarcotics work when I was a member of your committee with Mr. Wolff and Mr. Steele. If it had not been for your consideration, I don't think this work would be as far along as it is today.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Morgan F. Murphy follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. MORGAN F. MURPHY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS  
FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

The news of the lifting of the Turkish ban on poppy production shocked official Washington two weeks ago. I am the first to admit my disappointment with the news and my apprehension about a future without that ban. I do know, however, this is no time for political grandstanding, emotion-charged speeches, and empty threats. It is a time to acknowledge the devastating consequences of the Turkish decision to lift the poppy ban and, hopefully, to salvage something from the diplomatic wreckage.

It would be easy to sit here and condemn the Turkish decision. It would be easier still to say that the United States is going to collect her marbles in the form of economic and military aid and go home. But the question must be asked—what will be the effect of such moves? And will the effect necessarily be the desired one of stopping the flow of heroin to our shores.

I sponsored H. Con. Res. 498 which gives the President the power to terminate all assistance to the Government of Turkey if Turkey resumes poppy production. I sponsored this Resolution to give Turkish officials some sense of the intensity of Congressional concern in this matter. I did not intend that H. Con. Res. 498 would be an idle threat. I merely hoped that conditions would not deteriorate to the point where economic sanctions would be our only recourse.

I am not a "Johnny Come Lately" to the question of the Turkey poppy ban. A World Heroin Report issued by myself and Congressman Robert H. Steele (R-Conn.) in May 1971 recommended that Turkey stop growing opium poppies. The President acted on our recommendations.

Our World Heroin Report highlighted the need to bring poppy production under control before any attempt to eradicate its growth could be expected. But our report recognized that these steps could not be implemented in a matter of weeks or months.

The United States certainly met its financial commitment to reimburse the Turkish farmer during the transition but the question has been raised that the money never made it into farmers' hands. The United States pledged inspection teams to monitor the growing of poppies, lent airplanes to assist the surveillance teams, and proposed education for the farmers to give them a real understanding of the need to stop poppy growth. Where did we go wrong?

We saw the results of addiction on our city streets and expected the rest of the world to take steps to eradicate the flow of heroin to our shores. We saw the international scope of the problem but the rest of the world continued to view our addiction rate as a purely American problem.

We did nothing wrong but, in some respects, we chose to do nothing. Upon receiving the announcement that the ban was lifted, the Administration withdrew Ambassador Macomber and stopped all U.S. aid. Where was the Administration during these last few months when the Turkish decision was in the air but might have been averted? Where were President Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger when a personal offer to negotiate might have meant the difference? What is the advantage of a détente with Russia when the heroin from Turkey can destroy a generation of Americans?

Poppy cultivation was a tradition in the Anatolian region of Turkey in 1900 B.C. and, human nature what it is, traditions die hard. In the words of Turkish Premier Bulent Ecevit, "Opium poppy constitutes not only a means of earning bread for our peasants in certain areas but more than that it is a way of life."

Rather than recognize the attack on heroin addiction as a humanitarian goal, the Turks continued to look upon U.S. efforts as an inexcusable interference in Turkey's policies and politics. Premier Ecevit caustically remarked before the Turkish Parliament that the citizens of a democratic country cannot abandon the way of life inherited from ancestors for the promise that another livelihood will be found and substituted for the old.

Premier Ecevit did, however, leave the door open. He suggested the need for a plan to convince the Turkish people that adopting a new way of life is not only

possible but profitable and, in the long run, preferable to the present state of affairs. He implies that poppy farmers were not given enough time to adjust and were left feeling defenseless and confused.

I am firmly convinced that the poppy ban can and must work. It is helpful to analyze the economic impact of the ban separately from its psychological and political aspects. Less than 1 percent of Turkey's gross national product was dependent upon poppy production prior to the ban. According to official Turkish Government statistics, Turkey's total export earnings in 1969 were approximately \$534 million while the legal exports of opium products were valued at a mere \$2,622,196. And, more importantly from the standpoint of individual farmers, the poppy grower seldom devoted more than 2.47 acres to poppy cultivation.

In the words of a recent Washington Post editorial, "If Turkish politics is the source of American heroin, then only Turkish politics can stop the flow." We must pull out the diplomatic stops to plea for a reconsideration of the Turkish decree. Premier Ecevit welcomes advice and assistance from the international organizations and friends to prevent another crisis of heroin addiction. This advice and assistance must come from the highest offices in this land and it must come now. Weeks and months from now may be too late.

#### NEED FOR U.S. DIPLOMATIC ACTION

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you, Mr. Murphy, for the statement on the problem before us today. Again I want to say and compliment you on your outstanding efforts to curb international drug traffic during your stay on this committee, and your continued efforts in this area.

I have one question. On the first page of your statement you question whether the termination of all U.S. military and economic aid to Turkey can stop the flow of heroin from that country. Short of such a cutoff what steps do you think the United States should take to keep the ban going, or at least to help the Turks police the opium crop?

Mr. MURPHY. First of all, just to reiterate, I think we need diplomacy at the highest level to keep the ban on and I have not given up on that. Minus that I agree with Mr. Wolf and Mr. Steele, it is like whistling in the wind. Once the poppy is grown, and once the poppy is in season and the opium gum is extracted from it, the ball game is over. A certain amount is going to go into illegal channels and all the policing within Turkey and at her border is not going to stop the flow. There is just too much money involved in drug traffic.

So I think we have to do this. I think we still have a chance to save this ban before it sinks, and right now I would like to concentrate on that positive event.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Zablocki.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to join the chairman in congratulating and commending you, Mr. Murphy, for your past, present, and—I know—future efforts.

I have no question, but I do want to state that you have supplied the answer to the question that was asked earlier as to when the Turkish people started growing poppies.

Mr. MURPHY. 1900 B.C.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. 1900 B.C., as you state in your prepared statement.

Further, you say that poppy-growing is a way of life, and they have always grown them. How then can we expect a total ban?

#### TURKS UNAWARE OF DRUG PROBLEM

Mr. MURPHY. We never explained the ban to their local legislators. We never had them in this country to see the white scourge when it hits the streets of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles. I think we failed

along with the Turkish Government. We had an official in the AID program trying to explain to the Turkish farmers the ban.

I suggest that we should have somebody like Dr. Kissinger, or Vice President Ford, or the President visit Turkey. The President showed great leadership in calling Ambassador Handley and working this agreement out, but after that we forgot it. We never stopped by again, and this is what the Turkish officials told me.

Your President and Secretary of State are about 90 minutes away in Damascus, Tel Aviv, Cairo, and they don't think enough of us to stop by here and see what problems we may be having here with our own people regarding the ban, what additional help we may need.

They are a very proud people. They came to our aid before in Korea, and I am sure they will do it again. I have not given up on the ban. Stress the positive. I think we can still work it out.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I agree with you, and I hope that an agreement will come to pass.

[Discussion off the record.]

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN [presiding]. There is really no secret to this, Mr. Murphy.

Mr. MURPHY. I know. I used to be a member of this committee.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The chairman was hoping to come back and was hoping you would be here when he came back. I am just wondering if we are finished, whether we should adjourn the meeting for the morning.

Mr. Murphy, could I ask you, would you like to go and answer the quorum call because I think we should recess. The chairman said he would like to keep this going, so I would be willing to declare a recess and then whoever can return will come back. I think Mr. Rangel may possibly come back, and Mr. Frey, of course, is scheduled to.

So will you come back?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The committee will stand in recess.

[Whereupon, at 12:22 p.m., the committee recessed until 12:38 p.m.]  
Chairman MORGAN. The committee will reconvene.

While we are waiting for interested members to come back, time is going by, so we better start.

Mr. Derwinski, do you have any questions?

#### POPPY BAN CAN WORK

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yes, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Murphy, I note in your testimony that you basically take a positive viewpoint. You state, and I am quoting you, that you are "firmly convinced that the poppy ban can work."

Now I think what you would also recognize that it will take at this moment some practical diplomatic efforts. You have touched on the high-level kind of contact you envision, but what other suggestions do you have as to how we could effectively solve this political and diplomatic problem?

Mr. MURPHY. Well, let me take you back into history a little bit, Congressman Derwinski. What we faced in 1970 was far greater odds than what we face today. We already have the ban today, the Turks have lived with it for 3 years. Although some of the aid has not gotten down to where it was intended to go, some of it has.

We know some of the mistakes in the program. So I would say that we are in a better position today than we were in 1970 when we were suggesting the ban to the Turkish Government. Then we had to overcome a lot of thinking and tradition but at least we persuaded the Turkish Parliament and the Premier to accept it.

Now I think what we have to do is to argue forcefully along the lines that what abuses have occurred as a result of the ban can be done away with. We can use diplomacy, more money, more aid, following up the program.

As Dr. Morgan indicated, we got the ban and then we walked away. We deposited money, and we walked away. We left it to some agricultural expert in AID to administer it, and I think it requires somebody at a higher level.

#### TURKISH AMBASSADOR MISLED

Now the second part of your question. I think the Turkish Ambassador here in the United States has been misled as to the true feeling of the people in this country. The members of the Turkish Parliament told me that they were getting reports back from their people stationed in the United States that what the Congressmen visiting Turkey were advocating was not really felt throughout the United States. There was not a great feeling or force behind it.

I think they have been surprised by the editorial comments, the hue and cry from the people, and the Senate's action of last week. I think they will be surprised at the vote if this resolution comes to the House floor.

Mr. DERWINSKI. In other words, you feel that perhaps the Turkish people and their Ambassador did not have a feel for the strength of feeling that obviously existed in Congress?

Mr. MURPHY. That is correct.

Mr. DERWINSKI. That is your opinion.

Mr. MURPHY. That is correct.

Mr. DERWINSKI. It would seem then that we ought to reemphasize the sheer numbers. Over 240 Members having cosponsored the same basic resolution that you and Mr. Wolff, Mr. Rangel, Mr. Steele, and others have advocated, and that includes 25 members of this committee.

Mr. MURPHY. That is right.

#### MAJORITY OF THE HOUSE SUPPORTS THE RESOLUTION

Mr. DERWINSKI. So basically what you have is a clear majority in the committee, as well as a clear majority in the House, and you have already pointed out the action already taken in the Senate. So I would hope that the clear intent of Congress now will be properly communicated. You then in your judgment would perhaps create a situation where the effective diplomatic termination to this problem could be achieved.

Mr. MURPHY. Well, when you look at what took place between Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Israel and all the issues and emotional feeling, we had what almost erupted into another world war. We were able to calm those waters, and to work out some agreements and accords between them, and they hated each other.

We are talking about two allies, Turkey and the United States. We are talking about the United States which came to the aid of Turkey after World War II, when President Truman sent the *Missouri* to fight the Russians to get back in the Black Sea and stay there.

There are an awful lot of plusses for the reimposition of the ban if we take a positive attitude and not threaten Turkey. They are a proud people, as we would be, and we would not want anybody telling us what to do.

You know, it is an interesting thing. The Turks say to me:

You know, Mr. Murphy, one of the biggest problems in Turkey is the 1957 version of your Chevrolet. We have had more deaths due to traffic accidents than we do as a result of any other external cause.

Should we say to Detroit, don't produce any more cars for Turkey because they don't know how to handle them? That is in essence what you are saying, don't plow the poppy because the fruit of the poppy you cannot handle, your youth cannot handle.

I think what you have is a few Turkish politicians maybe financed and influenced by certain farmers who are in turn influenced and financed by the illegal underworld.

#### HEROIN PRODUCTION IN TURKEY

Last month the DEA informed me that an illegal laboratory was found in Istanbul starting back into operation and starting to refine opium into morphine, which then was refined into heroin. So you can see they are setting up shop again, setting up the machinery of the French Connection, as we properly know it, but I am positive we can continue the ban with the right diplomatic thrust and that is what I would like to emphasize.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I commend you, Mr. Murphy, not only for your emphasis on this problem but also for the objectivity with which you address the subject.

Our relations with Turkey are excellent. They are an invaluable NATO ally. Their cooperation in NATO has exceeded that of a number of other member countries. In terms of overall significance between our two countries that issue should not prove a permanent stumbling block.

I think it is also clear that the Congress wants it corrected.

Mr. MURPHY. That is correct.

Mr. DERWINSKI. And that is the thrust of your position?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you, Mr. Murphy.

Mr. MURPHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MORGAN. Our next witness is Congressman Rangel from New York.

Congressman, we certainly welcome you today. We know you are a member of the Judiciary Committee, one of the busiest in the Congress at the present time. We appreciate the fact that you found the opportunity to come here and testify this morning. We welcome you.

You have a long prepared statement, and we hope you will summarize it so we can ask you some questions.

STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL, A REPRESENTATIVE  
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. RANGEL. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

I ask for unanimous consent to have my statement made a part of the record and just to summarize. Perhaps if I was not involved in the hearings of impeachment there would be no need for the resolution that is before this honorable committee today.

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you. Your statement will be made a permanent part of the record.

Mr. RANGEL. Thank you. I know you have heard testimony. I know the work that has been done by my colleagues in this particular area, many long before I came into the Congress, so I would not like to go over all of that.

It seems to me that if we were dealing with a strong Executive, the same Executive that entered into this agreement with our country and Turkey, that merely we are asking for enforcement of that agreement.

It seems to me in talking with the Ambassador who was recalled back for consultations, that this country has not given him any tools at all to work with in order to forestall or to prevent the Turkish Government from going back to the production of opium.

I have had the opportunity to discuss the concerns of the people in Turkey from the parliamentarians to those that have been holding high public office, and yet none of the people that have returned to the United States have indicated whether or not they believe that Turkey has the capacity to control the growing of opium. There is much talk about a program of control, but in talking about the Turkish Ambassador and our own Ambassador to Turkey no one talks about what these controls should be.

The problem that I think that we are facing is that as long as there is no movement at all on the part of the United States—and it appears there is no evidence that there has been any move on our part to prevent the Turkish Government from going into reproduction—all of us are in accord that it is an internal political problem that the Turkish people are facing. We recognize that the so-called agreement, which they claim is not in fact an agreement, even though our executive branch still holds it to be, is one that was entered into with the military government, which is not our problem. Governments go on regardless of how often they change.

It is clear to me, however, that if we don't get involved with my resolution which I introduced on May 9, and was glad through the efforts of Congressman Wolff to receive so many cosponsors, it merely enforces the feeling of the American people through the House of Representatives and the Senate that the President should review our policy as it relates to Turkey, and if he sees fit—and I am certain that he will once the facts are brought to him—to suspend financial assistance, both economic and military assistance to Turkey.

Nowhere in talking with the people in Turkey do they believe that this problem is serious enough for us to take what amounts to an extraordinary action, and it is my belief that it should not be the Congress that should enter into these international agreements, but it is

also clear to me that no effort has been made by the executive branch of Government to talk to the people of Turkey to try to prevent or to renegotiate the Turkish agreement as we have recognized it.

It is with great concern that we hear the Turkish people constantly talking about the interest that they have in their farmers. This interest was not evidenced when a number of members went to Turkey. It appeared from all of the facts that were made available to us that the growth of opium represented a very small part of the gross national product of the Turkish people, that even when they were growing opium that the Turkish farmer was not the beneficiary of the large amount of money that has been involved in the illicit trafficking of drugs, and that even with the agreement of the \$36 million that had been appropriated by this Congress the Turkish Government did not see fit to make that money available to the Turkish farmer, which now they have so much of a great concern about.

What happened in this country was the drug addiction had been considered to be a problem just of certain areas of our country. The inner cities, and the large cities, and even those of us that were caught in this trap saw our communities deteriorating to such an extent that brothers and sisters were attacking each other, stealing from their parents, churches were being violated, policemen that had enjoyed the reputation of being the country's finest have found themselves unable to resist the temptation of the large amounts of moneys that were involved in the illicit drug market, educators run away from their responsibilities because they indicated it was a physical disease and not one that they could cope with in the schools.

Emphasis was made to enlarge the number of law enforcement officers at the great expense to the city and State, and now Federal Government. Aged and sick people were fighting for places in the hospitals, fighting really against the interests of the addict who was looking also for places in hospitals to rehabilitate himself.

I think that what really shook this Congress the most was when they found out that even America's fighting forces could fall victim to this terrible disease.

It seems to me that if we were ever to count in this country the number of lives that have been lost as a result of drug addiction that the facts would show that they far exceed the number of lives that were lost in our involvement in Southeast Asia. If we were to ever start counting the moneys that are involved for drug enforcement efforts, for drug rehabilitation, for enlarging our prisons—if we ever really tried to find out just how many addicts are on welfare which is a controversial thing, but certainly the cities have found themselves in that position to put them there, and how much the taxpayers are paying for it, then it would seem to me that the cost that it is costing would far exceed the expanding costs if we were to go into a meaningful program with the Government of Turkey.

The only way that I can see that we can get them to the bargaining table to negotiate an agreement is for some part of our Government to get involved. It is clear that the judicial branch of Government cannot do it. It is obvious from our talks with those in the diplomatic service and the State Department, and those agencies in the executive

branch that have the responsibility that no movement has been made. So in the final constitutional analysis the responsibility falls on those that control the purse strings. Whether we are just merely reinforcing our position as the legislative branch of Government asking the President to review the Foreign Assistance Act and implement it, or whether we are talking about suspending funding of programs of assistance to the Turkish Government, until such time as we have an opportunity to see really what they are interested in it seems to me that the buck stops here.

I am concerned because I have seen this cancer not only eat away at my community but into many communities that I have visited as a result of being in the Congress. I have seen what it can do to them. If we were ever to take the time out to go into our Veterans' Administration hospitals, I think we all would be surprised at the number of wards that are allocated to drug addicts, as we review the number of wards that are allocated for those who have been wounded in South-east Asia.

So I want to thank this committee and its chairman for bringing up this piece of legislation. Certainly Congressman Murphy and Congressman Wolf have indicated over the years their own concern about the disaster that is caused by the Turkish growth of opium as well as the decrease in quantity and quality since the ban.

I have been asked by my chairman on the Judiciary Committee to express his concerns to this body and to ask you to strongly consider supporting this resolution so that we can show the executive branch as well as foreign governments that those that threaten the very existence of life in our country cannot expect to be the recipients of our funds.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Charles B. Rangel follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. Chairman, and members of the Committee, I welcome this opportunity to testify on my Concurrent Resolution 490 which urges the President to immediately initiate negotiations at the highest level of the Turkish Government to prevent the resumption of opium production. The resolution further states that if the negotiations prove unsuccessful, then the President should exercise his authority provided by the Foreign Assistance Act, to terminate all economic assistance to the government of Turkey. I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for acting on this resolution, and to express my appreciation to my 230 Colleagues who joined me in sponsoring it.

Mr. Chairman, July 1, 1974, represented a sad day in our efforts to eradicate the insidious heroin menace which plagues our nation. For on that day, the Government of Turkey announced its decision to resume cultivation of the opium poppy, the same opium poppy that once fed the infamous and now dormant French Connection, which in turn supplied 80 percent of the heroin which reached this country prior to the imposition of the Turkish ban on opium production; the same opium poppy that feeds the captured veins of thousands of our citizens and has led to human misery and suffering, destruction of families, and slavery to the criminal elements of our society.

In my home city of New York, we have over half of the nation's heroin addicts. My own community is estimated to contain more than half the addicts in the city; we have been called the drug capital of the nation. It has been estimated that over 60 percent of all crime in my city is drug related. In my home community

of Harlem, the junkies line the streets, occupy abandoned buildings, lurk in doorways and literally hold the community in fear. Consequently, Mr. Chairman, I know first hand the destructive impact of heroin on a community, and the detrimental effects it has on the quality of life for our citizens. I have devoted a significant portion of my energies as a legislator toward the elimination of this cancerous sore from my community as well as from other infected communities throughout the country, urging the establishment and implementation of more effective law enforcement measures. No law enforcement measure has proven as successful as the agreement reached between the United States and Turkish governments to eradicate the source by placing a ban on the cultivation of the opium poppy in Turkey. Turkey, which was the primary source before the ban, is now gearing up to reclaim its place of prominence in this insidious market.

Mr. Chairman, I believe there is little doubt that the ban has made a positive and substantial contribution toward eliminating the heroin menace. There has been a dramatic decrease in both the quantity and quality of heroin on the streets of America, and a corresponding decrease in the number of heroin addicts. The Drug Enforcement Administration reports a reduction in the estimated number of heroin addicts by more than 60 percent over the past two years. Correspondingly, the number of heroin overdose deaths and drug related criminal activity has shown a marked decrease. In New York City, the purity of a "bag" of heroin has declined from 7.7 percent to 3.7 percent. The number of addicts admitted to New York correctional institutions has decreased by 36%. The New York City police department reports that drug related robberies have decreased by 19% and the number of drug related burglaries has decreased by 17%. All of this progress Mr. Chairman, can be directly related to the cessation of opium production in Turkey. Therefore, the announced resumption of opium poppy production in seven Turkish provinces poses a serious threat to the health and safety of our communities. The Congress of the United States, which is charged with the responsibility of the public welfare, must now determine a proper response to this action by the government of Turkey.

Last spring, rumors from Ankara of Turkey's plans to lift the ban prompted me to join my distinguished colleague, the Honorable Lester Wolff, in a fact-finding visit to that country. During that visit we became convinced that the rumors were indeed fact. Seeds for fall planting were being germinated. Turkish Parliamentarians, government officials, and the Turkish press were taking a very hard line equating Turkish nationalism with the growing of the poppy. We left convinced that the decision to resume cultivation was inevitable unless the United States government took direct and immediate action to assure the Turkish government that such a decision would be looked upon as an extremely unfriendly act that could result in a worsening of U.S.-Turkey relations. Upon our return, we expressed our concern to the White House and the State Department, but received no indication of a sense of priority or urgency on the matter. I have since written to the President; conferred with the Vice Chairman of the National Security Council; conferred with our Ambassador to Turkey; and discussed the matter with officials of the State Department and other cognizant federal agencies. Apparently my warning fell on deaf ears. I am afraid, Mr. Chairman, that the administration's Watergate preoccupation, our celebration of success in the negotiations for a settlement in the Mid-East, and grandstand summitry has blinded the administration to this crucial matter.

On May 9, when I introduced the resolution that is now being considered by this distinguished Committee, I believed this to be the proper Congressional response to this issue and I maintain that position for the following reasons.

(1) it recognizes section 109 of Public Law 92-226, which authorizes the President to suspend economic and military assistance to those countries which have failed to take adequate steps to prevent narcotic drugs from entering the United States unlawfully;

(2) it does not mandate a cut off of funds but urges the President to exercise the authority already provided by law;

(3) it provides him leverage in his negotiations with Turkey and time to develop and recommend alternative measures as he sees fit;

(4) and finally, it will send a message to Turkey and to the American people, that the Congress is deeply concerned over this matter and is willing to act to stop the resumption of the flow of Turkish heroin into our Community.

Mr. Chairman, some may challenge this resolution on the grounds that urging the President to exercise this authority assumes that Turkey cannot prevent opium from being smuggled out of the country. In response to this, we need only look at the history of the last year of cultivation before the ban. At that time poppies were grown in only four Provinces yet it was estimated that over half the opium produced was diverted to the illicit market. The institution of the ban was an admission by Turkey that they were unable to control diversion. Turkey has time and time again stated that the decision to ban the cultivation was based on article 22 of the United Nations Single Convention on Narcotics Drugs of 1961. That article provides that when a country considers the prohibition of the cultivation of the opium poppy the most suitable measure for preventing the diversion of opium into the illicit international narcotics market, it shall do so. Today, Mr. Chairman, the Turkish Government proposes to increase the cultivation to seven Provinces under the same controls that were exercised before the ban. In addition, the Government recently released from jail all charged narcotic traffickers. This can only exacerbate the control problem. The U.S. Law Enforcement Officials have no faith in the ability of the Turkish government to control illicit diversion, and I question their desire to control it. Just as the cultivation of poppies has been a long tradition in Turkey, so has the illicit opium market, a market which has not only provided under the table cash to the farmers, but has traditionally bribed high government officials. I can only believe that Turkey's promise of strict control is diplomatic subterfuge in an attempt to pacify the U.S. outrage.

I also believe, Mr. Chairman, that the reasons given publicly for lifting the ban, that is internal poverty and shortages of legitimate opium, were subterfuges. It was an attempt to legitimize a decision made solely for political purposes. It was a decision desperately made in an attempt to shore up the crumbling government of the Prime Minister by appealing to the nationalist mood of the conservative factions of the government.

Let me briefly review some of the facts concerning the so called plight of the Turkish farmer as a result of the ban. The farmer in Turkey who grew opium poppies is a general farmer, growing wheat, barley, other grains, sugar beet, vegetables and seed oil crops. Poppy was an extra cash crop which, because of its high risk of failure due to weather conditions, no farmer ever grew exclusively. The average grower earned from \$10 to \$60 annually on his poppy crop in an economic environment where he earned from \$700 to \$1,000 total income annually. The cultivation of opium poppy was one-tenth of one percent of the overall agricultural production of the regions in which it was grown. Opium poppy and its products amounted to three-fourths of one percent of Turkey's total exports. Annually, Turkey cultivates about 30 million acres. Yet, at the height of production, only 112,000 acres of poppy were cultivated; and in 1972, the last year of production, only 18,000 acres of poppy were cultivated by farmers, amounting to less than one-tenth of one percent of Turkey's cultivation area.

Because poppy was such a soil-depleting crop, farmers always rotated it with wheat, barley, other grains and melon. The transition to substitute crops was, therefore, quite easy and normal, and most of the substitutes earn as much for the grower as poppy, provided he did not sell to the illicit market. Given the profits that are available to the farmer if he decides to supply the illicit market, however, there is no crop that can compete with the poppy. Many farmers have indicated that they were glad to have ended poppy production, that the crop was no longer worthwhile because of the choice land, hand labor, fertilizer and water resources it required. Those who complain the most and advocate a return to production may well have supplied the huge illicit traffic.

There were no real economic or social hardships caused by ending poppy cultivation. Crop substitution is a viable alternative and the \$36 million we offered was more than enough to carry the farmers through the transition. If such hardships really exist, then why has not Turkey requested the remaining \$20 million of the \$35 million U.S. commitment, and why has not most of the \$16 million they have received reach the farmer? Turkey would do well to keep this primitive crop in its past and concentrate on developing its splendid agricultural resources to help supply the world with food crops, particularly grain, which is badly needed.

With respect to the question of whether there presently exists a critical shortage of opium for legitimate medical purposes, I have initiated a GAO investigation that will provide some answers. I became deeply concerned when I discovered that the supply and demand situation is determined by our government based solely upon information provided by the pharmaceutical industry. We have a few major companies in the industry who could conceivably manipulate data in such a way as to force self-serving public policy decisions. John Bartels, the Administrator of the Drug Administration, has recently been quoted as saying that he fears that the extent of the claimed opium shortage has been greatly exaggerated by the pharmaceutical companies. While the GAO report has not been completed, preliminary indications suggest that present demand for opium based medicines is increasing faster than the supply. However, the degree to which there is a pending crisis is questionable. The shortfall of 1973 was directly attributed to a drought in India.

As you know, India produces essentially all of the opium exported to non-producing countries for legitimate medical purposes. This shortfall of about 200 tons was primarily responsible for the claimed present shortage. In this regard, the International Narcotics Control Board, in its report for 1973, which was issued on February 25, 1974, stated that, "It appears that whereas the 1973 production schedule will not in itself suffice to meet demand, the 1974 schedule can be expected to lead to a possible equilibrium." So there are indications, Mr. Chairman, that if the demand continues to grow at the present rate, and if the supply continues to lag, then eventually there will be a shortage. However, the extent of any present shortage is negligible, and surely does not justify resumption of cultivation in Turkey. In fact, the recent Third Special Session of the United Nations Narcotic Commission cautioned against hasty decisions by governments to begin or to re-establish any opium production based on the shortfall of 1973.

Research is being performed toward synthetic substitutes for codeine. A small amount of this research is being performed by NIH, but most is being conducted by private industry. Technology may be able to provide alternatives to the increasing of opium poppy cultivation before we are faced with a long-term shortage. Increasing the world production now by initiating opium cultivation in Turkey for the purpose of averting a shortfall will only lead to a windfall for the illicit market. So it appears, Mr. Chairman, that based on the evidence presently available, opium shortages cannot be accepted as justification for removing the ban.

I cannot complete this testimony without addressing what will surely be a major concern of many of my colleagues \* \* \* that is, the argument that the national security considerations impel a continuation of our economic and military assistance agreements with Turkey despite the decision to resume poppy cultivation. There are those of us who will contend that we should not do anything to jeopardize our strategic position in Turkey, our military bases located there. I, for one, believe it is time to reassess the strategic value of these installations, and more importantly to reassess them in the context of the price we may be paying for them not only in foreign aid, but more importantly, in human misery in the streets of our communities. It should be recognized that under the existing treaty with Turkey we cannot use our bases except when Turkey is at war with the Soviet Union. During the recent Arab-Israel war we were not able to use our bases to refuel our reconnaissance aircraft. Obviously Mr. Chairman, these bases contribute nothing to our strategic nuclear deterrence. Their real value is to deter local aggression against Turkey. We are doing them a favor by being there. The strategic value of Turkey to the U.S. is a myth. We should not continue to use this as a justification for pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into a country which reciprocates with human suffering and misery upon the American people.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, there has been a close relationship between America and Turkey over the past quarter century. We have a friendship founded in the Truman Doctrine and formalized in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; a friendship nurtured by a steady supply of over three billion dollars in military and economic aid. This year we are asked to provide \$232 million. This represents one half of the total amount budgeted for all our drug abuse prevention

programs; it equals the amount budgeted for rehabilitation and treatment of the drug addicted and equals our budgeted drug enforcement effort. It is five times the amount budgeted for drug abuse research. During these troubled economic times, when inflation and unemployment has reached critical proportions, affecting the pocketbook of literally every American, we are asked to hand a quarter of a billion dollars of taxpayers dollars to a government that hands in return the shackles of heroin. Shackles that capture the minds and bodies of hundreds of thousands of Americans. Shackles that lead to Black, White, and Brown slavery in the Harlems of America as well as the affluent suburbs of our cities. We are being asked to subsidize a government which apparently disregards the welfare of the American people, disregards the agreement negotiated in 1971, and disregards the wisdom of the international community. A government that is willing to risk the health and safety of a friendly country solely for internal political expediency.

Mr. Chairman, this Congress must not let this action go unanswered. We cannot continue to financially buttress such a government. We must not let our responsibility for the welfare of our society be over-shadowed by the current issues of Presidential survival. We must closely scrutinize the National Security argument. Threats to our security may manifest themselves in many forms. Let us not be so concerned over a base in Turkey that we lose a community, a city here at home. In 1973, there were 3,586 drug related deaths in this country. That was over ten times the number of hostile deaths in Southeast Asia during the last year of the war. In New York City alone, there were 942 drug related deaths in 1972, while 300 U.S. soldiers died in hostile action in Viet Nam. Mr. Chairman, this country's war with drugs can be just as deadly as wars fought with bullets. Resuming cultivation of opium in Turkey represents a real threat to the security of this nation. This Congress must act now to pass this resolution voicing its sense of outrage over this clear violation of humanitarian principles \* \* \*. This unilateral decision to resume the growing of opium poppies that become the heroin which eventually enters the veins of our children.

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you, Congressman Rangel.

Congressman, I notice in your statement you say instead of the Turks holding their poppy growth at the same level as it was before the ban that they are increasing it from four to seven districts. Is that correct?

Mr. RANGEL. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

#### IMPACT OF U.S. AID

Chairman MORGAN. Many people who have talked with me from the administration are of the opinion that if we cut off all assistance we will have no influence at all over what happens in Turkey, and opium production could really get out of hand and make the situation worse in the United States than it was before. Would you care to comment?

Mr. RANGEL. I would like to respond, Mr. Chairman, because we have given billions of dollars to the Turkish Government in the past. We are considering now giving a quarter of a billion dollars, and I don't think anyone in this House or in the administration can say that the Turkish Government has allowed themselves to discuss the question of reproduction with any of us before they made this unilateral decision.

If we can expect that giving money is going to allow us to have some input and control, certainly history does not record the little that they have done except to allow announcements to be made as to what their executives were doing.

It just seems to me that the best time to enter negotiations is when both sides at the table have an interest and something to talk about. We are giving them money and they are not asking for our views.

It seems to me we have no choice except to suspend and I am confident that at that time, if ever, they will be willing to sit down and try to determine what we can do, which is a bad situation for them politically, but it is a disastrous situation for us physically.

#### IS MORE AID FEASIBLE?

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Rangel, I know that your visit to Turkey with Mr. Wolff had some impact on the press over there and you got a great deal of coverage. As you came away from Turkey did you and Mr. Wolff have the impression that if we offered them more money and a better program that they would cooperate?

Mr. RANGEL. Let me say this, Mr. Chairman, that there was no conversation that we had with anybody that it was not raised. It is a very sensitive thing and how it is being raised. I remember in talking with their Ambassador in the United States, when Congressman Wolff and I met, the question was raised. He said: "But please don't interpret this as being that you are buying us off."

It is just a question as to whether or not we can come up with a program that is more feasible than the one that we are suggesting, and this one that they refused to implement. So it is because of the existing nationalistic feeling.

I would be reluctant to say that if you were to say, "Well, how much money do you need in order to eliminate the problem that you are having in your country" that they all will be so offended that they would refuse to talk about it.

My point, Mr. Chairman, is that nobody has offered them anything. No one has presented them with money but an economical alternative.

#### TURKISH FARMER SUFFERS

The tragic thing about this is that no matter what decision is made the Turkish farmer's lot is not going to be improved. It seems to me that if we were in a position at least to tell our representative, our Ambassador that:

Have you tried plan B, since it is obvious that the agreement is not working? Have you tried some type of small industry?

This is especially so when we find that the major export of the country—and that is labor—are finding themselves losing jobs in Germany. It seems to me that if there is a problem the least we can do is talk about it.

Mr. Chairman—and I stand to be corrected by members on the committee—I see no evidence where we have been in a position to talk about it with the Turkish Government. All we have been able to do is to respond to their threats, and here again we were in the 11th hour of the last threat.

#### U.S. SLOW IN PROVIDING AID

Chairman MORGAN. Do you feel that after the ban in 1972 when we offered them a program of \$35.7 million, that the administration or the AID administrators fell down in some of their duties in putting the program into effect? It seems to me that since 1972 put

enough emphasis on our part of the program to give the Turks some incentive to hold to the ban. How do you feel about this?

Mr. RANGEL. There is no question about your conclusion, Mr. Chairman. It is my understanding that we entered into a compromise agreement, a very soft agreement to give the appearance that the Turkish Government was making a unilateral decision, and that this country was making a unilateral decision in giving the \$36 million. So the negotiators agreed to allow the Turkish officials to decide what programs that they would be involved in, and in talking with the American representatives on the assistance to these programs they seemed totally frustrated because they not only had to go through the bureaucracy in this country but they never even got to that point because the Turkish Government was not agreeing to some of the suggestions that were made.

So it is clear to me that we have had no real hold on our agreement, and the result has been that they have found themselves in this political pickle where they have promised their people that they will not allow, for example, an interference in the problems that they are having with the farmer. So, therefore, they cannot use the American funds to alleviate the very serious problem which they are facing now (1) because of the ban, and (2) because the money that we offered them is not being used for substitute crops or cash payments.

#### TOO FEW PEOPLE

Chairman MORGAN. Well, I agree with you because we have given them \$374 million in grant military assistance since 1970 and have a foreign military sales program in there for \$90 million in fiscal year 1975. You can be sure we had a lot of people over there selling arms, and we had MAG missions over there telling them how to use the grant military assistance.

I just wondered, I bet we had very few people over there trying to stop the poppy growing.

#### ASSISTANCE DURING TRANSITION

Mr. RANGEL. Very few. It was not exactly just stopping the poppy growth. I think what we are talking about is to give them assistance in making this transition from not growing poppies. I just can't conceive, and I am willing to take the advice of people with more experience than I as to how a country would call themselves our friend and enter into an agreement which nobody reading it can dispute, and then make a unilateral decision, and at the same time come to the same party that is offended and ask for more funds. It seems to me that this country and this body deserves more respect than that.

If it is a problem, we should recognize it as such and be willing to sit down as friends and see how we can alleviate it, but for them to make a unilateral decision without discussing it with our Ambassador, without discussing it with people in our Drug Enforcement Administration, without discussing it with our State Department, that it leaves us with absolutely no choice except to respond by at least suspending aid until such time as we reach that bargaining table.

Of course, the press accused Congressman Wolff and me of threatening when we went there, and I can assure this body that we did not do that. The closest I think that we did come to being characterized as being threatening is to say that we had no control as to what the response of the Congress would be if they made this unilateral decision.

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you, Congressman. I know that coming from the great metropolitan area that you come from that this is a very severe problem for you and for the people in your district. I want to congratulate you for your endeavors in the effort to control narcotics. Since you have been a Member of the House I have had a first-hand opportunity to work with you on several amendments previous to this year's AID bill, and you are to be commended for the effort you are making to help control this major problem.

Mr. RANGEL. Thank you for giving me this opportunity and especially to the members on the committee for taking time to stay over to listen to me. I just can't overemphasize that no matter how severe this type of legislation sounds it does provide for the opportunity to sit down and negotiate our position.

Thank you.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Derwinski.

#### TURKISH POSITION IS INCONSISTENT

Mr. DERWINSKI. I just want to clarify one point, if I may.

Since this has been the public agreement, since the funds on our side were produced, one of the problems has been the breakdown in administration in Turkey. Getting the farmer to grow this alternate crop and seeing that his financial situation, which you properly described as not being that lucrative to begin with, does not suffer further. So what we see in part is an administrative inefficiency within the Turkish Government, and that is at least part of the problem.

Mr. RANGEL. I don't know whether I can call it an administrative deficiency. As I see it, it would be impossible for the Turkish Government to administer an American-supported crop substitute program and at the same time politically saying that we are going into reproduction. I think they have found themselves in an inconsistent position.

So the truth of the matter is there has been a halt on the use of American funds. I mean they describe it to us, of course, as not being able to get the programs off the ground, but Congressman Wolff and I have said that if you recognize that you are getting this political backlash for those that are supporting the farmers it should not take any great administrative skill to at least pay the people for not growing. That does not require any great skill, and they refuse in the second crop even to pay the people that found themselves under the existing ban.

So it seems to me that what we have to do is to deal with this problem realistically, and say that it may be a little embarrassing to you to admit that you are going to be dealing with our country. This is what they can't find themselves to say. They find it very easy to say that they should expect the money from the United States, but none of

the existing leaders are prepared to say that we should have any input at all as to what they do in the area of opium.

I think the next agreement, as the Chairman pointed out, means that we should have something to do with the administration. We should know what programs they are talking about. We should be certain that the recipient of the program receives some of the benefits that we are voting funds for.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I think that is the key. If the poppy farmer is the practical recipient of either an alternate crop or a financial payment while he phases into an alternate crop, then to use your term, the political backlash would be present. The Turkish Government and our Government could work out these problems without the domestic political problems that they allude to. So I think we are in agreement at that point.

Thank you.

Mr. RANGEL. Thank you.

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Wolff, do you have any questions?

#### EXECUTIVE BRANCH FAILS TO RESPOND

Mr. WOLFF. Yes; I have one or two questions I must ask my colleague to support some of the things that we both are, I believe, well aware of.

I would first like to congratulate him for the leadership position that he has taken throughout, not only this attack upon illegal and illicit narcotics entering our country, but the fact that we traveled together in Asia where there is an intrusion as well. I think there is no more able person in the House than our good colleague from New York, Mr. Rangel, on this question. He has been outstanding in his work.

You recall, Mr. Rangel, the time that when we returned we asked for a high-level meeting to make the administration aware of the intensity of the feelings, and you recall that we got back a letter to come to visit with General Scowcroft, who was the second in command at the National Security Council. What were your reactions to that meeting? I know what my reactions were.

Mr. RANGEL. I think we shared it. Mr. Chairman, to know that we are coming on the question of drugs, to know in advance that we have just returned from Turkey, and for the good general to take notes and to appear to be absolutely amazed that the Turkish Government was considering reproduction when it was on the front page of all of our major newspapers, I left with a sense of deep embarrassment that the executive branch of Government would meet two Members of the House and be so ill-prepared to provide any of the answers to our questions.

You may recall, Congressman Wolff, that we did ask for followup; that is, after he was able to ascertain the facts to see whether we could have negotiations, to see whether or not we were attempting to reach any agreement because the threat was loud and clear of the Turkish Government's intentions. I don't know about your office, but I have received absolutely no response.

Mr. WOLFF. I not only received no response, but as you indicated I was concerned about the question of Turkish opium and its en-

trance into the United States. After speaking to General Scowcroft, I was concerned about this Nation. He was the No. 2 man, and he didn't seem to know much about anything. If that is the way we are treating the security interests of this country, we are in real trouble.

#### EDUCATION SUFFERS AS A RESULT OF DRUG ABUSE

The other point that I would like to find out from you is do you have any estimate as to the amount of money that you must spend in your district alone to handle the drug problem, either on rehabilitation or on crime protection? How much money is really filtered into the district in round figures? Taking a roundhouse guess.

MR. RANGEL. I am really trying to get a study on this from the GAO, but where I really feel the heavy burden of the problem lies is in the priority of the problem, financial assistance or support in my district.

MR. WOLFF. That is what I was getting to. Unfortunately, we cannot spend the money on the things that we need because we need to spend money on the things that we have to have in order to just protect the security of the individual home or an individual.

MR. RANGEL. We all recognize, especially in our major cities, that the quality of education is deteriorating because of the larger number of people that are coming into the cities. It would seem to me that my political responsibility would be to fight for the improvement of the quality of that education, and yet weekend after weekend I find that I am fighting for more drug preventive money, more rehabilitation programs within the school system which should not be related to it.

You just have no idea of the misery and pain that a person feels when he is going to a hospital asking you to provide space for drug addicts to be rehabilitated when the administrator of that hospital is telling you he doesn't have space for some of the other sick people. So we find these competing forces, and certainly the cost is overwhelming, Congressman, in terms of what this Nation is spending and the heavy toll it takes on municipal and State budgets just trying to keep up.

We have sections of course in every criminal court in the city of New York dealing with drug related offenses. So that means that it is hard for them to keep up with their regular calendar, plus talk with any judge that has to sit and listen to the fact that the defendant is a sick man, and at the same time has committed a very serious criminal assault on somebody else, and his only option is to send him to jail with people that have no physical problem, but he has to do it.

So it is a heavy strain on our courts, our law enforcement system generally, and certainly the toll of our budget. I hope soon to be able to present funds to this committee because we do have a General Office of Accounting working on it to show how much we spend in drug related crimes and drug receptive programs and in rehabilitation programs, and certainly the figure is going to be astounding.

MR. WOLFF. Thank you.

MR. RANGEL. Thank you.

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you, Congressman.

We have two more witnesses. Congressman Louis Frey, Jr., and Congressman James F. Hastings.

You may proceed together. We will let you, Congressman Hastings, lead off, and then we will hear from Mr. Frey.

STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES F. HASTINGS, A REPRESENTATIVE  
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. HASTINGS. In the interest of your time and ours I ask that our statements be made a part of the record, and that we will just review our feelings on both the proposal by Mr. Wolff and Mr. Rangel, and also our own position.

Mr. Chairman, I am not unmindful at all of the situation that Greece and Turkey are faced with according to latest developments in Cyprus, and I am also not unmindful of the fact that whatever the Congress may do in answer to the Turkish decision to grow poppies in a way may very well be related to that situation. I have every confidence, however, in this committee with the jurisdiction over the section to be able to take a look at that related situation.

I am also not unmindful of what the other body has attempted to do by attaching amendments to the Drug Enforcement Agency legislation since that legislation comes from my subcommittee.

I would like to advise the chairman and Mr. Wolff that our subcommittee has already reported the authorization for continuation for DEA and fully recognizes the invasion of jurisdiction with this committee by the other body. I would hasten to add that this morning you have encouraged the chairman to take our bill up in full committee to the floor without, of course, that amendment by the Senate and then to get the conference to strike out any sections that relate to this Turkish problem since I fully recognize that it is your jurisdiction, and you properly are the ones who should be handling it.

Having said that, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Frey and I returned less than a little over 3 weeks ago from Turkey. We and, of course, Mr. Wolff, who has done such great amount of work in this area, are very mindful of the implications of the Turkish Government in announcing the removal of the ban.

I think that my major difference is that I feel strongly that the Congress itself should take a positive action. I think this committee, Mr. Chairman, should initiate this action while you are marking up your Economic Assistance Act. I feel that rather than just to let the President have full knowledge that you expect him to take an action that we should take a direct action in the Congress itself.

I feel strongly that the terminology of the amendment from the other body by Senator Mondale sets up unworkable provisions to require that American funds be withheld. I think this committee should in its deliberations make it clear that we should set a date certain and with certain conditions to say that the Turkish Government either reconsider this ban or to show that they have an ability to control a small growth and amount. I would leave that to your judgment. Then that the Congress itself and this committee should withhold any economic aid. We intend to pursue this as it relates to military aid when that time is appropriate on the floor.

I do feel, Mr. Chairman, that this action should emanate from the committee, that we should not go to the floor and have to attack it on the amendment process. I would feel much better if in your delibera-

tions that you would take the appropriate directive from Congress to withhold any further funds until certain conditions are met.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Hon. James F. Hastings follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES F. HASTINGS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee—I appreciate this opportunity to appear today before your Committee.

As Chairman of the House Republican Task Force on Drug Abuse, I have a special interest in authorization measures dealing with the government of Turkey.

Little over three weeks ago, my colleague Rep. Lou Frey, Jr., of Florida and I returned from Turkey after meetings there with Turkish officials in an effort to convince them to retain the ban on the growing of opium poppy.

As you know the Turkish government without prior consultations with our Ambassador, Mr. William Macomber, went ahead and lifted the ban which had been imposed three years ago at the request of the United States.

The lifting of this ban, I think we can all agree, represents a most serious setback in our efforts to overcome heroin addiction.

In 1971, when the ban was imposed, authorities said that 80 percent of the heroin flowing into the United States came from Turkey. At that time, there was an estimated 600,000 heroin addicts in the nation and the rate was growing at epidemic proportions.

No social or geographical entity was immune. The travail and tragedy of heroin addiction was felt by the families of ghetto areas as well as the middle and high-income families of suburban areas.

The emotional and economic impact was becoming unbearable. It was killing our youngsters, destroying their families and burdening our communities, large and small, urban and rural, with social, legal and psychological problems which seemingly had no solution.

It was estimated that a drug addict required about \$50 a day to support his habit. Organized crime reaped between \$2 and \$5 billion a year in peddling its illegal wares.

The cost to society in rehabilitation, law enforcement and treatment reached astronomical heights.

With the imposition of the ban on poppy growing in 1971, there was a dramatic turnaround in heroin addiction in America.

The rate has dropped nearly 60 percent from a peak of about 600,000 to an estimated 250,000 today.

Government efforts played a major role in this decrease but the poppy ban in Turkey drying up heroin supplies in America cannot be discounted as a primary factor in turning the tide.

Now these successes in the fight against hard drugs are to be placed in jeopardy. With the resumption of poppy growing in Turkey heroin supplies will again be easily available in the United States.

We will see a resurgence of the tragic patterns of the past—pushers and dealers with copious supplies of heroin seeking new customers and new customers becoming pushers who in turn will be seeking new customers—repeating the process over and over again until all the good work of the past three years will become undone.

And, I might add, those new customers are your children and mine.

The Drug Enforcement Administration estimated that a drug addict today needs about \$18,000 annually to maintain his habit. Based on the addiction growth rate in America before the ban, this would mean then about \$200 million a year going into the pockets of pushers and dealers and most of that money will be coming from crimes committed by addicts.

The Turkish government makes a deceptive argument when it says that the resumption of poppy growing was necessary for economical reasons. When the ban was imposed poppy production accounted for less than one percent of the nation's gross national product.

I am also extremely skeptical about Turkey's assurances that it intends to impose stringent surveillance measures to insure that the poppy product is used strictly for legal medical purposes.

The U.S. government, which probably has the largest interdiction force in the world, has been unable to halt satisfactorily the inflow of drugs from foreign nations.

How will Turkey, with a great deal less in physical and financial resources, be able to insure that only legal opium leaves the country?

In fact, when I was there last month, the Turkish government in a general amnesty declaration released from prison most of the drug dealers who will be champing at the bit to get back in action again.

The Turkish government's decision to resume poppy production was made with full knowledge of what the consequences would be in America and, as I said before, without the courtesy of prior consultation with our Ambassador, Mr. Macomber, despite the fact that he spent many months in patient talks with Turkish officials in an effort to persuade them to maintain the ban.

While I have had a great deal of respect for Turkey as a long-time ally and friend of the United States, I am afraid I must consider this lifting of the ban a deliberate and offensive act against the well-being of our country.

At stake are the lives of thousands of Americans, many of them youngsters in their early teens, who will now find themselves exposed to the threat of heroin addiction.

The Washington Post in a recent editorial makes the comment:

"\* \* \* if the Turkish government had announced that it intended to land secret agents at night on American shores to poison and kill thousands of Americans and to subvert the foundations of American society—which is, of course, exactly what heroin does—then that would be regarded as an act of war and handled accordingly."

As you well know, there already is a movement afoot in the Congress to cut off all aid to Turkey. I strongly support this effort and appear here today to respectfully urge this Committee to reject all current requests for aid for Turkey.

Only in this way can the Turkish government be convinced of the seriousness of our position. It will also send out a clear signal to other governments throughout the world that we do not intend to retreat in our battle to combat heroin addiction.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, until the Turkish government reverses its stand and reimposes the ban on poppy production, all economic and military aid must be rejected.

It would be unconscionable to continue to support a government that has just made a decision which it knows will mean wasted lives and the death of thousands of young Americans.

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you, Mr. Hastings.  
Mr. Frey.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. LOUIS FREY, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Mr. FREY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think it is important that we make it clear that we act not in anger but in disappointment—disappointment with people who have been friends.

There are obvious advantages in the 25 military installations that we have over there, some more important to us than to the Turks. Conversely, there are others more important to the Turks than to this Nation, but our interests must be kept in mind.

I am deeply disappointed that the Turks do not believe what we said. I don't think they believed what Mr. Wolff and Mr. Rangel probably conveyed properly, or what we said \* \* \* that this country is not going to go back through a process of having 650,000 or 700,000 young men and women on the streets involved with drugs, and that it is going to be the Congress itself that properly acts.

The money was available—I don't always agree with AID, but in this case I will say it was not AID's fault—the money was there; the Turks butchered it up themselves. They were not able to take the money that was available and use it efficiently.

I have never seen one ditch from more angles at one time. We saw 2 miles of the same ditch. They didn't get in there and do the work, and I think there is good reason for the people in those areas to be unhappy.

Of course, the Turks come back to one question: Why should we encourage India to grow more poppy when we won't let the Turks grow any? India certainly has not been the closest friend we have ever had, and the Turks fought with us in Korea. There is a history between India and the United States that is a little different than the United States and Turkey, and they throw this up to us.

The Indians grow about 900 tons of poppy, and they claim there is no diversion. Jim and I were over there about a year and a half ago and we went into the poppy growing area of Udaipur out of New Delhi. We spent some time and talked with people, and it was our opinion that there was about 10 percent diversion in India. The one difference being they have a user population over there that can absorb most of it, unlike Turkey which sends it out.

When we were over in Northern Thailand we could have bought a half million dollars worth of poppy for \$400 \* \* \* a tremendous markup if we could have brought it back. Obviously in any nation there are going to be some people who will go more for the dollar than for anything else.

With the number of people in Turkey, I would be greatly surprised if there is a way to control the growth of poppy on the type of basis the Turks presently propose.

My first reaction to the Turkish decision was to cut off everything, period. Upon thinking about, not only the young people but this Nation and where we are going, our foreign relations, our defense needs, and also the fact that we maybe should give Turkey a chance to reconsider, it seems to me the better process would be for this Nation and this Congress to suspend aid anywhere we can suspend it for a period of time and attempt to work out something at the bargaining table.

Ambassador Macomber did a magnificent job, but I don't think he had a great deal of support. I don't think our NATO allies got off their chairs to help us. They finally got in the act at the end, and in the great American tradition of too little and too late. Hopefully with the pressure that the Congress can bring, acting not in anger but acting in our own self-interest and with a sense of disappointment, there may possibly be some means and some hope of getting this problem negotiated.

[The prepared statement of Congressman Louis Frey, Jr., follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. LOUIS FREY, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS  
FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today as you consider the proposals to terminate American aid to Turkey because of the Turkish Government's decision to resume growing the opium poppy.

As many of you know, I have been deeply involved with the drug problem for many years. Before coming to Congress almost six years ago I was involved with

local efforts in Florida to keep drug abuse from its cancerous growth, but there are no barriers for drug abuse—it's found in the plush suburbs as well as in the big city ghettos.

Less than two years ago two of my colleagues accompanied me on a three-week fact-finding mission to the Golden Triangle as we studied the drug problem. We talked with officials in this poppy growing region and noted in our report to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee that our agreement with the Turkish Government appeared to be tenuous at best.

We also pointed out in that report, which I would like to submit a portion of—that section dealing with Turkey—for the record, several existing problems of substantial magnitude, including an already developing political situation concerning poppy growing. The elections were anticipated and the Turkish Government was being pressed to break its agreement with the United States. We stressed at that time that the success of the ban would depend to a large extent on the political stability of Turkey.

Despite the assistance provided by the United States, the poppy ban was not popular from the very beginning. There are several reasons for this unpopularity, primarily, I think, it's because the growing of the opium poppy is a way of life to the Turks. It may have been illegal but it was never viewed as wrong. I suppose, Mr. Chairman, it could be likened to the prohibition era in America. Selling alcoholic beverages was illegal during prohibition but the majority of Americans did not think it was wrong and, as we all know, the great experiment failed.

But the opium poppy growing ban did have an affect in America and it was a good effect. While we don't know the exact figures, the best estimates available suggest that the number of heroin addicts in America dropped from more than 600,000 to less than 250,000 at the present time as a direct result of the poppy ban.

Before the ban it was estimated that up to 80 percent of the heroin on the streets of America began as opium poppy growing in Turkey. Today our agents tell us that the heroin on the streets commands a higher price and is of a much lesser quality than before. Thus, many heroin addicts have been and are being forced into maintenance programs.

I fear, however, that our dramatic success in the drug abuse field will be wiped out with the resumption of opium poppy growing in Turkey, and America will be faced with an increase in heroin addicts at a rate approaching an epidemic.

Another reason for the unpopularity of the poppy ban was that the money the American Government appropriated for the program never reached all those adversely affected. The crop compensation payments were made to farmers on the basis of their 1971 crop and some farmers, because of crop rotation, had not grown poppies in 1971. Others who felt the financial impact of the ban without compensation included oil seed crushers and, of course, those who had sold their opium to smugglers.

During our mission to the Golden Triangle we found that the crop substitution program in Turkey was lagging and recommended it be stepped up and an artificial commodities futures market be created to purchase the substituted crop a year in advance.

Had our suggestion been followed, Premier Ecevit might not have had occasion to say, as he did on July 2 of this year, that an economic void was created by the loss of the poppy crop as the Turkish farmers were left without a sound alternative means of earning a living.

The unpopularity of the ban made itself manifest in the recent national elections in Turkey when every political party ran candidates on platforms promising that the poppy growing ban would be removed. An underlying theme in those elections was the question of who is running Turkey—The Turks or the Americans.

The fact that the poppy issue was considerably distorted and overblown in those elections is evidenced by the national income related to poppy growth which amounts to only \$3 million, or a great deal less than one per cent of Turkey's gross national product.

The Turkish Government, in lifting the ban, reported an awareness "that there are people all over the world who deal in opium trade in a manner causing harm to human health. While largely dependent on opium poppy production for their livelihood, it is not the Turkish peasants who make large profits."

That, Mr. Chairman, is true in part since during our visit to Turkey last year, my colleagues and I could have purchased for \$400 heroin which had an American street price at that time of \$500,000.

During my most recent trip to Turkey—a low-key and unofficial visit made last month in company with Congressman Hastings of New York—I found many Turkish officials willing to talk of the ban and learned they believed the Congress would not follow through on threats to terminate all economic aid to Turkey if the ban were removed.

I must admit, Mr. Chairman, when I learned the growing of the opium poppy was once again being allowed, I favored an immediate and permanent cut-off of all United States funds for Turkey. Since that time, however, I have talked with many colleagues and many State Department officials and I now believe we should suspend and not yet terminate aid to Turkey. That suspension would serve two purposes:

It would show the Turkish Government that Congress is ready to terminate aid \* \* \* that we are not going to duck this very important issue, and

It would also allow Turkish officials the opportunity to demonstrate to America and the rest of the world its good faith in working toward solutions which would once again result in a poppy growing ban.

The poppy growing season begins in October in Turkey and I believe a suspension of aid for nine months would allow us to determine if the poppy is being converted to heroin and reaching America and would also allow talks with Turkish and American officials to continue.

I would like to add, Mr. Chairman, that Congress could act positively in other areas regarding drug abuse. There is, for example, legislation which I authored now pending before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of which I am a member. This legislation would go a long way toward stopping the trafficking in heroin in this country and there are equally important bills regarding drug abuse pending in Committee without scheduled action.

Indeed, Mr. Chairman, as we contemplate what stance America should take in regards to Turkey's decision to allow the growing of the opium poppy, we should also take steps in our own country to insure that generation after generation of Americans are not faced with the horrors of heroin addiction.

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you, Mr. Frey.

#### TURKEY PROPOSES NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, if I might add just one word. We found it very interesting in our discussions with the Turkish elected representatives and members of the cabinet that they repeatedly suggested that the United States enter into the negotiations ongoing, and this was prior, of course, to the Cyprus problems between Turkey and Greece. We made that information known, and Mr. Frey and myself met at the White House the night before the President and General Haig left for Russia since they were going to stop at Brussels and sign the agreement.

We don't know whether it was utilized or not, but it was rather apparent to us from reading the fine report of Mr. Wolff that this decision that was in the making for some time was bound to come about. I think that now Mr. Wolff and Mr. Rangel having advised the Turkish officials that Congress would take some action, certainly Mr. Frey and myself advised strongly that there would be congressional action if this step indeed was taken, that it certainly is incumbent upon this Congress to take this sort of action.

We once again strongly urge the committee to take that action in your approach.

#### REACTION IN THE UNITED STATES KNOWN

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Hastings, on page 3 of your statement you say that the Turkish Government's decision to resume poppy production was made with the full knowledge of what the consequences would be in America.

Mr. HASTINGS. Yes, sir.

Chairman MORGAN. Several knowledgeable officials in the State Department told me that it is their opinion that the Turkish Government had no alternative after all the political parties had committed themselves to a resolution of the opium question during the October elections. Would you care to comment?

Mr. HASTINGS. Yes, sir. Again I will repeat, I am sure Mr. Wolff and Mr. Rangel made the position of the Congress as to possible consequences known, and certainly Mr. Frey and I did. We frankly felt that if because of the political considerations, and I certainly understand those, but we have those same political considerations that you and I must face up to each and every year. We frankly suggested to them that perhaps if they had to make an announcement of growth, hold off the decision to actually grow for a period of time to where they could perfect control mechanisms and then come back and at least give us a year to discuss and negotiate.

I don't believe there was any question this was a purely political decision. We all know the situation of the Turkish Government, the coalition government that only sits by a majority of eight seats in Parliament. They could topple, perhaps they will. I am very much convinced that they were in fact fully advised as to what the consequences would be in the country, and that they proceeded to act regardless of that knowledge.

Mr. FREY. I would like to add just two things to it. No. 1, I really don't believe they thought there would be any reaction even though they were told. One night we had a chance to talk with several Government officials, including a very close adviser to the Prime Minister, and they just really didn't think we would do anything.

Second, I would feel a little differently about it if they had done a lot in those areas. In other words, they had the access to the money, it was not the American bureaucracy messing things up for once. They had the chance to do it and they didn't do anything. They sat on their hands and let the problem develop. Part of the problem was brought about not by this country but by the inefficiency of the Turks in dealing with their own problem. So I think that adds a little different dimension to it than just the end results as was stated to you.

#### WAYS TO IMPROVE CROP SUBSTITUTION

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Frey, I remember you said the crop substitution in Turkey is lagging. What avenues would you suggest to upgrade the crop substitution program?

Mr. FREY. We brought this up to a number of people. We said what areas can we explore? For instance, what if we went in with new crop programs or new industry, would this be a help? Would this give you an out? Would this give you a way to say to the farmers, "Maybe we didn't do so well before but here is another way."?

The reaction really was varied. The farmer is not going to believe him at this point, if he ever did believe him. The chance of his believing is cut down a great deal at this point.

Second, if an alternative does come about, it is going to have to come about in a way that the Turks can say it was their idea; they did it, America is not necessarily buying them off or dictating to them. Time and time again we heard Turkey is going to run Turkey, not America.

I think there is some interest in this area and maybe during a suspension this could really be pursued. Even if you don't factor in human suffering when you look at the problems it has caused in this Nation and the way it has torn us apart it is one of the best investments I think we could have, and I don't like foreign aid.

UNITED STATES SHOULD SUSPEND AID

Chairman MORGAN. Mr. Frey, I know you suggest we suspend, not terminate, aid to Turkey. Would your suspension include military aid?

Mr. FREY. Yes.

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you.

Mr. Wolff.

Mr. WOLFF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think that we must give great credit to both Mr. Hastings and Mr. Frey for focusing attention on this situation just before the ax fell. It is really very unfortunate that we who are Members of Congress, whose job is to legislate and not have to do the investigative work ourselves, are forced into the position of doing this investigative work. It seems that we know all about this, the Members of Congress.

Anyone that has traveled over there really knows what the situation has been, but it is impossible to get the State Department or the executive to really understand the depths of this problem.

I reiterate, and I take it that you found the same situation to be true, that the cooperation from Ambassador Macomber was at the highest level.

Mr. HASTINGS. It certainly was.

Mr. WOLFF. I also must take this point to comment on the cooperation of the one organization of Government that seems to have any knowledge really of what is going on over there which seems to be the enforcement agency—the Drug Enforcement Administration. In speaking to either Mr. Bartels or any people on the staff there they really seem to have their finger on what is going on, but yet when you speak to other people they just seem to be totally oblivious.

I must comment on the point that Mr. Frey made that the people over there were informed about what possible action could be taken by the Congress but they really didn't believe us. I think that that is the point, and I think that is the most important point of this resolution or any action that we take—that is, to give a clear signal to them that we are not only disturbed but we will not take this lying down.

One thing that you mentioned about the whole question of what the Senate did, I want you to know I agree with you that that is kind of a left-handed way of trying to accomplish our purpose.

Mr. HASTINGS. I don't know that they would ever make the determination necessary to the language of the amendment actually to the cutoff of funds. I think it is very difficult.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Frey did say that he recommends the suspension of military as well as economic assistance. You indicated that this committee should cut the economic assistance but I take it that you are also aware that we have the responsibility for the military assistance as well. What would be your position on that?

Mr. HASTINGS. I certainly concur that it is my understanding that the authorization bill had already been passed. Now we would have to treat it as an appropriations bill. If this committee cannot treat it, I certainly concur that we should suspend both military and economic aid.

Chairman MORGAN. The economic bill has been authorized for 2 years, but the military assistance has not been authorized.

Mr. WOLFF. Well, I just want to again say that your contribution to this by both of you gentlemen has been outstanding. The mere fact that you took the time—people are critical sometimes of Members of Congress going overseas, but if you don't go overseas you cannot see exactly what the problem is.

Mr. HASTINGS. I agree.

Along those lines I ask unanimous consent to include in the record the section of the report filed by Mr. Frey and myself and Mr. Kyros from the same type of trip we made in 1973 and made a report in relation to Turkey. It makes very interesting reading in line with the subsequent development. So with unanimous consent—

Chairman MORGAN. Without objection.

Mr. FREY. One of the few times we have been right looking back. [The report referred to follows:]

EXCERPT FROM REPORT BY HON. LOU FREY, JR., HON. PETER N. KYROS, AND  
HON. JAMES F. HASTINGS

Following is an excerpt from a report to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives by Hon. Lou Frey, Jr., Hon. Peter N. Kyros, and Hon. James F. Hastings, dated April, 1973, concerning "Narcotic Enforcement Efforts in Hong Kong, Thailand, Burma, India, Lebanon, Greece, Turkey, France, and the Netherlands:

TURKEY

While in Athens we met with the Director of BNDD for Turkey (Frank Briggs) to discuss the manner in which the Turkish agreement not to grow poppies and make such production illegal is being carried out.

Turkey is thought to be responsible for 70-80 percent of the heroin entering the United States. Opium is processed into morphine bricks by Turkish traffickers for shipment to Marseilles. Licit production under license was permitted until this year. But, a substantial amount went into illicit production because the black market offered roughly double the legal price.

The Turks have agreed to terminate all licit production this year. The United States agreed to provide the Turks \$35 million to compensate farmers for not growing poppies and for crop substitution. The agreement, however, is no panacea and substantial problems exist.

*1. Lack of supervision of production*

The Turks lack the logistical equipment and sophisticated enforcement capability necessary to adequately enforce the ban. The United States was to have provided three planes to conduct an aerial survey of the production areas, but only one is flying now because of a lack of parts. Also, only two BNDD agents are operating in Turkey—one in Ankara and one in Istanbul, although there are five on a special task force. BNDD has had no opportunity to actually go out in the field and investigate production. They rely on the Turks who lack the capability. We will not know if the ban on production is successful until the poppies bloom in August.

*2. Pipeline still full*

It is estimated that peasants and traffickers have concealed stockpiles that may be sufficient to feed the pipelines to Europe and the United States for another 2 to 4 years. Transshipments into Bulgaria and other neighboring countries are still

taking place as frequently as before. Opium that is stored is not covered by the cooperative agreement. Thus, those supplies can't be turned in for compensation, but can only be sold illicitly for profit.

Village and province chiefs have for years purchased a percentage of an individual farmer's opium production and stored it for resale to wholesalers. Usually it is purchased by chiefs in quantities of 1 to 4 kilos and collected by their agents.

In October 1972, BNDD made one seizure from a storage area that totalled almost 1 ton.

### *3. Compensation formula may not work*

Compensation for farmers not to grow is based upon their production in 1971. The rate was set at U.S.\$41 per kilo which was meant to compensate them for the sale of all parts of the poppy plant—gum, seed, oil, etc. At the time it was set, the price of illicit opium was U.S.\$10 to \$15 per kilo.

#### *Problems*

(a) The price on the illicit market now has risen to U.S. \$30 to \$35 a kilo and it is likely that the price on illicit market will shortly surpass the compensation rate.

(b) Some farmers, because of crop rotation, didn't plant poppies in 1971 and therefore, receive no compensation. They may have already decided to go ahead with production.

(c) The crop substitution program is lagging. "Miracle wheat" is being discussed (USDA and AID are involved). Since the compensation is to last for 5 years, the crop substitution program must be complete at the end of 5-year period. Perhaps the creation of an artificial commodity futures market would accelerate substitution.

(d) Success of the ban depends in great measure on political stability. An election is to be held shortly and the Government is being pressed to break the agreement.

BNDD feels that farmers will be reticent to produce again unless they are organized from the outside. To be profitable, the growing area must be large and, therefore, detectable. Success really depends, however, on the Turk enforcement capability which is suspect.

#### *Seizures 1972*

##### *BNDD joint operations*

Opium—2½ tons.  
Morphine base—270 kilos.  
Hashish—3 tons.

##### *Turk operations*

Opium—3.1 metric tons.  
Morphine—275 kilos.  
Hashish—7,469.42 tons.

#### *Recommendations*

1. We should provide the equipment the Turks need to monitor the ban on production. Initially, the three planes we agreed to provide should be immediately provided so that the aerial survey can begin.
2. Our BNDD mission in Turkey should be augmented and work with the Turks in the field. Until their enforcement capability improves.
3. Perhaps, we should amend the agreement to allow stored opium supplies to also be turned in for compensation in order to dry up the pipeline.
4. The crop substitution program should be stepped up and an artificial commodities future market to purchase the substituted crop a year in advance created.

#### MEETING WITH GENERAL HAIG

Mr. WOLFF. Did you make some overtures? You requested a meeting with the President.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Wolff, I made a request that Mr. Frey and I meet with General Haig prior to the departure of the President and General Haig for Russia. We met on the evening before the President

and General Haig left for Russia, first Brussels, and at that time we strongly indicated to them that in our judgment that this decision would be made and that, No. 2, that the Executive should be totally aware of what we intended to do. That is precisely what we are doing here in front of your committee today. We tried to leave no doubt whatsoever that the Congress, if we had anything to say about it—and we don't much—that we would indeed pursue this source of action to suspend aid.

Mr. WOLFF. Have you had any communications with the Executive since his return?

Mr. HASTINGS. I have not.

#### LOBBYING BY PHARMACEUTICAL COMPANIES

Mr. WOLFF. Have you been visited by lobbyists for pharmaceutical companies?

Mr. HASTINGS. Yes, indeed. The association raised a bill. We were there and these are only allegations that perhaps some of the pharmaceuticals—not necessarily American—had encouraged the removal of the ban by Turkey.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Minnick of OMB admitted as well as Ambassador Handley at the time the agreements were made that there were overtures made by the pharmaceutical companies that actually were opposed to the original ban being placed in Turkey a year and a half ago.

Mr. HASTINGS. That is true, but I might also repeat to you, and I intend to pursue it, I believe Mr. Rangel has and yourself and Senator Mondale that three pharmaceutical manufacturers who actually purchase morphine base in this country have indicated that they will not again purchase morphine base from Turkey even if they decided to go ahead. Now I have only been informed that that is the case, I am going to pursue that to get it in writing.

Mr. WOLFF. I think that would certainly be a step forward because since the crop availability is such that there is a surplus in the international market of some 20 tons it would seem that we did not have to encourage the Turks.

Mr. HASTINGS. I have asked for a full set of figures from these companies on an international basis as to the use of opiates and the increasing use and the world supply, because I was informed yesterday that the suggestion you just made was perhaps not valid from their point of view, but I want to wait until all the evidence is in.

Mr. WOLFF. I suggest you get in touch with the United Nations Council on Drug Abuse.

Chairman MORGAN. Thank you, gentlemen. Your testimony is particularly welcome to those of us at the hearings because you discuss the present situation in Turkey, and I think it is important it should be in the record.

Thank you.

Mr. FREY. Thank you.

Mr. HASTINGS. Thank you.

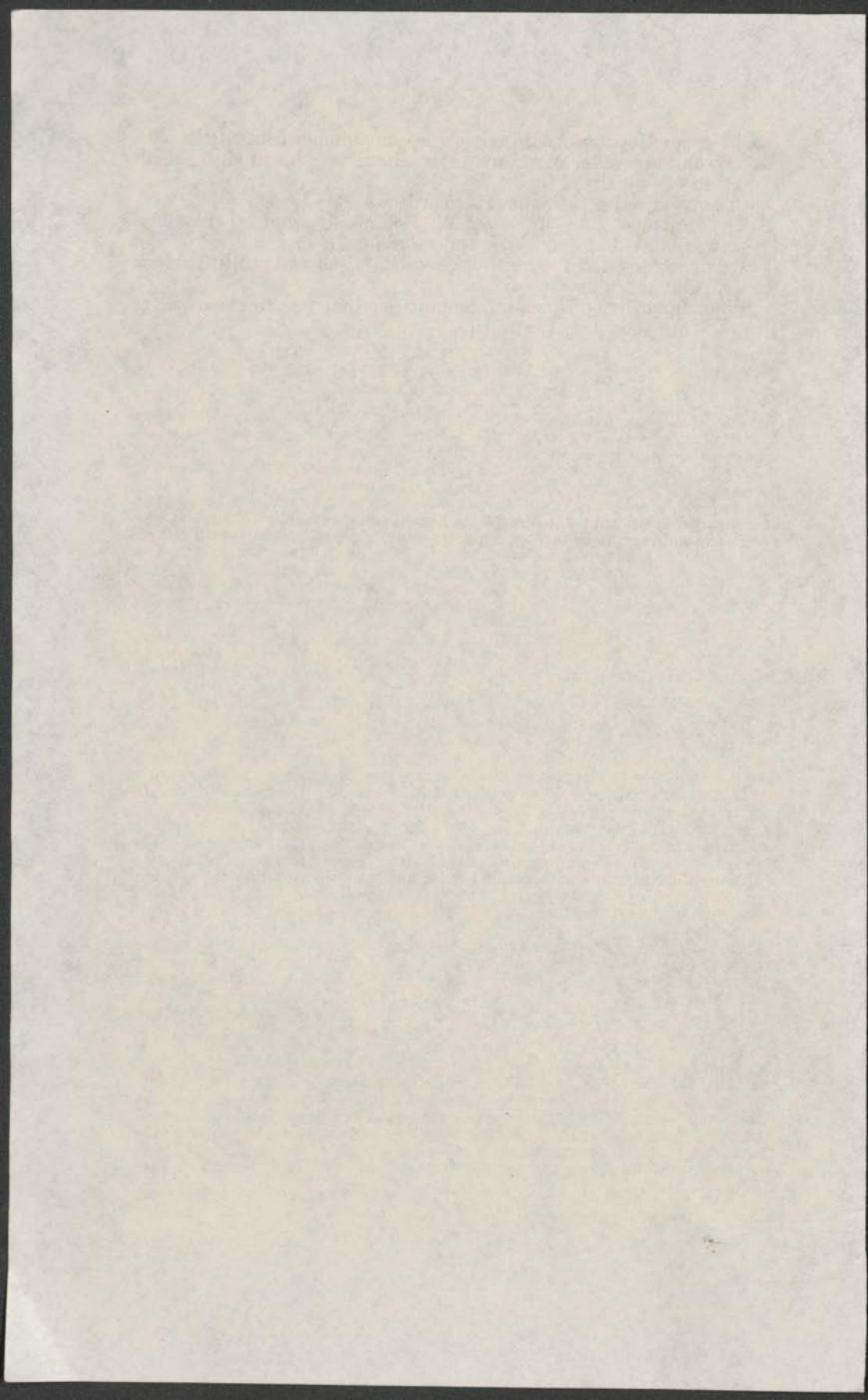
Chairman MORGAN. At this time I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Rodino and any other Members of the House be permitted to submit their remarks for the record.

Without objection the request is so ordered.

[The statement of Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Jr., and others subsequently submitted appear in the appendix, pp. 71-78.]

Chairman MORGAN. The committee stands adjourned until 10 o'clock on Thursday morning.

[Whereupon, at 1:37 p.m. the committee adjourned, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, July 18, 1974.]



## APPENDIX

### STATEMENTS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

#### STATEMENT OF HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, I appreciate the opportunity to appear today and to testify regarding the various concurrent resolutions under consideration by the Foreign Affairs Committee. However, I deeply regret that the recent action by the Government of Turkey in rescinding its ban on opium production has necessitated the scheduling of these hearings.

It has been three years since I last appeared before this Committee in support of my proposal granting the President discretionary authority to suspend economic and military assistance to countries which do not cooperate with our efforts to halt the international trafficking in hard drugs. That proposal is now a part of our permanent law and when it was discussed on the Floor of the House, I indicated that "passage of this legislation and its effective implementation will substantially reduce the amount of human misery and degradation caused by heroin addiction."

At that time, Mr. Chairman, you and I discussed the need for effective oversight of this International Narcotics Control provision and I certainly commend you for holding these timely hearings to insure that the provisions are effectively utilized.

I met last week with the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, William B. Macomber, Jr., to discuss this matter in great detail and I was fully apprised as to the various circumstances which caused the Government of Turkey to lift its 1971 ban on the growing of opium poppies. When it came to my attention that Turkey was reconsidering its ban, I joined with many of my colleagues in cosponsoring numerous resolutions which called upon the President to immediately initiate negotiations with the Turkish Government to prevent the resumption of opium production and if such negotiations prove unfruitful, to terminate all assistance to Turkey. The fact that these resolutions were cosponsored by the majority of the Members of the House of Representatives did not appear to affect the outcome of Turkey's decision to eliminate the ban. It has been reported that the Government of Turkey was not concerned that their decision would have a widespread impact on the American Congress and the American people nor strain U.S.-Turkey relations.

It is evident that the Government of Turkey has completely misjudged the response of both the Congress and our people, especially in light of the impressive progress that has been achieved in the war on drug abuse as a result of Turkey's earlier ban. For example, it is quite evident that: There is a scarcity of drugs on our streets, the cost of such drugs is enormous, drug seizures have increased, and greater emphasis is being placed on narcotic rehabilitation and treatment programs.

Consequently, Turkey's decision represents a serious setback and will substantially impede our efforts to combat the drug problem.

We are advised that Turkey's decision is necessary in order to improve the living conditions of those farmers whose livelihood had depended for many centuries on opium poppy cultivation and that the Turkish Government will take effective measures to prevent these poppies from being diverted to illegal markets. The American people are being asked to accept Turkey's decision on that basis.

I remain unconvinced as to the capacity of the Turkish Government to accomplish this objective. My conclusion is supported by most international drug experts, our own Drug Enforcement Administration, and indeed, even by the former prime Minister of Turkey.

For example, Prime Minister Erim stated on June 30, 1971 in announcing the ban that:

"Smuggling cannot be prevented in Turkey \* \* \*. The measures to be applied to control smuggling are extremely expensive. In general, poppies are planted in one corner of the field. For this reason, it is necessary to establish an organization which can control an area ten times that of a total poppy farming area of 13 thousand donums which may actually be planted. Vehicles, gasoline, personnel and their salaries must not be forgotten. Smugglers on the other hand, it must be remembered, will resort to any means. Until now, foreign assistance was obtained for control purposes; even an airplane was obtained for our organization. But, unfortunately, the matter was impossible to control by these means, in spite of all the efforts which were made."

I should emphasize that the situation has not changed in this regard especially when we consider that Turkey will now be growing opium poppies in seven provinces, whereas at the time the 1971 statement was made production had already been limited to four provinces.

When the Turkish decision was finally announced on July 1, I immediately introduced another concurrent resolution, H. Con Res. 556, which was cosponsored by Congressman Rangel, whose expertise and interest in this matter has invaluable assisted the Congress and the American people in focusing their attention on the serious problem of heroin addiction. This resolution called upon the President to immediately terminate foreign aid to Turkey and to protest their action through the U.S. delegation to the United Nations.

While I clearly recognize that Turkey is a valuable and strategic NATO ally, we must also be cognizant of the fact that Turkey's action is equivalent to a declaration of war against the young people of the world. As a delegate and past Chairman of NATO's Scientific and Technical Committee, I am mindful that Turkey's friendship is a great asset to the United States. As a participant in these international discussions, I am keenly aware of the need for preserving this close relationship. At the same time, we cannot forget that a resumption of poppy growing by Turkey will substantially increase the flow of heroin to this country.

Some have objected to the immediate termination of foreign aid to Turkey and have indicated that drastic action of this nature by our government will be counterproductive and will not effect a reversal of Turkey's decision.

In listening to these arguments, I am reminded of those critics who maintained in 1971 that "attacking the heroin problem at its source—the poppy fields of the Near and Far East—would not alleviate the problem of drug addiction in the United States." The current scarcity of heroin on the streets of our major cities and the sharp decrease in the number of heroin addicts have silenced these voices. John R. Bartels, Jr., Administrator, Drug Enforcement Administration, recently described the effectiveness of Turkey's ban in the following manner:

"When the Turkish government ended the production of opium poppies at the end of 1972 it was a courageous act. The decision was made despite the protests of thousands of Turkish farmers whose main cash income came from the production of opium gum. The action of the Turkish government was highly commendable.

"It began a step upward for uncounted numbers of addicts—because, with the end of Turkish poppy growing, the production of white, European, heroin dropped sharply. Right now European heroin is in short supply in the United States.

"The immediate and very real effect of the poppy ban was a sharp drop-off in heroin addiction and an increase of addicts voluntarily seeking treatment. It went a long way towards helping ten of thousands—perhaps hundreds of thousands—of American citizens—and the people of many countries—escape from a life of degradation, and possible death. We do not want a return of the heroin epidemic that was very real and very menacing only a few years ago."

These same skeptics today contend that cutting off aid to Turkey will be ineffective since it will not cause that Government to reverse its decision. This position, however, presupposes that the *sole* purpose of my International Narcotics Control provision, which was included in the 1971 Foreign Assistance Act, was to provide the President with a diplomatic tool to be used *only* during interna-

tional negotiations on the drug problem. Although this certainly was the primary objective, the Congress also intended that the President would exercise his authority to suspend foreign aid, when negotiations with a particular country prove unsuccessful.

We can be sure that other countries of the world are watching our response to Turkey very carefully and the Congress cannot afford to remain silent. The Congress must take immediate, meaningful, and decisive action to protest this outrageous decision by the Government of Turkey.

As a result, even if Turkey does not respond affirmatively by reversing its decision, a foreign aid cutoff would convince other opium-producing countries which readily receive our assistance, and other countries which have not diligently prevented the traffic in hard drugs, that we will not tolerate their inaction concerning the international problem of drug abuse.

At the same time, I can appreciate that the strategic importance of Turkey as a NATO ally dictates that we must approach this problem in a delicate fashion. In this regard, I am aware that several compromise approaches have been suggested which are designed to permit further discussion of these sensitive issues and to provide the President with some diplomatic leverage during future negotiations with Turkey. I am hopeful that these hearings will consider in detail these approaches and will weigh all of the complex issues associated with this problem prior to recommending the appropriate legislative response to Turkey's decision.

In deliberating on these matters, we cannot be satisfied with mere promises that Turkey will prevent opium from finding its way into illicit channels. We cannot forget the opinions of drug experts who have described the immense difficulties involved in controlling opium production, nor the fact that Turkey has breached its agreement to ban opium production in exchange for \$35 million in assistance to compensate for losses incurred by Turkish farmers and to develop alternate crops.

In announcing a national offensive against drug abuse in 1971, President Nixon stated that: "We want good relations with other countries, but we cannot buy good relations at the expense of temporizing on the [drug] problem". The Congress must call upon the President to stand by his statement and his commitment to end drug abuse and we must demonstrate to the world that we will not accept the indifferent attitude of certain countries towards this serious problem.

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STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM  
THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. Chairman, I want to commend you for scheduling this hearing on an alarming and tragic crisis brought about by the irresponsible decision of the Turkish Government to lift its ban on the production of opium poppy. I believe the United States must respond swiftly and firmly to this act by cutting off Aid to Turkey. I have cosponsored similar legislation and resolutions.

To illustrate the seriousness of this matter, I would like to place in the record of this hearing my remarks prepared for presentation to the full House today, which includes a column written by Pete Hamill in the July 8, 1974 *New York Post*, entitled "Act of War."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD BY HON. JOSEPH P.  
ADDABBO, JULY 16, 1974

A RESPONSE TO TURKEY

Mr. Speaker, on several occasions I have expressed my deep personal concern over the recent action of the Turkish Government to lift its ban on the production of opium poppy. I believe the President should immediately exercise his authority to cut off assistance to Turkey. This is the only response Turkey will understand and it is a response justified by the tragic and hostile act by that Government.

On July 8, 1974, columnist Pete Hamill writing in the *New York Post* called the new Turkish policy an "Act of War." The column places this policy in a

perspective which is alarming and unfortunately very real—the stark picture of young Americans being killed by heroin made from Turkish opium.

I am inserting the text of the Pete Hamill column in the Record to alert my colleagues to the seriousness of this crisis.

[From the New York Post, July 8, 1974]

#### ACT OF WAR

(By Pete Hamill)

For the first time since Pearl Harbor, this country has been given sufficient provocation to justify a full, open declaration of war, and the beginning of armed hostilities. Korea and Vietnam were ideological wars, based on the arrogant assumption that we could kill people in other countries because we disagreed with the way some of them wanted to live. Their quarrels were none of our business. There was never any possibility that Korean or Vietnamese communists could cause us direct harm at home. We killed them simply because they were communists and we were capitalists.

But Turkey is different.

Turkey is killing Americans right this minute. Turkey will be killing Americans at an even greater rate in the future. It is killing us with heroin. Heroin made from Turkish opium kills the brains of the people who O. D. on the streets of Harlem and Bed Stuy and the South Bronx. That heroin flows in the bodies of people who kill old women in elevators for the price of a nickel bag. Heroin causes more than 50 per cent of all crime in this city, and that is more violence than the Korean, Vietnamese or Chinese communists have committed on our shores throughout history.

Last week, the government of Turkey decided to lift its two-year partial ban on the growing of opium. That was a direct act of aggression against the U.S., most particularly against the people of New York, which is the nation's heroin addiction capital. That decision is a decision to kill, destroy, steal and terrorize. It should be met with war.

Three years ago, when Nixon was looking forward to the 1972 election, he decided it was time "to do something" about the flow of heroin into the U.S. For years, law enforcement people had known how it worked: Opium was grown in Turkey, processed in French plants in Marseilles and delivered through "the French connection" to the shores of the U.S. The amount of opium gum required for a kilo of heroin was sold in Turkey for \$200; by the time it reached the streets of New York, it was worth \$240,000.

Since Nixon was then still posing as a "law and order" man, he had to do something, so he came up with a solution. He decided to bribe the Turkish government. The Turks took a \$15 million down payment against an eventual bribe of \$35.7 million, to "study" ways to get Turkish farmers to grow other crops besides opium. That "study" money is probably safely ensconced right now in Switzerland.

According to Frank Rogers, the city's special narcotics prosecutor, there was still plenty of opium, even after the Turks announced their partial ban, most of it in the hands of middlemen. But with the Turkish announcement last week that full-scale opium farming would be resumed in six provinces this fall, the opium in "the pipeline" will be released. There has been a heroin shortage in New York; we can look forward now to a heroin glut, with its attendant cycle of homicides, robberies, and overdoses. Rep. Rangle says "New York will feel the effect within 60 to 90 days."

To me, if a government (in this case Turkey) sanctions the killing and terrorizing of another country's citizens (Americans, in this case), that is war. Forget the assurances of the Turkish government that the opium is only for legal pharmaceutical purposes and that illegal smuggling will be controlled. They didn't do it before; there is no reason to believe they will do it now. They are in opium for the money, and they don't care how many lives are destroyed as long as the profits are steady.

Nixon has called home the ambassador to Turkey for consultation, but that is clearly not enough.

The narcotics racketeers can only chuckle. What is needed is direct action. According to Newsday's Pulitzer Prize-winning study of the problem, there are 90,000 farmers engaged in opium growing in Anatolia in Turkey. Since 1971, the

crop has legally been grown in only four provinces of Anatolia, but now the ban has been lifted, and opium will be grown to match the demand.

Those 90,000 farmers should be warned that we hold them and their government directly responsible for their acts of war against our citizens. They should be given a seven-day period in which to burn their crops, or move to safe areas, and then our B-52s should begin the systematic carpet-bombing of those fields, an act to be repeated every three months until they get the idea. The Russians will not interfere; the Turks, after all, are part of the "Free World," and have received more than \$3 billion in military and economic aid from us. And if the Communist countries want to rally to the defense of heroin, they are welcome to the opportunity.

In addition, Abe Beame, Malcolm Wilson and the State Dept. should issue a list of all products and businesses owned by Turkish nationals or the Turkish government, and call for a complete boycott of those goods. All foreign aid should be ended. All Turkish assets in the country should be seized and held in escrow against the lives of our children. On our side, all we would be doing is killing opium and money; the Turks are killing people. For the first time since Pearl Harbor, Americans are the injured party, and its time to start injuring our enemies back.

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STATEMENT OF HON. HUGH L. CAREY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Gentlemen, I am honored to have the opportunity to include my comments on this important matter—one which ultimately affects the well-being of all New York residents and citizens throughout the nation.

Two years ago we undertook a promising experiment in controlling the scourge of heroin addiction which pervades this nation. By banning the growing of Turkish opium poppies and subsidizing the farmers who would lose their livelihood through the ban, we were able to greatly reduce the influx of heroin in this country.

Yet, here we are two years later faced with the grim prospects that the momentum gained in controlling heroin supplies and thus reducing addiction, crime and deaths related to narcotic addiction, will be lost.

Our problem is an immediate one. As my distinguished colleagues Mr. Rangel and Mr. Wolff have indicated, within 60 to 90 days of the Turkish government's announcement, we will witness rapid increases in heroin supplies available on the streets. This is the result of middlemen in the illegal drug traffic being willing to let out stockpiles they had kept in reserve when the ban started and they were unsure as to where new drug channels would open and what prices they would be able to obtain for their supplies. Hence, we will not have to wait until next spring when new opium poppy crops are ready to feel the effects of the Turkish government's decision.

I, therefore, wish to urge the Committee in its review of this matter to help us in New York—where the drug problem is overwhelming—to fight the increase in heroin traffic by strengthening our port control. I believe that is imperative that we take the \$20.1 million which has not been used to date of the \$35.7 million allocated by the Congress, and use it to strengthen the port of New York and other ports across the nation where illegal drugs enter. Our customs officials, law enforcement groups and other involved in the fight against illegal drug traffic have exhibited great dedication in our ports, but we will need more help of all kinds to meet the increased traffic. These funds are important to help stem such illegal drug traffic.

Our efforts in this country must also be coupled with appropriate action in dealing with Turkey. Unfortunately, Turkey despite claims it will use its total crop for medical supplies has left us no alternative but to cut off military and economic aid. We cannot in good conscience continue to support a country which would contribute to the erosion of American life. But I would respectfully suggest that we offer the Turks one last chance to reconsider their decision. In order to permit them to save face in the matter, we might cut off aid in a two-step procedure: First, cut off military aid—thus making it clear that in light of their decision we will be faced with such severe drug problems that additional monies must be used for drug control projects as well as medical assistance to addicts. Then if they will not reconsider the seriousness of our situation, we must cut off economic aid.

No citizen who has ever had a member of the family who is a drug addict, or been the victim of a crime perpetrated by an addict, or just witnessed the erosion of a person's life from drugs, can sit by and permit Turkey to lift the ban. Our stake in this matter is far too great to permit us to watch new crops of opium poppies be cultivated and to ultimately find their way into illegal drug traffic.

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STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH J. MARAZITI, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. Chairman: I am testifying before this Committee because I am a co-sponsor of this legislation. More importantly, however, I am compelled to urge favorable consideration because I am a citizen and a parent.

The deplorable announcement by the Turkish government that it would permit the production of opium poppies and abandon its agreement with the United States to ban that production will result in a serious set back to our efforts against narcotics traffic. It evidences an utter disregard, not only for our young people, but for young people throughout the world.

By 1971, as President Nixon stated, the drug problem in this country had "assumed the dimensions of a national emergency." Furthermore, heroin addiction was the most difficult to control and the most socially destructive of all forms of addiction. No one can doubt that elimination of this drug abuse is one of our most urgent national priorities.

Mr. Chairman, as the preamble to this resolution clearly states, it was reliably estimated that over 80 percent of the illicit heroin entering the United States was produced from a Turkish opium base. When the Turkish government agreed to ban, and in fact, banned the growing of the opium poppy in exchange for U.S. aid to Turkish farmers, the corresponding reduction in heroin "on the streets" resulted in an estimated reduction of more than 60% in the number of heroin addicts.

The decision of the Turkish government will mean that heroin will once again flow virtually unchecked onto our streets. "The French Connection" stands ready to resume traffic. Once heroin is in these channels, large scale control is virtually impossible. As our experience indicates, the problem is either eliminated at the source or it is never eliminated at all. The Turkish decision will practically guarantee that our drug abuse problem will return to crisis levels.

Mr. Chairman, we in Congress protest. The Foreign Assistance Act Amendments of 1971 (Sec. 109 of P.L. 92-226) clearly mandate a cut off of assistance when a country permits illegal narcotics trafficking.

The resolution proposed takes the reasonable approach by directing the President to first negotiate with Turkey to obtain a resumption of the ban, and if these negotiations fail, to exercise the authority under the Foreign Assistance Act to terminate all assistance to that country.

If Turkey can take these steps knowing full well their consequences, they are saying to us that the drug problem is ours, and not theirs. Our answer to this should be economic development is their problem and not ours.

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STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Chairman Morgan, distinguished Members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I welcome this opportunity to appear before the Foreign Affairs Committee this morning to briefly share with you my views in opposition to Turkey's decision to lift its ban on poppy cultivation and our nation's alternatives in responding to that fatal decision.

It is generally accepted that the dramatic decrease in heroin addiction in the United States (the New York City Department of Health Narcotics Register reports a 46% decrease between January and June 1972) during the period of time in which Turkey refrained poppy production is directly attributable to the Turkish ban and to our government's hard cash efforts to encourage Turkey's maintenance of that ban.

With the rescission of that agreement, Turkey will be reversing the progress we have made in controlling the dread drug here at home with our drug officials

estimating that we can anticipate a spiraling rise in drug addiction. As much as 80% of illegal heroin in the U.S. is estimated to have come from Turkey. Without the Turkish government's assistance in banning poppy production, we will once again be plagued by a devastating disease of drug addiction and all of its menacing side effects.

It is my firm opinion that we have only one course to follow in replying to Turkey's unfortunate decision. We must immediately suspend all current and pending economic, military and foreign aid to Turkey until such time as the Turkish government revokes its unilateral decision to allow opium cultivation.

While many of my colleagues are reluctant to "interfere" in the policies of another nation, I would remind those members that we are living in an interdependent world where each nation, while safeguarding its own interests, must act responsibly in formulating domestic policy which affects any other nation. In the case of Turkey, we are not speaking of material and mineral shortages, we are not speaking of political ideologies, we are speaking of the health and welfare of America's youth whose well-being directly corresponds to Turkey's decision to resume poppy growing.

Moreover, this is not merely an internal decision by the Turkish government. Turkey's agreement to Article 22 of the United Nation's Convention outlines that nation's responsibility in complying with a worldwide effort at discouraging drug trafficking.

Accordingly, I urge my colleagues on the Foreign Affairs Committee to favorably report H. Con. Res. 507, a bill I am co-sponsoring with my colleague from New York, Mr. Wolff, which I feel is the only appropriate response to Turkey's recent breach of agreement. Let us caution Turkey lest those humanitarian concerns so important to world protection are tossed away by the self-serving interests of a handful of men. Punching a hole in the dam of drug containment will only serve to reopen the flood gates of an epidemic.

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STATEMENT OF HON. CLAUDE PEPPER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Mr. Chairman. I wish to add my voice to those of the many concerned members of this Committee in expressing my sense of disappointment and outrage at the recent decision of the government of Turkey to lift its ban on the growing of the opium poppy. Three years ago the United States and Turkey reached an agreement—we would give them \$35.7 million in special aid in return for their halting the cultivation of opium poppies, source of the killer drug heroin. The agreed upon ban became effective after the 1972 harvest; last month the Turks violated their pledge.

As a result of my work as Chairman of the Select Committee on Crime, I have acquired an intense awareness of the havoc and tragedy which result from widespread heroin addiction, and for that reason I am particularly disturbed by Turkey's action. In 1971 the Select Committee on Crime issued a report, *Heroin and Heroin Paraphernalia*, in which we noted the degree of "alarm, anxiety, and fear throughout the United States over the nature and extent of hard-core drug addiction and the accompanying commission of crimes to pay for such addiction." At that time it was estimated that up to eighty percent of heroin in the United States came from the poppy fields of Turkey.

Over the last few years, however, although U.S. progress in the war on heroin has been quiet and rather undramatic, it has been steady. In the early 1970's the number of heroin addicts in this country was estimated at between 300,000 to 500,000. Now, according to Dr. Robert Dupont, director of the National Institute of Drug Abuse, heroin addiction has been reduced to about 200,000 active addicts. According to estimates of the Drug Enforcement Administration, the illegal heroin supply seeping across the U.S. borders is presently down sixty percent from what it was in the early 1970's. A major factor in these forward thrusts has been the ban on poppy growing in Turkey, which greatly reduced the supply of raw materials needed for the production of illicit heroin in Western Europe. Available Asian heroin, and heroin produced in Mexico, have not filled the void created by the effectiveness of the Turkish opium poppy ban.

With the Turkish decision to lift the ban, however, our goal of completely curtailing heroin from the streets of America is in jeopardy. All of our progress could be reversed. It is up to Congress to take action to see that this does not

happen. Public Law 92-226, the Foreign Assistance Act Amendments of 1971, clearly mandates a cutoff of assistance to any country not cooperating in halting the flow of narcotics into the United States. Should we fail to respond now to the action taken by Turkey, we would be guilty of gross dereliction of duty. We must take any and all steps immediately to persuade the Turkish Government to reverse its decision and to maintain the ban on opium production.

Accordingly, I have joined in co-sponsoring two important resolutions, H. Con. Res. 498 and H. Con. Res. 527, which call for a firm response by the United States to the revocation of Turkey's opium poppy ban. These resolutions urge the immediate initiation of negotiations at the highest level of the Turkish Government to prevent the resumption of opium production. Should such negotiations prove unfruitful, all economic and military assistance to Turkey should be terminated, as authorized by the Foreign Assistance Act. The Senate has already passed a similar measure, and I urge that the House support the denial of aid to Turkey unless—and until—its decision to resume poppy production is reversed.

In 1971, the Turkish Government took decisive action in banning all opium production, resulting in effectively drying up the Turkish sources. Clearly the effects of that ban were felt here in the reduction of the number of heroin addicts and the curbing of the amount of heroin entering the United States. We know that with the lifting of the ban, Turkey will again become a ready source of opium. The consequences could be staggering. Our only alternative is to show Turkey, and any other country which has not taken vigorous action against the illicit flow of drugs, that we will not sit by quietly and bow to the tyranny of the drug traffickers.

LETTERS SUBMITTED BY HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT, A REPRESENTATIVE  
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES,  
OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY,  
Los Angeles, Calif., July 10, 1974.

Congressman JOHN H. ROUSSELOT,  
Arcadia, Calif.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROUSSELOT: The government of Turkey has given farmers in that country a green light to resume cultivation of opium poppies, and I hope I don't need to tell you what a threat that is to California.

Opium, and heroin, a derivative of opium, are deadly drugs. Since Turkey stopped cultivating opium poppies more than 18 months ago, less European heroin has found its way to the United States.

But a resumption of the heroin trade would put more heroin on the market here, create more addicts, and lower the price of available heroin to make use attractive for some persons who now do not use it.

As a legislator, you are in a position to express your official displeasure over the Turkish government's decision. Heroin is a killer. The seriousness of the potential increased availability of heroin cannot be overstated, and it would be foolish to assume that we can keep it from coming here through tighter controls or any other plan. If it is produced, much will find its way into the United States.

There is no more deadly drug than heroin. Please register your opposition to the action of the Turkish government.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH P. BUSCH, *District Attorney.*

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AZUSA, CALIF., July 5, 1974.

HON. JOHN ROUSSELOT,  
*House of Representatives,*  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROUSSELOT: I am exceptionally disturbed that Turkey has removed its ban on growing poppies. I feel that our government should do everything in its power to see that this ban is reimposed.

We should warn them that unless the ban is reimposed, we will cut off all aid including military aid. I also feel, however, that we should promise them all the aid necessary to develop crops that would provide equivalent or better income, if they agree to reimpose the ban.

I do not see how we can fail to take a strong stand on this position. We must not permit them to grow a crop, that leads to the destruction of American youth. Please do what you can, Congressman Rousselet.

Sincerely,

JAMES R. DILLON.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JAMES H. HANCOCK, SECRETARY OF THE ARMY  
FROM THE HONORABLE JOHN W. BARKER, CHIEF OF BUREAU

Subject: Proposed Revision of the Regulations Governing the Appointment of Officers to the Regular Army

The proposed revision of the regulations governing the appointment of officers to the Regular Army is being prepared by the War Department. It is suggested that the proposed revision be approved by the War Department and forwarded to the War Department for their consideration. The proposed revision is being prepared by the War Department and is being prepared by the War Department. It is suggested that the proposed revision be approved by the War Department and forwarded to the War Department for their consideration. The proposed revision is being prepared by the War Department and is being prepared by the War Department. It is suggested that the proposed revision be approved by the War Department and forwarded to the War Department for their consideration.

Very respectfully,  
John W. Barker, Chief of Bureau

James H. Hancock, Secretary of the Army

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Very respectfully,  
John W. Barker, Chief of Bureau