The White House
Washington
March 1, 1993

Presidential Review Directive/NSC-18

Memorandum for the Vice President

The Secretary of State
The Secretary of the Treasury
The Secretary of Defense
The Attorney General
The Secretary of Transportation
Director of the Office of Management and Budget
Chief of Staff to the President
Director of National Drug Control Policy
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Director of Central Intelligence
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
Administrator of the Agency for International Development
Administrator of Drug Enforcement
Commissioner of the United States Customs Service
Commandant of the United States Coast Guard

Subject: US Policy Toward International Narcotics Trafficking (U)

The trade in illicit narcotics creates violence, health and social problems, and economic dislocation in this and many other countries. In some nations, the trafficking also corrodes democratic systems. (U)

Our efforts to combat narcotics trafficking can only be successful if we reduce demand in this and other countries. The Administration will separately be examining what can be done to enhance demand reduction programs and develop an overall drug strategy, as required by law. (U)

U.S. government counternarcotics efforts should, however, continue to have an international dimension to support like-minded nations in their fight against the effects of narcotraffickers, to preserve the integrity of our borders, and to limit the flow of narcotics into our country. In a time of reduced federal expenditures, we need to determine which international programs are most effective and how we would best organize to conduct those programs. (U)
To permit the President to make those determinations, there should be a comprehensive assessment of our international counternarcotics performance, organization, and options as set out below.

I. BACKGROUND

A. TRENDS: Describe the trends over the last several years with regard to the amount of illicit narcotics grown, by type and by country. Describe the trends in amounts entering the United States by type, by country of origin, and by method of entry. This section should describe the range of confidence we have in each estimate provided and the reasons for uncertainty when the confidence levels are low. (Intelligence Community)

B. EFFECTS IN PRODUCING/TRANSITING COUNTRIES: Describe the effects that drug production and transiting have had in those countries where the effects have been significant. Attention should be given to the relationship between narcotics and democratization, environmental concerns, violence, corruption, and the economic system. (Intelligence Community)

C. COUNTERNARCOTICS EFFORTS: Describe what the United States and other governments and international organizations have been doing to combat the international trafficking in narcotics, noting in particular the U.S. agencies involved and their level of effort (detailed financial analysis is called for later in the study).

1. Crop Control: substitution and eradication. (STATE)
2. Interdiction: with specific description of the efforts in the regions of the Andes, Central America, Mexico, and the Caribbean. (ONDCP)
3. Leadership: money laundering and "king-pin" efforts. (DEA)
4. Chemicals: the control of precursors. (DEA)
5. Enhancing Indigenous Institutions: courts, police, political will. (STATE)
6. Intelligence: U.S. collection and analysis efforts; support of indigenous services. A compartmented annex should accompany the study. (Intelligence Community)

II. FUNDING AND ECONOMICS

A. U.S. BUDGET: Portray the financial resources the US Government has devoted in recent years to international counternarcotics programs by type of program and by agency. Show the percentage of each agency’s counternarcotics efforts that go to international efforts; the international total as a percentage
of the overall supply control budget; and as a percentage of the overall USG counternarcotics budget. (OMB)

B. ECONOMICS: Describe the magnitude of funds that flow from the United States due to the illegal purchase of narcotics and where the funds go. Describe the effect of narcotics related monies on the economies of major producing and transiting countries. (Intelligence Community)

III. EFFECTIVENESS ANALYSIS

A. PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS: Summarize which U.S., indigenous, and international programs have demonstrated success in achieving their stated objectives and which have not (what has worked, what has not, by country or region). This analysis should be explicit about its measures of success. Where possible, it should identify likely reasons for the lack of success of programs: e.g., funding levels, host nation support, and overall feasibility. The analysis should identify problem areas or promising counternarcotics methods and technologies, if any, that have not been given enough attention to permit meaningful evaluation. (ONDCP)

B. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE: Describe the extent to which the interagency organizational structure may have been an impediment to optimum efficiency, focusing in particular on lack of clarity or overlap in agency roles and missions, decision making structures, and operational command/control authorities. Include a separate examination of the organization of intelligence support. (NSCS)

C. LEGAL IMPEDIMENTS: Identify and review any statutory or regulatory impediments to international narcotics control that merit analysis. Include a review of: i) barriers to effective support by the Intelligence Community to law enforcement agencies, and ii) difficulties in controlling aerial smuggling due to air traffic control practices and regulations. (ONDCP)

IV. STRATEGY OPTIONS

Agencies should present and analyze possible international counternarcotics strategies, including both current and alternative practices. Each strategy should show explicit program and funding tradeoffs at existing and decreased levels of international counternarcotics resources. The strategies should each be evaluated on a consistent set of criteria including effects on:

-- the flow of drugs into the United States;
-- bilateral foreign relations;
-- democracy and order in producing/transiting countries;
-- overall feasibility.
Among those strategies analyzed should be:

-- A Greater Emphasis on Multilateral Efforts: U.S. policy has been largely bilateral or unilateral, although some regional approaches have been fostered. What would a strategy look like that emphasized multilateral organizations for standards and controls, assistance, and interdiction? (STATE)

-- An Indigenous/Economic-Stability Focus: The American consumer of narcotics is indirectly responsible for the distortions and economic dislocations created in production and transiting countries. What would a strategy look like that emphasizes helping such countries deal with the problems that we indirectly create, e.g., enhancing alternative development assistance programs? (STATE)

-- A Selected Country Approach: Our efforts have failed in some countries because those nations lack the political will to take the steps that we have believed necessary. In other nations, there has been some progress. What would be the effect of a strategy that concentrated resources on a few countries where the possibility of success is high? (STATE)

-- Focused Interdiction: The aircraft, ships, radars and other counternarcotics assets of at least ten Federal U.S. agencies are scattered from the Andes, through Central America, Mexico, and the Caribbean, in the Atlantic and Pacific. What would be the effect of concentrating interdiction efforts on a small number of choke points and reallocating interdiction resources into a small number of agencies? (ONDCP)

-- An Infrastructure Strategy: U.S. policies have emphasized direct approaches to the drug product itself through techniques aimed at stopping its production or seizing it during distribution. What would be the effects of greater concentration of efforts at the infrastructure, including leadership, money laundering, and chemical precursors? (DEA)

For each of these and any other strategies proposed, OMB should portray a reallocation of resources by agency and program from the existing, increased and decreased funding levels. (U)
V. STUDY PROCESS

Lead agencies indicated above should draft their section of the study after discussion with other concerned agencies. Subsequently all concerned agencies should review the drafts and agency comments, criticisms, and disagreements should be fully shown in the final study. The NSC staff will chair a steering group to assure that all agencies views are aired, that all issues raised by any agency are addressed even if not included in this study outline, and that an actionable summary document is prepared, fully cleared, and made available to the Deputies Committee, along with the full study, by April 19.

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While this study is being conducted, operational decisions about the implementation of our current strategy and the conduct of operations will have to be made. An IWG on International Narcotics is hereby constituted for coordinating such activity. It will be chaired at the Under Secretary level by the Department of State. The interagency structure to implement a strategy emerging from the PRD study process will be reviewed at the time of any resulting Presidential decisions.

Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs