

PREM 19/2078

Confidential Filing~~Drugs and Solvent Abuse.~~~~'Glue Sniffing'~~DRUGS
HOME AFFAIRSPart 1: December 1982Part 3: October 1985

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20.10.86							
28.11.86							

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① Home Office Report

"Tackling Drug Misuse: a summary
of the governments strategy"

- in folder at rear of file

② H.M. Customs report.

"National Drugs Conference"

PART 3 ends:-

15 MAY 1987

NL to PM: DRUGS:

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN POLICE
AND CUSTOMS .

PART 4 begins:-

25.6.87

D. HOUGH to HOME SEC.

Published Papers

The following published paper(s) enclosed on this file have been removed and destroyed. Copies may be found elsewhere in The National Archives.

“Tackling drug misuse: a summary of the government’s
Strategy”, second edition
Home Office, 1986 [ISBN 0-86252-234-X]

Signed AWayland Date 6 August 2015

PREM Records Team



NATIONAL DRUGS CONFERENCE 1986

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Kishore Bhatt
Heroin Trafficking by Nigerian Nationals
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Operation 'Kismet'
Operation 'Kartier'

3. HM CUSTOMS AND EXCISE DRUG SEIZURE STATISTICS
1976 - 1985

4. INTELLIGENCE BULLETIN (February 1986)

HM Customs and Excise
Harmsworth House
Bouverie Street
London EC4Y 8BS
01 353 3288

*Copy removed from this file.
Not annotated by the PM
or her private office.*

AW 6/8/15

CSG

Prime Minister²

Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG
01-270 3000

PRIME MINISTER

DRUGS: CO-OPERATION BETWEEN POLICE AND CUSTOMS

I am content with the proposals made by the Home Secretary in his minute to you of 13 May. This is a matter where public wrangling between the two services reflects badly both on them and on the Government as a whole. Indeed, the only beneficiaries are the drug traffickers. If officials cannot settle it, I would propose that the Home Secretary and I should meet to resolve it.

You may find it helpful if I explain the Customs position in a little more detail. It is Customs policy to adopt a wholly positive attitude to co-operation with the police, both in terms of the provision of intelligence and of consultation and involvement in actual operations. It was on Customs initiative that terminals linked to their intelligence computer (CEDRIC) were placed in the National Drugs Intelligence Unit (NDIU) and they have now offered full "hands on" access by NDIU staff to CEDRIC. Customs management have made it clear that they will investigate any claims that their staff have failed to co-operate properly with the police and that, if these claims are proved, they will take appropriate action.

Customs are opposed to altering the existing division of responsibilities for a number of good reasons. They believe that if the police were also given responsibility for dealing with the importation of prohibited drugs, the resulting dual responsibility would reduce accountability, risk confusion and loss of effectiveness in actual operations and would be more likely to increase conflict rather than reduce it.

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Hitherto Customs have had sole responsibility for dealing with drug imports, a position which has been endorsed by Ministers in both previous editions of the Government's strategy document "Tackling Drug Misuse". Customs are uniquely well-placed to discharge this responsibility since they have both the means and experience to control importations as part of their long established role as a frontier force. Moreover, over the years their Investigation Division has developed considerable expertise in tackling drug importations and rounding up the organisers - more than 80 organised gangs were destroyed in 1986. They have also established excellent relationships with overseas enforcement agencies with whom there is a regular exchange of intelligence. Nine drug liaison officers have been established in major source or transit countries.

In recent years we have agreed to put very considerable resources - both of manpower and of money - into Customs to enable them to enhance their efforts against drug smuggling. Customs have engaged in a massive training programme to improve the performance of their staff on this work. The results - both in terms of numbers and quantity of drug seizures - have been impressive. I would be extremely reluctant to accept changes which put this at risk.

Customs consider that the concern of the police over their ultimate say in allowing controlled deliveries is based on apprehension rather than experience. I am satisfied that they approach all requests by the police for controlled delivery in a constructive manner. They feel that if the police were to accept that their approach in such cases was one of positive co-operation, the existing division of responsibilities would present no problems in practice.

I agree with the Home Secretary that it would be unwise to attempt to impose a solution. I hope that officials will be able to agree

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on something which is mutually acceptable. Customs assure me that they will approach these discussions in a constructive spirit. They will adopt the same approach to the proposed consideration of the constitutional and organisational arrangements of the NDIU and to the discussions about its new Head.

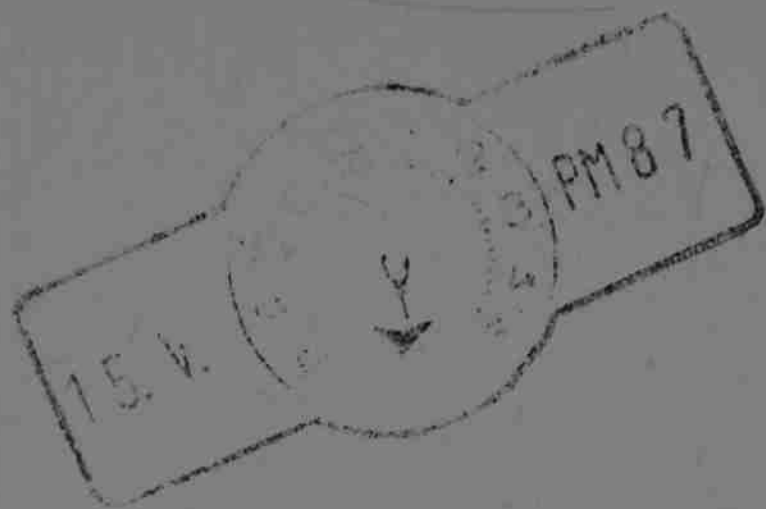
I do, however, consider that we should be extremely wary of altering existing arrangements which have proved to be increasingly effective in detecting drugs and taking out the traffickers. I am convinced that if a more positive spirit of co-operation existed, there would be no need for changing the current division of responsibilities. I entirely agree with the Home Secretary, therefore, that improving co-operation should be the focus of our efforts.

I am copying this to the Douglas Hurd and Sir Robert Armstrong.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'N.L.' with a flourish.

N.L.

15 May 1987



HOME AFFAIRS: drug abuse
pt 3

SECRET

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PRIME MINISTER

13 May 1987

DRUGS: CUSTOMS/POLICE

Further to previous minutes concerning the rivalry and deep acrimony between police and customs, I have now had the frankest disclosures from a senior and highly regarded officer, until recently in the Drugs Squad. He instanced occasions when customs and police both arrived to arrest the same suspects after following their tracks for some weeks, in one instance months, neither knowing the same quarry. Apparently these blunders are still happening.

We cannot stress the Home Secretary's first recommendation too strongly, that there should be direct access into each others data bases or, as we have recommended since 1985, that both data bases be merged.


HARTLEY BOOTH



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CCBG

Prime Minister²

Prime Minister

DRUGS : CO-OPERATION BETWEEN POLICE AND CUSTOMS

There has been considerable recent press interest in the level of co-operation between police and Customs in the investigation of drug traffickers. This note summarises the issues which remain outstanding between the two services and reports on the measures we have taken towards resolving them.

2. As you know, Customs have long experience in preventing the illegal importation of controlled drugs and in investigating importation offences; they seize the bulk of drugs which are discovered by the United Kingdom enforcement agencies. More recently, with encouragement from the Government and with additional resources provided specifically for drug enforcement work, the police have devoted a great deal more effort to the investigation of drug offences. They have also become increasingly concerned about the links between drug trafficking and other forms of major organised crime.

3. From the beginning of the recent drive against drug trafficking, we have recognised the possibility of conflict between the two services arising from their different traditions, professional backgrounds and, to some extent, priorities. For this reason we established the National Drugs Intelligence Unit, staffed jointly by police and Customs officers, and we appointed the National Drugs Intelligence Co-ordinator. We formed at the same time the Drugs Intelligence Steering Group (DISG) to guide the direction of the enforcement effort and to monitor its effectiveness. These measures have succeeded in identifying, and in many instances resolving, the difference of approach.

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4. The main difference which remains outstanding is over the authority for controlled deliveries, the purpose of which is to lead investigators to the criminal network responsible for the drugs' illegal importation (with the attendant risk that they might be lost and go into circulation within the country). Customs claim the ultimate authority for deciding whether drugs should be allowed through their controls for this purpose; the police are seeking a parallel authority to decide as a matter of their own judgement the action to be taken with regard to controlled deliveries where their own operations are involved, including their operations against other forms of organised crime. They accept that decisions should be made in consultation with Customs but do not accept that Customs should have effectively a power of veto.

5. There is considerable strength in the police argument that the importation of drugs is increasingly part of a wider criminal operation and that their assessment of a particular courier's place in a wider pattern of organised crime needs to be given proper weight in the decision whether or not to allow a controlled delivery. Nevertheless, I recognise that Customs see it as their job to prevent illegal drugs from going into circulation within this country and a controlled delivery which goes wrong as their responsibility.

6. Neither service is presently in any mood to compromise. Equally, a solution cannot successfully be imposed; both services would react strongly to any imposed concession and the result would be to set back co-operation at operational level to an extent which could defeat its own objective.

7. I therefore see the task as one of concentrating on improved co-operation and exchange of information, whilst working on a fresh attempt to draw up mutually acceptable guidelines on co-operation between the two services, particularly over the authorisation of controlled deliveries.

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8. The issue was discussed at the meeting of DISG on 7th May which has agreed the following conclusions:

- (a) to continue to avoid public recrimination which can in the end only damage our enforcement effort and give encouragement to the traffickers;
- (b) agreement that the Home Office should act as brokers between the police and Customs, involving Customs' Investigations and Policy Divisions, NDIU, ACPD and the Metropolitan Police in a fresh attempt to produce acceptable guidelines;
- (c) energetic efforts to improve mutual confidence between operational officers in the two services by -
 - (i) exploring the scope for providing each service with direct access to the other's drugs intelligence data bases;
 - (ii) ensuring that operational officers understand exactly what is held on the data bases;
 - (iii) continuing to bring examples of successful joint operations to the attention of the media, as well as the staff of the two services;
- (d) postponing the next edition of 'Tackling Drug Misuse' to ensure that the wording on police/Customs responsibilities can be agreed.

9. I understand that the attitude of both services was entirely constructive and all the service representatives accepted the urgent need for the outstanding issues to be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. I have given instructions for work to proceed accordingly.

10. You will also wish to know that at the meeting of DISG on 7th May the National Drugs Intelligence Co-ordinator, Mr Colin Hewett announced his intention to retire in August. He

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will by that time have reached an age at which he can draw his police pension and will have served two years in the post.

Mr Hewett made clear at the meeting his disappointment that he had not received the degree of co-operation and support which he had hoped for from senior police colleagues. These tensions may have contributed to his decision to retire but he is maintaining that it is based entirely on personal considerations. We are, of course, putting in motion the process for selecting a successor but we shall not be making an immediate decision. There is no question that the NDIU has proved its worth and must be retained. However, we would like to take this opportunity to review the constitutional and organisational arrangements in the light of experience so far to see whether any changes would help to improve co-operation.

11. I am sending copies of this minute to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Douglas Hurd.

13 May 1987

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PRIME MINISTER

19 February 1987

DRUGS

We have now had the first figures (still interim) for drug seizures for 1986. Although heroin is down little can be read into it. The general trend for seizures, particularly amphetamines, is up. This partly reflects the fact that regional crime squads are now in place.

I attach (1) the figures 1982-1986

(2) the seizures in graph profile

(no kg figures for LSD but all indications are that LSD was noticeably up last year).



HARTLEY BOOTH



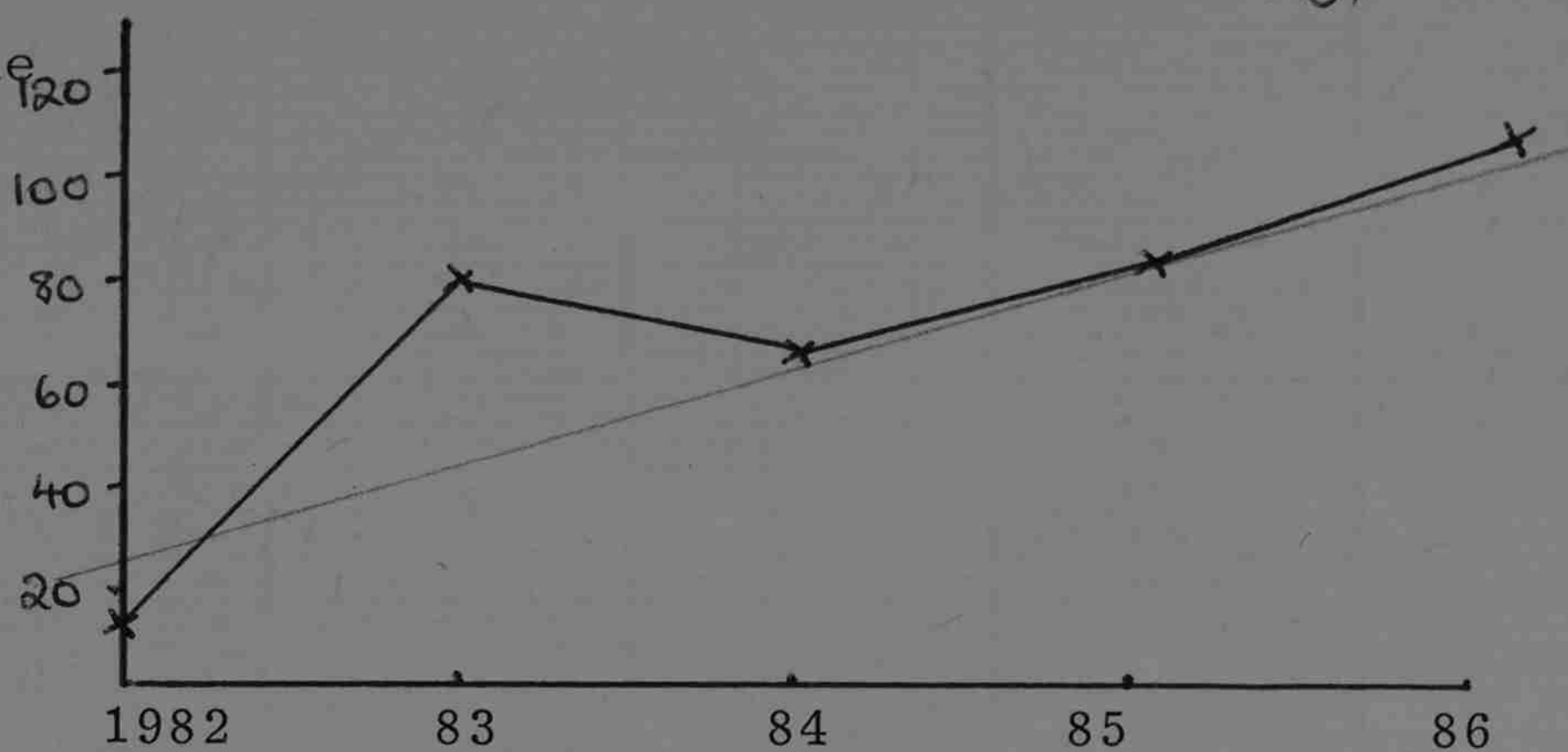
Quantity of controlled drugs seized in the UK by drug type (in kilogrammes)

	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986*</u>
Cocaine	18.8	80.0	65.5	85.4	110.8
Heroin	195.5	236.2	361.6	366.4	228.5
LSD	0.091	0.024	0.210	0.010	n/a
Amphetamine	12.5	34.9	58.1	73.9	92.2
Cannabis resin	4413.0	6816.5	11293.5	7861.2	12757.7
Cannabis (herbal)	<u>12,995.5</u>	<u>13,734.6</u>	<u>17,723.1</u>	<u>14,281.8</u>	<u>11,439.9</u>
Total Cannabis	17,408.5	20,551.1	19,016.6	22,143.0	<u>24,197.6</u>

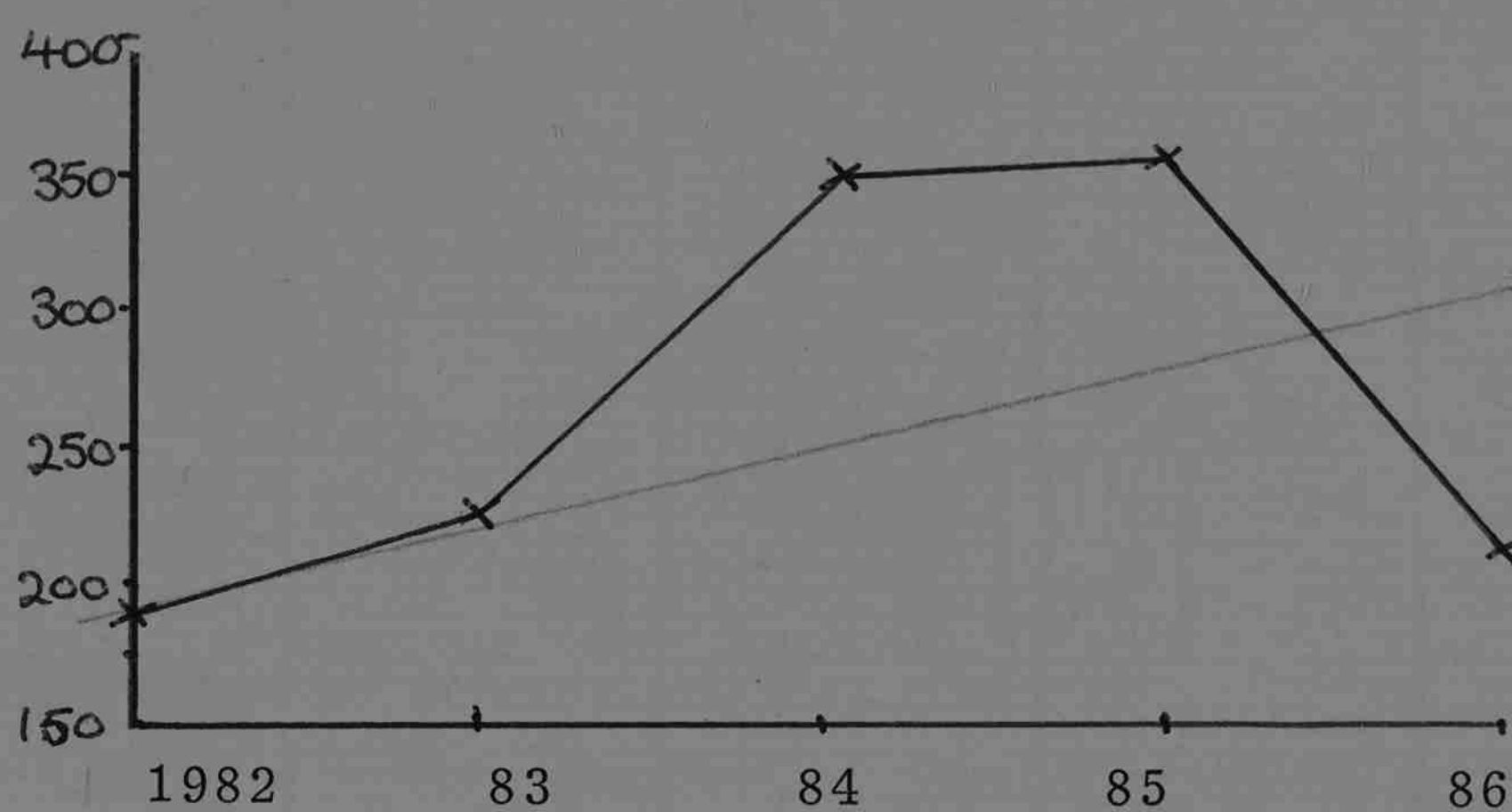
*These are interim prepublication figures

UK DRUG SEIZURES (kg)

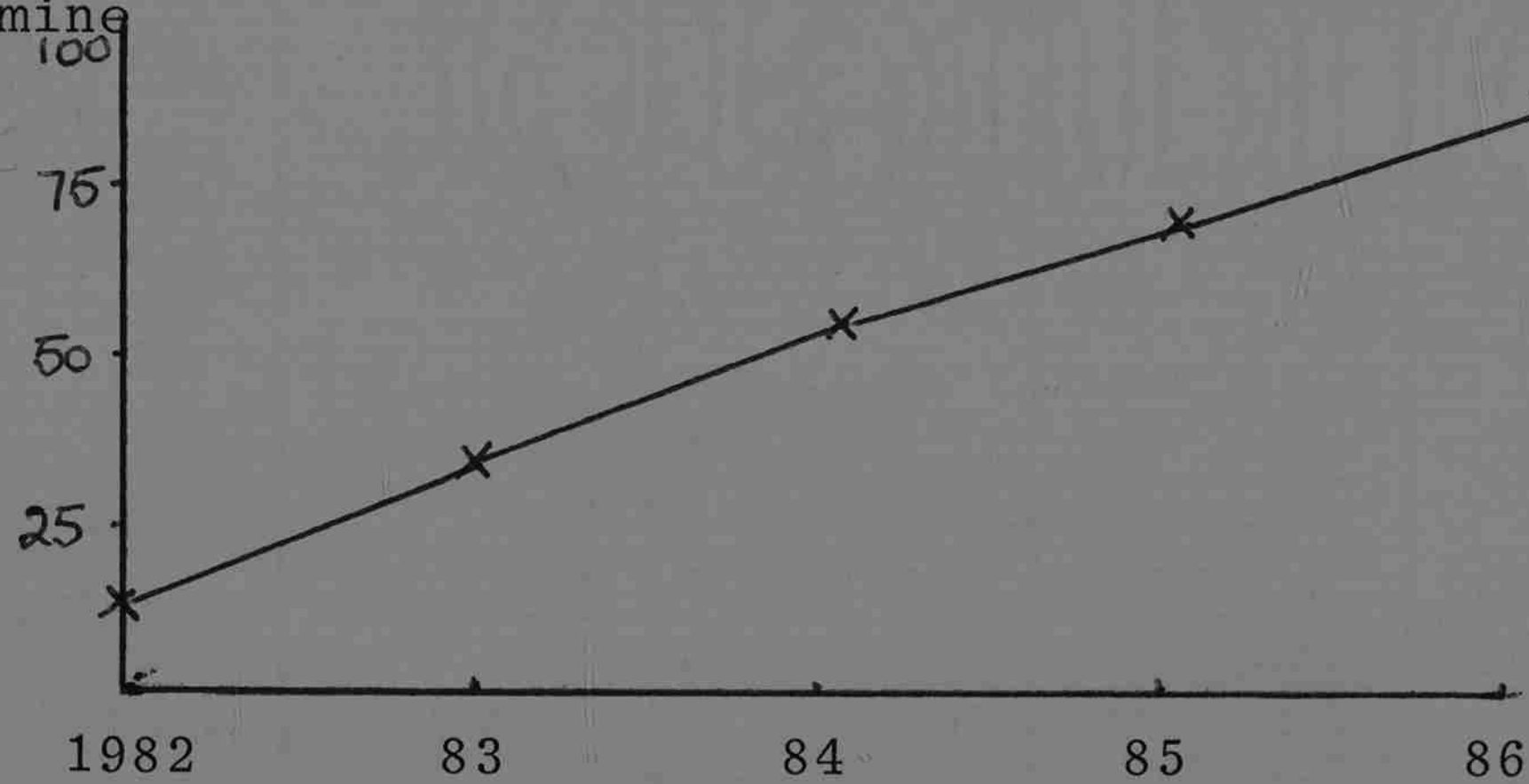
1 Cocaine



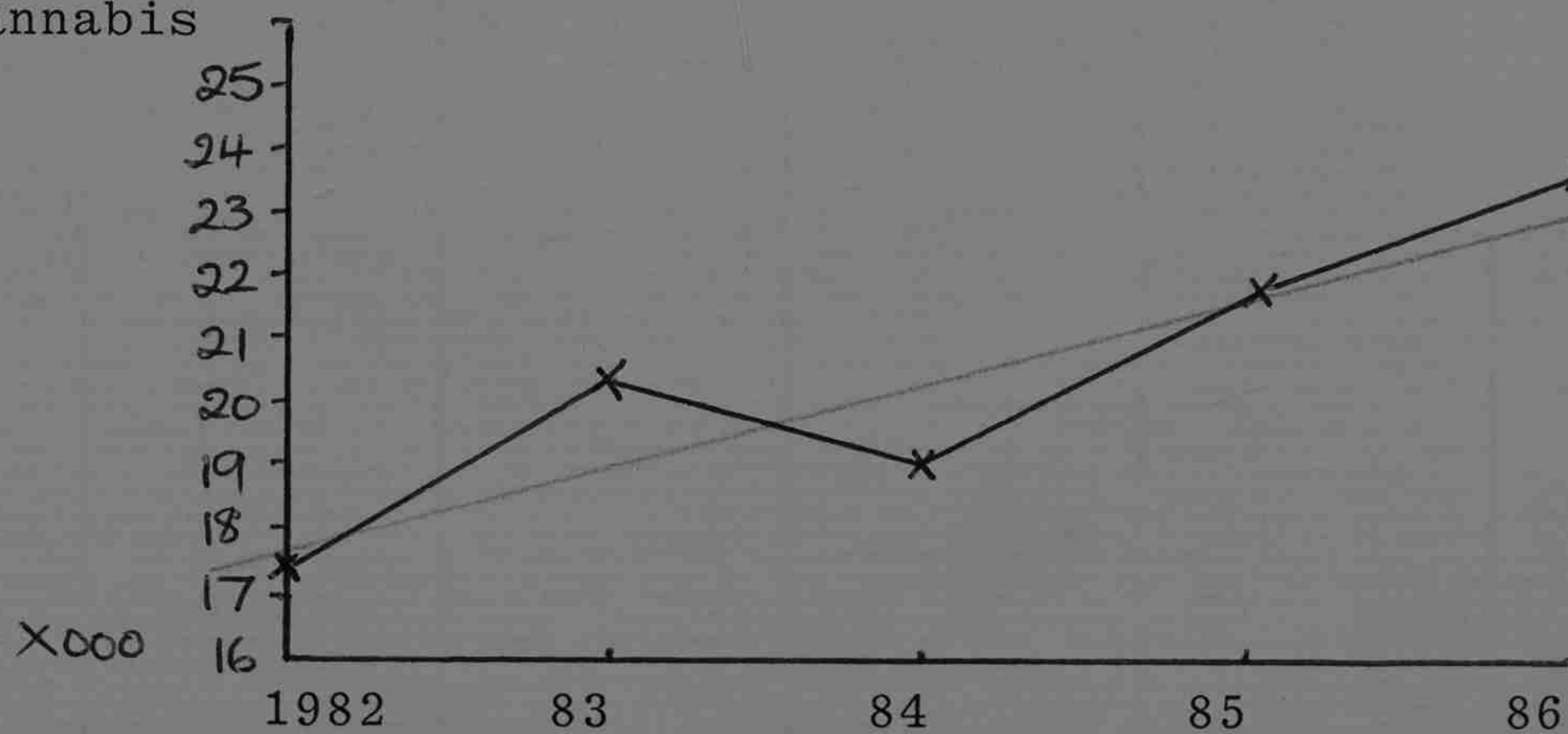
2 Heroin



3 Amphetamine



4 Cannabis



(4)

PRIME MINISTER

28 November 1986

INDIA RELENTS ON DRUG LIAISON OFFICERS

After 31 approaches from officials and FCO Ministers during the last 15 months, India relented on 20 November and accepted the appointment of two drugs liaison officers from the United Kingdom in India.

LS Muller

Early in the New Year, an officer will be appointed in Bombay and another in New Delhi, who will widen the useful work performed by officers in Islamabad and Karachi. It is timely because illicit heroin movement from India is at an all-time peak.

HB

mt

HARTLEY BOOTH

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QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SW1H 9AT

20 October 1986

Dear John,

DRUGS: CUSTOMS MANPOWER

I understand that consideration is being given in the PES round to Customs manpower bid for drugs work. I appreciate that you will form your own judgment on the substance of the bid and the scope for meeting it, but I wanted to draw your attention to some of the other implications. In accordance with previous practice, the Ministerial Group on the Misuse of Drugs, which David Mellor chairs, has not discussed the details of the Customs bid. But David and I are very conscious of the damage which the credibility of our overall response to the drugs problem could sustain if our critics were in a position to claim that the Government had ignored the evolving needs of Customs in the fight against traffickers.

I am sure it is common ground that the drugs problem remains a matter of great public concern. My experience has been that the adequacy of Customs manpower levels to counter the inflow of drugs is one of the most politically contentious issues to which it gives rise. Opposition spokesmen have shown that they feel we are vulnerable by returning repeatedly to the point: this was conspicuous, for example, during the passage of the Drug Trafficking Offences Act. The Customs unions have kept up a sniping campaign which shows no sign of losing momentum.

As you know, the claim is that we cut Customs preventive staffing levels between 1979 and 1984, just at the time when the heroin floodgates were opening, and that on the basis of the 1985 PES settlement they will still be lower in 1987 than they were in 1979. I know this is misleading in many ways, but the point is not an easy one to counter. Customs have made vigorous efforts to do so, as David Mellor did when replying to the drugs debate at the Party Conference. It was nevertheless clear that a number of those who spoke in the debate were anxious about whether our position was tenable. If this year we do not build on the 1985 PES outcome it will become much more difficult to present our case.

Moreover, the issue is not just presentational. It is not for me to argue the detailed merits of the Customs bid, but I do hope that full weight can be given to the troubling background of drug production and trafficking trends. I have in mind in particular the vast and increasing scale of coca production which David Mellor saw in South America, and the trends in heroin trafficking towards increasing smuggling from freight (from which detection is much more difficult than from personal smuggling) and use of a wider variety of routes into the United Kingdom. Such developments make it increasingly difficult for Customs to keep one step ahead of the traffickers.

The Rt Hon John MacGregor, OBE., MP.

/over....

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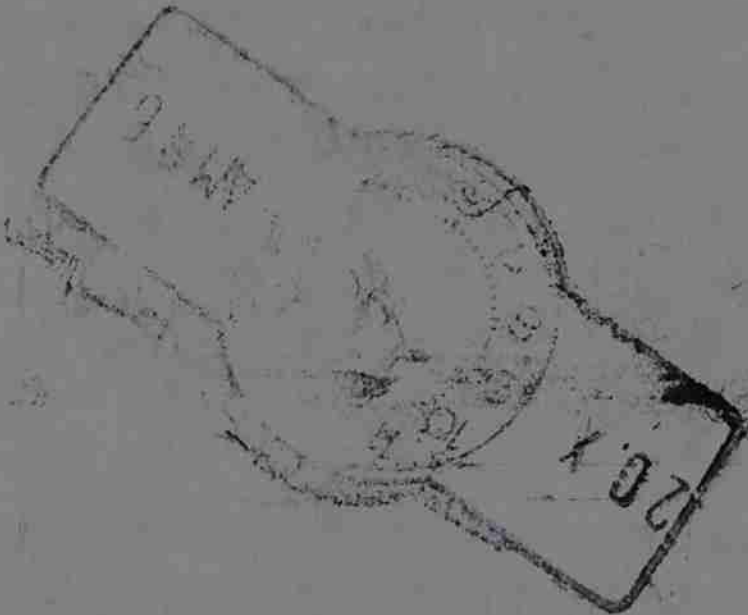
2.

There is also a strategic point. We have always recognised Customs enforcement as a key element in our overall strategy for tackling drug misuse. At the same time we have stressed the need to develop a balanced and concerted approach to the drugs problem on a range of fronts. My concern is that if Customs enforcement is perceived as not being able to keep pace, this will have damaging repercussions not just for this element but for the whole of our anti-drugs strategy.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, Willie Whitelaw, Nigel Lawson, Norman Tebbit and Peter Brooke.

Yours,

Douglas



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PRIME MINISTER

17 October 1986

DRUG ABUSE - RECENT VISIT TO SOUTH AMERICA
AND INTERNATIONAL UPDATE

We attach a report at Flag A by David Mellor following his trip to South America and my report at Flag B. Then at Flag C there is a short note of recent developments in the USA and in Europe.

The Home Office conclude that:

- vigorous law enforcement could depress the price of coca
paid to the campesinos;
- international knowledge and interest at diplomatic
mission level is disappointing and should be improved;
- while some UNFDAC work is unimpressive, our modest
contribution will allow more "leverage" over the project
because we are committed to pay in three annual
installments;
- training and advice for law enforcement agencies would be
a valuable contribution for us to make;

- we should use our rôle in Europe to stir up anti-drug action;
- we should impress upon the Americans the need to steer more of their drug programme towards Peru and Ecuador.

To this I add recommendations that:

- the Government puts back the topic of drug abuse on the international agenda for European Heads of Government from which it has slipped;
- more serious thought be given to the economic aspects of the drug production problem in South America;
- we use the triple international financial agencies of the World Bank, the IMF and the Inter-American Development Bank to set realistic anti-drug conditions on lending;
- Britain launch a specific anti-cocaine advertisement campaign to mirror the successful anti-heroin campaign;
- we do not make new funds available to UNEDAC in South America for the time being;

[No: it is already on the agenda of the European Council in December]
CDP
17/x

- we agree an overall anti-drug scheme for South America that will specifically address the cross border leakage problem.

From the International Section (Flag C), we recommend European-wide legislation on freezing and confiscation of assets.

H. Booth

HARTLEY BOOTH

E.R.

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From the Minister of State

cc Mr Waddington
Mr Hogg
Lord Caithness
Sir Brian Cubbon
Mr Faulkner
Mr Bohan
Mr Nagler
Mr Hayzelden
Mr Mower
Mr Haslam
Mr Bickham
Mr Booth (No 10) ✓

Secretary of State

VISIT TO SOUTH AMERICA

I attach a report of the visit I made to South America from 6 - 19 September to develop co-operation on drug problems (Annex A). I visited Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Colombia, and also had talks with US officials in Miami on both my outward and return journeys.

Objectives

2. I regard the visit as having proved worthwhile. I set out with six main objectives:

- (i) To obtain a better appreciation of the drugs problem in the region;
- (ii) To assess the nature of the measures already taken by local governments;
- (iii) To encourage the governments concerned to strengthen their efforts against drug production, trafficking and misuse;
- (iv) To determine the allocation of the £1 million contribution which the Home Office is making available to Latin America over the next three years;
- (v) To lay the basis for continuing co-operation between the UK and South American governments on drug matters in the future;
- (vi) In our position both as President of the EC and as Chairman of the Pompidou Group, to emphasise the increasing concern of European governments about the effects of cocaine production and trafficking.

I believe that all these objectives were secured in the course of my visit.

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Programme

3. We were accorded excellent treatment throughout the visit. In Bolivia, I was received by the President, the three most senior members of the Cabinet and leaders of the Congress working on drug prevention programmes. In Peru I was hosted throughout the visit by the Vice-Minister of the Interior, and also had useful exchanges with the Ministers of the Interior and Justice. In Ecuador and Colombia I had talks with the most senior members of the government. In each country I also met police and army chiefs engaged in the fight against drugs; representatives of the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC); representatives from EC embassies; and the US Ambassador and DEA officers. In Bolivia I was taken on a field visit to the traditional coca-growing area of Los Yungas and saw the UNFDAC crop-substitution scheme (which Italy is financing). In Peru I visited the main coca-producing area and took part in a helicopter operation against clandestine airstrips. It was a pity that my proposed visit to the coca-eradication area in Colombia had to be cancelled because of the security risk. I attach a summary of the programme at Annex B.

Background

4. In assessing the South American drugs problem, it is important to take account of a number of significant background factors.

- (i) The countries where coca is cultivated are all comparatively under-developed, particularly Bolivia. Their economies are parlous, they are thinly populated and lack much of the infrastructure (eg roads or communications) needed for effective law enforcement, particularly in the jungle areas.
- (ii) In three of the countries I visited the governments are less than a year old and still getting to grips with the job, whilst Ecuador is virtually paralysed by an opposition majority in Congress: their commitment outstrips their capacity to deliver. Law enforcement resources are limited, and in each country except Bolivia a major priority is to combat subversive guerrilla movements.
- (iii) The scale of coca cultivation is enormous, and expanding fast: in parts of Bolivia it is said to be increasing at 30% per year. I was saddened to see large areas of forest being destroyed by the 'slash and burn' method to create new land for coca, and to see areas where 20 years of coca growth have ruined the soil so that nothing else will

grow. Although it is difficult to be precise about the scale of total cocaine production in South America, I believe 1000 tons would be a reasonable central estimate for this year. (By contrast only about 0.08 tons of cocaine was seized in the UK in 1985).

- (iv) Given the vast profits generated by cocaine trafficking (1 kilo would sell for about £200,000 on the streets of London), the scale of corruption in South America is enormous. In Bolivia a senior police officer has an annual salary of up to \$600; the drug traffickers can easily afford to pay many times that in order to operate with impunity. In Ecuador, the police told us that at least half of the country's judges are corrupt. In addition, the value of coca to the economies of these countries is substantial: a recent Bolivian Senate committee estimates that the cocaine trade is worth more than the country's entire Gross National Product, and the Minister of Interior made it clear that the Bolivian economy cannot function without the inflow of "narco-dollars".

Overall assessment

5. This very depressing background gives little ground for optimism about the future, despite the positive action which the individual governments are seeking to take - and each struck me as being more committed than its predecessors. I believe that it is totally unrealistic to expect to halt the cultivation of coca and the processing of cocaine in South America. The scale of the problem, the growing vested interests and the obstacles to effective law enforcement are too great for that. But some useful reductions in supply can be made by law enforcement measures in the producer countries which we are right to support. It can be cost-effective eg. the US support of the Condor programme of enforcement in Peru works out at \$10 per kilo seized. Good value on any view. Furthermore, their governments are often acting with great courage: they need every bit of support we can provide, both moral and material. It is no platitude to say that in the fight against drug trafficking the role of international co-operation is vital. However the visit has reinforced my own view that the most effective way to fight the cocaine problem remains taking domestic measures, both in strengthening law enforcement and deterrents and, more important, in reducing demand by stepping up prevention programmes. But as I say both for political and practical reasons I do not believe we can afford to abandon South America, nor would it be right to do so.

6. It was encouraging to note that only a couple of the Ministers I met sought to blame the drugs problem on the consumer countries. Most acknowledged that they had a responsibility to act, not least because of the devastating effect of the traffickers on their own countries. One of the major menaces of drug trafficking in the region is the growth of alternative power structures which can take root rapidly on the basis of the enormous profits which it generates. The risk is that the drugs barons will make common cause with the guerrilla movements (as is already happening in Colombia) or with a political faction and either immobilise or take over government: at least one recent government in Bolivia was under the control of the traffickers, while one senior Minister in the present government was offered \$500,000 a month not to act against the traffickers. The recent offer by one of Bolivia's major traffickers to pay off the country's entire national debt is well-known. In Colombia the problem is even more urgent as the drug traffickers have almost paralysed the administration of justice, killing some 70 judges in the last five years; the Supreme Court, half of whose members were murdered within the last year, is now virtually incapable of functioning. Furthermore in Colombia US sources indicate that one guerrilla movement (FARC) earns \$100m per annum from offering protection to the traffickers. It is a sinister interaction.

7. These developments are a potent spur to action on the part of the governments concerned. They are also facing increasing domestic pressure as the spillage of cocaine leads to increasing addiction problems within South America. Children are being hooked on products such as cigarettes containing unrefined cocaine paste, while it appears to be a practice of the traffickers increasingly to pay their peasant workers in coca products.

Country assessments

8. In three of the countries I visited I was impressed by the action which is now in hand to counter drug production:

- (i) Bolivia for the moment is cracking down on the traffickers through the operations involving the US armed forces. I have publicly welcomed this action which has lowered the price of cocaine below that of alternative crops and led to the temporary disappearance of traffickers, who have been put on the defensive for the first time. One Bolivian Minister described the position of the US troops as that of "hostages" since their departure would negate all the benefits of the recent operations, and it is difficult to see the Bolivians

taking them over effectively.

- ii) In Peru the police have had a number of major achievements in their 'Condor' operations, having seized over the last year cocaine that would be worth \$12 billion on the streets of Europe. I saw for myself their professionalism in taking action against illegal airstrips. An account of that operation by the Ambassador is at Annex C. Cratered airstrips can of course be rapidly repaired, and the chances of finding a processing laboratory in the jungle areas are thin, particularly as the traffickers can rapidly move across the river into Brazil (see point (v) below). But I believe that the best way to contain the problem is to keep the traffickers on the defensive by striking where it hurts them most.
- (iii) Colombia is in many ways the most advanced of countries in its fight against drug trafficking. It has made major progress in eradicating drug cultivation and has an impressive law enforcement structure. But the various guerrilla movements are a major constraint on the capacity of the law enforcement services to operate in some areas of the country. Current concern about protection for the judiciary is understandable, especially when viewed against the violent back-drop of Colombian society. I was told that in this year alone 200 police officers have been killed and 400 wounded in the fight against drug traffickers.
- (iv) In Ecuador I was disappointed that the government has yet to come to terms with the drugs problem, which is of very recent origin and is still of modest dimensions. Many of those I met had an inadequate grasp of the problem and there was an obsession with rhetoric and unrealistic requests for assistance. The tragedy is that Ecuador could rapidly solve its problem if it takes vigorous action on lines that I tried to emphasise, for example, by co-operation between the police and the army to obtain helicopters for action in jungle areas. I was troubled by the obvious gap between rhetoric and action and by the duplication of effort between two different law enforcement agencies responsible to separate Ministers. There is an unmistakeable taint of corruption very near the top as well.

- (v) Although I did not visit Brazil, nearly all those to whom I spoke stressed that this country constituted a major weak link. Its upper Amazon region, which adjoins the drug-producing countries I visited, does not appear to be effectively policed, and the Peruvians were gravely concerned about the ease with which traffickers can cross to and from Brazil. Brazil is also a major supplier of the essential chemicals and precursors which the traffickers are obtaining in massive quantities for their illicit laboratories. There is no doubt that when put under pressure in one area the traffickers just slip across a border into another perhaps inevitably more lightly policed piece of jungle and carry on as before.

Financial Assistance

9. One of the main purposes of my visit was to determine the allocation of the Home Office £1 million programme for assistance in the region. The main components of this sum had been agreed by MGMT before my visit, and UNFDAC informed accordingly. But I was also able to announce bilateral contributions to meet requests which we had previously received. The decisions we reached regarding the division of this sum were as follows:

Bolivia

- (i) A contribution of £600,000 to the UNFDAC law enforcement project in Los Yungas;
- (ii) An offer in principle of up to £50,000 towards the cost of a drug treatment and rehabilitation centre for children in Cochabamba (to which ODA may be willing to contribute);
- (iii) I was also able to announce during my visit the provision of a major new ODA (non-drugs) aid programme for Bolivia totalling some £5 million.

Peru

- (i) The cost of repairing a Britten-Norman Islander aircraft which the police had confiscated from drug traffickers but which was

not operational at present (at a cost of about £17,000);

- (ii) The purchase of a second Islander aircraft (probably second-hand, at at cost of about £150,000). The two aircraft would enable the police to transport a complete 'Condor' team of 20 officers on jungle raids in areas too distant for helicopters and inaccessible to larger aircraft;
- (iii) Training in the UK for police and Customs officers (for which Customs may be willing to meet part of the cost).

Colombia

- (i) The provision of 2 spectrophotometers for drug analysis (at a cost of about £26,000);
- (ii) The provision of training and advice in the UK in the setting up of security and intelligence systems;
- (iii) I offered to explore the possibility of developing close co-operation between the judicial police and their UK counterparts.

Ecuador

- (i) A contribution of £200,000 to the UNFDAC law enforcement project;
- (ii) Training in the UK for medical, nursing and social work professionals (which ODA may be willing to fund);
- (iii) Training of suitable personnel in Ecuador to enable them to set up a training school for sniffer dogs;
- (iv) I also handed over two land rovers for law enforcement operations, for which FCO had provided the funds.

10. I also made it clear that we would be happy to welcome to London several of the most helpful personalities we encountered, notably the Vice Minister of the Interior in Peru (Sr Mantilla), the chief of narcotics police in Peru (Colonel Zarate) and the Minister of the Interior in Colombia (Sr Cepeda). I shall minute you separately regarding my discussions with Sr Cepeda.

Conclusions

11. Given the massive poverty which exists among the peasant communities, it is certainly not for us to criticise the decision of the "campesinos" to grow coca, especially in the traditional growing areas, such as Los Yungas. When coca can yield ten times the income of an alternative crop, and when it is often the only crop that will grow in some areas, it may be that the only scope for encouraging substitute crops is through effective development programmes of the kind I saw in Pakistan. I was not particularly impressed by the UNFDAC scheme in Los Yungas which aims at discouraging the campesinos from planting any new coca bushes and thus relies on natural wastage over a twenty-year term. The price factor is far more likely to influence the extent of coca cultivation, and it will only be through vigorous law enforcement that we can hope to obtain a lasting reduction in the price paid to the campesino. At least the experience of Peru and Colombia demonstrates that it is possible to take some effective action against coca cultivation and production: in Peru, as I have said, it is estimated that the 'Condor' operations cost \$10 per kilo of cocaine seized: the cost of seizing the same kilo in the UK is substantially higher.

12. In my view it is of the utmost importance to give the governments in the region every encouragement and support for their efforts. Against the problems they face, it takes considerable political courage to develop and sustain vigorous action against the traffickers; but all four countries seem prepared to take that risk. For too long, the region has been viewed exclusively as an American problem and only the US have been prepared to support the efforts of these

countries (with all the political overtones which US support entails in this region). I believe my visit was the first drug-related visit by a European Minister and as such it was greatly welcomed because of the political commitment it entailed. I was disappointed however that my meetings in each capital with other EC ambassadors showed a surprising lack of knowledge and interest in the drugs problem, not only as it affects the countries to which they are accredited but also in terms of what their own governments might be doing to tackle the problem at home.

13. Throughout the visit I was accompanied by our Ambassadors, and I cannot praise too highly the efforts which both they and all their staff made to ensure the success of the visit. I must say that their knowledge of the drugs and broader political scene in the countries to which they were accredited seemed far superior to that of their EC counterparts whom I met. I was also accompanied throughout the visit by a representative of the BBC Today programme, and in Bolivia and Peru by an ITN team. I believe their presence was helpful in encouraging responsible reporting and in publicising the realities of the drug scene in the region and the very real efforts which the governments there are making. I was very heartened by the willingness of many of those I met to talk to the UK media, and by the help given by our embassies in setting up the necessary arrangements.

Follow-up action

14. I am anxious that my visit should be seen as the start of a process of continuing co-operation with the region on drugs matters. We shall therefore be pursuing the following major themes over the coming months:

- (i) Continuing liaison, through UNFDAC and our embassies in the region, over the allocation of the drug-related assistance we have offered. The fact that the contribution to UNFDAC is phased over 3 years will enable us to exert continuing leverage to ensure that objectives built into the projects are met and that the governments meet the obligations imposed by UNFDAC. If it becomes apparent that our contribution is proving particularly cost-effective, I would certainly be prepared to bid for additional Home Office funds for this purpose.
- (ii) We shall be following up the proposals for training and other high-level visits, and give every encouragement and advice to law enforcement efforts in the region.

- (iii) I shall be particularly anxious to encourage greater interest on the part of our European partners. As a minimum the sort of EC drug co-operation group which our Ambassador in La Paz has started should be encouraged in the other capitals of the region. I shall also take the opportunities afforded by the European Parliament, whom I am addressing in early October, and the meeting of Pompidou Group Ministers in January to emphasise the need for EC countries to support the efforts of South American governments, either directly or through UNFDAC. With the exception of Italy, who have provided \$40 million to UNFDAC, their present lack of interest is disappointing, especially when Spain and West Germany for example seized more cocaine than heroin in 1984. I would also hope it may be possible for the Commission to disburse some of its development funds for drug-related projects in South America (although not at the cost of seeking additional budgetary funds for this purpose).
- (iv) When the opportunity arises, I shall seek to impress upon the US State Department the case for their considering making extra funds available for drug enforcement in Latin America. At a time when their overall drugs programme is said to be costing some \$3 billion, it is disappointing that the US Ambassadors in both Peru and Ecuador should have expressed regret to me that their government did not regard those countries as a sufficient priority for major drug-related assistance.

15. In summary, I regard my visit as highly successful in terms of developing an improved understanding of the problems of the region. I am convinced however that the key to containing cocaine production should not be sought in the region itself but in the efforts which the consumer countries make to curb demand, to stop imports and to support the efforts of those law enforcement agencies which have shown themselves to be effective. I have publicly acknowledged that our £1 million is a drop in the ocean in terms of the region's needs, but would hope that our judicious support for a range of activities will yield substantial dividends. More important I would hope to see this as a spur to other European governments. We shall pursue the outstanding points with the utmost vigour over the coming months.



DAVID MELLOR

29 September 1986

CONFIDENTIAL

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ANNEX A

MR MELLOR'S VISIT TO SOUTH AMERICA, SEPTEMBER 1986
BOLIVIA, 6-11 SEPTEMBER

On 8 September Mr Mellor and his party made calls on the Bolivian Foreign Minister, Sr Bedregal; the Minister of the Interior, Sr Barthelemy, with Police General Vargas in attendance; the Planning Minister, Sr Sanchez de Lozada; and the US Ambassador in La Paz, Mr Edward Rowell.

2. Sr Bedregal expressed the view that the narcotics problem was essentially one for the consumer countries. While assuring Mr Mellor of the Bolivian Government's will to tackle the problem, he saw it as one which was called into existence and continued simply as a result of the demand for cocaine by the industrialised world. He spoke of the need for a global strategy to counter the trade and welcomed the proposal for a UN Conference on drugs (of which it is understood that he will be the Latin American candidate for Chairman): world governments should, he suggested, be working towards the formulation of a strategy for this conference. Mr Mellor, however, preferred to emphasise the need for immediate action with clear and realistic aims not tied to any particular theoretical account of the position of the kind that Sr Bedregal appeared to have in mind. This was indeed the kind of project for which the UK had allocated £600,000 for drug work in Bolivia. Sr Bedregal, however, appeared unimpressed by this contribution, and invited the UK government to allocate much greater funds in aid to his country.

3. Sr Barthelemy, in the course of a full briefing on the drugs position in Bolivia, made it clear that he took a more subtle view of the supply/demand equation than his colleague: abundant supplies, he recognised, could of themselves create or increase demand for drugs in consumer countries. His Ministry was preparing a three year plan designed to reduce cocaine production to its traditional, legitimate, levels: this would include action on cocaine cultivation, its conversion to paste, tracing precursor chemicals, and a squeeze on the distribution of illicit cocaine at home and abroad. In his view the key to success lay in driving down the price of cocaine to the point at which it was no longer attractive to the cultivator: but this, as he recognised entailed finding some alternative crop which might in favourable conditions prove more attractive. He welcomed the UK commitment to UNFEDAC's law enforcement project in Las Yungas, which was targetted on some of the most serious weaknesses in Bolivia's law enforcement efforts - a point confirmed by General Vargas.

4. Replying to Sr Barthelemy, Mr Mellor said that, while he recognised that the UK's financial contribution was limited, it could prove to be the precursor of a greater commitment if it were demonstrated that the projects supported were properly managed and achieving their objectives. He congratulated Sr Barthelemy, as he had Sr Bedregal, on the clear commitment made by the Bolivian government against the drug traffickers by their decision to allow the Americans to deploy troops in their country. That courageous decision would itself make it easier for Britain and its partners to make available more aid in the future.

5. Sr Barthelemy raised two further points on international co-operation. The first concerned the tracing of precursor chemicals used in cocaine manufacture: large quantities of acetone, ether, and sulphuric acid had to be imported for the purpose. Exporting countries should record the destinations of large consignments of those substances and make the information available to other governments. Similarly greater co-operation among governments in the investigation of the wealth of drug traffickers was urgently required. Mr Mellor confirmed that the promotion of such arrangements was an object of UK policy, and that a draft of a UN Treaty committing signatories to establish them was now being circulated.

6. The Planning Minister - who is in effect the Minister responsible for the economy - gave a colloquial and penetrating account of the drug situation in his country. Unlike Sr Bedregal he saw bilateral rather than multilateral aid as the most effective approach. He advocated the channelling of aid into an Emergency Social Fund which would provide credit for the private sector where none was now available and, in the longer term, projects for the removal of population from the overcrowded drug producing areas to the underinhabited and fertile districts elsewhere in the country. At the same time he acknowledged that a strong law enforcement effort aimed at interdiction of the cocaine trade was necessary. The Americans involved in Operation Blast Furnace, he observed, were virtually hostages: they could not withdraw from the country without providing adequate substitutes, or their Government would forfeit a good deal of credibility.

7. Ambassador Rowell, accompanied by Frank Macolini of the DEA, gave a briefing on American policy with regard to the Bolivian drug trade, and in particular on the progress and prospects of Operation Blast Furnace. His account was, not unexpectedly, optimistic. In his view the US action had paralysed the cocaine market, forcing prices down to an uneconomic \$15 per kilo. The operation had been freely agreed to by President Paz, whose Government was now widely regarded in Congress and elsewhere as genuinely committed to destroying the illegal drugs trade. At the same time he acknowledged the internal difficulties which the operation had caused for Paz, and recognised that the Bolivians were unlikely to wish to see it continue for much longer than the current 60 days in its present form. Statements of support from European Governments would of course be very welcome. So far as the future was concerned, the Ambassador could foresee one alarming development if the trade were not quickly brought under control. By 1985 many campesinos were not just growing cocaine but also turning it into paste. He thought it possible that many campesinos would shortly go one stage further and convert the paste to base, thus making the task of interdiction virtually impossible.

8. On 9-10 September Mr Mellor and his party visited the coca-growing area of Las Yungas, north-east of La Paz. The group spent an afternoon travelling on the roads between Coroico and Coripata, and saw extensive cultivation of the cocaine plant. Figures supplied by UNFDAC indicate that even in this traditional coca-growing area the land under coca cultivation had increased from 4,100 hectares in 1977 to 28,000 in 1985. Plenty of evidence was also seen of the barren condition in which coca cultivation leaves the soil.

9. The opportunity was taken to visit the UNFDAC project based at Coroico, and funded by the Italian Government. The aim of the project is to promote the rural economy of the Yungas and by doing so to induce the campesinos to pledge to grow no further cocaine. Since, however, the lifetime of the coca plant is 25 years the project would take that long to achieve an end to coca-growing in its chosen area. Mr Mellor's view was that, however admirable in terms of rural development (a matter on which he left judgment to others), it simply was not credible as an exercise in drug eradication. At the very least, he felt, there should be some commitment on the part of the campesino to eradicate a proportion of their existing plants. The project managers readily recognised that schemes of this kind could achieve relatively little unless accompanied by a strong law enforcement effort. They had deliberately avoided establishing their project at Coripata in the heart of the Yungas coca-growing region precisely because they felt that nothing could be achieved there. Mr Mellor was frankly disappointed at what he had seen and heard, particularly when set against his enthusiasm for the UNFDAC project at Buner, Pakistan. He concluded that support for this or any similarly-run project would not be a justifiable use for UK Anti-Drug funds.

10. On returning to La Paz on 10 September, Mr Mellor had a short, relatively formal, meeting with leading members of the Senate. In a brief speech, which was well received, he emphasised the common danger which drugs posed to Bolivia and the UK, the importance of finding alternatives to coca for the campesinos, and his admiration of the Bolivian government for its willingness to co-operate with the Americans in law enforcement.

11. Mr Mellor then met President Paz for half an hour: the Interior and Agriculture Ministers were also present. Again Mr Mellor made clear his high regard for the determination of the Bolivians to attack the drugs trade, as evidenced by their readiness to agree to the involvement of US forces: he drew an analogy with the British decision to co-operate with the American action against Libya. He undertook to make this point forcibly when he addressed the European Parliament on drugs next month. The President indicated that he was likely to accept the American offer to continue the operation for 60 days, but that it would certainly last no longer than that. He spoke of the serious nature of the drugs problem, and welcomed the announcement that £600,000 would be made available for anti-drugs work in his country: he looked forward to further co-operation between the United Kingdom and Bolivia in tackling this problem.

12. In a short meeting with the Bolivian press after his interview with the President, Mr Mellor publicly affirmed his support for the joint operation with the Americans and announced the £600,000 aid programme. Both items were prominently reported in the Bolivian press.

PERU, 11-15 SEPTEMBER

13. On the afternoon of his arrival in Lima Mr Mellor called on Sr Mantilla, Vice-Minister of the Interior, who was accompanied by Col Zarate of DIPOD (the drugs section of the Guardia Civil) and Sr Vargas of DINTID (the plain clothes drug investigation police). Sr Mantilla welcomed Mr Mellor and his party, and said that the Government of President Garcia had made a clear political commitment to solve Peru's drug problem: such a commitment had not previously existed. Mr Mellor congratulated the Vice-Minister on that commitment, and looked forward to greater co-operation between Britain and Peru against the drug trade.

14. Colonel Zarate then gave an impressive presentation on the drug trade in Peru and the 'Condor' operations undertaken against it by DIPOD; the presentation was continued next morning at his own headquarters. Among many interesting points to emerge was the difference between the effect of coca production in Bolivia and Peru: in Peru the coca plant grows much taller and the soil can be cultivated again four years after the death of the plant (some citrus cultivation is indeed possible earlier). Also in contrast to Bolivia, coca cultivation is permitted in Peru only to registered growers in 'traditional' areas, and then no more than 5 hectares. In 1984, however, this legal production of coca leaves amounted to no more than about 10,000 hectares out of a total of some 35,000. Against this background DIPOD's 'Condor' operations had achieved several successes which, if small-scale compared with the total size of the problem, were nonetheless notable. 163 illicit landing strips had so far been identified and destroyed (though it was admitted that they could relatively easily be brought back into use), large quantities of cocaine and precursor chemicals seized, and 63 important arrests made.

15. Col. Zarate mentioned that a British-made Britten Norman Islander 10-seater plane had been seized from the traffickers and had proved extremely useful until it had to be grounded for lack of spare parts. In view of the favourable impression he had formed of Colonel Zarate's integrity and determination, (an impression which was confirmed by the opinions of the drug liaison officers based at Lima and the American Charge d'affaires), Mr Mellor decided that the acquisition of another such plane, and of the spares needed for the first, would be the most appropriate form of drug-related aid which Britain could supply to Peru. He announced this decision, which was very well received, to Interior Minister Salinas at a reception held by the British Ambassador on 12 September.

16. By contrast, the rival police organization, DINTID, failed to give a good account of itself. The presentation given at its headquarters on 12 September dwelt on lack of resources rather than achievements. Widely acknowledged to be extremely corrupt, DINTID did not strike Mr Mellor as a reliable instrument in the fight against the drug trade.

17. On 12 September Mr Mellor held a meeting with Sr Carlos Blancas, Minister of Justice, whose responsibilities include the prevention of drug abuse. Sr Blancas said that the consumption, as apposed to production and storage, of cocaine in his country was not yet a major problem (although the American Charge d'affaires later suggested the nationalist feeling led Blancas, who otherwise impressed us as honest and open-minded, to play down the problem). He believed the main difficulty to lie in law enforcement and not in the legislative provisions for which he had responsibility: he was, however, very interested in Mr Mellor's exposition of the new British arrangements for confiscation of the assets of drug traffickers and criminalisation of the laundering of such assets. He acknowledged that Peru had not gone so far in this direction, and welcomed Mr Mellor's offer of a detailed note on the subject. Sr Blancas mentioned the publicity campaign recently launched by the Peruvian Government against drug abuse. He was well aware of the danger of such campaigns being seen by their audience simply as government propaganda; the Peruvians had sought to avoid this by using peer groups - whether church, youth, or student organisations - as the cornerstones of the campaign. Again, Sr Blancas welcomed Mr Mellor's offer to let him see the results of the British market research on this subject.

18. At the Ambassador's suggestion Mr Mellor raised the subject of repatriation of prisoners. He hoped that the proposals for a treaty between the UK and Peru could be taken forward speedily as an earnest of the friendship between the two countries. He also mentioned the particular case of Alan Groves, whose parole conditions do not allow him to leave Peru despite his mental illness, and asked that he be allowed to return to the UK where a place in hospital was available. Sr Blancas said that he too looked forward to an early treaty, on the basis that the receiving country took an equally serious view of the offence in question as the transferring country. He undertook to look personally at the representations made on behalf of Mr Groves.

19. Later in the day Mr Mellor saw the US Charge d'Affaires in Lima, John Youell, together with DEA agent Peter Rieff. The Americans put forward an extremely gloomy view of Peru's prospects. While the new Government might not be as corrupt as was that of President Belaunde, virtually the whole of Peruvian officialdom was based on the payoff: the ordinary Peruvian considered the whole system deeply unjust. Indeed, honesty could be a positive bar to advancement, as Colonel Zarate appeared to prove. No long-term solution to the drug problem could be expected from this material.

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20. Mr Mellor said that, while he had been impressed by what he had learned of the Condor operations, he was increasingly troubled by the lack of any law enforcement on the Brazilian side of the border: traffickers could simply slip across until the heat was off. Mr Rieff confirmed this impression, and added that precursor chemicals for cocaine production were completely uncontrolled in that country. But it was not the case that law enforcement was impossible in the region, since the rivers offered 'choke points' at which all cargoes moving towards the area of illegal production could be monitored. In Mr Mellor's view some diplomatic pressure might usefully be applied to the Brazilian Government on this subject.

21. While in Peru Mr Mellor twice met the Interior Minister, Sr Abal Salinas, socially, and was able to exchange views with him. He also launched with the drug liaison officers based in Lima and had a meeting with the EC Ambassadors there. Others are in a better position than I am to record any impressions arising from Mr Mellor's visit to the Tingo Maria area.

ECUADOR, 15-17 SEPTEMBER

22. On arriving in Quito on 15 September Mr Mellor had a briefing at the Residence from Colonel Montesinos, the President's Assistant on drugs matters, supported by Colonel Zumarraga of the National Police. Col Montesinos gave assurances about the seriousness with which the problem was treated in Ecuador. The country, traditionally only a staging post for the drugs trade, had now become a producer. There were already signs that any money was corrupting politicians and judges. But President Febres Cordero had in 1984 declared his country's total commitment to the attack on drugs.

23. Col. Zumarraga outlined some of the anti-drug operations undertaken by the police: such operations were currently taking place in the north-east of the country. 560 hectares of coca had been destroyed since August 1984. A number of clandestine airships had been identified in that part of the country. Twelve of those were currently being studied with a view to determining whether they were used solely for narcotics trafficking. Mr Mellor expressed some concern that the airstrip remained functional while this process of investigation was continuing: he felt, at the risk of dispensing rough justice, peremptory action should be taken against airstrip which appeared to be put to illegal use. Col. Zumarraga mentioned that, although there were no legal restrictions on transactions involving precursor chemicals the President had in fact authorised their seizure by the exercise of his executive power. This seemed on the face of it to be an example of the kind of rough justice which Mr Mellor had in mind.

24. A long series of meetings in Quito on the afternoon of 15 September began with a visit to the Headquarters of the Customs Police. The Commanding Officer, Col Lopez, however, appeared to be poorly briefed. He spoke of the seizures of drugs and precursor chemicals at the borders, and of the relative lack of resources available to his organization; but he was unable to point to any new developments in policing techniques brought about by the greatly increased size of Ecuador's drugs problem.

25. The next visit was to Col Luis Suarez, National Police Commander, whose organization covers the whole country. Col Suarez described the operations carried out by his forces and the scale of the drug problem in Ecuador: he identified the Oriente area of the centre of drugs trafficking in Ecuador, though he believed that as yet it lacked large-scale processing facilities. Drug abuse was, however, most common in the Guayaquil area, where a good deal of basuco (crack) was consumed. Col. Suarez said that, if the UK were considering providing assistance, a helicopter would be extremely useful in jungle operations; help with the training of sniffer dogs and their handlers

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would also be invaluable. Mr Mellor thanked the Colonel for the briefing and outlined some of the assistance which would be made available by the UK; but he said that he was a little concerned at the lack of urgency with which the problem appeared to be viewed in Ecuador.

26. This theme was continued when Mr Mellor called upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Teran. He paid tribute to Ecuador's civilised traditions, but expressed his fear that that very quality might inhibit the determined efforts which needed to be made if the narcotics trade were not to corrupt the country altogether. Dr Teran responded that he too was worried about the problem; indeed he considered it to be connected with the subversive activities of the Nicaragua government throughout the region. Effective enforcement, however, was an expensive business, and more resources were required. Mr Mellor suggested that one way forward would be improved co-operation between the police and the army, who did not lack the equipment necessary for intensive law enforcement operations.

27. Mr Mellor next called upon the Interior Minister, Sr Robles, who emphasised the Government's determination to crack down on drug trafficking and its willingness to co-operate with international partners in order to do so. But Sr Robles acknowledged that some legislative changes (for instance, on the laundering of assets) might be necessary, and that the division of responsibility between the National Police and the anti-drug agency DINACTIE might require scrutiny.

28. Finally on 15 September Mr Mellor called on the Procurator-General, Sr Maldonado. The Procurator-General indulged himself in a frankly tedious ramble about the Ecuadorian constitution, emphasising the importance of his own post and the DINACTIE for which he was responsible. He referred obliquely to the corruption which had made necessary a complete restructuring of DINACTIE: the process of selection of new agents to replace those ousted earlier in the year was now well-advanced.

29. On the morning of 16 September Mr Mellor and his party visited the port of Guayaquil. His first call was on the city's Interpol Office. The Colonel in charge told him of the drug problem in the city: cocaine use was growing among all social groups. Law enforcement successes had taken place as a result of surveillance of drug-traffickers; but bribery of judges was proving an effective means of escaping conviction. The relative ineffectiveness of the judicial process was illustrated when Mr Mellor visited the Guayaquil offices of the Procurator-General. Of 2253 drug-related prosecutions initiated between 1970 and 1986, no fewer than 1038 had run into the sand for various reasons. Several important figures had been indicated, but as yet no one above the middle levels of the Guayaquil drug organizations had been convicted. Finally, a short briefing on the work of the Customs Police took place in a refrigerated container in the port of Guayaquil: no new points of substance emerged.

30. Returning to Quito that afternoon, Mr Mellor signed the documents relating to the gift of two Land Rovers to the National Police at a ceremony at the Procurator-General's office. Representatives of a number of organizations made short presentations requesting aid from the UK. DINACTIE requested helicopters for operations in rough terrain; laboratory equipment for the detection of cocaine and other substances; and a computer to be used for information retrieval. The Ministry of Health requested training for 20 social workers and psychologists involved in the development of treatment and rehabilitation services for drug addicts. The Institute of Hygiene similarly sought help in the training of personnel involved in rehabilitative work. Mr Mellor rehearsed the assistance which the UK had pledged to make available. He made clear, however, that he could hold out no hope of the provision of helicopters: the army already had such

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machines, and it should be possible for DINACTIE to reach agreement for that use in anti drug operations as their counterparts in Peru had done. But he was very willing that the prospects of UK aid on the treatment and rehabilitation side should be explored, and he publicly invited the representatives of the Ministry of Health and the Institute of Hygiene to call on HM Ambassador to discuss their requirements with him.

31. I was not present at the working breakfast which Mr Mellor held with the US Ambassador on 17 September, or the informal meeting which he held later in the morning with the EC heads of mission in Quito.

COLOMBIA 17-19 SEPTEMBER

32. It had originally been intended that while in Colombia Mr Mellor and his party would be the guests of the National Police on a visit to a coca-growing area in the south of the country. A sudden deterioration in the security situation made this impossible: the Police offered in its place a visit to a marijuana-growing region near the Caribbean coast, but Mr Mellor took the view that such a visit would be peripheral to his main concerns and would not be a worthwhile use of time. To avoid giving offence, however, his decision to leave the country a day earlier than planned was explained, on the Ambassador's advice, as the result of pressure of work arising from his recent promotion.

33. A long series of meetings took place on 18 September in Bogota. The first call was to the office of the Procurator-General of the Judicial Police. Dr Ortega, the deputy Procurator-General, outlined the functions of the judicial police: its total staff was less than 120 and it carried out investigations in parallel with the National Police: this provided a check against infiltration by the drug traffickers. Fixed units operated in all major cities and ports, and a mobile team operated from Bogota. His colleague Dr Quimbay said that, while the National Police tended to concentrate on the flow of drugs from Bolivia to the US, the Judicial Police was seriously concerned at the increasing Colombian drugs exported to Europe (this may explain why the US embassy had relatively little knowledge of the Judicial Police). The Judicial Police had therefore established close links with the West German police, where Frankfurt was a major entrepot, and would very much like to establish similar co-operation with Britain. Mr Mellor undertook that this proposal would be carefully examined.

34. Dr Ortega also outlined the functions of the National Drugs Council, the group of Senior Ministers and policemen which took all important decisions on drugs questions, on the sides of both supply and demand. Meetings had been interrupted because of the change of government, but would in future take place fortnightly. Mr Mellor took the opportunity of pressing for the release of the British ship Eileen M, impounded when drugs had been found on board even though there was no suggestion of complicity on the part of the owners. Dr Ortega undertook to ensure that the British point of view was put when the Council met later in morning.

35. Mr Mellor then called on Sr Cepeda, Minister of the Interior. Sr Cepeda discussed the formidable difficulties faced by the Colombian authorities in administering justice. The appalling problem of intimidation of judges and witnesses was compounded by the Government's inability to establish adequate legislative provisions to deal with its security difficulties, since these were liable to be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. He also believed that the Colombian police needed better expertise in intelligence techniques. One answer to these serious difficulties, he

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suggested, might lie in making drug trafficking an international crime; by this he appeared to mean not only introducing the kind of international co-operative measures envisaged in the draft UN Convention, but also the establishment of an international court to try drug traffickers.

36. Mr Mellor congratulated Sr Cepeda on the determined efforts made by his Government. The British Government fully accepted that difficult security problems, of the kind experienced in Northern Ireland, made special police and judicial arrangements necessary, and Mr Mellor regretted the difficulties experienced by the the Colombian Government in making the legal provision it considered requisite. He believed, however, that Britain could help in the acquisition of intelligence skills. He invited Sr Cepeda to come to London for discussions with the Home Secretary and himself about the kind of help which could be provided. If Sr Cepeda were unable to come the British Government would still be delighted to receive a team of officials for similar discussions. He undertook that this invitation would be confirmed in writing.

37. Mr Mellor then saw a presentation on the work being done by UNFDAC in collaboration with Colombian organizations dedicated to the fight against the drugs trade. The work on prevention being done under the auspices of UNFDAC and the Colombian Family Welfare organization ICBF was impressive. It involved three tiers of training with the ultimate aim of ensuring that large numbers of ordinary people all over Colombia were able to influence their friends and families against the consumption of narcotics. At the same time the Colombian television advertisements against 'basuco' (crack) showed a sophisticated approach to the problem in its attempt to promote peer group pressure against acceptance of the drug. The technique differed, however, in some important respects from that adopted in Britain, and Mr Mellor undertook to send out material on the British advertising campaign.

38. Herr Hugo of UNFDAC also drew Mr Mellor's attention to UNFDAC's proposal for a project designed to improve the security of Colombian judges. Mr Mellor was of course unable to pledge funds to this project on the spot, but he assured Herr Hugo (in a reference to his conversation with Sr Cepeda) that the UK Government would be considering urgently how it could best assist the administration of justice in Colombia.

39. The final call of the morning was upon Dr Suescun, the Minister of Justice, who subsequently hosted a lunch in Mr Mellor's honour. Dr Suescun also took the view that intimidation was at the root of Colombia's difficulties with enforcement of the law against drug traffickers: he hoped that improved police protection could help to alleviate the problem. He greatly welcomed Mr Mellor's offer of help in the provision of equipment for forensic science: Mr Mellor told him that any detailed list of requirements would be considered most sympathetically.

40. Mr Mellor also raised with Dr Suescun the cases of the Eileen M (see paragraph 34 above) and of John Lightbown, a British citizen detained in Colombia pending trial on drugs charges despite an earlier acquittal by a court martial. Dr Suescun said that further information was required by the authorities before the Eileen M could be released: he acknowledged that the case had been subject to unfortunate delays. Mr Mellor said that he would be most grateful for any progress. So far as John Lightbown was concerned, Dr Suescun said that he had no power to give directions for release. He undertook however to speak immediately to the Procurator-General, who would commission a report on the circumstances which had led to the order for a retrial.

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E.R.

Mr Mellor, while making clear that he held no brief for British criminals, pressed for this to be done quickly: he warned that, if raised in Parliament, this case, which did not show Comombian justice in a good light, could seriously damage the otherwise excellent relations between the two countries.

41. In the afternoon Mr Mellor visited the headquarters of the National Police, where he met the Commanding Officer, General Medina. Mr Mellor commended the Police for their determined efforts against the drugs trade in the face of appalling violence, and thanked them for their willing co-operation with the British drug liaison officers. General Medina said that the attacks on his men had only strengthened their resolve, and promised continued collaboration with the liaison officers. Because of other pressing business, I was unable to be present for the whole of the subsequent presentation by Colonel Vargas, which focussed upon the extensive international contacts of the National Police.

42. Finally Mr Mellor visited the US Embassy for a briefing by staff there concerned with the drugs problem. The Deputy Chief of Mission said that this was the most important item in America's relations with Colombia. The Colombian government had been consistently co-operative in efforts to stifle the trade, and were genuinely determined that the traffickers should not take over the country. Other staff members fleshed out the picture. Coca cultivation had begun in Colombia in the late 1970's, and the 15,000 - odd hectares under cultivation made it third to Peru and Bolivia. Plans were now in hand for a programme of eradication with the herbicide garlon-4. At the same time the DEA in Colombia made efforts to identify laboratories and illegal airstrips (350 so far known), passing the information on to their Colombian contacts. The situation however seemed to be deteriorating: the reduction in the amount of cocaine seized in Colombia since 1984's peak of 36 tons reflected enforcement difficulties, not reduced production. No major drug trafficker was at present in prison in Colombia. Nonetheless the Americans hoped that the 1982 Extradition Treaty might remove pressure from the lower courts, admittedly at the risk of placing it on the shoulders of the Supreme Court. Eight extradition requests were currently pending, but only two or three of the subjects were in custody. Mr Mellor said that he could not share even this limited optimism about the Treaty's efficacy. He commended the great efforts being made by the Americans in Colombia, but warned that they should not be impatient for quick success. The problem admitted of no easy solutions.

J B DUKE-EVANS
Private Secretary

September 1986

MR MELLOR'S VISIT TO LATIN AMERICA: PROGRAMME

September

Friday 5 1425 Depart Heathrow on BA217 for Washington (Dulles)

1735 Arrive Washington

Saturday 6 0845 Depart Washington (National) on EA195 for Miami

1100 Arrive Miami for DEA briefing

1335 Depart Miami on EA987 for La Paz

2125 Arrive La Paz

BOLIVIA

Sunday 7 Briefing by British Embassy on Lake Titicaca

Monday 8 0930 Meeting with Minister of Foreign Affairs Bedregal

1030 Meeting with Minister of Interior Barthelemy and
Chief of Police

Lunch EC Ambassadors

1500 Meeting with Minister for Planning and Co-ordination

1600 Briefing by US Ambassador and staff

1930 Ambassador's reception to meet influential Bolivians

Tuesday 9 am Depart by car for Los Yungas

pm Visit to UNFDAC programme
Overnight stay in Los Yungas

Wednesday 10 am Visit coca growing areas of Los Yungas

1300 Return to La Paz

1500 Visit to Congress to meet Senate Committee on drugs
and members of Congress

1700 Call on President Paz

1800 Meeting with Embassy staff

2000 Dinner hosted by Minister of Interior

E.R.

Thursday 11	1100	Depart La Paz on LB918
PERU		
	1135	Arrive Lima
	1300	Briefing lunch at Residence
	1530	Meeting with Vice-Minister of the Interior, Mantilla, Commanding General of Peruvian Police forces, and other officials and police chiefs
	2000	Dinner hosted by Minister of Interior Salinas
Friday 12	0930	Call on Minister of Justice Blancas
	1030	Call on Guardia Civil Narcotics Unit (DIPOD)
	1200	Visit to Peru Investigation Police Narcotics Division (DINTID)
	1300	Lunch with European drugs liaison officers
	1500	Meeting with EC Heads of Mission
	1630	Meeting with US Charge d'Affaires and staff
	2000	Ambassador's reception for prominent Peruvians
Saturday 13		Field trip to Tingo Maria Overnight stay at Hotel Turistas
Sunday 14	am	Continue field trip
	1300	Return to Lima
	1830	Drinks at Residence with British press
Monday 15	0725	Depart Lima on LH513
ECUADOR		
	0925	Arrive Quito
	1030	Briefing at Residence by Ecuador police chiefs
	1230	Lunch at Residence
	1430	Visit Commander of Military Customs Police, Colonel Lopez
	1515	Visit Commander of National Police, General Suarez

E.R.

	1600	Visit Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Teran
	1645	Visit Minister of Interior Robles
	1730	Visit Procurator-General, Dr Maldonado
	2000	Buffet supper at Residence with prominent Ecuadoreans
Tuesday 16	0815	Depart Quito on EH99
	0845	Arrive Guayaquil
	0900	Visit Interpol Guayas office
	1000	Visit Procurator-General
	1100	Visit Military Customs at Puerto Maritimo
	1230	Rest at hotel
	1400	Depart Guayaquil
	1430	Arrive Quito
	1500	Lunch at Residence
	1700	Meeting with Procurator-General and presentation of national plan
	1800	Presentation of 2 landrovers to Procurator-General
	2030	Dinner hosted by Procurator-General
Wednesday 17	0900	Breakfast with US Ambassador
	1130	Coffee with EC Heads of Mission
	1230	Lunch at Residence
	1400	Depart Quito on AV074
COLOMBIA		
	1520	Arrive Bogota
	1730	Briefing at Residence
	2030	Dinner given by Ambassador
Thursday 18	0800	Visit Procurador Delegado para la Policia Judicial
	0915	Visit Minister of the Interior, Dr Cepeda
	1030	Call on UNFDAC representative at the Drugs Information Centre

E.R.

	1145	Visit Minister of Justice, Dr Suescun
	1230	Lunch hosted by Minister of Justice
	1500	Visit Director General of Police, General Medina, for police presentation
	1620	Call on US Ambassador followed by briefing by Embassy staff
	1930	Supper for Minister at Residence
	2030	Fund-raising concert at Residence
Friday 19	1000	Depart Bogota on EA976
	1425	Arrive Miami DEA briefing in airport lounge
	1800	Depart Miami on Pan Am flight
Saturday 20	0740	Arrive Heathrow

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cc Mr Nagler
Mr Cook
Mr Denvir
Mr Haslam

BRITISH EMBASSY,
LIMA.

17 September 1986

P Lever Esq
U N Department
F C O

from Paul

MR MELLOR'S FIELD TRIP

1. In my telegram No 303 I gave a brief account of Mr Mellor's visit to Peru from 11 - 15 September. I thought you might be interested by this slightly fuller account of his field trip to the Upper Huallaga Valley, now the main coca-growing area in the country. Mr Mellor's Private Secretary, John Duke-Evans, had to be left behind because there was no space in the aircraft, which is why I am filling the gap with this report of my own.
2. Mr Mellor and his party, accompanied by Vice-Minister Mantilla, several senior police officers and myself, set out from Lima on the morning of Saturday 13 September in a Twin Otter aircraft for Tingo Maria, the district capital of the Huallaga Valley area. Mr Mellor's UK press party followed in a small Cessna (captured earlier from the drug traffickers). They only crossed the Andes with the greatest difficulty and were considerably shaken by their experience. This did not, however, prevent them from giving full coverage to the Minister during the field trip.
3. On arrival in Tingo Maria we transferred to two Air Force helicopters and spent the next few hours flying north along the Huallaga Valley in search of clandestine air strips. We sighted half a dozen strips that had already been cratered in previous police raids and two more that appeared to be in perfect condition. After the first helicopter, containing a small detachment of heavily armed police from the crack "Condor" unit, had landed its passengers to do a quick sweep through the surrounding jungle, we landed ourselves and spent some time on the ground while the police dug holes in the airstrips into which they inserted large quantities of gelignite. They subsequently blew these up with some danger to life and limb - one of the ITN Team was hit on the head by a falling rock!
4. On one of the two intact strips there were clear signs that a drug smuggler's aircraft had landed there a few hours previously. The other strip had obviously been prepared for an imminent landing. Colonel Zárate, the admirable head of the Peruvian drug police who was in charge of the operation, admitted that a day or two

/after

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after the helicopters had left peasants would emerge from the jungle and fill in the craters again but he claimed that the effort of cratering them was well worthwhile since it disrupted the drug smugglers' schedules (eg an aircraft might turn up next day, find it was unable to land and would be obliged to return to where it had come from). In his view, the most effective way to fight the drug smugglers was by continual and unexpected operations of this kind that hit at their communications, supply lines and processing laboratories. This of course, is the rationale for Mr Mellor's decision to offer the Peruvians a Britten-Norman Islander aircraft.

5. In the course of this operation we flew over a large area of jungle adjoining the Huallaga River. We were amazed to see on all sides, and stretching to the far horizon, innumerable small plantations of coca all growing in neat, straight lines, and large areas of jungle that had been cut down and burnt in preparation for the planting of fresh coca bushes. The scale on which this is being carried out - and this is only one of four coca growing areas in the country - is breath-taking.

6. The size of the problem has certainly shaken the drugs police also! Zárate told me that the police had given up arresting peasants for growing coca because there were too many of them and it was simply not worth the trouble. They were now only interested in the bigger fish and had arrested 63 of these since the Condor Operations had begun but he was not sanguine that any would be brought to trial. There was so much money involved, he said, that they would probably all bribe the judge, buy their way out of prison, etc. For this reason he had decided that with the limited resources at his disposal the Condor Operation's best tactic was to strike at the processing side of the coca problem.

Yours ever

John Shakespeare

J W R Shakespeare

cc to:

✓ PS/Mr David Mellor MP Home Office
P McLean Esq SAMD FCO
HM Ambassadors at

La Paz
Quito
Bogota

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PRIME MINISTER

15 October 1986

REPORT OF POLICY UNIT ON THE COCAINE THREAT
FROM SOUTH AMERICA, FOLLOWING VISIT IN SEPTEMBER 1986

1. Objective and Rationale of Visit

- Fact finding - While Britain does receive CIA intelligence, it is also known that different agencies produce differing figures, hence the aim to check the range of evidence. The various guesstimates were nowhere more unreliable than in Bolivia - the US Drugs Enforcement Administration informed Congress last year that the cocaine production there was only 67 tons while the Bolivia Government's own admission was in excess of 580 tons!
- "Showing concern" - The tacit political purpose of the Home Office initiative.
- Further and wider research - I aimed to focus on any stone the Home Office did not have the time or the inclination to look under. This has in particular involved me in discussing the wider economic considerations with representatives of the World Bank, the IMF and the Bank of England.

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- 2 -

2. Cocaine Chronology Chemistry and Price Rise

(Starting in Producer Countries, Bolivia and Peru)

1 ton of coca leaves (Bolivia, Peru)(worth)\$600

[The financial incentive on the farmer is both the high value of the crop - \$2000 per acre for low labour input and comparatively high income to him - a small farmer in Bolivia would earn \$200 per year, a senior policeman \$600 per year and a miner \$800, but a coca farmer could earn \$10,000 per year.]

THIS TON PRODUCES

10 kilos of basic coca paste (worth) \$10-25,000

[Ether, kerosene or acetone is used on the crushed leaves.]

THIS 10 KILOS PRODUCES

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- 3 -

3.3 kilos of washed paste (worth) \$15-30,000

[This is produced by adding
Potassium Permanganate.
Filtrate and spin dry then
dry under lamps and mix
with ammonia.]

THIS 3.3 KILOS PRODUCES

3.3 kilos of Cocaine Hydrochloride (worth) \$260,000 wholesale
OR \$2.5m (US street
value, ie
\$800,000
per kilo)
OR £750,000 (UK street
value, ie
£200,000
per kilo)

3. The Scale of the Problem

Bolivia: Has between 200 and 300,000 hectares under
cultivation, of which only 18,000 hectares is licit. This
produces possibly 150-200,000 tons of coca leaf and 250-400
tons of cocaine. The economy benefits from possibly
\$3-4 billion per annum from the illicit trade. It is said the

Footnote Chemicals seized in Ecuador indicate a wide variety
used as alternatives in the refining process.

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- 4 -

20 Barons are known and cannot be arrested. One of them recently offered to pay off the national debt of \$6 billion. Most 'Narco' money is banked and laundered out of Bolivia. The Bank of Santa Cruz is said to be most deeply involved. Of 2,000 arrested in the last 18 months, none are still in jail; so poor are the prisons and so corrupt is the system. 100,000 addicts.

Peru: Has a similar area under cultivation and similar production to Bolivia. At least half of the judiciary are said to be corrupt. 92% of coca production is illicit. Huge new areas in the jungle are being cleared. 60-100,000 addicts.

Ecuador: The area under cultivation may be as little as 3,000 hectares, producing 4,000 tons of leaf and 1 ton of cocaine but the problem is developing fast, and Guayaquil and Quito have a major transit trade, particularly through the container port of Guayaquil. Small addiction problem.

Columbia: Probably earns more from cocaine than any other South American country, although its area under cultivation may only be 30,000 hectares producing 40,000 tons of leaf and 100 tons of cocaine. This is because it also organises, processes and transports the illegal trade here and in other countries. 75% of US imports come from Columbia. Its links with violent crime have included the assassination of half the judges and a notable win over the US Mafia in the key US transit port of Miami. Addiction substantial.

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Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela and the Caribbean

Islands: None of these countries were included in the survey.

All, however, were mentioned as notorious participants, either as providing an umbrella for illicit laboratories (Brazil), as other producer countries (Argentina, Chile) or as staging posts (Venezuela, Belize and the Caribbean). Only a full survey with the assistance of the DEA and CIA would complete the picture.

USA: The trade in cocaine in the US was worth at least \$200 billion last year, a rise from \$50 billion worth in 1978. Trade is still growing, though some estimates say the market is badly glutted. 20 million Americans have tried or use cocaine. The crack epidemic may have been exaggerated, but it has the horrific characteristic of being very quickly addictive. It is made by adding calcium carbonate to pure cocaine hydrochloride.

4. Analysis and Recommendations

(A) International Crisis

After the Bonn Summit in July 1985, the international traffic of narcotics reached the agenda for heads of Government. It has since slipped from this agenda. The problem not only involves a generation of young people in North America and increasing numbers of young in South America, it now is entering Europe in very substantial amounts. But the problem is not just a law and order one. It

is for heads of Government, not just Ministers of the interior because of the politics and economics of the issue.

Governments (two of which, Bolivia and Peru, I saw) could fall and with them democracy and such freedom as is currently enjoyed.

We therefore recommend that you might discuss this with heads of state. Only concerted action can hope to address this issue.

(B) Economic Aspects

In Bolivia, drugs exceed all other foreign exchange earners. This may also be true in Columbia and Peru. The affects of this 'black money' can be exaggerated because up to 95% is banked or spent outside these countries. However, the power that narco money has to subvert the producer economy from less lucrative but legitimate alternative products, and to corrupt the administration and the law and order forces is incalculable.

While narcotics produce rich rewards for risk taken, there is little hope that producer countries will exercise self-restraint unless:

- (a) their home addiction problems explode (as in Pakistan);
- (b) there is adequate concerted international action and more international banking disclosure;

- (c) the world financial institutions combine on a common line to insist upon a concerted line across the Continent, not just to individual borrower countries.

We therefore recommend that more serious thought be given to the economic aspects of the drug production problem in South America.

We must also exert what influence we can to use the World Bank, the IMF and the Inter-American Development Bank (lending to South America last year about \$9 billion) to set anti-drug targets and conditions with lending tranches fixed to performance. These must be achievable and early failure of some conditions has created doubt about their efficacy. However, there are a number of reasonable conditions that could be imposed while achieving an overall objective of a viable legitimate economy. Colin Moynihan MP has acquired some expertise here.

(C) British Demand

All sides agree this is a key to the problem, though this demand is often cruelly stimulated by pushers and cigarette lancers. Our success in our publicity campaign 1986/7 to make young people reject heroin increased those who would say 'no' to heroin from 80% to 90% in 12 months. We need a similar effective campaign against cocaine. The Home Office are only at the early stages of thinking about this. If you support the idea, it would speed up action considerably if I could

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suggest some propaganda to the Ministerial team or if you would write. This propaganda must go hand in hand with voluntary media work on this.

(D) United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control

This is extensively dealt with in the Home Office Report. Their report records their dissatisfaction with the control and objectives of this fund. We go further having seen the poor management in Bolivia, and recommend no more money is spent in South America on this fund until they have tightened up their ideas.

(E) Cross Border Leakage and Intelligence

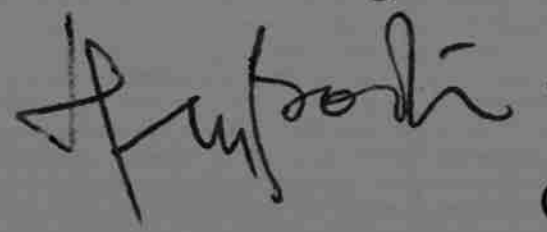
Where action was taken in Bolivia and Peru to stamp out illicit laboratories in the jungle, the traffickers moved across to Brazil. The pattern repeats itself all over South America. If it has not been done already, intelligence agencies should be asked to assess the feasibility of a South America-wide initiative. It would also be timely for the study to cover terrorism as well as South America. This should then be enforced by an international agency.

This is well beyond our resources. CDP.

Conclusion

We recommend action under paragraphs 4 (A-E) above to improve international economic and law enforcement action, as well as more advertising to quell home demand for cocaine.

HARTLEY BOOTH



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DRUGS: INTERNATIONAL UPDATE

The August US Initiative

The President launched a programme to hit drug use at work and school. It aimed to strike the international trafficker, at establishing better treatment for users and stiffening punishment for pushers. President Reagan reacted to the recent worrying US situation, not least that US business is losing \$100 million a year because of drug abuse and that drugs are being used by 10 year olds at school. He said users should be helped not imprisoned.

European Action

- (a) The British announcement in Strasbourg on 7 October and the meeting of Interior Ministers on 20 October made and will make seven points concerning cross frontier movement of drugs, frontier controls, more work by ambassadors, and more work on demand reduction and rehabilitation. Nothing very new here.
- (b) Sir Jack Stewart Clark MEP had produced an EEC report which I have discussed in detail with him. His best recommendation is that we need "common legislation on extradition, freezing and confiscation of assets, and conspiracy". This should be injected into our work during our Presidency.


HARTLEY BOOTH

✓



सत्यमेव जयते

Nirupam Sen
Counsellor(Pol)

Telephone: 01-836 8484 EXT.

Telegrams: HICOMIND, LONDON, W.C.2.

Our Reference: LON/HC/302/86

भारत का हाइ कमिशन
लन्दन

THE HIGH COMMISSION OF INDIA,

Political DEPARTMENT,

INDIA HOUSE,

ALDWYCH,

LONDON, WC2B 4NA

August 7, 1986

Dear Mr. Powell,

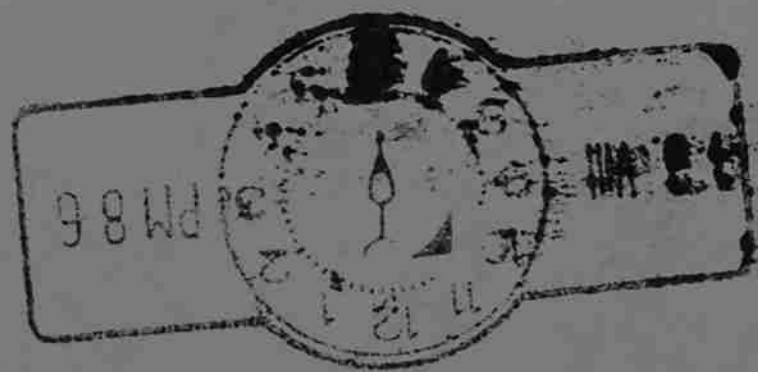
Kindly refer to High Commissioner's letter of even number dated 29th July 1986 to the Rt.Hon'ble Prime Minister of UK. In this connection I am enclosing herewith a sealed cover from the Honourable Prime Minister of India to the Rt. Hon'ble Mrs Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom with the request that this may kindly be transmitted to its high destination.

All good wishes,
Yours sincerely,

(Nirupam Sen)

Mr. C.D. Powell,
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
(Overseas Affairs),
Cabinet Office, Whitehall,
London W.1.

HOME AFFAIRS:
Drugs 043



PRIME MINISTER

7 August 1986

DRUGS - END OF YEAR REPORT TO H COMMITTEE

AND FUTURE PROGRAMME

Douglas Hurd reports the work of David Mellor's committee. He records three pieces of good news.

Firstly, the growth of the heroin problem has been restrained. However, the rise in the notification of addicts was still 25%, though this was 7% less than in the previous 4 years. Heroin seizures from Pakistan were down very considerably. The availability of heroin remains high and is sold at a stable and high price - about £85 per gramme - with purity at 30%-40% (a high percentage)

Secondly, the threatened epidemic of cocaine has held off, though Douglas Hurd's personal experience of seeing 'cocaine base' smoking in New York reinforces his fears.

Thirdly, the Government campaign to persuade teenagers to say no to drugs such as heroin and cocaine has had some success. Percentage rejection has risen from just over 80% to just over 90% from a similar sample of teenagers over the period of the Home Office campaign. It would be fair to add that the BBC programme 'Drug Watch' has had a significant effect in making the young say no to drugs.

The Government Shopping Bag

While the group argues that it is delivering good value for money, it also asks for endorsement for a package of measures set out in paragraphs 8 and 9 of the report, and it again asks, as last year, for authority to pre-empt PESC to make a major announcement at the Party Conference in October.

The Ministerial Group considers that their most urgent shopping requirement is still more staff in Customs. The paper does not specify exactly how many staff they would like though they give a maximum of 200. I have spoken to officials at Customs who, not surprisingly, say that their bid will be greater than the largest figure in the paper, possibly 463.

Total costs requested in the annex are as follows:

on the basis of only 200 more Customs

officers (England and Wales)	£31.36 million
add Scotland (£2.3 million)	£33.66 million
add Urban Programme money (£1million)	£34.66 million
add Home Office Research '87 (£0.2 million)	£34.86 million

Conclusion

This is a good example of a successful interdepartmental committee's work. If any substantial announcement is to be made in October, an urgent review of the Customs bid should be made in September. With the exception of the Customs question, the package is moderate bearing in mind the scale of the problem.

Hartley Booth

HARTLEY BOOTH



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

2 August 1986

Dear Resident Clerk,

Robert Culshaw wrote to me on 1 August enclosing a draft reply from the Prime Minister to Mr Gandhi's letter of 29 July about the posting of Drug Liaison Officers to Delhi and Bombay. He suggested that Mr. Renton should hand over the Prime Ministers reply to Mr. Gandhi at London airport tomorrow morning. I enclose the reply signed by the Prime Minister and should be grateful if you could arrange for Mr. Renton's Private Secretary to pick it up this evening.

Yours sincerely
Charles Powell

(CHARLES POWELL)

Resident Clerk,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

JA



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

VC *PC*
ce FCO
Subject
PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T144/86

THE PRIME MINISTER

2 August 1986

ce Master
ops

Dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 29 July.

I agree that there seems to have been a communications gap. Our request to post drug liaison officers to India was made in July 1985. Our High Commission in New Delhi were not made aware until the middle of May 1986 that your Government had any concerns about the existing cooperation between us over economic and commercial offences. And when your High Commissioner wrote to Geoffrey Howe on 3 June with your Government's authorisation, suggesting the terms on which he should give evidence to Parliament, these included no mention of economic and commercial intelligence cooperation but only of administrative matters which at that stage had still to be worked out. Those matters were soon resolved and your High Commission duly issued visas for our two officers on 12 June.

I note what you have said in your letter about your Government's determination to combat the drug menace and your commitment to strengthening international cooperation in tackling the problem. We both take exactly the same view of the seriousness of the problem and the need to work together to tackle it. Only the drug-pushers will gain if it seems that we cannot get ahead with arrangements for improving practical liaison in Delhi in just the same way as you have two customs liaison officers at the Indian High Commission who enjoy close cooperation with HM Customs. I very much hope therefore that, whatever problems remain on your side,

DA

they can speedily be resolved so that our liaison officers can begin their work in India.

As regards Indo-British cooperation on economic and commercial intelligence, I was surprised to learn that your Parliament and people perceive a lack of adequate action on our part. We have already given full and unreserved assurances that we shall cooperate, as we have hitherto, to the maximum extent possible within our law. We could scarcely do more than that, or be expected to do so. We shall not do less either.

As to the specific case mentioned in your letter, when your authorities sought assistance from us in January our Inland Revenue explained that the information requested might not be readily at hand and that it might be some time before it could be provided. The Inland Revenue have continued to assure your authorities that priority is being given to this case and several progress reports have been sent, keeping your officials fully in the picture. However, I understand that your authorities have neither acknowledged nor replied to some questions which our Inland Revenue have put to them about the case.

I have asked Tim Renton to deliver this letter to you on my behalf immediately upon your arrival in London and hope that by the time we meet we can quickly clear up any misunderstandings on this matter so that our drug liaison officers can begin work without further delay.

Kind regards.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

Shri Rajiv Gandhi



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Dear Charles

Drug Liaison Officers (DLOs)

Your letter of 29 July asked for advice on how the Prime Minister should reply to Mr Gandhi's letter of 29 July about the posting of DLOs to Delhi and Bombay.

As you know, the reneging by the Indian Government on their original agreement has given rise to much concern in Parliament and threatens to become yet another bone of contention in our relations with the Indians. The Foreign Secretary therefore believes that the Prime Minister should try and resolve the problem during her bilateral meeting with Mr Gandhi on 3 August. He appreciates that time will be limited and that preoccupation with South Africa will leave very little scope for discussing other business. However, Mr Gandhi's reply of 29 July is so unsatisfactory that we cannot afford to let slip the opportunity provided by his visit to try and persuade him to honour the earlier agreement in principle to our DLO proposal.

/ I enclose a draft reply to Mr Gandhi's letter. If the Prime Minister agrees, this would be delivered by Mr Renton when he meets Mr Gandhi on his arrival at Heathrow on 3 August. There would then be at least some prospect of his giving a more constructive reply when the Prime Minister refers to the matter.

Yours ever

R N Culshaw

(R N Culshaw)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing St



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

29 July 1986

DRUG LIAISON OFFICERS

BS

I enclose a copy of a reply from Mr. Gandhi to the Prime Minister's recent message about Drug Liaison Officers. I should be grateful for advice on how the Prime Minister should respond.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Stephen Boys Smith in the Home Office.

(C.D. POWELL)

R.N. Culshaw, Esq.

✓

SUBJECT CC MASTER
OPS

CCP



PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T142/86

INDIA HOUSE,
ALDWYCH,
LONDON, W.C.2.

No. Lon/HC/302/86

July 29, 1986

Dear Prime Minister,

I have been asked to convey the following message
from Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to you:-

BEGINS

Dear Prime Minister,

I have your message ^{at trap} on the posting of British Drug
Liaison Officer to Delhi and Bombay.

I feel that there has been a communication gap some-
where. We are determined to combat the drug menace with every
resource at our command. We welcome and seek to strengthen
international cooperation in tackling this problem. We had
readily agreed, in principle, to a British Drug Liaison presence
in India.

We have an equally pressing problem in relation to
economic and commercial offenders, who operate from or seek
foreign sanctuaries. Our Parliament and people continue to be
exercised on what is perceived to be lack of adequate action
against such offenders. Our Finance Minister had sought some
cooperation from his British counterpart on a particular case
in January. Our External Affairs Minister had also been given
an assurance by Sir Geoffrey Howe that our concerns will be
accommodated. We are awaiting a suitable response from your
people.

I see no reason why mutually satisfactory arrangements
should not be worked out for joint efforts in tackling the menace
of drug trafficking and commercial offences.

Yours sincerely,

(RAJIV GANDHI)

ENDS

Yours sincerely,

P.C. Alexander

P.C. Alexander

The Rt. Hon'ble Mrs. Margaret Thatcher,
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom,
10 Downing Street,
London

HONG AFFAIRS Drug Abuse PT3



File MA

PRIME MINISTER

Attached is a letter from the Home Office seeking permission for Hartley Booth to accompany David Mellor on his fact finding visit to Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru and Colombia from 5-20 September to look at the drugs traffic. Also attached is a letter from Hartley which he has shown us justifying his inclusion in the Home Office party and offering to pay his own air fares.

As you will see the Home Office letter stresses that Hartley was a valuable member of the team which accompanied Mr. Mellor to Pakistan and Mr. Mellor believes it will be helpful for the Policy Unit to have this experience available on drug strategy. Hartley reinforces the importance of the drugs policy to the Home Office and to the Government generally and argues that it is helpful for him to be able to brief you personally. His offer to pay air fares is also of course a very generous one.

There is obviously force in these points but in reaching a decision on this request you will want to have in mind -

- (i) the fact that we have an almost invariable rule against Ministers taking political or special advisers on foreign trips;
- (ii) that the last occasion on which Hartley accompanied David Mellor to Pakistan was quoted against you when you were reluctant to let the Foreign Secretary take John Houston on a visit; and
- (iii) there must be a doubt about whether this kind of visit is a legitimate activity for the Policy Unit. It is not their role to duplicate the work of Ministers or indeed of officials; I fail to see why, if David Mellor is going on this visit he cannot inform you of any important points for UK policy arising from it.

I do not think any of the above considerations are affected by Hartley's offer to pay his own air fares. The question is whether this is a proper function for a member of the Policy Unit given the danger of setting a precedent. If it is a proper activity then I do not see why Hartley should have to pay his own expenses; if it is not then the question of expenses is irrelevant.

Do you (1) agree that Hartley should accompany David Mellor whether paying his own expenses or not or (2) decline the request in keeping with our previous practice.

Tim Flesher

29 July 1986



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi
July 25, 1986

Dear Prime Minister,

I have your message on the posting of British Drug Liaison Officers to Delhi and Bombay.

I feel that there has been a communication gap somewhere. We are determined to combat the drug menace with every resource at our command. We welcome and seek to strengthen international cooperation in tackling this problem. We had readily agreed, in principle, to a British drug liaison presence in India.

We have an equally pressing problem in relation to economic and commercial offenders, who operate from or seek foreign sanctuaries. Our Parliament and people continue to be exercised on what is perceived to be lack of adequate action against such offenders. Our Finance Minister had sought some cooperation from his British counterpart on a particular case in January. Our External Affairs Minister had also been given an assurance by Sir Geoffrey Howe that our concerns will be accommodated. We are awaiting a suitable response from your people.

I see no reason why mutually satisfactory arrangements should not be worked out for joint efforts in tackling the menace of drug trafficking and economic and commercial offences.

Yours sincerely,

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
London

PRIME MINISTER

Attached is a letter from the Home Office seeking permission for Hartley Booth to accompany David Mellor on his fact finding visit to Bolivia, Peru and Colombia from 5-20 September to look at the drugs traffic. Also attached is a letter from Hartley, which he showed me, justifying his inclusion in the Home Office party. Brian Griffiths has indicated that he wishes to discuss this with you at your meeting.

In reaching a decision on this request you will want to have in mind:-

- (i) the fact that we have operated an almost invariable rule against Ministers taking political or special advisers on foreign visits; and
- (ii) that the last occasion on which Hartley accompanied David Mellor (to Pakistan) was quoted against you when you were reluctant to let the Foreign Secretary take John Houston on a foreign visit.

There is a danger if you agree to this visit it will be taken as a precedent.

Tim Flesher
21 July 1986

SUBJECT CC MASTER
OPS

CONFIDENTIAL

50137 - 1

OCMIAN 0137
CONFIDENTIAL
DD 160330Z NEDEL
FM FCOLN TO NEDEL
151630Z JUL
GRS 402

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T131/86

CONFIDENTIAL
FM FCO
TO DESKBY 160330Z NEW DELHI
TELNO 711
OF 151630Z JULY 86

MY TELNO 706 : DLOS

1. SUBJECT TO ANY POSITIVE OUTCOME OF YOUR CALL TODAY ON
VENKATESWARAN PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM
THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR RAJIV GANDHI:
BEGINS

I AM VERY CONCERNED THAT NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE ON
THE QUESTION OF POSTING BRITISH DRUG LIAISON OFFICERS TO NEW
DELHI AND BOMBAY. GEOFFREY HOWE DISCUSSED THIS WITH YOU IN DELHI
IN EARLY APRIL, AND YOU OFFERED TO HELP, FOR WHICH WE WERE VERY
GRATEFUL. FOLLOWING SUBSEQUENT CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR ALEXANDER,
GEOFFREY HOWE INFORMED THE HOME AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF
COMMONS ON 4 JUNE OF YOUR GOVERNMENT'S AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO
THIS PROPOSAL. YOUR HIGH COMMISSION SUBSEQUENTLY ISSUED VISAS
FOR THE TWO OFFICERS SELECTED FOR THIS IMPORTANT ASSIGNMENT.

WE NATURALLY ASSUMED THAT ONCE THESE ADMINISTRATIVE
ARRANGEMENTS HAD BEEN COMPLETED, OUR DRUG LIAISON OFFICERS WOULD
BE ABLE TO TAKE UP THEIR APPOINTMENTS IN INDIA WITHOUT DELAY.
BUT THIS HAS PROVED NOT TO BE THE CASE, AND THERE CONTINUE TO BE
DIFFICULTIES ABOUT GETTING AGREEMENT FROM YOUR PEOPLE THAT THE
TWO SHOULD TAKE UP THEIR POSTS.

1

CONFIDENTIAL

I know

CONFIDENTIAL

50137 - 1

I KNOW THAT YOU SHARE MY CONCERN THAT EVERYTHING POSSIBLE SHOULD BE DONE BY GOVERNMENTS TO COMBAT THE GROWING MENACE OF DRUG TRAFFICKING, AND YOU WILL NO DOUBT BE AWARE OF THE VERY EFFECTIVE CO-OPERATION WHICH EXISTS BETWEEN OUR CUSTOMS AUTHORITIES AND THE TWO INDIAN CUSTOMS OFFICERS FROM YOUR HIGH COMMISSION IN LONDON. IT IS VERY MUCH MY HOPE THAT WE CAN FURTHER EXTEND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN US IN THIS IMPORTANT TASK. I WONDER IF WE COULD SEEK YOUR FURTHER HELP TO ENSURE THAT OUR TWO OFFICERS CAN GO OUT TO INDIA SOON AND START BUILDING UP LIAISON WITH YOUR EXPERTS.

IT WOULD BE BEST FOR ALL CONCERNED IF THE MATTER COULD BE SORTED OUT QUICKLY. OUR PARLIAMENT WILL SOON BE GOING INTO RECESS AND GEOFFREY HOWE WOULD HAVE TO EXPLAIN BEFORE THEN, IF NECESSARY, WHY IT HAS BEEN IMPOSSIBLE TO SEND THE OFFICERS OUT TO INDIA AS HE HAD PREVIOUSLY SAID WE WOULD. I VERY MUCH FEAR THAT MAKING PUBLIC THE DIFFICULTIES WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED ON THE MATTER WILL ONLY GIVE COMFORT TO THE DRUG TRAFFICKERS AND TO THOSE WHO WOULD LIKE TO SOW DISCORD BETWEEN US.

ENDS

HOWE

OCMIAN 0137

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POD

NEWS DEPT

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PS

PS/MR EGGAR

PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/MR RENTON

PS/PUS

SIR W HARDING

DR WILSON

MR SLATER

- 2 -
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

15 July 1986

INDIA: DRUGS LIAISON OFFICERS

Thank you for your letter of 14 July enclosing a draft message from the Prime Minister to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi urging him to lift the obstacles in the way of stationing two Drugs Liaison Officers in Delhi as soon as possible.

BF || The message may issue in the slightly amended form enclosed.

(Charles Powell)

R.N. Culshaw, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

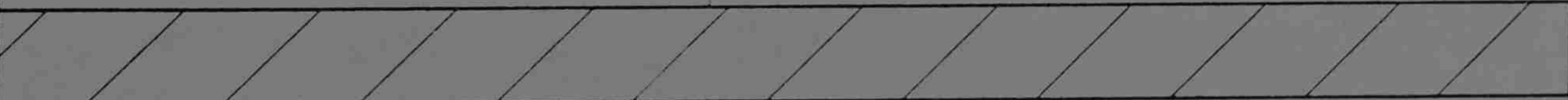
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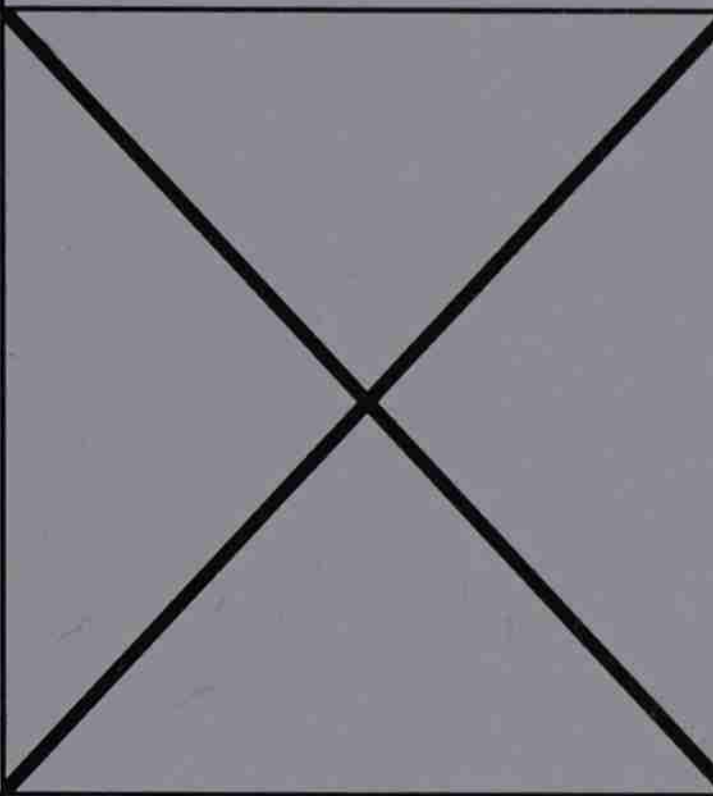
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	11	MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR RAJIV GANDHI	
	12	1. I am very concerned that no progress has been made on the	
	13	question of posting British Drug Liaison Officers to New Delhi	
	14	and Bombay. Geoffrey Howe discussed this with you in Delhi in	
	15	early April, and you offered to help for which we were very	
	16	grateful. Following subsequent correspondence with Dr Alexander,	
	17	Geoffrey Howe informed the Home Affairs Committee of the House	
	18	of Commons on 4 June of your Government's agreement in principle	
	19	to this proposal. Your High Commission subsequently issued	
	20	visas for the two officers selected for this important	
	21	assignment.	
	22	2. We naturally assumed that once these administrative	
	23	arrangements had been completed, our Drug Liaison Officers	
	24	would be able to take up their appointments in India without	
	25	delay. But this has proved not to be the case, and there	
///	26	continue to be difficulties about getting agreement from your	
//	27	people that the two should take up their posts.	
/	28	3. I know that you share my concern that everything possible	
	29	should be done by Governments to combat the growing menace	

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OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

		Classification CONFIDENTIAL	Caveat	Precedence IMMEDIATE
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DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>2078</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: <i>Letter from Cusshaw to Powell dated 14 July 1986</i>	
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RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
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Instructions for completion of Dummy Card

Use black or blue pen to complete form.

Use the card for one piece or for each extract removed from a different place within a piece.

Enter the department and series,
eg. HO 405, J 82.

Enter the piece and item references, .
eg. 28, 1079, 84/1, 107/3

Enter extract details if it is an extract rather than a whole piece.

This should be an indication of what the extract is,
eg. Folio 28, Indictment 840079, E107, Letter dated 22/11/1995.
Do not enter details of why the extract is sensitive.

If closed under the FOI Act, enter the FOI exemption numbers applying to the closure, eg. 27(1), 40(2).

Sign and date next to the reason why the record is not available to the public ie. Closed under FOI exemption; Retained under section 3(4) of the Public Records Act 1958; Temporarily retained; Missing at transfer or Number not used.

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	13	question of posting British Drug Liaison Officers to New Delhi				
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	15	early April, and you offered to help. <i>for which we were very grateful</i>				
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	18	Commons on 4 June of your Government's agreement in principle to				
	19	this proposal. Your High Commission subsequently issued visas				
	20	for the two officers selected for this important assignment.				
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effective cooperation which exists between our customs authorities and the two Indian customs officers from your High Commission in London. It is very much my hope that we can further extend cooperation between us in this important task. I ~~wonder if we could seek from you~~ should be very grateful for further help from you personally to ensure that ~~the~~ ^{our} two officers can go out to India soon and start building up liaison with your experts. ~~it~~ ^{could be} 4. It would be best for all concerned to have the matter sorted out quickly. Our Parliament will soon be going into recess and Geoffrey Howe would have to explain before then, if necessary, why it has been impossible to send the officers out to India as he had previously said we would. I very much fear that making public the difficulties we have encountered on the matter will only give comfort to the drug traffickers and to those who would like to sow discord between us.

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PS/MR RENTON

PS/MR EGGAR

PS/PUS

SIR W HARDING

DR WILSON

MR BARRINGTON

MR SLATER

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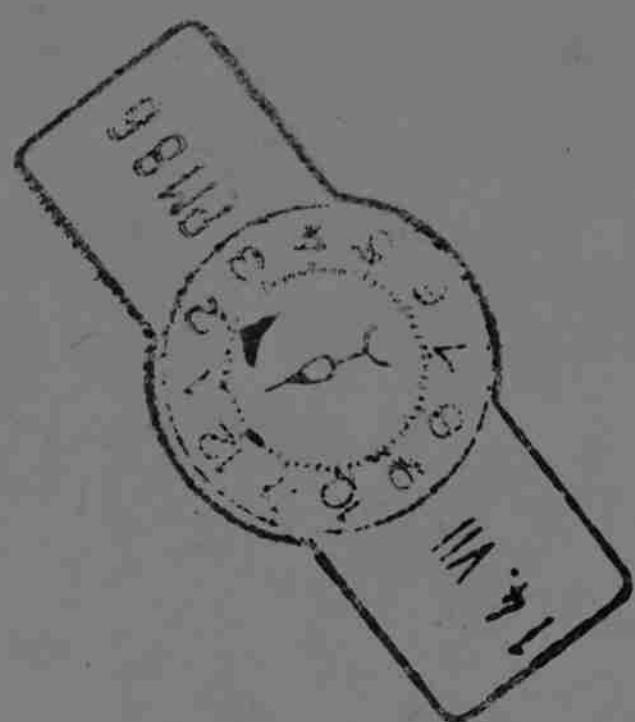
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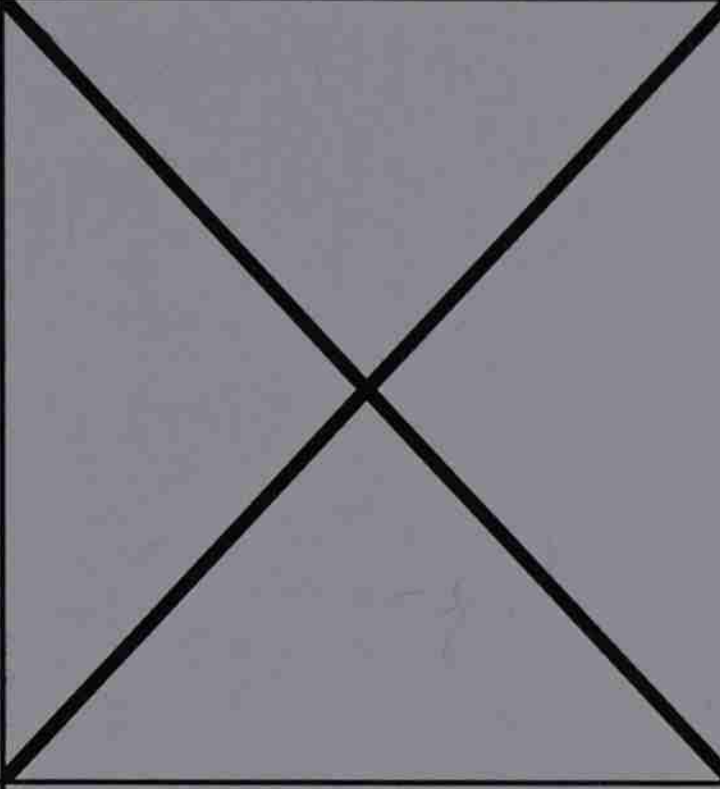
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DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>2078</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
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PRIME MINISTER

4 July 1986

NORWICH DRUG REHABILITATION CENTRE

This rehabilitation initiative is typical of the
marvellous public response to the problem of drug abuse. The
Centre will be purchased and begun on private funds. It
addresses the growing problem in Norfolk.

Very exceptionally, I have agreed to chair the appeal and
I must launch it next Thursday with the mighty of Norfolk! It
has been well supported by local MPs, including John
MacGregor, but it would be such an encouragement for everyone
if I could read out a two line message from you. In the hope
that you might agree, I have already drafted one and cleared
it with DHSS.

Hartley Booth.

*Shred
in*

HARTLEY BOOTH

CC HB
Pine M... 1

Agree to send
this message?

JK

4/7

DRAFT

"I share your concern about the horrors of drug abuse, *and*
I am distressed that Norfolk has been affected, ~~but~~ I am
delighted that you have the foresight to support a
Rehabilitation Centre. I wish you the greatest success."

Q.S.

SUBJECT
cc ops
master



10 DOWNING STREET

file
CC FCO
HO
DHSS
HMT

THE PRIME MINISTER

7 May 1986

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T 83 B/86

I can Prime Minister,

You wrote to me about a conversation I had with Mr. R.J. Samson who represented your Minister of Health at the recent conference of Ministers of Health on Narcotic and Psychotropic Drug Misuse held in London.

I was grateful to you for taking the trouble to write. Douglas Hurd has also reported to me the very useful discussions he had recently with your Minister of Justice and State Secretary for Health.

The menace of drugs is one that all European Governments are faced with, and the reports available to us indicate that a significant aspect of the British side of the problem is the flow of drugs to this country from the Netherlands, particularly amphetamines and cannabis resin. We know that you have to contend with massive problems, particularly in dealing with the huge amounts of container traffic through Rotterdam, and I know also of the efforts you are making to overcome them. We must all do all we can to attack the traffickers, and I was heartened to learn from your letter

RA

and from Douglas Hurd's report of his discussions with your people of the high priority you are giving to this.

I know that you are as convinced as we are of the importance of international co-operation to fight drug trafficking, and I gladly acknowledge the help we already receive from you at operational level and through the Pompidou Group. We must take every opportunity we can to develop that co-operation.

Yours sincerely
Raymond Stalteri

P.S. I am so sorry we did not have
time to discuss this in Tokyo.

His Excellency Dr. Ruud R.M. Lubbers



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

1 May 1986

Dear Charles,

at Harp

You sent me on 18 April an advance copy of a letter from the Prime Minister of the Netherlands to the Prime Minister about a conversation she had with an official of the Dutch Ministry of Health during the World Conference of Ministers of Health on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances held at Lancaster House in March. You asked for a draft reply to the Dutch Prime Minister's letter after the Home Secretary had returned from his recent visit to the Netherlands and before the Prime Minister leaves for Tokyo.

The Netherlands is generally considered to be a (but not the only) principal trafficking centre for drugs in northern Europe. This view is based on seizure figures and other intelligence both in the UK and elsewhere. The reasons for it are partly historical - ambivalent attitudes of previous Dutch Governments to drugs, partly demographic - the Netherlands has a sizeable immigration population elements of which are active in the drugs trade, and partly logistic - the Netherlands is a major European trade centre so there are many opportunities for smuggling.

Dutch Government policy is now firmer than in the past, but it must deal with the legacy it has inherited. It is aware of the need to fight trafficking, but is anxious to avoid criminalising addiction, which would drive addicts underground, make treatment and rehabilitation more difficult, hinder a valuable source of information about dealers and traffickers and would make it more difficult to deal with the problem of AIDS among addicts using drugs intravenously and spreading the disease among the population at large.

Because in the past Dutch Governments were seen as taking a liberal attitude to drugs, any measures they may now wish to take which may be seen as liberalising are treated with suspicion by other Governments. The Dutch are consequently sensitive about their reputation. But they show willing and constructive co-operation, both at operational level against trafficking and within the Pompidou Group and other international fora.

These are not reasons to avoid expressing the UK's concern at the very real problem of the flow of drugs from the Netherlands to this country and urging them to greater efforts against trafficking. The Home Secretary feels his discussions with the

/Dutch Minister

Charles Powell, Esq

Dutch Minister of Justice and Secretary for Health were useful in this respect, and believes that exchanges at senior Government level afforded by his visit and by this Prime Ministerial exchange of letters should help in both improving co-operation and spurring the Dutch to greater efforts.

I am copying this letter and the enclosure to the recipients of yours and to Mrs Lomax at the Treasury.

yes

over

for

S W BOYS SMITH

HE Dr. ~~Roo~~
Ruud Fm
Lubbers

To: ~~isne~~

shalc

Draft letter for signature by the Prime Minister to:

The Prime Minister of the Kingdom of the Netherlands

You wrote to me about a conversation I had with Mr R J Samson who represented your Minister of Health at the recent conference of Ministers of Health on Narcotic and Psychotropic Drug Misuse held in London.

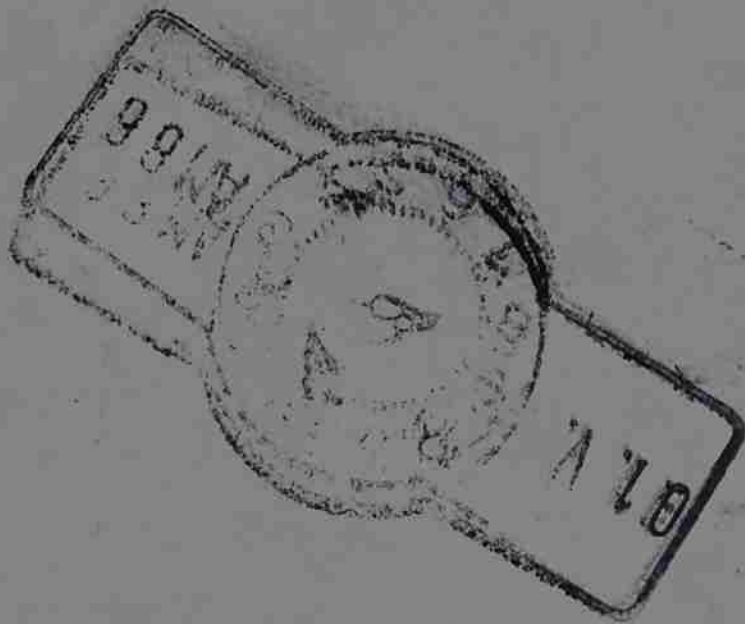
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/I know that

I know that you are as convinced as we are of the importance of international co-operation to fight drug trafficking, and I gladly acknowledge the help we already receive from you at operational level and through the Pompidou Group. We must take every opportunity we can to develop that co-operation.

HOME AFFAIRS, Drug Abuse PL3





10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

18 April, 1986.

I enclose a copy of a message to the Prime Minister from the Netherlands Prime Minister which we received this afternoon, about drug trafficking. As you will see, he brings up the point that the Prime Minister apparently made to the Netherlands representative attending the recent Conference of Ministers of Health on Narcotic and Psychotropic Drug Abuse about the problems caused for us by illicit drug trafficking from Amsterdam airport.

No doubt the Home Secretary will be able to deal with this point when he visits the Netherlands next week. I should be grateful for a draft reply to Mr. Lubbers' message after that visit, but before the Prime Minister meets Mr. Lubbers at the Economic Summit in Tokyo.

I am copying this letter and its enclosure to Colin Budd (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and Tony Laurance (Department of Health and Social Security).

(C.D. Powell)

Stephen Boys Smith, Esq.,
Home Office.

00
Royal Netherlands Embassy



Prime Minister ^{cc R} ②
You seem to have
strung him with a
remark about drugs
e Amsterdam.
C.D.P.

London, April 18, 1986

1 hope the Home
Secretary has been sent
a copy of this letter
not

Dear Prime Minister,

At the request of Prime Minister Lubbers

./.. I am sending you enclosed advance copy of a letter
which he is writing to you today. The original of
the letter will reach you as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

L.W. Veenendaal
Minister Plenipotentiary

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher M.P.
Prime Minister
Downing Street 10
LONDON

Yes
CDD
244



MINISTER-PRESIDENT

See by
Rm.
CAF.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Nr: U 0886042116.

The Hague, 18th April, 1986.

Dear Prime-Minister,

I was told that, during the reception given by the British Government at Lancaster House on Wednesday 19th March for delegates attending the Conference of Ministers of Health on Narcotic and Psychotropic Drug Abuse, you had a brief conversation in the presence of the Right Hon. Mr Norman Fowler, with Mr R.J. Samson, who represented at the conference the Netherlands Minister of Welfare, Health and Culture.

If I am well informed, you then expressed concern about problems for the British authorities caused by illicit drug trafficking from Amsterdam Airport.

In this context I would like to stress that, certainly, the Netherlands too give a high priority to the struggle against trafficking, nationally as well as internationally. I can assure you that we are eager to contribute to multilateral and bilateral cooperation to fight this very serious problem which confronts us all.

Recently our "Opium Act" was amended with a view to facilitate effective action against illicit traffic of drugs, in particular by incriminating certain preparatory acts and by extending extra territorial jurisdiction over such acts, as well as acts of participation in and attempts to drug trafficking or its abetment. Earlier this year our parliament approved a policy to use under-cover investigation.

Ratification of the 1972 Amending Protocol to the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs of 1961 can be expected in the near future. Possibilities for extradition of drug traffickers will thus be significantly enhanced.

-The Netherlands.....-

The Right Honorable
Mrs Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister of
the United Kingdom
10, Downing Street
London.

The Netherlands are actively participating in the work of the Pompidou Group also with regard to law enforcement issues. I have in mind the current proceedings of the Group concerning forfeiture of assets obtained from drug trafficking and illegal trafficking by commercial carriers.

At the executive level many formal and informal contacts exist between our police authorities and those of neighbouring countries like yours. Furthermore, Dutch liaison drug officers are attached to the Netherlands Embassies in a number of countries all over the world. If, in your opinion, the already existing bilateral co-operation between the United Kingdom and the Netherlands should be improved, we could use the existing infrastructure which has already proved to be of great value.

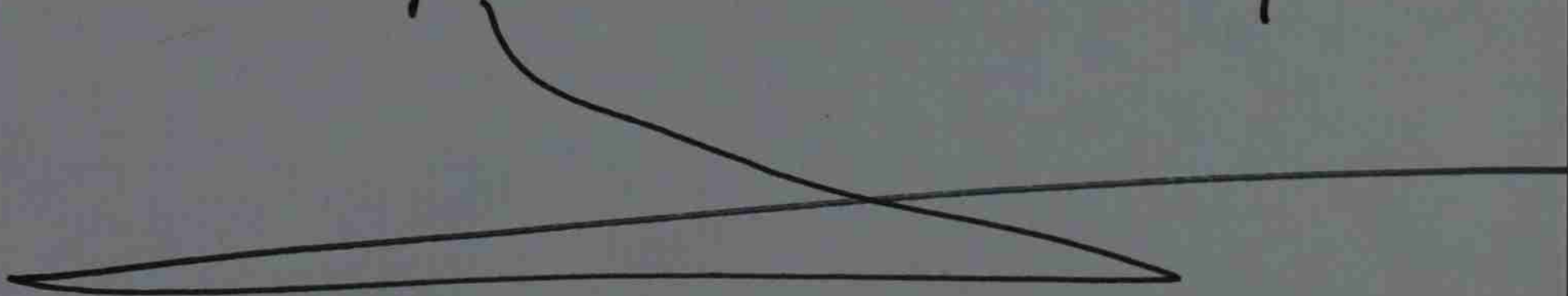
We strongly believe in a balanced approach and we wish to link our enforcement policies closely with our health and social policies.

In this context I may add that we fully recognize the importance of an improved coordination of the intersectorial efforts at the executive level for the gradual decrease of drug abuse, inter alia in Amsterdam. The results are encouraging and we will continue our efforts in this field.

I understood that the Home Secretary, Mr Hurd, will visit The Hague next week, where he will meet the Netherlands Minister of Justice, Mr Korthals Altes, and the Statesecretary of Health, Mr Van der Reijden. I think this may provide a good opportunity to explore more in detail possibilities for further bilateral co-operation.

I am looking forward to
seeing you again during
the next economic summit
in Tokyo.

Yours sincerely


Ruud Lubbers



Subject
ci ops;
master.



PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 77/86

advanced copy

The Right Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher M.P.
Prime Minister,
Downing Street 10

I was told that, during the reception given by the British Government at Lancaster House on Wednesday 19 March for delegates attending the Conference of Ministers of Health on Narcotic and Psychotropic Drug Abuse, you had a brief conversation in the presence of the Right Hon. Mr. Norman Fowler, with Mr. R.J. Samson, who represented at the Conference the Netherlands Minister of Welfare, Health and Culture. If I am well informed, you then expressed concern about problems for the British Authorities caused by illicit drug trafficking from Amsterdam airport.

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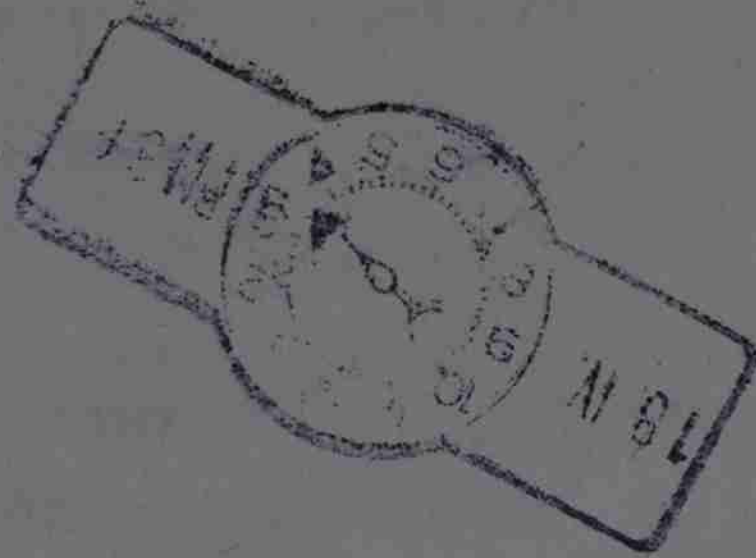
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I am looking forward to seeing you again during the next economic summit in Tokyo.



HARTLEY BOOTH

DRUGS

I have alerted Nigel Wicks to the fact that your progress report on drugs, and in particular the international aspects of the problem, will be on the agenda for the forthcoming bilateral with the Home Secretary, planned for 28 April.

I have also had a word with Stephen Boys Smith, and he agreed that the right course would be for you to have a word with Neville Nagler to let him know of the points in your minute of 11 April to the Prime Minister.

MLA

MARK ADDISON

15 April 1986

SL3AQA

MR. WICKS

DRUGS

Hartley Booth put up a note, which the Prime Minister saw over the weekend, with a progress report on drugs (attached if you wish to look at it). Rather than write to the Home Office, as Hartley suggested, the Prime Minister agreed to put the question of drugs, and in particular international aspects of the problem, on the agenda for the forthcoming bilateral later this month with the Home Secretary.

If you agree, I will alert Stephen Boys-Smith to this, so the Home Office can be doing some homework meanwhile.

MLA

(Mark Addison)

14 April 1986

NEA.

Yes, pl put on the agenda.
It would be worth ^{Hartley} tipping off
the Home Sec's office &
the sort of things he is
putting to the P. M.

N.L.U

15.4

Prime Minister. ②

SPIC NW
SBS.

A progress report from Herley Boord on drugs.
I think however you would ~~be~~ be better to
discuss the international position with the Home

11 April 1986

PRIME MINISTER

Secretary of your bilateral later this month,
rather than write
at this stage.

DRUGS - REPORT AND ACTION NEEDED

Latest Information

MEA 11/4

Although the Government campaign is making some progress,
it is experiencing choppy water. There is ample evidence that
cocaine is becoming more popular, though the predicted tidal
wave has not yet swept over us.

Progress is demonstrated by the fact that the price paid
to drug couriers to bring illicit drugs to the United Kingdom
is higher than payments made to similar couriers to most parts
of Western Europe. On the other hand, the trough of our
performance is measured by the fact that the street price is
down. The average price is £60 per gramme of heroin compared
to about £80 last year. The purity of heroin is high, 40%
compared, for example, to New York where it is only 6% pure.
It is plentiful. Seizures in all the main substances have
increased except for cannabis. Seizure statistics are
contained in the attached Customs document (Flag 1).

Action Already Taken

In addition to the list of initiatives in the strategy
document (Flag 2), one of the most imaginative recent

Government actions was for the Customs to install a freephone to elicit information about drug pedlars and traffickers. This is likely to be highly successful. The telephone has also been one of the principal tools of the vastly successful BBC 'Drug Watch' programme. A booklet, to be published shortly by 'Drug Watch', is attached to this minute (Flag 3). Propaganda and education, both Government and private, is increasing. The "Just Say No" campaign of the BBC is so excellent that even the Home Secretary decided to pin on one of their badges this week!

Current Needs and Priorities

1. There is a continuing and growing problem with the Customs, who see themselves paid considerably less than the police for very dangerous work of a similar kind.
2. The top priority for the Government campaign must continue to be education, but we must also arrange better international agreements. We have identified the following four areas that need urgent co-operation agreements:
 - a. Agreements mutually to disclose bank records.
 - b. New records to provide data on the international movement of significant sums of money. US legislation might be a precedent.

- c. Agreements to allow the freezing of foreign assets and bank accounts.
- d. Easier extradition.

These would be good material for the UK Presidency of the EEC.

3. The Police and Criminal Evidence Act allow the detention of suspects for a maximum of 96 hours. Couriers who have swallowed drugs can hold out longer than this period. We must explore whether there is a case for amending this Act.

4. Liaison between Britain and other countries is admitted by many officers to be poor.

5. We may miss an important opportunity to engage sport in our drugs campaign. DoE sport have not yet been included in our Ministerial Committee, even though David Teasdale says we have a significant problem with drugs in sport, and we have undertaken some initiatives in sport already that have not been linked with our main effort.

International

Newcomers in the world drug trade are Japan and parts of Africa. The Chinese Triads are increasing their activity in Western Europe. The South American cocaine threat continues.

Neville Nagler

Conclusion

We recommend that you write to the Home Secretary:

- proposing an international initiative for mutual assistance to tackle drug abuse coinciding with your Presidency of the EEC;
- urging that sport be included in the Government campaign against drugs.

Following the receipt of the 'Drug Watch' book, it would also be helpful if you were able to write to the BBC saying you support what they are doing.



HARTLEY BOOTH

Wile SH
HARTLEY BOOTH

DRUG ABUSE

The Prime Minister saw your note of 28 February over the weekend and I attach a copy of it.

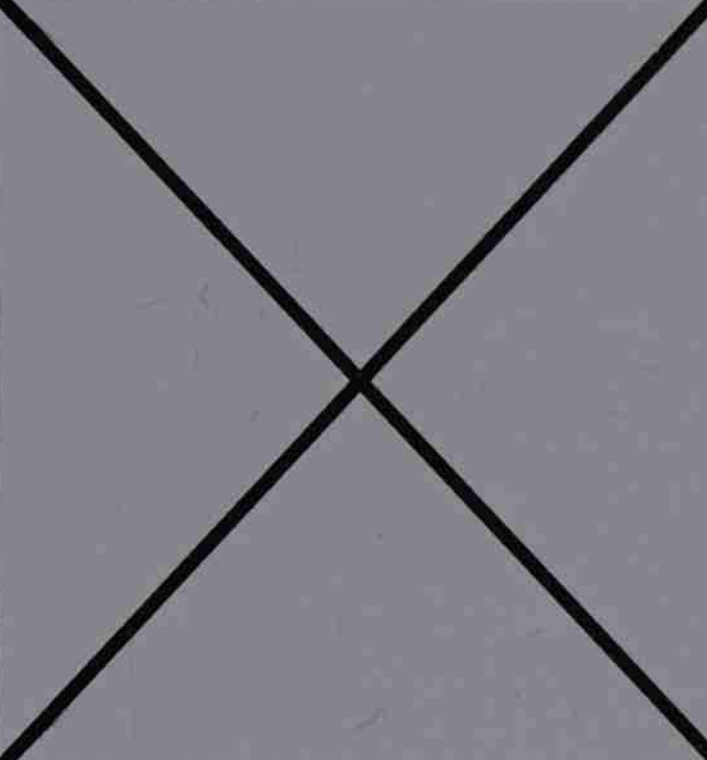
You will note that she has not expressed a view on the question of the subject of needles for addicts. Before submitting the note I spoke to Robert Gordon in Malcolm Rifkind's office. His opinion was in fact that the working group were still considering the matter, and that Mr. MacKay was firmly against any relaxation of Government controls on the supply of needles. Meanwhile, it seems that the pharmacists themselves therefore, through their professional association, are in the process of easing up, and offering syringes for sale.

I think it would be helpful if you kept in touch with the discussions as they unfold. At present, the subject appears to be tackled in a Scottish context. But in the end the policy will need to agree for the UK as a whole.

MARK ADDISON

3 March 1986

SL2AFC

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>2078</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: <i>Minute from Haffley Booth to Prime Minister dated 28 February 1986</i>	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>1 December 2015</i> <i>CH Wayland</i>
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
NUMBER NOT USED	
MISSING (TNA USE ONLY)	
DOCUMENT PUT IN PLACE (TNA USE ONLY)	

Instructions for completion of Dummy Card

Use black or blue pen to complete form.

Use the card for one piece or for each extract removed from a different place within a piece.

Enter the department and series,
eg. HO 405, J 82.

Enter the piece and item references, .
eg. 28, 1079, 84/1, 107/3

Enter extract details if it is an extract rather than a whole piece.
This should be an indication of what the extract is,
eg. Folio 28, Indictment 840079, E107, Letter dated 22/11/1995.
Do not enter details of why the extract is sensitive.

If closed under the FOI Act, enter the FOI exemption numbers applying to the closure, eg. 27(1), 40(2).

Sign and date next to the reason why the record is not available to the public ie. Closed under FOI exemption; Retained under section 3(4) of the Public Records Act 1958; Temporarily retained; Missing at transfer or Number not used.

AN EPIDEMIC OF AIDS-RELATED VIRUS INFECTION AMONGST
INTRAVENOUS DRUG ABUSERS IN A GENERAL PRACTICE

Robertson J.R., Bucknall A.B.V., Welsby P.D.,
Roberts J.J.K., Inglis J.M., Peutherer J.R. and Brettle R.P.

This work was supported by the Roseanne Campbell Hepatitis
Research Fund and by the Scottish Home and Health Department.

SUMMARY

A general practice population of 164 intravenous drug abusers (IVDA's) was screened for HTLV-III/LAV infection, the largest community group of IVDA's yet examined in Britain. 83 (51%) of those tested were found to have antibodies to the AIDS-related virus, well above the prevalence reported elsewhere in Britain and Europe, and approaching that observed in New York City. However the timing of negative sera being taken and continued drug use suggest that as many as 85% of this population could now be infected. The infection became epidemic in late 1983 and early 1984, thereafter becoming endemic. The practice of needle sharing, but not duration of drug misuse, was associated with seropositivity, suggesting that even short-term or casual users are at risk of infection. The predictability of future HTLV-III/LAV-related disease and the potential spread of infection into the non-drug abusing heterosexual population by this group have significant health care implications.

that you can be relieved of the predicament in which you have been placed by the Leader of the House, who made what was clearly a statement on a point of order, is for him to repeat that statement with any other additions that he might wish to make after business today. There are precedents for that procedure. I would urge that that course be adopted. Having heard that, perhaps the Leader of the House will now say that he will comply with the Orders of the House because he has breached them and placed you in a difficult and embarrassing position.

Mr. Frank Dobson (Holborn and St. Pancras): He could do it now.

Dr. Owen: It would be preferable if he would do it now.

Mr. Nigel Spearing (Newham, South): Further to that point of order, Mr. Speaker. Can you clarify the difference of understanding about what constitutes a point of order? As I understand it, a point of order relates to procedure and not to the substance of any matter. When the Leader of the House rose, you were not to know whether he was courteously going to tell the House when the next statement about the matter he mentioned would occur. The House is aware that you in no way caused the difficulty, Mr. Speaker. In that case, would it not be for the benefit of all, and the procedures of the House, without taking any further time from private Members' business, for the statement to be repeated at 2.30 pm this afternoon so that the substance of the matter may be subject to the normal questioning after a statement?

Mr. Speaker: It is not the responsibility of the Chair to call for statements, but I take the point. I understood that the leader of the Liberal party suggested that such matters should be discussed through the usual channels. That is perhaps the best method for dealing with them.

Cocaine Kits (London)

11.17 am

Mr. Gerald Kaufman (Manchester, Gorton) (*by private notice*) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will make a statement about what action he intends to take in response to the disclosure that cocaine kits are being sold in London.

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. David Mellor): I share the concern that is felt by right hon. and hon. Members over this attempt to make money through the encouragement of drug misuse. I understand that such kits are made up of everyday articles, the sale of which is not in itself an offence. The police would, however, respond immediately to any suggestion that illegal drugs were being sold with these kits. I shall review again the practicability of making the sale of these kits a criminal offence.

Mr. Kaufman: The Minister will be aware that the entire nation must have been shocked to see on last night's television news, and to read in today's press, how easy it is to buy cocaine snorting kits in London, following complaints by some of my hon. Friends about a similar abuse in Scotland. Is he aware that my assistant visited Carnaby street this morning and saw displayed in the shop window of an establishment named "Carnaby Centre" several items which could be employed for drug use, together with a promise of more being available in the basement, which is blatantly named "The Head Shock". We note what the Minister has said but we require some commitment for action.

We ask the Government to consider inserting an amendment in the Drug Trafficking Offences Bill, or a provision in the Budget, or both, to seek to prevent these activities. The Home Secretary is the police authority for London and he will understand that we expect action from him to stamp out this scandal.

Mr. Mellor: As the right hon. Gentleman knows, I have been extremely grateful to the Opposition, including himself and the hon. Member for Birmingham, Erdington (Mr. Corbett), for the assistance that they have given in facilitating the passage of the Drug Trafficking Offences Bill. I should like to have the chance of discussing this matter with him or the hon. Member for Erdington.

It seems that the problem of selecting the right vehicle for changing the law is not the central one. The problem lies in finding a way of penalising the sale of what is a collection of everyday items such as mirrors, which have a normal use. I agree with the right hon. Gentleman that at a time when the entire community is outraged by the prospects of drug misuse—we saw on last night's news bulletin the damage that can be caused to newly born babies following their innocence in the womb by cocaine misuse—and the evidence that makes it clear beyond peradventure that cocaine is utterly destructive of life and not a champagne drug. Against that background, we should respond to the challenge and the affront to us all that is represented by the Carnaby street window display. I hope that we can have some discussions about that and bring forward a solution that the House would want to endorse.

Mr. Speaker: I remind the House that this is a private Member's Bill day and, in fairness to the hon. Member for

[Mr. Speaker]

Banff and Buchan (Mr. McQuarrie), I must draw attention to the fact that the statement concerns cocaine kits being sold in London and nowhere else.

Mr. Cyril D. Townsend (Bexleyheath): Is my hon. Friend aware that there is considerable concern in greater London that such kits, which are clearly designed for one despicable purpose, are readily available in shops in greater London? Does he understand that his statement will be warmly welcomed, provided that it leads to prompt and effective action to deal with the problem once and for all?

Mr. Mellor: I am grateful for what my hon. Friend has said.

Dr. M. S. Miller (East Kilbride): Surely the hon. Gentleman must realise that there is a big difference between items which are sold individually which have all kinds of uses and a pack which is specially produced containing items for the specific use of taking drugs.

Mr. Mellor: That is plainly the point that we must address in trying to see whether the prohibition can apply. The hon. Gentleman will know that the Government supported the successful attempt of my hon. Friend the Member for Tynemouth (Mr. Trotter) last year to deal with the sale of glue-sniffing kits, although they contain the substance itself — glue — whereas these kits do not contain prohibited drugs. However, I assure the House that, having seen on my visit last April the problems that the paraphernalia causes in the United States, no one is more enthusiastic than me to find a workable way of outlawing it. I assure the hon. Gentleman that I shall set to the business of finding such an answer with appropriate vigour.

Sir Brandon Rhys Williams (Kensington): Does not this incident suggest that the Government's approach to the drug menace is not on sufficiently broad a basis and that we should look at dangerous drugs, such as cocaine, heroin and cannabis, to see who is marketing them, to whom and why there is a demand for each of them? Ought we not then to tackle each of the different markets and encourage people to resist the temptation to buy the drugs and not only prevent people from selling them?

Mr. Mellor: That is exactly what we do. The Government have recently announced the continuation of a prevention campaign aimed particularly at heroin, that campaign having had most encouraging results for those most at risk — the teenage population. We have a sophisticated approach which recognises the differences between certain drugs and their attractiveness. I want to make it clear that, although we have focused on heroin as public enemy No. 1 in Britain, cocaine is every bit as grave in its impact and no one should be attracted to taking it by the fact that these rather twee little kits are available both here and across the Atlantic.

Mr. Chris Smith (Islington, South and Finsbury): Does not the information demonstrate yet again the alarming spread of drug misuse in London? Therefore, is it not sad that the special drugs money initiative launched by the Secretary of State for Social Services has largely bypassed London? Will he now make representations to ensure that facilities in the capital for combating drug misuse are increased?

Mr. Mellor: The hon. Gentleman is wrong in saying that money has bypassed London. It has not. He will know from his own community of the support that is being given to the City Roads project and to other community groups. Indeed, I visited Islington and sought to lend such weight as I have to the real efforts that are being made in his borough. I can assure him that the interests of London are in no sense being neglected.

Mr. Teddy Taylor (Southend, East): Will my hon. Friend consider again whether existing powers give him the right to ban the sale of everyday items, bearing in mind that last year the Government used existing powers to ban the sale of 120 million erasers on the flimsy ground that they might encourage children to sniff them? Given the use of the powers then, why cannot exactly the same priorities operate for these kits?

Mr. Mellor: Obviously, as part of looking again at the problem I shall take account of that, but I want the House to understand that this is a matter that the United States has already had to confront. There is no federal law prohibiting the sale of such paraphernalia in the United States because of similar difficulties. A recent development that is of some use is a draft model that has been produced by the drug enforcement administration for use by individual state assemblies. Obviously, as part of our efforts to find an effective way of dealing with the matter in the United Kingdom, we shall want to look at that. However, I urge the House not to think that the banning of items in everyday use such as a mirror, which even hon. Members would acknowledge using occasionally in private moments, is an easy matter. We must be clear that we have made a distinction between those everyday items when sold together and those everyday items when sold separately.

Mr. Charles Kennedy (Ross, Cromarty and Skye): The Minister and the Government lay great emphasis on the campaign that they are waging against drug abuse and the related activities, so why has it taken a television programme to highlight the problem in London before steps, in the form described in his statement, are taken? As the Government are taking steps in London, and as the Minister will have seen the early-day motion, will he put pressure on his ministerial colleagues for similar steps to be taken in Scotland as the same problem has existed there for some time now? The Edinburgh study, which I hope the hon. Gentleman has looked at, and the early-day motion, points surely to a causal link between the rising level of unemployment among young people and the rising use of drug abuse in Scotland.

Mr. Mellor: The hon. Gentleman makes a variety of different points and I cannot deal with them all beyond saying that no link between the taking of drugs and unemployment has been established. The taking of drugs is much more closely linked to pressure from friends and curiosity.

Of course, a television programme was not needed to draw our attention to the problem. I have already made it clear that I have been aware of the problems of paraphernalia from my visit to the United States. But we have tackled the problem of drug misuse by establishing priorities. For instance, a Bill dealing with the important matter of drug traffickers' assets is going through the House. Now that it appears that the paraphernalia problem

is likely to be more of a feature in Britain than we expected might be the case, we shall obviously want to look again at the practicality of making it illegal. Not every dimension of a difficult problem such as drug misuse can be tackled at once and priorities have to be established.

Mr. Nicholas Fairbairn (Perth and Kinross): There are Scots in London and I am one of them. The right hon. Member for Manchester, Gorton (Mr. Kaufman) specifically mentioned Scotland. May I give some reflection on something which could be helpful?

Mr. Speaker: No. The hon. and learned Gentleman should ask a question, not give his reflection.

Mr. Fairbairn: Then let me ask a reflective question, Mr. Speaker. If a person invites someone into his shop to buy a bank robbery kit by advertising it, that would be a criminal offence at common law. Any assistance to commit a criminal offence is an offence. If someone invites a person into a shop to buy something which will help him to take a drug, that is also a criminal offence. Why are they not prosecuted in London?

Mr. Mellor: I am not sure that my hon. and learned Friend's knowledge of the law of England quite matches his knowledge of the law of Scotland. As I have said, we want now to look at the practicality of making the sale of such kits unlawful. I know that that will receive the co-operation of all parties in the House. If an easy and practicable way can be found, it will be inserted in legislation. It can be said about all hon. Members that we are wising up to the problem only after a television broadcast, but now that the House recognises that this is a problem that may require legislative action we must look with all appropriate expedition at ways in which that might be done.

Mr. Lewis Carter-Jones (Eccles): I can understand the Minister's difficulty, but will he sit down and look again with the Metropolitan police at the film taken in Carnaby street and decide whether an offence was committed, because some of us believe that it was?

Mr. Mellor: If an offence was committed, I can assure the House that the police will be alerted to that and will need no prompting from me. I saw the film and it caused me considerable distress. I hope that I have shown to the House today that, just as we have tried to tackle with vigour other manifestations of drug misuse, we shall want to look at this one. That is something in which all of us will have a part to play.

Mr. Laurie Pavitt (Brent, South): The hon. Gentleman referred to expedition. Will he discuss the

problem with the Minister for Health? Cocaine sniffing and use of these kits in London have become socially acceptable. In 1983, there were fewer than 100 deaths from the taking of heroin, methadone and the hard drugs but, in the past three years, there has been a flood. The Minister is right to give cocaine abuse higher priority than all other drug abuses.

Mr. Mellor: The problem in the United Kingdom, as in other countries, is poly-drug misuse. Of the drugs that are misused, heroin is the most prominent, with amphetamines coming second. We have rightly been put on notice about the glut of cocaine available in South America and about the possibility of Europe becoming flooded with cocaine as a result of the drug traffickers' wish to develop a further market.

Although cocaine misuse remains a problem in the United Kingdom, in recent months there has not been the great growth in cocaine misuse that some had predicted. We are not at all complacent about that. Customs has four teams of specially designated officers to deal with cocaine, which has led to remarkable drug seizures. Obviously, we shall continue to look at all aspects of the cocaine drug problem, including this one, to ascertain whether more needs to be done.

Mr. John Ryman (Blyth Valley): May I suggest to the hon. Gentleman that, pending fresh legislation, there are powers under the existing law to deal with this specific case? First, will the hon. Gentleman consider the law relating to incitement? Prosecutions for incitement are relatively rare. The facts of this case may well give rise to a prosecution for incitement. Secondly, will he consider the analogy of the Prevention of Crime Act 1953 in the offensive weapons-type case, where a perfectly innocent implement becomes an offensive weapon and the onus of proof shifts? That power might also fit this case. Will the hon. Gentleman consider those two specific proposals?

Mr. Mellor: I know that the solicitor for the Metropolitan police will want to look at all the legal points that have been made. This reminds me somewhat of President Lincoln at the height of the civil war who, on being told how easy it was to deal with certain matters, said, "The trouble is that all the best generals are writing for the newspapers". I know that the solicitor for the Metropolitan police, whose grasp of the criminal law is, no doubt, more than adequate, will want to look at these points. If it is as easy as the hon. Gentleman has suggested, action will be taken. If it is not as easy as he suggested, as I suspect, it may be for us to take action. That is the gravamen of what I have been saying to the House.

Civil Service Unions (Political Funds)

11.31 am

The Minister of State, Treasury (Mr. Peter Brooke): I have been asked to make a statement concerning the position of non-industrial Civil Service trade unions and their possible establishment of political funds.

Political funds are unnecessary unless the Civil Service trade unions are proposing to participate in party political activities or to campaign for or against political parties or candidates. Provided this is not the main purpose of their campaign material or activities, they remain free, like other trade unions, to spend money from their general funds to promote and to defend their members' interests. This was the position before the Trade Union Act 1984 came into force and remains the position now.

If, wholly unexpectedly, unions were to experience difficulties in the courts on challenges that money had been wrongly spent from their general funds of activities to defend or improve their members' terms and conditions of employment, the Government would be ready to contemplate changing the law.

Any union that proposed to establish a political fund would have to consult its members by secret ballot. It is important that, in casting their votes, all union members are fully aware that a fund is not necessary unless party political activities are planned. Union members should know also that the creation of such funds will not be seen as in keeping with the political neutrality of a Civil Service that has to serve Governments of any political persuasion. Moreover, in the Government's view, political affiliation—a further but separate possible step—would run wholly counter to this need for political neutrality.

Dr. Oonagh McDonald (Thurrock): Will the hon. Gentleman admit that the Government's view is that these ballots are not about affiliation to the Labour Party? Is he aware that the question that members of some Civil Service unions are about to answer is set by the certification officer, a Government official? Does he agree that members of the Civil Service unions in question are being asked whether they should be allowed, not forced, to pay into a political fund?

Will the hon. Gentleman agree that, if it is acceptable for companies which advocate and benefit from privatisation to have a voice in Parliament through their links with Members of Parliament, it is right for those workers who will suffer and have suffered from privatisation to have a view?

Is it not plain that the proposition in the statement—that, if a union is taken to court on the ground that its general funds had been wrongly spent on activities to defend or to improve its members' terms and conditions of employment and the union suffers a massive setback in the courts, the Government will then consider the position—is completely unacceptable? Is the hon. Gentleman aware that no union can possibly act on the basis of hope but no certainty that its activities are legal? The hon. Gentleman's comments are utterly and completely unreasonable.

Is it not quite staggering that the Government who have passed legislation and insisted on changes in the Trade Union Act 1913 have now made a statement which implies

that they do not know what their own legislation means? If the Government are not sure what it means, how can the unions know?

As for the references to political neutrality, is the hon. Gentleman aware that the Civil Service Union and the Inland Revenue Staff Federation, both of which are about to hold a political ballot, are in the "politically free" category? Is he aware that, when the Post Office was a Government Department, the then Union of Post Office Workers, which is now the Union of Communication Workers, and the then Post Office Engineering Union, which is now the National Communications Union, had political funds? Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the industrial Civil Service is represented by trade unions such as the General, Municipal, Boilermakers and Allied Trades Union, and the Transport and General Workers Union, virtually all of which have political funds?

There can be no justification for the statement. The Minister should withdraw it at once.

Mr. Brooke: The reason I made a statement was that I was asked to make one. I congratulate the hon. Lady on having asked a series of questions that was considerably longer than my statement.

The provision in the Trade Union Act 1984 which brought the 1913 Act up to date has not altered the freedom of trade unions to promote or to defend their members' interests where the main purpose of such activities is not party political. Questions on interpretation of that legislation are, of course, for my right hon. and learned Friend the Paymaster General and Minister for Employment.

Mr. David Steel (Tweeddale, Ettrick and Lauderdale): Does the Minister recall that, during the passage of the 1984 legislation, we constantly complained about the ambiguity in the legislation on balloting for political funds?

The Paymaster General and Minister for Employment (Mr. Kenneth Clarke): No.

Mr. Steel: Yes. We pressed for a clear indication in the law that people should be allowed individually to contract in to political funds for the purpose of supporting political parties. The Government refused to do that. They brought this ambiguity on themselves. Surely the current position is that the political funds are not wholly in existence to support political parties. Indeed, the unions have won the ballots on the basis of that statement. The Minister is wrong. Have not the Government doubly brought this ambiguity on themselves by creating such antagonism, generally and individually, in the Civil Service?

Mr. Brooke: The ambiguity to which the right hon. Gentleman refers does not exist. There has not been a change since the 1913 Act. It is for the right hon. Gentleman to demonstrate, in terms of the wording of the 1913 Act compared with the 1984 Act, that such a change has occurred.

Mr. Terry Davis (Birmingham, Hodge Hill): Why has it taken more than five months and a threat of legal action for the Inland Revenue to confirm that it will meet the obligations imposed by the 1984 Act on every employer to co-operate in the arrangements for holding these ballots on political funds? Does the hon. Gentleman agree that, as the Inland Revenue Staff Federation has received legal advice which is the total opposite of the Government's



ccBG
NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

WHITEHALL

LONDON SW1A 2AZ

SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR
NORTHERN IRELAND

The Rt Hon Douglas Hurd CBE MP
Home Secretary
50 Queen Anne's Gate
LONDON
SW1H 9AT

14th January 1985

MBPM

Dear Secretary of State,

CONFISCATION OF THE PROFITS OF DRUG TRAFFICKING

You may remember that when you were here we were considering the possibility of having the Drug Trafficking Offences Bill extend directly to Northern Ireland. However, once the Bill became available to us in draft, it was apparent that extensive modifications would have had to be made to an already complex set of provisions. I have therefore approved the introduction of similar legislation for Northern Ireland through a separate Order in Council subject to affirmative resolution.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, Members of H & L Committees, the Attorney General, the Lord Advocate, the First Parliamentary Counsel and Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours Sincerely
Edward
(Private Secretary)

for T K

(Approved by the Secretary of State
and signed in his absence in
Northern Ireland)





10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

13 January 1986

VIDEO PACKAGE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE ON DRUG MISUSE

Thank you for your recent undated letter. The Prime Minister was grateful for the synopsis of the video which you provided.

As you know, the Prime Minister does not see any need to look at the video before it is released, but we shall bear in mind the possibility of arranging a viewing at some point in the future.

Mark Addison

Miss Jane McKessack
Department of Health and Social Security.

SKH

②
PRIME MINISTER

ppos please.

DHSS VIDEO FOR YOUNG PEOPLE ON DRUG MISUSE

In May last year you said you might be interested in seeing
the video which DHSS were drawing up.

I attach a note from them which explains who the video is
aimed at, and what its two elements contain.

I really do not think you have time to look at the video at
present, but we shall bear in mind the possibility for the
future.

MEH

me

Mark Addison

10 January 1986

BM2ABO

DOUBLE TAKE: A VIDEO PACKAGE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE ABOUT DRUG MISUSE:
PRODUCED FOR DHSS

Double Take is a video package for young people on the subject of drug misuse. It contains two programmes, each consisting of a video and accompanying written materials for use by teachers with young people aged about 12-15 years. Teachers can choose to use some or all of the material according to their needs. The programmes which have differences in style and emphasis are entitled -

- 'A Little Bit of Give and Take'
- 'Thinking Twice'

A LITTLE BIT OF GIVE AND TAKE

A three part trigger video featuring Dennis Waterman and George Cole, with teaching materials by Teachers' Advisory Council on Alcohol and Drug Education (TACADE). The format of this video will be familiar to viewers of the 'Minder' television series. Terry (Dennis Waterman) is given the task of looking after Shaun, the 14 year old son of one of Arthur's (George Cole) friends. Shaun finds himself in new surroundings in London, having to cope with some challenging situations. At a party he is offered drugs by friends. Does he accept the offer? What does Terry think of drugs? Can he offer advice?

The accompanying teacher's notes and hand-out materials enable young people to explore their own attitudes, values and feelings about drugs and to practise relevant coping skills.

THINKING TWICE

Teaching manual, hand-out materials and four part video by the Institute for the Study of Drug Dependence.

This integrated package aims to increase young people's knowledge about both legal and illegal drugs and about the situations where choices about drugs have to be made.

The accompanying teachers' notes introduce the video, provide hand-out materials, and summarise the reasons for adopting this approach to health and social education.

The video was shot entirely in the studio with a cast of young actors. It aims to stimulate thinking, questioning, discussion and role play.

Availability of package

The package is being made available free for retention to all secondary schools in England and Wales who apply for it. The Parliamentary Under Secretaries for Health and Education will be writing to all headteachers of secondary schools to endorse the package and to enclose a publicity leaflet/order form.

January 1986

DHSS

Home Affairs

Drugs

PT3





DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY
Alexander Fleming House, Elephant & Castle, London SE1 6BY

Telephone 01-407 5522

From the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Health

Mark Addison Esq
10 Downing Street
London SW1

Dear Mark

VIDEO PACKAGE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE ON DRUG MISUSE

We spoke the other day and I explained that our Secretary of State will be launching 'Double Take', a video package for young people on drug misuse at 9.00 am on Monday 13 January. At an earlier stage of the preparation of the package the Prime Minister had registered an interest in seeing this before it was released.

I understand that the Prime Minister may not now be able to find time to look at the video material before it is launched. I am, therefore, attaching as an annex to this letter, a brief synopsis of the content and aims of the package. Should you wish to have a showing at any point please contact me and we will make arrangements.

Yours ever
Jane

JANE McKESSACK
Private Secretary

Exc.

rec'd 9/1/86 ce HB

CLAP PT 2

Cena I see the file pl? I remember
the PM only to see this, but

I doubt it there is a need now.

MEM 9/1

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January 1986

DHSS



CONFIDENTIAL

HOUSE OF LORDS,
SW1A 0PW

13 December 1985

NBPM

My dear Willie.

CONFISCATION OF THE PROCEEDS OF DRUG TRAFFICKING

I have read Douglas Hurd's further letter of 9th December 1985 and the one from John Moore of 2nd December 1985 which he enclosed with it.

I appreciate Douglas Hurd's need to gain access to all material information in the search for the proceeds of drug trafficking but I still think that some protection for information compulsorily obtained by the Inland Revenue is required as well.

I suggest that we might be able to meet both these purposes if the Inland Revenue, in addition to having an opportunity to argue that an application is simply unmeritorious or potentially injurious to a wholly innocent third party, might also be enabled, in the last resort, to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to refuse to disclose particularly sensitive taxpayer information on grounds of public policy.

I see this as a desirable addition to the proposed settlement of issues as set out in John Moore's letter of 2nd December but these matters must be for Nigel Lawson and Douglas Hurd and I am content to leave the final decision to them.

Douglas Hurd has also raised the question whether there should be provision for statutory compensation where assets have, in the event, proved to have been frozen needlessly.

The Right Honourable
The Viscount Whitelaw, CH., MC.,

cont...2

CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

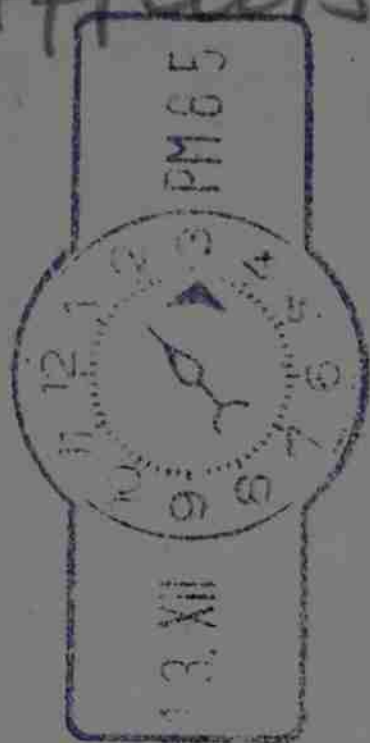
As a freezing order is only to be granted by the High Court where the Court is satisfied that the assets come from the defendant, I do not find such an order sufficiently analogous to any made on application in the course of civil proceedings to require statutory compensation as an equivalent to cross-undertakings. I share Douglas Hurd's view that compensation should be put on the basis that it would be available only where there has been a serious default by the prosecuting authorities.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, other members of H Committee and the Solicitor-General and to Sir George Engle and Sir Robert Armstrong.

yrs: sincerely;

Hailsham

Home Affairs. Drugs Pt 3.



CONFIDENTIAL



1. David Wrayson - to see
2. NBPM

QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SW1H 9AT

9 December 1985

Dear William

CONFISCATION OF THE PROCEEDS OF DRUG TRAFFICKING

I have seen a copy of Quintin Hailsham's letter to you of 29 November, concerning the proposal that the police or prosecution should be able to seek a court order requiring Inland Revenue to produce relevant information in drug trafficking cases.

As you know, it was not my original intention that these matters should be subject to court order: at first I asked that the police should be given access to information in drug trafficking investigations on the same basis as Customs and Excise, by an extension of s.127 of the Finance Act 1972. But Nigel Lawson and John Moore expressed concern about the implications for confidentiality and, on reflection, I was prepared to accept that the Bill should, in connection with drug trafficking, put the Inland Revenue on a similar footing to the banks - that is, that disclosure should be dependent upon the order of a court. The concordat reached with John Moore and Nigel Lawson on this is helpfully set out in John Moore's subsequent letter of 2 December to David Mellor, of which I enclose a copy.

As Quintin says, our proposal is for information about third parties, as well as about the suspected drug trafficker himself, to be obtainable in this way. We are agreed that this should be possible only in strictly limited circumstances. The court would have to be satisfied that any information about a third party was likely to be of substantial value to the investigation of the suspect's drug trafficking: there could be no question of authorising "fishing expeditions". Whilst I appreciate Quintin's concern about third parties, I do feel that where this test is satisfied, such information should be made available to the investigation, given the widespread adoption of laundering techniques in drug trafficking. To do less than this would be to continue to put Inland Revenue information on a different footing from information held by the bank and other institutions whose relationship with the customer is normally one of confidence; and we do not believe that such a difference can readily be sustained, either so far as the effectiveness of the Bill is concerned or politically. The purpose of the disclosure is, as Quintin says, quite distinct from the ascertainment of liability for the collection of revenue. But it should be borne in mind that, where it can be shown that a third party received the proceeds of drug

/trafficking from

The Rt Hon Viscount Whitelaw, CH, MC

CONFIDENTIAL

trafficking from a trafficker with the intention of helping him retain control of that money, then the third party will himself be guilty of a drug trafficking offence under the new Bill.

My overriding concern is that where Inland Revenue holds information which is relevant to the investigation of drug trafficking and the tracing of its proceeds, that information should be made available to the police or prosecuting authority. Whether the initiative comes from the police seeking a production order from the court, or from Inland Revenue requesting leave to disclose, is for us of secondary importance, provided of course that both alternatives would result in relevant information being made available. I confess, however, that I am not quite sure what it would be that, on Quintin's proposal, the court would be deciding: the Crown would already have come to the conclusion that the disclosure was proper and must override the normal requirement of confidentiality. As I understand it, however, it is not likely that the Inland Revenue will resist an application (under the procedure that John Moore and we propose) on quite this ground. What they need is an opportunity to argue that an application is simply unmeritorious or potentially injurious to a wholly innocent third party, and the procedures which we propose would give them an opportunity to put such arguments before the court. Would it not be rather unusual for a Government department to have to apply to a court for leave to do something it considers justified in the wider public interest?

For these reasons I think that the arrangements on which John Moore and we have now reached a settlement is preferable to the new proposal which Quintin has made.

David Mellor is writing to John MacGregor about the financial arrangements to be made in connection with the Bill. There is one other matter which I ought to mention as being outstanding from H Committee's earlier exchanges. The coming Bill will confer power on the High Court to restrain assets which would be liable to be confiscated on a trafficker's conviction, in order to prevent their disposal between his arrest and the end of criminal proceedings. Our original intention was to allow the court, as I understand is done in normal civil cases, to require undertakings for compensation from the application should it turn out that the assets have been frozen needlessly: in other words, we would have empowered the courts to order compensation for any defendant whose assets were frozen but who was subsequently acquitted.

On reflection, however, I think that it would be wrong to provide more generous compensation arrangements for those suffering financial loss as a result of a restraint order than for those who at present suffer loss of liberty by being remanded in custody and are subsequently acquitted. In criminal cases, there is no question of routine compensation simply because at the trial the prosecution was unable to sustain the burden of proof beyond a reasonable doubt in relation to the specific charge that was brought; but compensation is available on an ex-gratia basis where the period in custody has resulted from serious default on the

/part of the

CONFIDENTIAL

3

part of the investigating or prosecuting authority. I believe that this should also be the basis on which compensation should be available following restraint of assets, and I propose to ask for the necessary provision to be included in the Bill.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, other members of H Committee, the Solicitor General, Sir Robert Armstrong and Sir George Engle.

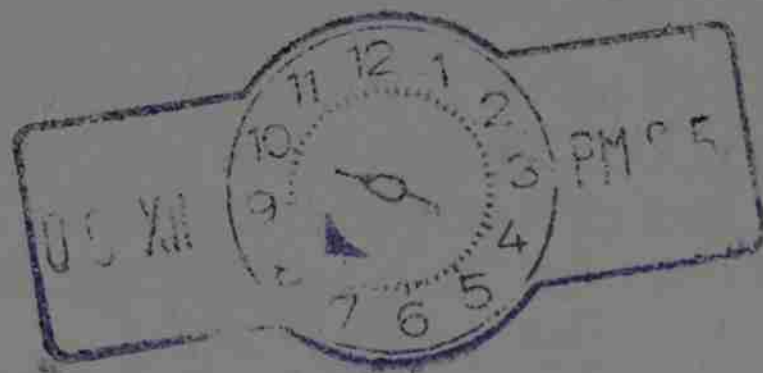
Yours,
Douglas.

cc
Miss Meneaud.
Lorenburg
Mr Duke Evans.
Mr Partridge
Mr Faulkner
Mr Bohan
Mr Varney
Mr Pakenham.
Walsh
Mr Jeffrey
Mr Nagler
Mr Harding
Mr Abbott
Mr Gurney
Miss Andrews
Mr Acton

CONFIDENTIAL

Home Affairs Pt 3

Drugs



SUBJECT
cc Master

CONFIDENTIAL

File BEM BFM
cc: FCB
/AO



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

4 December 1985

Dear Stephen

MR. MELLOR'S VISIT TO PAKISTAN

The Prime Minister held a meeting this afternoon with the Home Secretary and Mr. David Mellor, at which Mr. Mellor reported on his recent visit to Pakistan. Mr. Hartley Booth was also present.

Mr. Mellor said that overall, he thought his visit had been a very useful one. He had been convinced that Pakistan, under President Zia's leadership, was taking effective steps to tackle the problem of heroin production.

President Zia had agreed to impose mandatory sentences for drug offences. There seemed, however, to be some delay in introducing these measures. The Prime Minister thought it would be premature to raise this with Pakistan. But she would bear in mind the possibility of referring to the point when she next wrote to President Zia, if the timing seemed appropriate.

The evidence was that Pakistan was getting on top of the drug production problem. The acreage used for poppy production had been enormously reduced in recent years. But difficulties remained around the Afghan border. President Zia believed that the Soviet Union was deliberately using the drugs trade to try and destabilise his country. Certainly very large quantities of heroin had been seized near the border. Mr. Mellor was, however, concerned about the security with which these drug hauls were stored; the Prime Minister wondered whether the United Kingdom might give Pakistan some help on means of safe disposal.

Mr. Mellor believed that, as drug controls were increased in Pakistan, and particularly at Karachi Airport, much of the traffic was now taking the land route to India. This would inevitably have an impact on the extent of heroin used and production in India itself. India might replace Afghanistan and Pakistan as the major world supplier. He was concerned about delays in securing India's agreement to the secondment of two Customs Officers. The Home Office would consult the Foreign Office to discuss the most fruitful way of tackling this.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

The Prime Minister thanked Mr. Mellor for his report. She congratulated him on his work on co-ordinating drugs policy. She noted that his speech at the Party Conference had been well received; a wide range of people had been impressed with the steps the Government were taking.

I am copying this letter to Peter Ricketts (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and John Duke-Evans (Home Office).

Ze

Mark Addison

(Mark Addison)

Stephen Boys Smith, Esq.,
Home Office

CONFIDENTIAL

c/b G

(5) 1985



Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG

David Mellor Esq MP
Parliamentary Under Secretary of State
Home Office
Queen Anne's Gate
LONDON SW1H 9AT

2 December 1985

Don David.

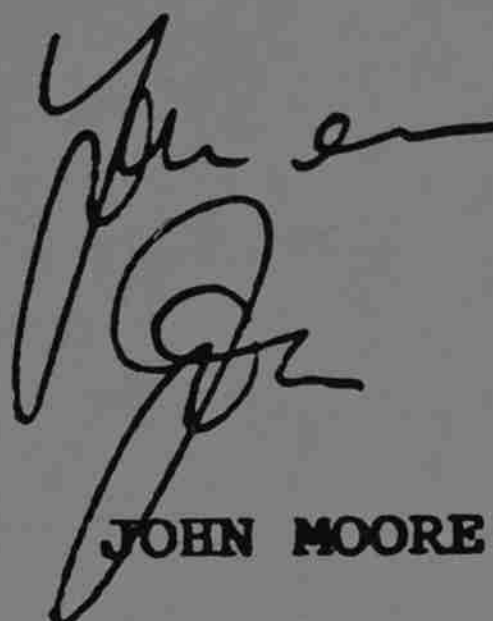
**MISUSE OF DRUGS BILL:
DISCLOSURE OF INLAND REVENUE INFORMATION**

was request if required
We spoke again on 28 November about the open points which still separated us following our exchange of letters of 14 and 21 November and the exchange of letters between Nigel Lawson and Douglas Hurd of 22 and 26 November.

I think we have now reached a satisfactory settlement of the issues concerning disclosure of Inland Revenue information to the DPP and the police in respect of persons suspected of drugs trafficking offences on the following lines:-

- i. access will be by means of a court order as will be the case with banks and other financial institutions, at the level of circuit judge;
- ii. information provided in response to an order by a circuit judge will be passed to the police or DPP directly,
- iii. no distinction will be drawn between serious and non-serious drugs trafficking offences, in respect of information production orders; and
- iv. The arrangements in respect of drugs trafficking offences will in no way serve as a precedent for possible extension later to other types of offence.

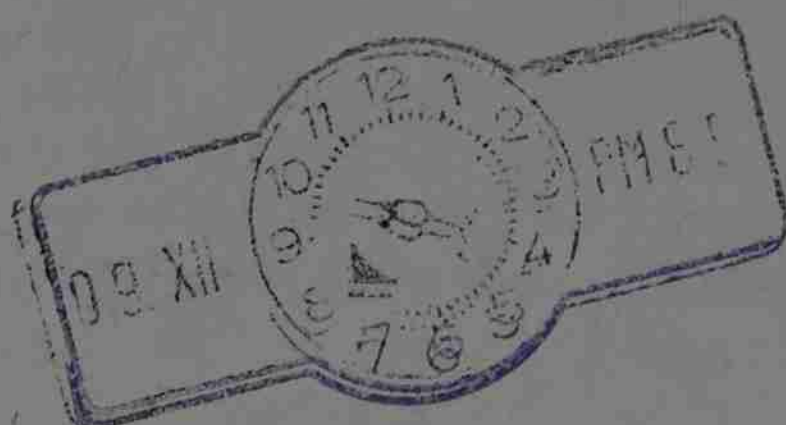
I have mentioned these points to Nigel Lawson who is content, subject to my re-emphasising the importance we attach to the undertaking for the future at (iv). As proposed in his letter of 22 November to Douglas Hurd, we think it appropriate to make it a matter of public record, perhaps when introducing the relevant clause in Committee.



JOHN MOORE

Home Affairs P73

Drugs





CONFIDENTIAL

HOUSE OF LORDS,
LONDON SW1A 0PW

29 November 1985

1. DN to see

The L/Ch doesn't like the "compromise" prepared by Ch/EA. We need to await the Ch's response.

2. P.c.

My dear Willie:

MISUSE OF DRUGS BILL:

DISCLOSURE OF INLAND REVENUE INFORMATION

At a brief discussion about disclosure of Inland Revenue taxpayer information after Cabinet yesterday I agreed with Douglas Hurd that I would write about the constitutional problems which I see in enabling the police or prosecuting authority to seek an order in the courts requiring the Inland Revenue to produce confidential taxpayer information as part of the process of tracing the proceeds of drug trafficking.

The matter starts with section 197 of the Insolvency Act 1985 upon which, I understand, the draftsman based clause 15 of the Misuse of Drugs Bill. Section 197 enables the Official Receiver or the trustee in the debtor's bankruptcy to require the Inland Revenue to produce taxpayer information to the court about the debtor's affairs. I see this as a necessary part of the winding up process in which the receiver or trustee is acting in the interests of the debtor.

The power proposed for the police or prosecuting authority under clause 15 has an entirely different object. That object is to enable the police or prosecuting authority to seek production of taxpayer information in the course of tracing the the proceeds of drug trafficking. The clause at present is

The Right Honourable
The Viscount Whitelaw, CH., MC.,

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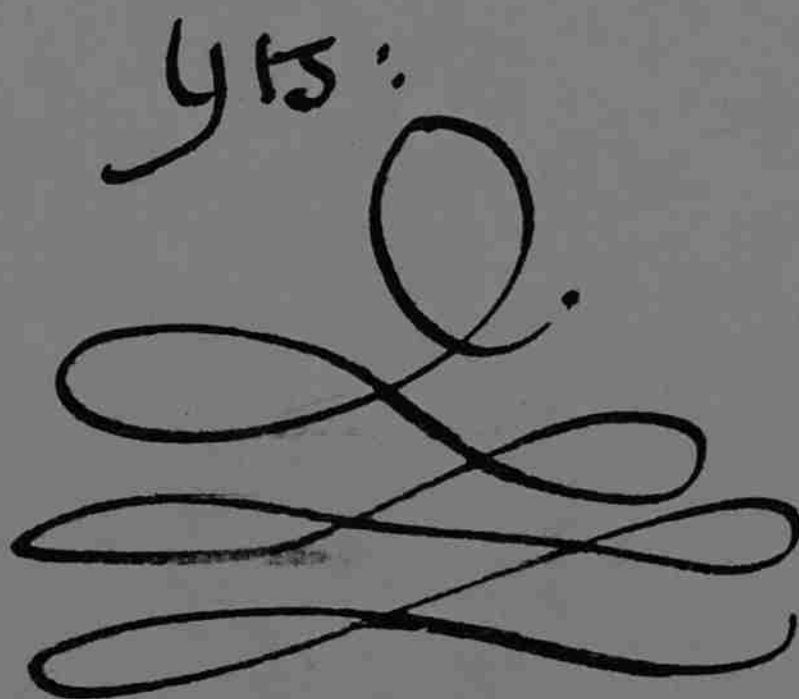
restricted to taxpayer information concerning the defendant's affairs. However the proposals in recent correspondence go further. They are to allow the police or prosecuting authority to seek an order requiring production of taxpayer information about third parties' affairs where the proceeds of drug trafficking may have passed to that named party.

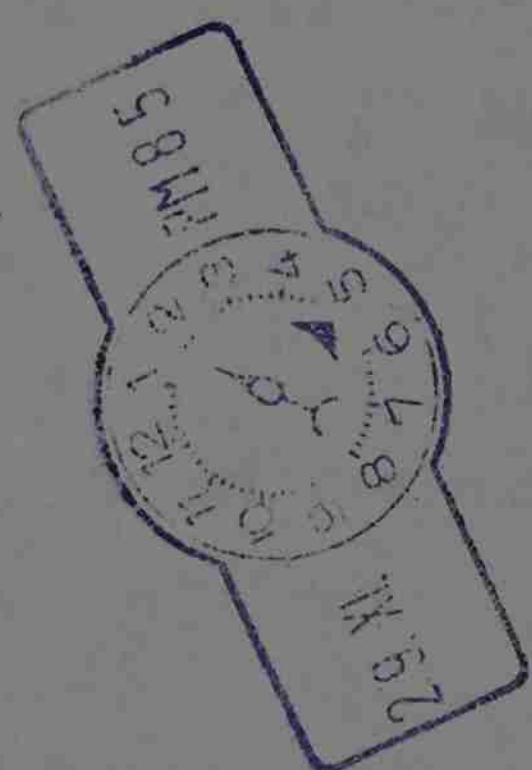
This is quite distinct from the ascertainment of liability for or collection of revenue. Even the limited proposal in clause 15 would raise the problems of Revenue confidentiality to which Nigel Lawson refers in his letter of 22nd November. The proposal that those problems could be overcome by application by the police to the courts troubles me. Such an application might seek to impose a duty on the Inland Revenue to produce material which the Revenue might find necessary to resist. The Crown would be put into a position where it sought to justify protecting the statutory confidentiality of information which the taxpayer was obliged, under threat of penalty to reveal for tax purposes.

This seems unlikely to make it any more likely that the Revenue will be able to take the necessary action.

An alternative solution might lie in enabling the Revenue to apply to the court seeking the court's leave to breach the statutory duty of confidentiality by producing named taxpayers' information where the Revenue is satisfied that that information is relevant and essential in tracing the proceeds of trafficking in drugs and where there is no overriding objection to production.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, the members of H Committee and Michael Havers and to Sir George Engle and Sir Robert Armstrong.


YLS:




Prime Minister


I attach the paper which Hartley Booth put into your Box after he returned from Pakistan on his trip there with David Mellor.

David Mellor is coming to see you with Douglas Hurd for a short talk at 10.00 p.m. tomorrow evening.



TESSA

26.11.85



CF gl. p.c.

PRIME MINISTER

DRUG TRAFFICKING

You will wish to be aware of the Home Secretary's view that the police should have access to Revenue information without the need to obtain a court order (his letter is attached). Mr. Mellor, and the Home Secretary if he is there, may well raise this with you tomorrow night when you are having a short meeting with David Mellor to discuss his recent trip to Pakistan.

The Chancellor disagrees strongly with the Home Secretary's proposal. He thinks a court order is a fair and modest hurdle for the police to have to jump before getting access to Inland Revenue information. He knows you are seeing Mr. Mellor tomorrow night, and will wish to ensure that you know his mind on this beforehand. He will take the opportunity of making it clear at your bilateral tomorrow.

At both meetings I think you will wish to say that you need to consider all the arguments before taking a view. There is clearly something to be said on both sides, and some of the arguments are complicated. You will in particular not wish to let the Home Secretary rush you into making a snap judgement in his favour.

Mark Acland

MEA

26 November, 1985.

JD3AFP



CCBG
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SW1H 9AT

26 • November 1985

Dear Nigel,

DRUG TRAFFICKING: DISCLOSURE OF INLAND REVENUE INFORMATION

Thank you for your letter of 22 November about the proposal which has been discussed by John Moore and David Mellor.

I am grateful for your acceptance that the seriousness of drug trafficking, and the threat which it poses to society, warrant an exception to the usual rules about the confidentiality of Inland Revenue information. I am sure that this is right. But I see considerable difficulties in your suggestion that the police or DPP should be able to gain access to Revenue information only on the order of a High Court judge. You draw a parallel here with our proposals that the police or Customs should be able to gain access to information held by banks or other financial institutions, at an early stage of the investigation of drug trafficking offences, by means of a judicial order or warrant. But it seems to me that there is a great difference between banks and other institutions outside the public sector on the one hand and the Inland Revenue which is an arm of the Government. To make production orders or warrants necessary in relation to the former does not, in my view, make it fitting that the judiciary should be required to arbitrate, as it were, over co-operation for proper purposes between two agencies of the State. Indeed I know of no precedent for such a requirement. It would also have certain resource implications, on which the Lord Chancellor may wish to comment.

As David Mellor pointed out in his discussions and correspondence with John Moore, there is at present a manifest anomaly in the respective positions of the Customs and the police in this regard. I accept that section 127 of the Finance Act 1972, whereby Inland Revenue can pass information to Customs, reflects the identity of interest between two revenue-raising departments. But the scope of the section is not limited to revenue-raising, but extends to the whole range of Customs functions, including the investigation of drug smuggling offences. In the context of drug trafficking, there is a strong identity of interest between Customs and the police, who are both engaged in tracking down and bringing to justice those guilty of drug offences. It is essential that they should both have equal access to information which would be of use to them. I do not think Parliament or the public will understand why they should be treated differently in this respect, particularly when Inland Revenue accept that any information they give to Customs can be passed to the police where the two are engaged in a joint operation. Under your proposals, the police would always have to go to a High Court judge for an order where drugs were manufactured in this country, but not necessarily where they had been imported, because in the latter case Customs would have an interest. That is not a distinction which I would care to try to justify.

/What we are

The Rt Hon Nigel Lawson, MP

What we are proposing would not amount to unfettered access by the police to Inland Revenue information. As David Mellor suggested, we would want some mechanism to ensure that requests for information were properly based and were made only when there were indeed reasonable grounds for suspecting a person of drug trafficking. David's proposal was that the right machinery and appropriate ground rules could be discussed by the Drugs Intelligence Group, but if you would like to suggest a different forum I should be happy to consider it. Whatever arrangements were agreed would be subject to Parliamentary scrutiny, as a safeguard against possible abuse: I imagine that Ministers might be asked from time to time to state how often, and on what principles, access to Inland Revenue information had been given to the police in drug trafficking cases, and would need to be sure in responding that the system was operating in a properly controlled manner.

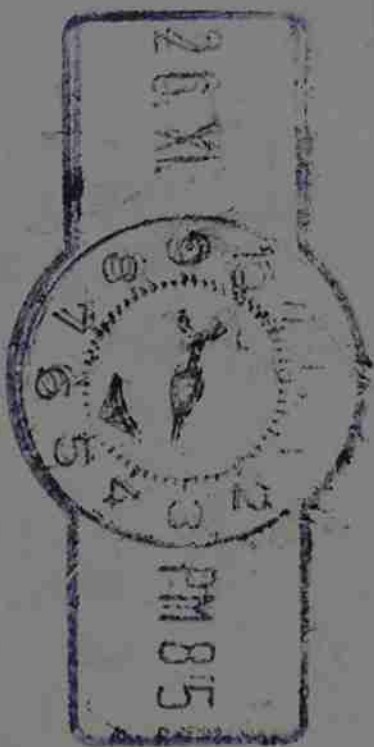
John Moore raised in his letter of 21 November to David Mellor the possibility of restricting access in the Bill to 'serious' drugs offences. We have decided that the Bill as a whole should not make any distinction in respect of the gravity of an offence; indeed it can be argued that all drug trafficking offences are 'serious'. Certainly we believe that, at the investigative stage, when the ramifications of a particular trafficker's activities may not be at all clear, all drug trafficking activities should be regarded as potentially serious, and I would not therefore wish to include in the Bill a limitation on the lines John suggests.

Finally, let me turn to your request for an assurance that we will not use any agreement on disclosure in drug trafficking cases as a springboard for bids in respect of other offences. We have not yet reached any firm views about which aspects of the drug trafficking legislation should subsequently be extended to other types of profitable crime. I think that there will be some provisions which will remain applicable only to drug trafficking, but I would like a longer time to reflect on which these should be, and also to take account of what may be said in both Houses about the drug trafficking proposals. What I can assure you is that agreement on disclosure in drug trafficking cases will not be regarded as pre-empting discussion on its possible extension to other types of offence: I fully accept your right to argue that other offences should be treated differently in this regard, as I expect to do in other respects. Any discussion will therefore start afresh, and on its merits.

If you think it would help your consideration of the various issues involved in respect of the current Bill, I should be very happy to come and see you to discuss them. As you know, we need to move urgently to avoid delay in the Bill's introduction.

In view of the Prime Minister's interest in the measures we are taking against drug trafficking, I am sending her a copy of our correspondence. I am also copying this letter to Willie Whitelaw, members of H Committee, Michael Havers and Sir George Engle.

Yours,
Douglas



MR. ALISON

cc Mr Flesher

DRUGS BILL

Further to my minute of yesterday and to my receipt of your minute of yesterday, I have spoken to the Lord President's Private Secretary about the possibility of starting the Bill in the Commons.

The Private Secretary told me that she was sure that the Lord President would be "horrified" about any suggestion that the Bill should not begin in the Lords. Certainly the Law Lords will cause problems with certain parts of the Bill. But they will do this whether it starts in the Lords or the Commons. More important to the Lord President is the need for the Lords to have a major Bill early on, and I gather that the Drugs Bill is a good candidate here. The Private Secretary said that the Lord President would also probably take the view that the earlier the Lords have the Bill, the less problems they will make with it.

All in all, it seems to me that there is no support for Mr Mellor's wish to start the Bill in the Commons.

N L WICKS

30 October 1985

MR. ALISON

De K
c Mr Flesher

The Drugs Bill

I took the opportunity of a discussion with the Lord Privy Seal and the Chief Whip on another matter to raise the doubts expressed by Mr. Mellor about the advisability of introducing the Drugs Bill in the Lords.

The Lord Privy Seal agreed that the Lords would no doubt make very heavy weather of the "confiscation" provisions of the Bill. But he doubted whether their Lordships would cause any more damage in this respect than the Commons. Thus, he could see no strong argument for introducing the Bill in the Commons. The Chief Whip agreed.

NIGEL WICKS

29 October 1985



DAVID MELLOR

Home Office
Minister and
anti-drugs
supremo brings
hope back
from Pakistan

Let's fight together to beat this killer trade

GUN LAW is the only effective law in parts of the barren wastelands that are the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

In a tribal "disagreement" on the Pakistan side a few years ago 400 people died. And that was a dispute over some trees. It took several thousand troops three days to restore order.

This is the land of the opium poppy. It is still grown in Pakistan, but also floods across the border from Afghanistan, either with the connivance of the Soviet-backed regime or because they have simply lost control of large parts of the country.

I travelled this area with a large armed escort. My guide—the political agent for the North West Frontier province—has a price on his head and a sub-machine gun at his side. He could only ensure my safety with an escort of 50 soldiers.

At the Khyber Pass I was shown just one of more than 470 known ways to cross the border between the two countries. But then the border exists on maps, not in reality.

Forbidden

This was the first visit to the area by a foreign government representative in three years. Normally foreigners—and that includes Pakistanis—are forbidden to visit the tribal areas without a permit.

It is one of the key areas in the fight against drugs. But what is Pakistan doing to stem the flow of opium to the West?

It is doing a lot.

It has cut the production areas of opium within its own borders from 80,000 acres in 1979 to around 7,000 today.

The police and customs have drugs at the top of their hit list.

At one checkpoint I visited on a road leading out of the North West Frontier province they have seized three quarters of a tonne of heroin so far this year — more than double that seized in the UK last year. They should seize 4½ tonnes of heroin throughout the country this year.

But in bags loaded on a truck just one of them could contain enough heroin to supply Britain for a month. And there are thousands of miles of roads, with thousands of trucks on them.

Drugs intelligence work has been stepped up and we now have two liaison customs officers out there to help identify



ON THE TRAIL OF THE DRAGON

the major traffickers and bring them to book. And meeting President Zia of Pakistan and some of his senior ministers, I was left in no doubt of their will to tackle drugs.

Far tougher sentencing has been introduced. Indeed, the President told me they were considering invoking the death penalty for drug trafficking.

And they, like us, are preparing legislation to seize the assets of the traffickers. He pledged that it will be a Jihad—a Holy War.

Right at the top there is the will and determination to translate this pledge into effective action. Pakistan wants to remove the stain of drugs from their international reputation.

Relentless

But it won't happen overnight. It will be a long, hard fought battle.

On the home front we must remain relentless. Our own laws are being toughened.

Life sentences are now available, and soon there will be legislation before Parliament to strip drug dealers of their cash and possessions.

Even more is being done to help addicts to kick the habit, and to warn our youngsters not to get involved in the misery of addiction in the first place.

After my visit to Pakistan I can see that governments of the world can work successfully together to tackle the problem. To ensure that for the traffickers in death there is no hiding place.

PRIME MINISTER

CONFIDENTIAL

25 October 1985

DRUGS/PAKISTAN

Personal

Prime Minister. ①

World you like to arrange a short meeting with David Meller and the Home Secretary, for a personal 'report-back' after the Pakistan visit?

We can discuss at Monday's diary meeting.

MEA 25/10

President Zia and General Fazle (Governor of NWFP) send warm greetings to you. Because of your personal interest, the trip was accorded considerable special assistance.

Result of Trip

The Home Office and FCO agree that the trip was a success (telegram attached). The Pakistan Government were stimulated to do more to stop drugs being produced and being transmitted in and through Pakistan. President Zia announced a holy war on drugs, and his words were matched by good evidence that Pakistan heroin production has been brought down from 600 tonnes per year in 1979 to 40-60 tonnes last year. The memorandum of agreement, which included an intention to join with Britain in an international convention on extradition, was signed.

Situation in Afghanistan

In 12 out of 24 provinces of Afghanistan, opium and, in most cases, heroin is produced. Last year, 400-600 tonnes were produced. It is inconceivable that the Russian authorities are not aware. There is no evidence that they are

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- 2 -

preventing poppy growing and President Zia claims that the Russians are assisting the production. A number of sources, including President Zia, say the Russian troops have an addiction problem. The case of a young Russian soldier who had sold his boots for a "fix" had been reported to President Zia.

The Situation in Pakistan

The drug production is down and Karachi airport is well controlled. But:

- a. There is a major epidemic of drug abuse - 300,000 heroin addicts and 1.3 drug users in all (population 80 million).
- b. The drug traffic has spread eastwards and much of the surplus production is travelling to India.

The Latest British Situation

Drugs are now the top crime priority in the eyes of the public (Gallup Poll report attached). Most Fleet Street editors rate drug addiction as one of a handful of major news topics. The British action in Pakistan was well received. We have promised £2.4 million next year for a new development project in a poppy-growing area, second customs officer and £50,000 for x-ray equipment. Heroin from Pakistan and

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- 3 -

Afghanistan is still the main hard drug used in the British Isles.

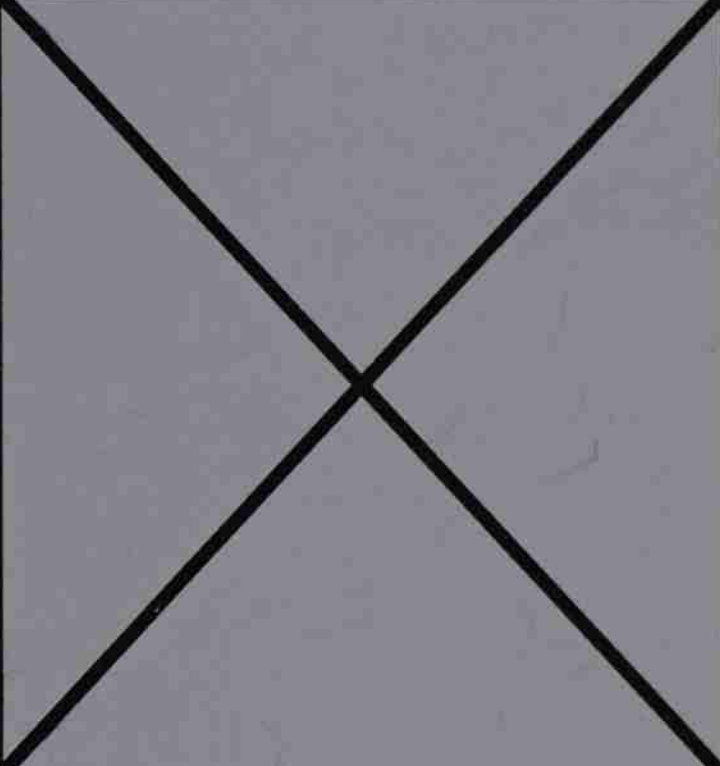
Conclusion

This topic continues to have major public and political importance. We believe that the Government is perceived by many to be doing its best to tackle a very worrying problem for all parents. However, today Sir Kenneth Newman told me privately he believes the Government is only seen to be window dressing - (he has his own camp to watch!) We believe a short meeting with you would be very valuable. Would you like to see David Mellor with Douglas Hurd on this issue. As Geoffrey Howe is going to Pakistan in the Spring, you may also want to invite him.

Hartley Booth

HARTLEY BOOTH

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DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>2078</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: <i>Telegram No. 820 Islamabad to FCO dated 22 October 1985</i>	
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Instructions for completion of Dummy Card

Use black or blue pen to complete form.

Use the card for one piece or for each extract removed from a different place within a piece.

Enter the department and series,
eg. HO 405, J 82.

Enter the piece and item references, .
eg. 28, 1079, 84/1, 107/3

Enter extract details if it is an extract rather than a whole piece.
This should be an indication of what the extract is,
eg. Folio 28, Indictment 840079, E107, Letter dated 22/11/1995.
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If closed under the FOI Act, enter the FOI exemption numbers applying to the closure, eg. 27(1), 40(2).

Sign and date next to the reason why the record is not available to the public ie. Closed under FOI exemption; Retained under section 3(4) of the Public Records Act 1958; Temporarily retained; Missing at transfer or Number not used.

Gallup Poll

DRUGS SEEN AS CHIEF CAUSE OF RISING CRIME AND VIOLENCE

IN THE eyes of the public, drugs now rank equal to "general breakdown in respect for authority, law and order" as a chief cause of rising crime and violence in Britain, according to a Gallup Poll conducted for THE DAILY TELEGRAPH.

Interviews were carried out across the country in the wake of recent inner city riots.

Two in three (67 per cent.) of the public see drugs as a "very important" factor — more than double the number who cited this as a cause after the disturbances four years ago, and equal to those subscribing to the "general breakdown" explanation, most popular in 1981.

People were asked: "There has been a great deal of concern in this country over the increase in crime and violence. Here is a list of possible causes — obviously some are more important than others. I'd like you to go down the list and say for each one, whether you think it is a very important cause of crime and violence, fairly important, or of little importance."

The following table shows the proportion saying "very important" for each of the causes, with comparative figures for July 1981:

	Today 1981	
General breakdown in respect for authority, law and order	67	68
Use of drugs	67	30
Laws too lenient and not letting police do their job	55	60
Bad example set by parents	50	60
Level of unemployment	49	66
Lack of discipline in schools	49	52
Conflict between whites and blacks	42	32
Poverty and poor housing	38	44
Coverage of riots and crime on TV news	31	47
Violence in TV entertainment	27	36
Youthful rebellion	26	40
Coverage of riots and crime in newspapers	26	42
Cinemas showing films with violence and sex	24	30
Trouble in Ireland	18	33

Among other significant shifts of opinion is the fact that the public places less emphasis on the level of unemployment as a cause of the crime rate, down from 66 per cent. to 49 per cent.

Coverage by the media, too, compared with 1981, is seen as less of a factor, down from 47 per cent. to 31 per cent. in the case of television and from 42 per cent. to 26 per cent. in the case of newspapers.

But there has been an increase, from 32 to 42 per cent., in those regarding "conflict between whites and blacks" as a "very important" cause.

Separate survey

In a separate survey, conducted contemporaneously, Gallup found that only 6 per cent. of the public see the future shape of the United Kingdom as a "peaceful" multi-racial society. Fifty-three per cent. see Britain's future as being one "with tensions."

Gallup then asked: *Would you say that in this country the feeling between white people and coloured people is getting better, getting worse, or remaining the same?* The replies are compared with the results to the same question asked in 1981.

	Today 1981	
Getting better	7	15
Getting worse	68	40
Same	21	37
Don't know	4	8

These latest Gallup Polls were conducted, respectively, Oct. 10-15 among a nationally representative quota sample of 953 electors in more than 100 districts throughout Great Britain, and Oct. 9-15 among 976 electors similarly dispersed.

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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Alexander Fleming House, Elephant & Castle, London SE1 6BY

Telephone 01-407 5522

From the Secretary of State for Social Services

The Rt Hon Douglas Hurd MP
Secretary of State for the Home Department
Home Office
50 Queen Anne's Gate
LONDON
SW1H 9AT

} October 1985

Dear Douglas

W 4/10

DRUG MISUSE: CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE DEBATE

I was on the point of writing to you when I received your letter of 2 October.

I agree that we must announce our package of proposals next week. The Government needs to be seen to be committing new resources to tackling this problem.

I enclose a suggested contribution to David Mellor's speech which sets out the positive steps we are taking. It includes reference to an extra £6 million we shall be finding out of central funds to finance local projects started this year for a full three years. It also includes a commitment to our providing additional resources, unquantified, for local treatment and rehabilitation - the sum here is unquantified as I accept that it is not practical to try to reach agreement outside the Survey on the related PES bids. I would, however, prefer not to commit ourselves to a future publicity campaign until we have had a chance to evaluate this year's.

Barney Hayhoe and David Mellor are in touch about the details of the statement.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, Willie Whitelaw, Geoffrey Howe, Nigel Lawson, Keith Joseph, George Younger, Nicholas Edwards, Norman Tebbit, Tom King, David Mellor and Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours sincerely

NORMAN FOWLER

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Last year Kenneth Clarke announced that we were making an additional £5 million available to support new local projects for services for drug misusers. We have decided that a further £6 million should be provided to guarantee full three year funding of all these projects. This will bring to nearly £20 million the resources we have provided centrally since 1983/84 to help develop local services for drug misusers and fund publicity campaigns.

In addition to this, Barney Hayhoe will shortly be announcing proposals for funding further development of local treatment and rehabilitation services.

[This year's publicity campaign is being carefully evaluated and we shall be taking decisions about further campaigns in the light of that evaluation.]

We are working closely with the World Health Organisation to try to improve international health collaboration - and I can tell you that the UK will be hosting a Conference of Ministers of Health in London next March to draw up a plan of international action against drug misuse.

HOME AFFAIRS

DRUGS PT 3



QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SW1H 9AT

October 1985

2CH3
Await
Dress response.

Dear Norman,

DRUG MISUSE: CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE DEBATE

In the light of your letter of 24 September, David Mellor has spoken to Barney Hayhoe and Ray Whitney in the last couple of days about his reply to the motion on drug misuse on 9 October.

David must be able to give a convincing account of the Government's policies and show that we continue to give high priority to tackling the drug problem. You will have seen that the Prime Minister has strongly endorsed this view. Following the precedent of Ken Clarke's speech last year and the Prime Minister's recent comments, our supporters and the public at large will undoubtedly expect new measures to be announced or at least to be foreshadowed in clear terms. We are in no doubt that a crucial element in this must be an indication that the Government will make more help available to drug misusers and that it will be maintaining its efforts in the prevention field by continuing (subject to evaluation) the education and information campaign launched earlier this year.

With this in mind David sent to Barney Hayhoe the attached draft passage for inclusion in his Conference speech. As you will see, David does not seek to pre-empt detailed announcements by DHSS Ministers, but simply to state that more will be done. I gather from David that, in the absence of any decision so far on the relevant PES bids, neither Barney nor Ray felt able to agree that David should give an indication on these lines. I really do feel that the kind of phraseology David has proposed is the minimum he could say while maintaining the Government's credibility. Expectations have been raised and must be fulfilled. Since time is short, I hope that you can find some way to allow David to make the necessary announcements.

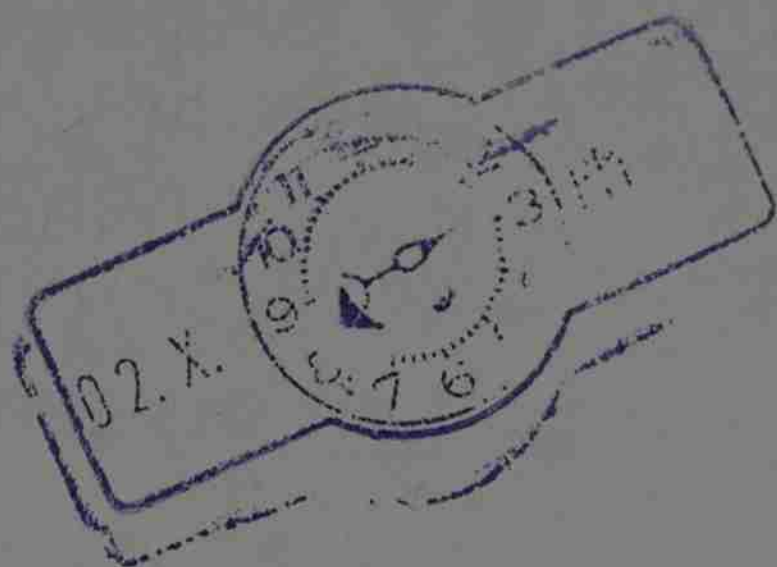
I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, Willie Whitelaw, Geoffrey Howe, Nigel Lawson, Keith Joseph, George Younger, Nicholas Edwards, Norman Tebbit, Tom King and Sir Robert Armstrong.

Come on,

Doyle.

The Rt Hon Norman Fowler, M.P.

Home Affs: Drucks Pt 2

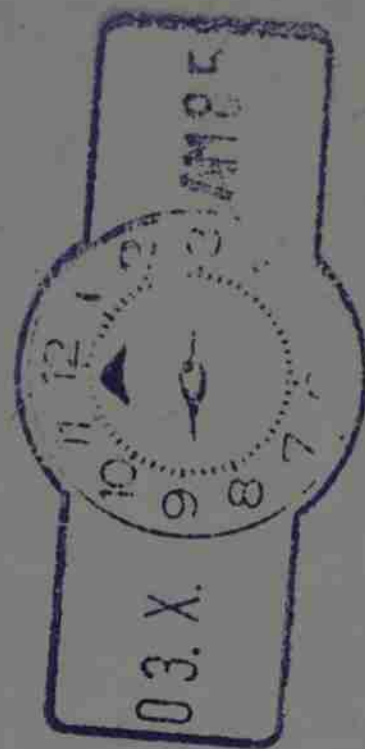


E R.

EXTRACT FROM MR MELLOR'S CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE SPEECH

We want to build upon the success of the central funding initiative. Over 120 local schemes have benefitted from the £11.5 million already available. Now more will get help. A further very substantial sum of money will be made available for drug projects, and Barney Hayhoe will announce details shortly.

We shall also be funding a further major publicity campaign over the next 12 months designed to alert youngsters to the dangers of drug misuse.



● PART 2 ends:-

TF to DHSS 30.9.85

PART 3 begins:-

Home Sec. to SS/DHSS. Oct '85.

