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Office on Drugs and Crime

CARIBBEAN DRUG TRENDS 2001-2002

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The Caribbean Regional Office of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime has been producing a drug trends analysis concerning the Caribbean region since 1997. The trends analysis aims to create a better understanding of regional drug related issues based on primarily open sources of information as well as seizure data (and interviews) from the individual jurisdictions. This document is devoted primarily to analysing the drug trafficking situation in the Caribbean, whereas other documents will deal with other aspects of the multi-faceted drug issue.

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INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT AND CARIBBEAN IMPLICATIONS

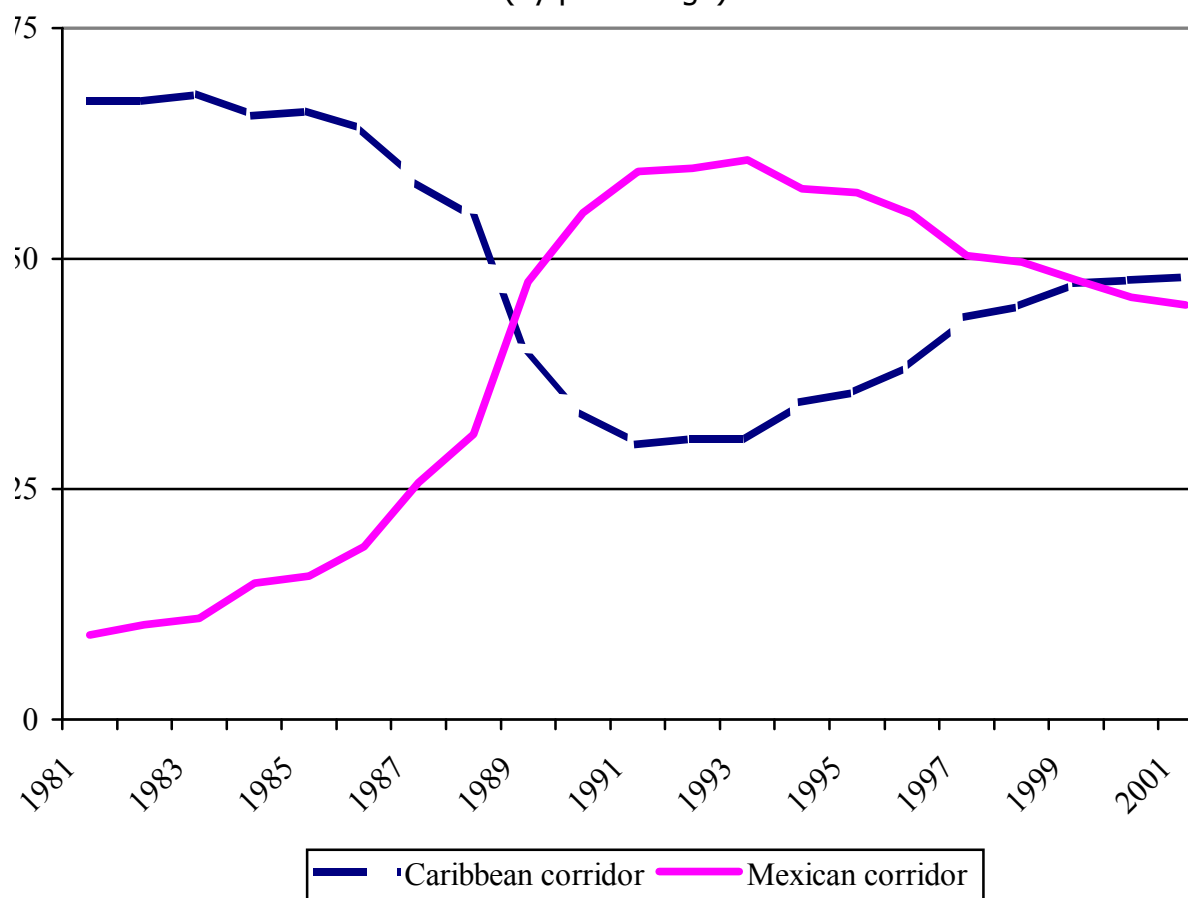
International illegal drug markets remained largely stable during 2001¹. Increasing cocaine consumption in Western Europe and other smaller markets around the world compensated for a declining demand for cocaine in the United States. After years of concentration in Colombia, Andean coca cultivation has shown signs of returning to Peru and Bolivia². The same patterns may also apply to heroin production in South America³. While European heroin addicts are an ageing, dwindling population almost exclusively supplied from South West Asian production, *heroin chic* in the United States has attracted a new group of consumers that prefers sniffing, rather than injecting, high-quality heroin⁴. Use of marijuana, the world's illegal drug of choice, increased slightly almost everywhere⁵. Countries with high GDP, especially in North America, have essentially accomplished a cannabis import-substitution strategy that has changed the shape of the international trade in marijuana, reducing the amount of illegal drugs crossing international borders and strengthening the importance of local markets. In-door production of high-quality

In-door production of high-quality marijuana in rich, drug consuming countries has reached the category of a large industry.

marijuana in rich, drug consuming countries has attained the status of a large industry. Some sources⁶ now estimate that 50% of U.S. marijuana demand is met by local production. Canada is a net exporter of marijuana. European hemp-derivatives markets are increasingly changing from herbal marijuana to hashish resin. The latter is predominantly satisfied by the apparently unlimited production of Morocco that has pushed other suppliers out of the market⁷. Although increasing border controls following the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States generated a temporary scarcity of illegal drugs in some consuming countries and, therefore, sudden increases in the prices of cocaine in the United States and heroin in Western Europe, the illicit drug markets rapidly recovered and drug prices resumed their decades-long downward trend.

Globalisation is neither new nor foreign to drug markets. Accordingly, the above-mentioned restricted changes in international markets have had a limited impact in the Caribbean region. Cocaine re-exports, by weight, from the Caribbean countries decreased by 1.5% in 2001 with respect to the previous year – from 219 to 216MT (metric tons)⁸. 590 kilos of cocaine cross the Caribbean every day, on average. An insignificant increase in cocaine exports to Europe was unable to compensate for the reduction in cocaine exports to the United States. This is basically an extension of the historical trend seen in the cocaine trade in the Caribbean during the 1990s. The figure above refers only to the amount of cocaine that arrives into a Caribbean jurisdiction. If the quantities of cocaine that cross the Caribbean Sea – either to Central America or by direct shipment from Colombia or Venezuela to Europe – are taken into

**Cocaine introduced in the United States by corridor,
1981-2001**
(by percentage)



account, the total amount of cocaine going through the region increases to over 400MT.

The increasing penetration of the cocaine exports from the Caribbean into the United States has failed to make up for the strong decline in cocaine use in that country. Cocaine use in the United States has declined by two-thirds from 660MT in 1989 to 250MT in 2001. At the same time, cocaine exports from the Caribbean to the United States market have risen from 29% in 1990 to 48% in 2001. In 2002, United States cocaine imports maintained a two-year trend of using routes from the Andean production sites, with the Mexican corridor providing almost as much cocaine for the United States (45%) as the Car-

ibbean corridor. The arrest or murder of key figures in Mexican drug trafficking, including the Arellano Felix brothers, Ramón and Benjamín, was discounted by the drug markets. Thus, the emergence of new low-profile drug traffickers in Mexico, as happened in Colombia and the Caribbean much earlier, has left the country's role in the cocaine export market to the United States untouched.

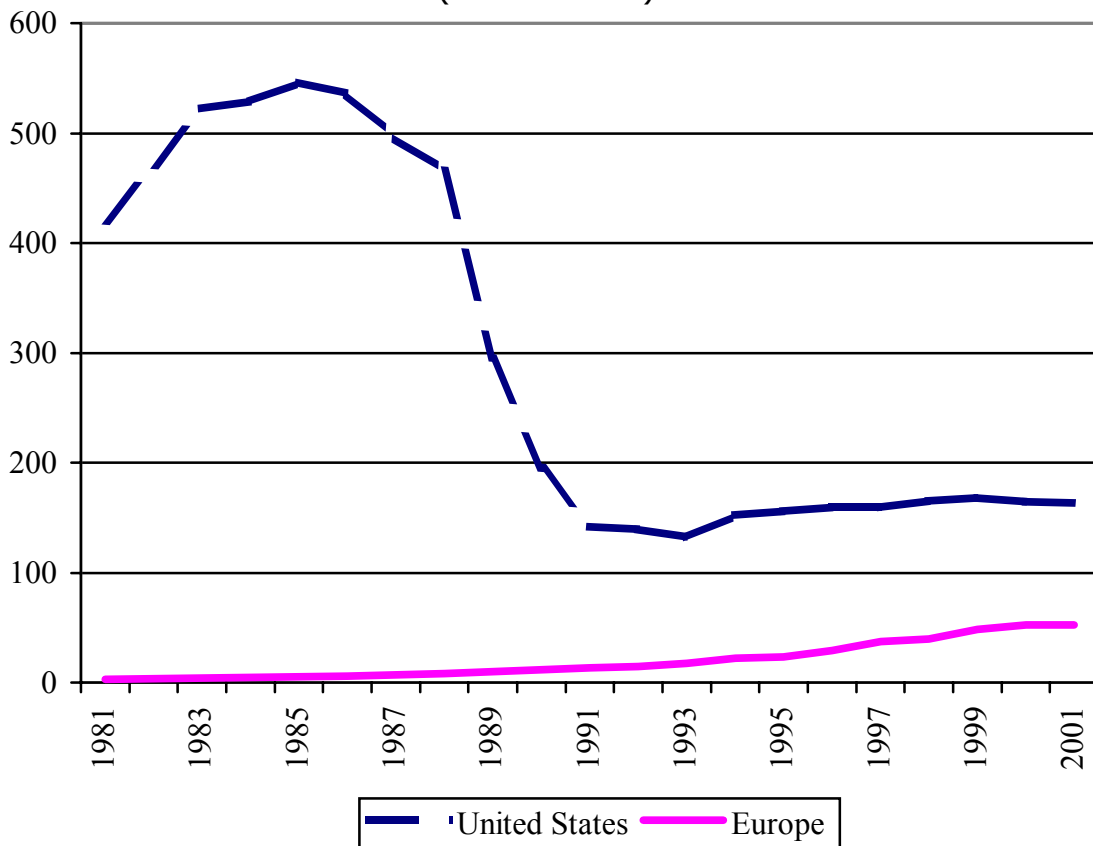
Combining both figures, the amount of cocaine exported from the Caribbean to the United States declined sharply during the 1980s and 1990s from over 500MT in the early 1980s to 160MT in 2001. While most cocaine exports across the Caribbean Sea to the United States stop in one

or more jurisdictions, the picture is completely different for the cocaine exports to Europe. Almost two-thirds of the cocaine en route to Europe across the Caribbean Sea from Central or South America – over 150MT – crossed the region with no stopovers. However, the percentage of Europe’s cocaine imports that is re-exported from Caribbean jurisdictions has increased nearly four-fold during the 1990s from 15MT in 1991 to 53MT in 2001. This expansion of the European side of Caribbean cocaine exports, however, has not been constant and has decelerated in the late 1990s. The Caribbean’s cocaine exports to Europe increased by a mere 0.3% in 2001 even when Caribbean participation in final European imports decreased relatively from 31%

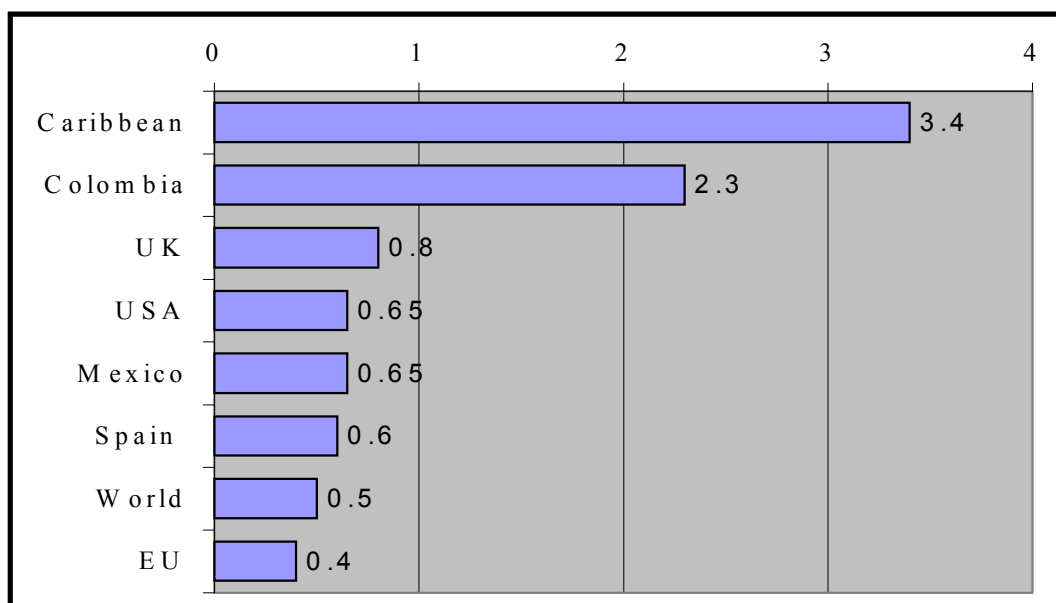
to 30%. The European market now accounts for 25% of the total cocaine business in the Caribbean, a huge increase since the early 1980s.

The total value of cocaine exports in 2001 reached a three-year low of US\$4.8b. This represents a 2% decline from the previous year, as a result of declining international prices rather than of demand change. The export price to the United States and Europe converged during the late 1990s at around US\$20 per gram of pure cocaine. The depreciation of Euro-attached European currencies was partly responsible for this convergence after years of higher prices and larger profits in the European markets that increased that continent’s significance in total Caribbean

Caribbean cocaine exports by destination
(in metric tons)



Illicit Drug Exports as a Percentage of Legal GDP



Notes:

*The Caribbean and Mexico - based on: GDP for illegal drugs
Legal GDP*

Colombia - based on repatriable funds

USA and UK - based on amount of retailing sales

ABT Associates, What America's users spend on illegal drugs, 1988- 2000, Of National Drug Control Policy, Washington, 2001.

With the total illicit drug exports transiting the region estimated at approx. US\$4,800m in 2001, this figure almost triples total CARICOM petroleum export earnings (also the number one export income earning sector) for 2000 and in fact

CARICOM Top Five Domestic Exports to All Destinations (2000)

Product	US\$
(1) Petroleum	1,698,578,202
(2) Aluminum ores	691,684,080
(3) Other aluminum oxides	577,283,947
(4) Inorganic chem. elements	377,365,463
(5) Alcohols	308,153,695
Sub-Total	3,653,065,387

(Source: Caribbean Export Development Agency, Bridgetown, Barbados)

surpasses the total of the top five CARICOM domestic exports in 2000.

This almost unchanged volume of cocaine transhipped through the Caribbean during the last two years has been concomitant with an in-depth alteration in the internal workings of cocaine trafficking. The geographical centre of the Caribbean has lost share in terms of total cocaine trafficking, while the periphery has increased its stake. The cocaine flow shifted towards Belize following the prosecution in 2000 of Mario Villanueva, the Cancun-based Mexican governor who was particularly active in protecting drug networks sending speed boats loaded with cocaine from Colombia to the coastal area surrounding the Caribbean tourist resort. However, using Belize as a transshipment point was a very short-term

movement for Mexican traffickers because several successful maritime interdiction operations and the arrest of key members of the Belize-Mexican connection again shifted the cocaine flow to the Pacific, or by direct flights to Mexico.

The central Caribbean corridor, running from Colombia to The Bahamas and then to the United States, has also shown a high degree of volatility as a result of divergent law enforcement efforts. Very active during the 1980s, the use of The Bahamas to introduce cocaine into the United States resumed, but at a reduced level, in late 1990s in cooperation with the Jamaican traffickers who popularised the Colombia-Jamaica-Bahamas-United States route. In the early 2000s, the area again became a hot spot, now managed through a highly developed collaboration between Colombian and Jamaican traffickers. Consequently, cocaine seizures in the area climbed, thus reducing the total amount of cocaine transiting this corridor. However, the change in American security priorities after the terrorist events in Washington and New York has left the final stage of this corridor vulnerable and the year 2002 has witnessed an increase in the flow of cocaine moving through the area, with a revival of some smuggling techniques similar to the simple methods of trafficking of the 1980s.¹⁰

Since the early 1990s, Puerto Rico has remained the largest hub for cocaine in the Caribbean. Several routes converge in the Spanish-speaking American protectorate: the cocaine flows to the island directly from South America, from the Dominican Republic in the west or from the Eastern Caribbean islands in the east. About one-third of cocaine flowing through the Caribbean ends up in Puerto Rico – and this percentage is slowly increasing¹¹. During the period 2001-2002, the cocaine flow into Puerto Rico came increasingly

from the east. Although the majority of the cocaine continues entering Puerto Rico either directly from Latin America or from the Dominican Republic, an increasingly busy route is taking the cocaine from the Eastern Caribbean islands into Puerto Rico. Haiti, which was an important staging point for cocaine to the United States in the late 1990s, is gradually losing importance due to the political turmoil which has proven to be a brake to business, including the drug business which is also interested in social and political stability in order to flourish.

While the Western and Central Caribbean are inclined to service the American market, the Eastern and mainland Caribbean are more prone to direct their cocaine exports to Europe. Some of the jurisdictions are closely linked to Europe and have limited barriers to trade with the European Union, thus making it easier to conceal cocaine within other legitimate trade. Cocaine traffickers are exploiting the combination of the proximity

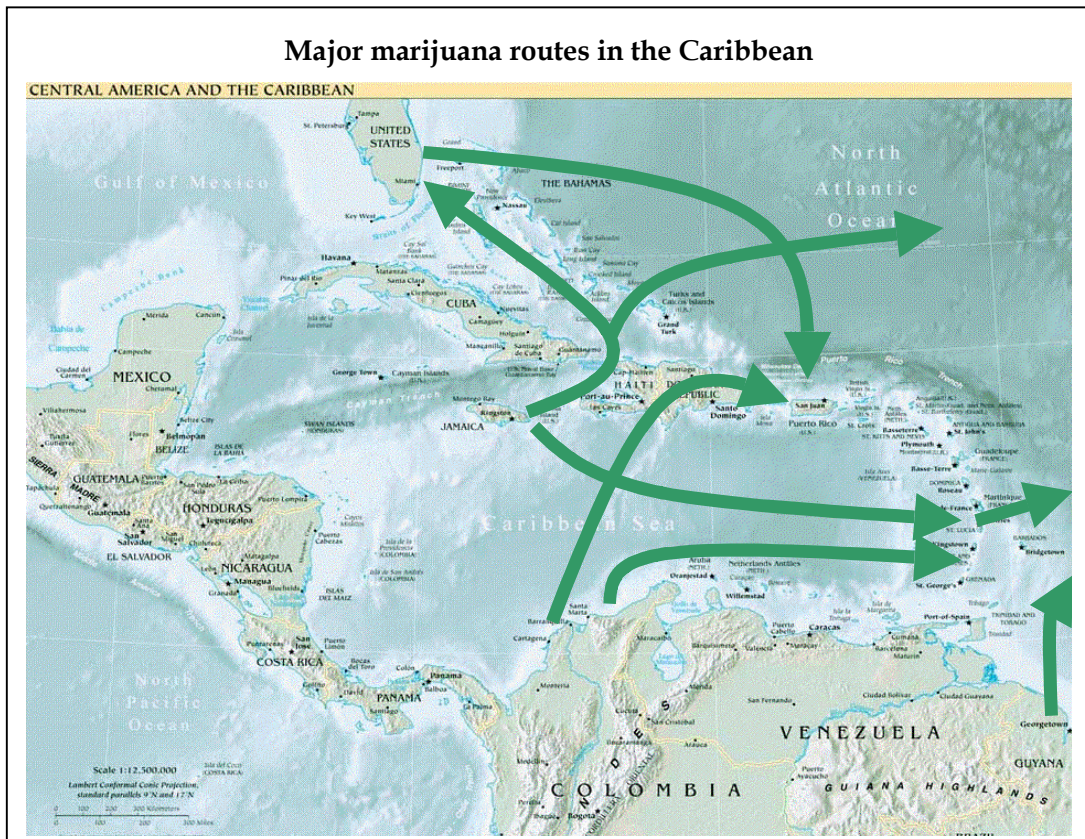
In the case of the United Kingdom, the increasing preference for hashish oil and the greater availability of Morocco's production has reduced the exports of herbal cannabis from the Caribbean.

of production area and unrestricted access to the mainly borderless European Union to their advantage¹².

Cocaine trafficking in the Caribbean is deeply fragmented, looking more like a free market with limited entry costs rather than a monopoly. There is no region-wide organisation in the Caribbean drug market, not even one for any single drug. There are no signs to indicate the emergence of any regional organisation that might aspire to claim a monopoly of the regional drug market. The Colombian traffickers, who had traditionally exerted a great influence over the cocaine market through their ability to control the supply of cocaine to the region and who have the capacity to favour some organisations over others, seem to feel comfortable within this framework of limited competition¹³. Instead, there are several unconnected markets and organisations operating in segmented markets. National groups continue to be powerful because they have better access to a valuable resource – corruption¹⁴. Mexican

nationals dominate the cocaine market in Belize; Jamaican groups in cooperation with Colombian traffickers exert strict control over the Jamaica-Bahamas corridor for cocaine¹⁵. Dominican organisations, in close collaboration with Colombian subsidiaries, have a prominent role in the cocaine trafficking area around Puerto Rico, as well as Hispaniola and the northern islands of the Eastern Caribbean. Venezuelan, Brazilian and European groups, in collaboration with local traffickers and launderers, are prominent in the cocaine trade in the South American Caribbean (Guyana, Suriname, French Guiana). Communications between the dominant groups in each area and across the different drug corridors are almost non-existent. Language seems to be a strong facilitator of the drug trade for every drug available in the Caribbean.

Following two decades of constant decline, Caribbean marijuana production and exports have not recovered in the first year of the third millennium. While marijuana demand in the Caribbean in-



creased slightly¹⁶, as it has in North America and Europe, marijuana exports to the industrialised countries fell. Caribbean marijuana has been displaced from its traditional export markets – the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom – by high-quality local production, both in-doors and out-doors. In the case of the United Kingdom, the increasing preference for hashish oil and the greater availability of Morocco's production has reduced the exports of herbal cannabis from the Caribbean, especially Jamaica, to levels under two percent of the total market. In total, Caribbean exports of marijuana reached 160MT – 80% being exported to North America and the rest to Europe. The revenues generated by this production amounted to US\$2m. In real terms, the value of Caribbean marijuana exports has plummeted by 80% since the early 1980s. In fact, since the late 1990s, the Caribbean has become a net importer of marijuana leaving behind a history of local massive marijuana production, with Puerto Rico acquiring cannabis in the continental United States and the southern Caribbean and Hispaniola importing high-quality marijuana from Colombia. The marijuana market in the Caribbean is now an internal common market rather than an export-oriented production. In this context, the trade is very fragmented with Jamaican traffickers exerting a great influence derived from their control of production.

While cocaine and marijuana have been traditionally linked to the Caribbean since the beginning

of the large-scale illicit trafficking in the 1970s, two new illicit narcotics are gradually being incorporated into the repertoire of drugs handled in the Caribbean – heroin and ecstasy. Heroin use is so far largely confined to Puerto Rico, where the problem was imported from the diaspora in the continental United States. Local gangs then imported the substance into Puerto Rico from the United States east coast. However, two separate incidents have put increased pressure on the Caribbean as a transshipment point. The upsurge of Colombia as a large poppy cultivator and heroin producer has put the region on the heroin trafficking map as never before because the Caribbean lies between this production area and the consumption market in the United States¹⁷ – the very situation that gave rise to the presence of cocaine in the region for decades. Additionally, since the mid-1990s the use of heroin in the United States – which had declined for more than a decade – regained popularity and young people there started to use a high-quality product that is sniffed rather than injected¹⁸. Given the price difference between Europe and the United States, there is an incentive to use the region as a transshipment point to introduce heroin produced in South East Asia into the United States. The very same logic applies to ecstasy and other amphetamine-type substances. The differential between low prices in the European countries where this substance is produced and the emerging American market has led to the use of the region to introduce ecstasy into the United States.

DRUG PRICES IN THE CARIBBEAN

The prices of illicit drugs have been used to monitor developments in the drug markets as they are considered a mirror of supply (availability) and demand. In fact, the law enforcement logic intrinsic to controlling the supply of illicit drugs is based on several economic principles – enforcement will decrease the supply of drugs thus raising the price and, given that there is an inverse relationship between drug use and prices, more users will abandon drug consumption because they are unable to afford the high price. The reported prices of illicit drugs in the Caribbean did not increase from 2000 to 2001. In some jurisdictions the prices of illicit drugs fell slightly. Nevertheless, the price range - both wholesale and retail - is very high, an experience that has been recorded everywhere because the lack of consumer information, created by the illegal nature of the trade, leads to extraordinarily segmented markets with very dispersed prices.

The lowest prices of cocaine at a retail level are recorded in the Central Caribbean – Jamaica, Haiti and the Dominican Republic – and the South American Caribbean, while the highest prices are found in Bermuda and some Eastern Caribbean islands. Given the available data, three factors seem to be critical in establishing cocaine price: the size of the market – larger demand is associated with lower prices; closeness to busy trafficking routes – the more available, the cheaper, although the diversion of in-transit cocaine for local use seems to be an exceptional strategy; and police control of society. Quality is an element in the local differential in drug prices, but the main factor affecting the final price is the relationship of the consumer with his or her dealer as sellers

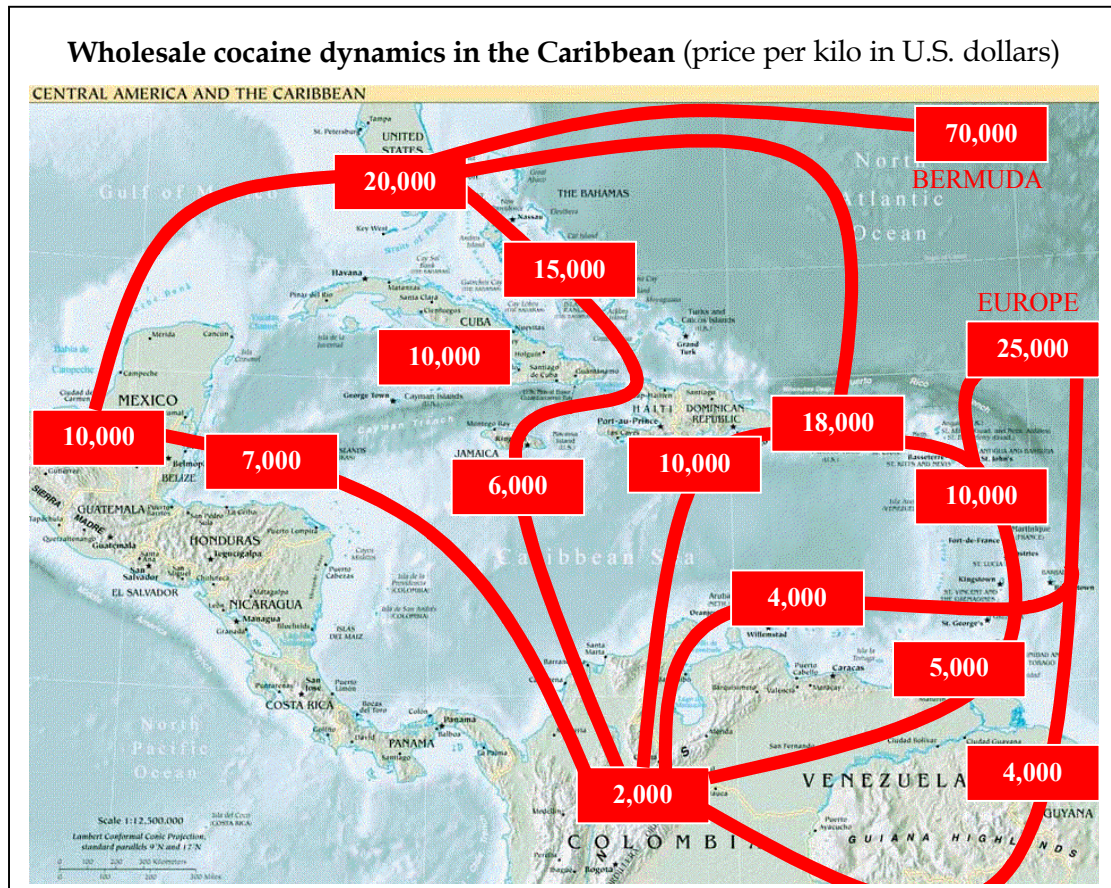
practice huge price discrimination strategies among clients.

The wholesale price of cocaine shows fewer disparities among Caribbean jurisdictions. The universal range of prices goes from US\$5,000 to US\$20,000 with the exception of Bermuda, where the price is much higher. This price range is lower than the ranges in the main consuming markets thus introducing incentives for product export. The wholesale prices are basically influenced by the distance from Colombia¹⁹. The Dutch islands off the Venezuelan coast and the South American Caribbean have the lowest recorded prices, while Bermuda and some islands at the northern end of the Eastern Caribbean report the highest prices. The unweighted ratio between wholesale and retail cocaine prices is 3.3 : 1, i.e., the middlemen within the jurisdiction increase the price of the cocaine by 230%. This percentage may be higher because purity alterations – the propensity of middlemen to adulterate the purity of the cocaine for their own profit – are not re-

The lowest prices of cocaine at a retail level are recorded in the Central Caribbean – Jamaica, Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

Reported price of cocaine at a retailing level in Caribbean jurisdictions and selected countries (2001 US\$ dollars per gram)

Colombia	2.5
Suriname	5
Jamaica	6
Haiti	8
Costa Rica	9
Guyana	11
Dominican Republic	14
Turks and Caicos	14
Trinidad and Tobago	16
Saint Lucia	17
Saint Kitts and Nevis	20
Cayman Islands	30
Cuba	30
Netherlands Antilles	34
Bahamas	35
Grenada	38
Dominica	43
Barbados	50
Spain	65
France	75
United States	80
Canada	90
United Kingdom	100
British Virgin Islands	100
Russia	150
Bermuda	350



corded.

The prices of the drug of choice in the Caribbean – cannabis – show greater disparities – from US\$0.1 to US\$5 per gram. The lowest prices for marijuana are recorded in the largest producing countries, such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. On the other hand, the highest retail prices for marijuana seem to be related to the wealth of the local demand – the jurisdictions with highest per capita income, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Aruba, and Puerto Rico show the highest prices for marijuana. This fact cannot be explained by their closeness to producing countries when some of those high-priced jurisdictions – the Bahamas and Puerto Rico – are indeed producers of marijuana. The retail-wholesale ratio for marijuana is even higher than for cocaine – 3.9 : 1.

Ecstasy and heroin, whose use is still limited, are the illicit drugs with the highest price per gram in the Caribbean. Ecstasy tablets, despite huge disparities in quality, are almost universally sold in the Caribbean at between US\$25 and US\$30 with some notable exceptions²⁰. With these prices, the incentives for smuggling ecstasy into or through the Caribbean are immense – the same pills may be acquired in the producing areas in Europe, especially Spain and the Netherlands, for prices ranging from US\$2 to US\$5. Colombia may well pose a new transshipment threat to the Caribbean as illegal laboratories for the production of synthetic drugs (including ecstasy) were discovered in 2002 in Colombia, thus very likely increasing the availability of amphetamine and ecstasy in the Caribbean²¹. For heroin, whose availability is restricted to a few countries in the Caribbean, the price disparities are high depending on the quality of the product and demand size – thus in Puerto

Rico with a stable, large population of heroin addicts purity levels are high and prices are relatively low²².

Although the prices of amphetamine-type substances have barely fluctuated in the past two years in the region, thus helping to maintain them out of the reach of the majority of at-risk youth, these substances are posing an increased danger because they are gaining popularity among teenagers in the Caribbean, as revealed in recent drug surveys²³. In addition, stimulants of this nature are increasingly available due to trafficking routes that originate in Europe passing through the Caribbean, as well as the increased possibility of ac-

cess to tablets that were produced in South America (i.e. Colombia). Availability of the drugs combined with their increasing popularity may very likely reinforce local markets and thus pose a new threat to Caribbean youth.

Suriname, because of its direct links with the Netherlands, is one of the entry points for ecstasy tablets into the region, and subsequently northwards to the United States. Suriname's proximity to South American cocaine source and major transit countries also points to the barter modality in that country in the payment for ecstasy tablets with cocaine.

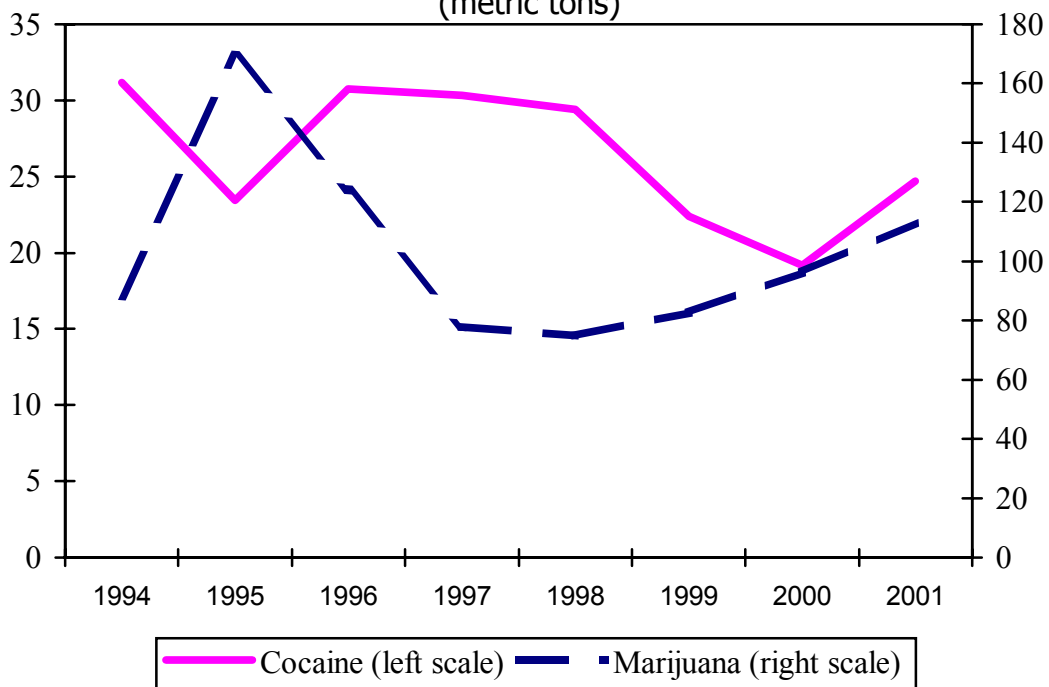
DRUG ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITY

In 2001, the countries and territories that comprise the Caribbean region accounted for aggregate seizure figures of 24.7 MT of cocaine, 112.9 MT of marijuana, 223 kilos of heroin and over 115,000 ecstasy tablets. Heroin, cocaine and cannabis seizures showed large increases over the previous year – 35%, 29% and 17% respectively – and this upward trend has been confirmed by the reported seizures during the first half of 2002. On the other hand, the number of ecstasy tablets seized by law enforcement agencies in the Caribbean decreased by 60%. For cocaine, this increase in 2001 and 2002 represents a U-turn in historical trends which have shown a constant decline in cocaine seizures since 1996. The amount of marijuana seized by law enforcement agencies continued the upward trend that began in 1998

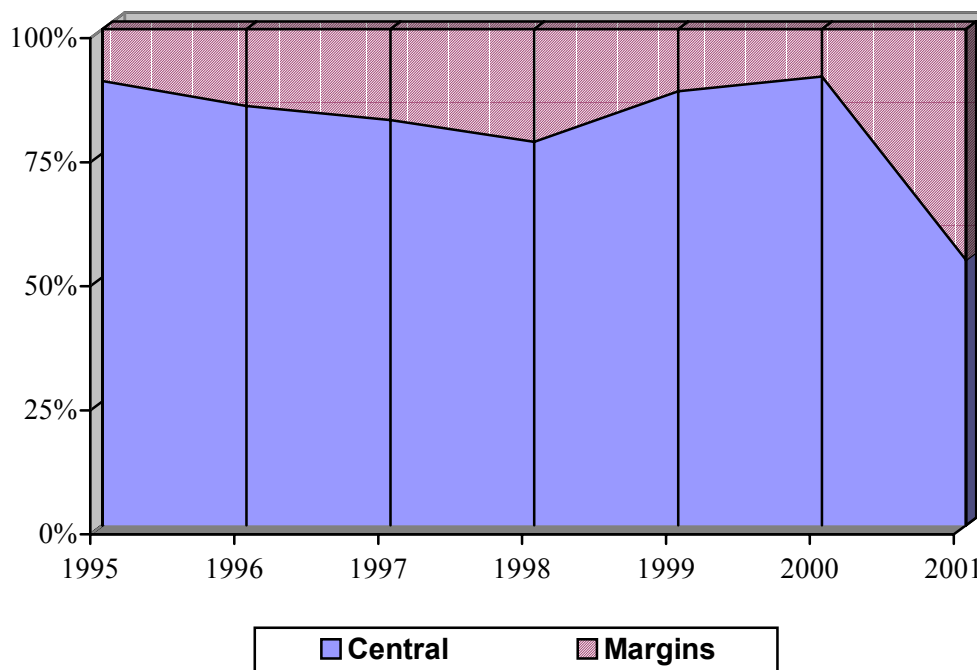
following huge declines in the period 1995-1997. Heroin seizures are at a historical high. The interception rate for cocaine (the amount of cocaine seized divided by the total estimated quantity of cocaine crossing Caribbean jurisdictions) increased from 8.7% in 2000 to 11.5% in 2001. For marijuana, the interception rate was well over 25%.

The highest increases in cocaine seizures by jurisdiction took place in Anguilla, Belize, Bermuda, Antigua and Barbuda, Turks and Caicos Islands and Suriname. On the other hand, in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Cuba and Puerto Rico the amount of cocaine seized declined by more than 50%. By geographical areas, the highest increases in cocaine seizures took

Cocaine and marijuana seizures in the Caribbean, 1994-2001
(metric tons)



Cocaine seizures in the Caribbean by region, 1995-2001



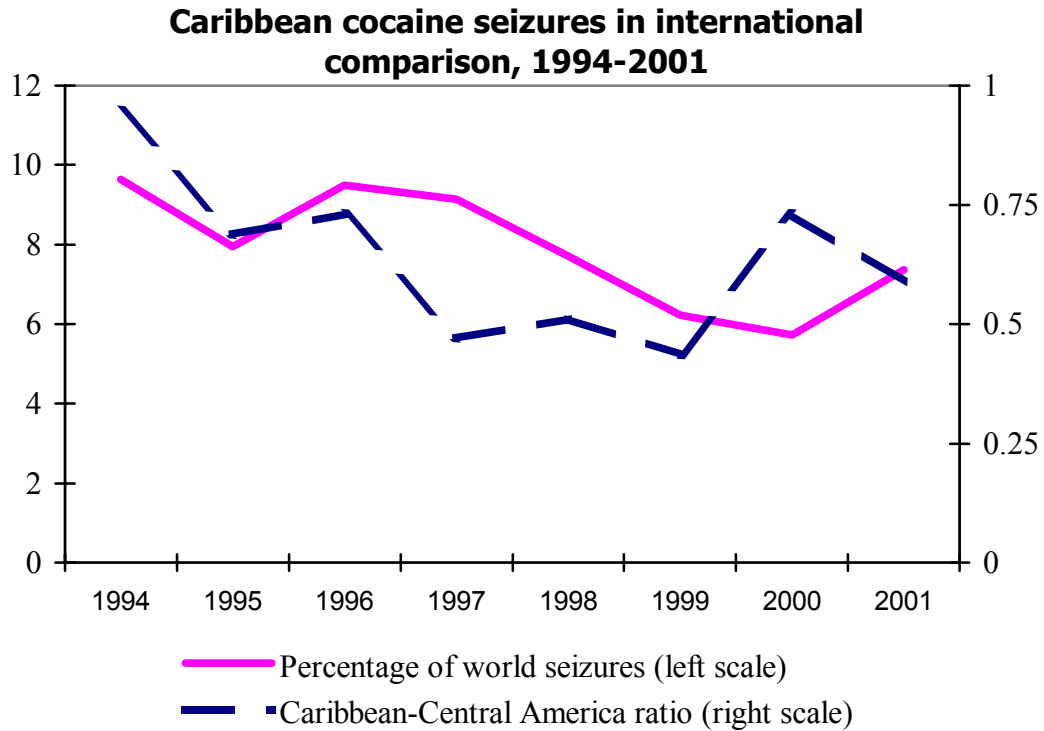
Central Caribbean: Cayman Islands, Jamaica, Cuba, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, U.S. Virgin Islands, and British Virgin Islands.

Periphery: Belize, Aruba, Netherlands Antilles, all jurisdictions in the Eastern Caribbean, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, French Guiana, Suriname and Bermuda.

place on the margins of the Caribbean. Belize and Bermuda recorded the largest increases in cocaine seizures – well over 1000%. The South American Caribbean and the Eastern Caribbean also saw increases in their share of cocaine seizures – by 400% and 200%, respectively. Meanwhile in the Central Caribbean area, from the Cayman Islands and The Bahamas to Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, the amount of cocaine seized declined by 23%. Nevertheless, this area continues to account for more than half the total cocaine seized – but this ratio has been dramatically reduced from 85% during the 1995-2000 period to 53% in 2001. This change in the volume of cocaine seized may be indicative of a new development in trafficking patterns – increased law enforcement pres-

sure and the increasing participation of the European export market has transferred the bulk of the cocaine trafficking from the Central area to the margins.

Cocaine seizures prove that the Caribbean is a high intensity cocaine trafficking area. With only 0.5% of the world’s population, the law enforcement agencies of the region contributed 7.4% of the global seizures of cocaine. This percentage increased in 2001 after five consecutive years in which the share of cocaine seizures in the Caribbean declined. In 1994, the percentage of cocaine seizures in the Caribbean reached a historic high of 12%. However, cocaine seizures are much lower in the Caribbean than in the competing Central American-Mexican corridor. For every



Caribbean-Central America ratio = Cocaine seizures in the Caribbean / Cocaine seizures in Central America and Mexico.

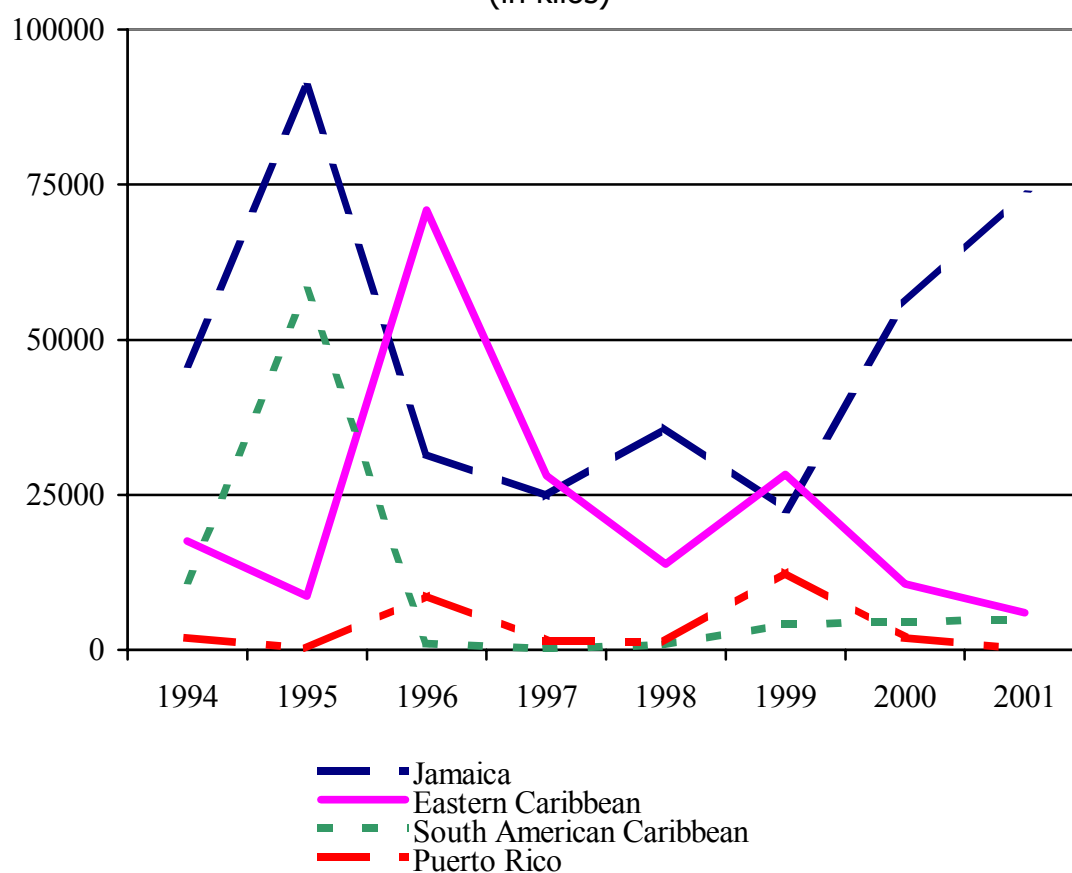
kilo of cocaine seized in the Caribbean, nearly two are confiscated in Central America. The difference may be explained by the difficulties of patrolling the high seas in the Caribbean as opposed to a mainly terrestrial interdiction in Mexico and Central America. This ratio fell slightly in 2001 but is showing an increase over that of the 1997-1999 period, reflecting in part the increasing share of cocaine transshipment through the Caribbean.

Caribbean seizures of cannabis increased by 17% in 2001. This overall growth hides another reality – Jamaica contributes more than 50% of the total figure and is responsible for the increase in cannabis seizures. Ignoring Jamaica, the total weight of the marijuana seizures in the Caribbean declined by 4%. The diminishing trend in marijuana interdiction figures may partly be explained by the decreasing flow of cannabis in the region.

However, the extent of this decrease is too large to be explained solely by the declining availability. In the Eastern Caribbean, seizures of cannabis plummeted from 70MT in 1996 to 6MT in 2001. In Puerto Rico, the decline is equally extraordinary: 12MT in 1999 and just 100 kgs in 2001. The amount of herbal cannabis seized in the Caribbean accounts for 2.5% of the global seizures. In 1995, this figure was 5%.

An analysis of 57 large seizures of cocaine and marijuana in the Caribbean – each more than one hundred kilos and totalling over 47MT – provides some insightful perspectives: only 0.4% of the total cannabis and 6% of the cocaine seizures were made in or close to an aircraft or on the beaches coming from a likely illegal air drop. Maritime routes are overwhelmingly used for transporting large amounts of illegal drugs. Although cocaine and marijuana hauls in go-fast

**Marijuana seizures by selected regions
1994-2001
(in kilos)**



**Origin of reported large seizures of cocaine and marijuana in the Caribbean
(over 50 kilos)
2000- 2001 (in percentages)²⁴**

	Marijuana	Cocaine
Colombia	21.4	72.0
Dominica	0.9	..
Jamaica	70.0	13.2
Saint Lucia	..	5.1
Sint Maarten	..	5.2
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	4.9	4.6
Venezuela	2.7	..
	(100%)	(100%)

boats make up the majority of the seizures, the use of fishing boats is not unusual – 4% and 8% of the marijuana and cocaine seized, respectively.

Jamaica was the place of origin of 70% of marijuana confiscated in large seizures in the region. Colombia is the place of origin of over 20% of the cannabis seized while Venezuela, Dominica and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines contribute marginal amounts of exported marijuana. Colombia was the origin of over 70% of the cocaine seized, with Jamaica and other islands in the Eastern Caribbean being the origin of smaller amounts of cocaine.

Close to 90% of the drugs seized in the Caribbean – overwhelmingly captured by national law enforcement agencies – was destined for the United States. Local consumption accounted for 6% of the marijuana seized. For cocaine, 10% of the amount seized was en route to Europe, while the rest was going to the United States.

Beyond the overall data on seizures, there have been some diplomatic conflicts and some encouraging experiences regarding the pressure local authorities exert on drug trafficking. The number of air-couriers that conceal cocaine in their body cavities to enter Europe has been a source of con-

cern for local, European and, to a lesser extent, North American authorities. Although cocaine arriving into Europe travels by commercial planes, it is a small part of the total cocaine in transit to Europe. In fact, it accounts for less than 20% of the total seizures. The number of people involved and the fact that they indirectly affect the key economic activity (tourism) make them important both to foreign law enforcement agencies operating in the Caribbean and to local authorities. Air Jamaica, the largest regional airline, was recently branded “Cocaine Air” by a popular British tabloid, although it is far from proven that other airlines running the same routes are used by drug couriers to any lesser extent. In the late 1990s over one metric ton of cocaine was seized at the Amsterdam’s Skipol Airport on flights and passengers coming from Suriname alone. Drug arrests on flights departing Aruba and Curacao for The Netherlands and the United States are far from rare. The government of The Netherlands claimed to have arrested as many as five hundred drug couriers a week at Skipol in October 2002, many of them coming from the Caribbean. Cocaine is routinely detected in flights from the English-speaking Caribbean to the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom Deputy Amba-

Likely destination of selected large seizures of cocaine and marijuana in the Caribbean, 2000-2001 (in percentage)

	Marijuana	Cocaine
Europe	..	10.3
Local consumption	6.3	..
United States	93.7	89.7
	(100%)	(100%)

sador to Jamaica²⁵ claimed in 2002 that one in ten passengers flying from Jamaica to Britain was a drug mule and that as much as thirty kilograms of cocaine was being smuggled on every flight from Jamaica²⁶. The same problem can be found on flights from Cuba or the Dominican Republic to Spain or the United States, from the French Departments in the Caribbean to France, and from Puerto Rico to the continental United States.

During the past year, some approaches have proven to be successful deterrents in dealing with drugs on commercial passenger flights. Partly as a response to anxiety in the United Kingdom over crack cocaine and the related violence, Jamaica's government undertook two measures that have had a significant impact on drug couriers. First, they strengthened their co-operation with the British counterparts, including the signing of a bilateral agreement, training of local officers and an exchange of visits by senior Jamaican and British government and law enforcement officials. Second, in June 2002 Jamaica installed IonScan machines that have been in operation at the island's two international airports. The machines are able to detect trace amounts of cocaine or other substances they have been calibrated to match, thereby increasing the likelihood that people who have been in contact with drugs will be held. According to Jamaican officials, since the machines have been in place, over one hundred suspected swallows have been held at the airports. In parallel, security was tightened at British airports receiving Jamaican flights in order to catch drug couriers. To extend the increased security programs at Jamaican airports, new X-ray scanners and an electronic fingerprint system to access port areas are scheduled for installation early in 2003. The improved drug detection technology available to Jamaica has also meant that the pressure is being shifted to other

airports in the region where the equipment is not as sophisticated, once again proving the balloon-effect of displacing trafficking routes to points of least resistance. The point is particularly true in the case of Antigua which also has an international airport with long-haul flight capacity to the United Kingdom and North America. In fact, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of couriers targeting Antigua during the course of 2002 and, more importantly, since the introduction of the new detection equipment in Jamaica²⁷.

The Netherlands Antilles authorities took a different approach to a similar problem with mixed results so far. In 2002, the Dutch national air carrier, KLM, began pre-flight screening of passengers after threatening to stop flying to Curacao because of problems with drug smugglers, including the death of a courier on board a flight. Under this scheme, the airline sends a passenger list to the local police about an hour before each flight, and the police recommend which passengers to reject – those rejected are refunded. The authorities in Sint Maarten went a step further

There has been a noticeable increase in the number of couriers targeting Antigua during the course of 2002 and, more importantly, since the introduction of the new detection equipment in Jamaica.

when they agreed to share data with The Netherlands about would-be passengers when they try to buy a ticket. Travel agents now have an online connection with a local department of the Ministry of Justice. The agents provide daily reports of each person who booked a flight and the authorities indicate those that should be allowed to travel. Persons with a previous conviction on

drug trafficking charges or who are otherwise under suspicion with the local authorities are prevented from buying a ticket. Short notice bookings undergo screening at the airport. This screening of drug couriers has led to arrests at the airport and scores of no-shows, although the number of people detained in The Netherlands has decreased only slightly.

THE AFTERMATH OF SEPTEMBER 11 AND ITS EFFECTS ON DRUG TRAFFICKING IN THE CARIBBEAN

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States have had a substantial impact on many global issues, including drug trafficking in the Caribbean. These terrorist acts and the subsequent response of the United States have had two effects. In the short term, drug smuggling into the United States was virtually stopped after the terrorist attack. In the first two weeks after the September 11 attack, drug seizures by Customs agents dropped by 60% as compared with the same period in the previous year. But this period of inactivity, which lasted no more than one month and has been explained in terms of psychological shock or trauma to the drug traffickers rather than as a result of any other considered behaviour, was followed by a rapid resumption of drug smuggling activity. In October and November 2001, according to law enforcement authorities, seizures of illegal drugs at United States borders and ports of entry increased by 300% over the corresponding period in the previous year. In Miami, dealers' prices for the drugs – the surest measure of Caribbean supply – recovered rapidly from a quick upsurge after

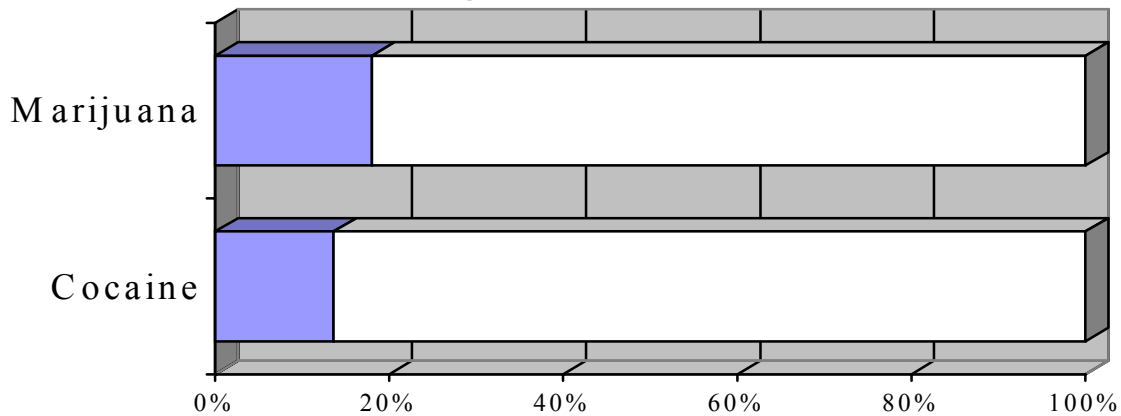
the terrorist events in the United States.

The long-term effect of the terrorist attacks has been of a different nature. The visibility of the terrorist threat changed the priorities of law enforcement in the United States and this has had implications for the Caribbean. In the months following the attacks, some three-quarters of the United States Coast Guard cutters, helicopters and other assets and a large part of the personnel that were used to search the sea – especially the Caribbean area – were reassigned to protect warships, nuclear power plants and oil tankers in American ports, to escort cruise ships, and other terrorism-related tasks. About half of the Coast Guard's special agents who usually investigated drug cases were shifted to commercial jets as air marshals. Other American agencies involved in drug enforcement have changed their focus from drug trafficking to terrorism²⁸.

Security concerns in the United States extend to Puerto Rico where “Homeland Security” is clearly being implemented. This heightened security has also led to the island's borders being even more tightly guarded against the entry of narcotics which in turn has led to a scarcity of drugs since the new measures have been implemented. The ensuing reduction in supply has led to more competition among the drug traffickers resulting in a consistently high homicide rate.²⁹ The volume of illegal drugs confiscated in the Miami seaport fell by 37% after the terrorist attacks³⁰. This decline in seizures cannot be explained by random variations in law enforcement efficiency or the decline in drug use in the United States, so it seems to be the partial response to fewer resources dedicated to drug-related enforcement activities. A limited

Cocaine, heroin and marijuana traffickers have returned to the sea routes they favoured during the 1980s now that the United States law enforcement authorities' attention is focused closer to US shores.

Percentage of cocaine and marijuana seizures in the Caribbean in September-December 2001 as compared with all of 2001



decline in drug seizures in 2002 was recorded on the U.S.-Mexican border, where security checks have been expanded. The end result of increased security at the seaports has been an increase in the frequency of use of drug-carrying speedboats that are capable of dropping their illicit cargo near the coastline and returning to home port with limited chances of being intercepted by slower maritime law enforcement assets. In fact, cocaine, heroin and marijuana traffickers have returned to the sea routes they favoured during the 1980s now that the attention of United States law enforcement authorities is focused closer to US shores. Accordingly, the amount of cocaine crossing the Caribbean may be expected to rise in the following years because the balance of American security between the two alternative routes (Mexico and the Caribbean) has changed – increased security in the Mexican border and reduced sea patrolling in the Caribbean – changing with it the cost structure offered by drug traffickers. This reduction in sea patrols in the Caribbean has had a complementary effect – the re-emergence of The Bahamas connection and Puerto Rico and a parallel reduction in the use of alternative routes. As the Caribbean Sea is to a

certain extent “less protected”, the traffickers can more easily put their merchandise very close to the final destination in the United States without stopping in other ports, thus increasing their visibility. This security measure by traffickers is now unnecessary.

In the Caribbean, the combined impact of the September 11 terrorist attacks on illegal drug trafficking can be seen in the number of seizures. The amount of cocaine and marijuana seized from September to December 2001 – a third of the year – accounted for a mere fourteen and eighteen percent, respectively, of the total seizures during 2001.

The Caribbean region is also vulnerable to illegal migration, with traffickers in human beings actively using the existing illicit networks to smuggle persons into the United States and other countries. These networks do not discriminate on the basis of affiliation to terrorist organisations and travel documents offering new identities are easily available for a price. Once in the region, the “transshipment” phenomena which apply to illicit drugs also apply to persons as individuals or groups can move from one jurisdiction to the next

by a variety of means which often go unchecked or are subject to fewer controls – i.e. pleasure craft. The trafficking of human beings and the illegal migration problem affecting the region had been localized primarily in the Greater Antilles with well documented attempts made by Cubans and Haitians to reach U.S. shores directly or via The Bahamas, as well as Dominican nationals trying to reach Puerto Rico. Homeland security considerations also appear to have altered some of the attempts at trafficking in persons with “back doors” into the United States now being sought

more actively. The “back doors” in question include the jurisdictions³¹ that neighbour the USVI and Puerto Rico. These jurisdictions are targeted for their proximity and also because their legislation currently imposes minimum sentences or fines for anyone attempting to smuggle persons into their territories. These countries would benefit from adopting the provisions of the protocols dealing with trafficking in human beings and the smuggling of migrants contained in the United Nations Transnational Organized Crime Convention.

INTER-REGIONAL COOPERATION

Countering the regional drug trafficking problem has increasingly relied on closer cooperation among the law enforcement agencies of the region and the extra-regional law enforcement agencies that operate in the region. The results are not only encouraging but should prove to be an incentive to other law enforcement agencies to seek closer working ties in drug interdiction investigations across the region. For example, since Jamaica and Colombia signed a bilateral drug law enforcement agreement in April 2002, seizures have increased drastically both in number and in volume. In fact the largest cocaine seizures - 1,543kgs, 1,363kgs and 814kgs of cocaine in August and September 2002 - were seized on speedboats in separate operations by joint Colombian and Jamaican counter drug operations³². In The Bahamas, cooperation between the Royal Bahamas Police Force and United States law enforcement agents netted the largest cocaine haul of 2002 when close to 1000kgs were seized in July³³.

Another example of successful inter-regional cooperation is evident in maritime drug law enforcement operations where a larger proportion of the seizures is made, compared with illicit substances seized from individual couriers. The participation of maritime assets from the United States, the United Kingdom, France and The Netherlands in regional maritime counter drug enforcement has assisted in the seizure of large quantities of cocaine. For example, British, American and Dutch aircraft were involved in pinpointing the location of a ship containing 750kgs of cocaine off the Venezuelan coast in October 2002³⁴. Dutch Coast Guard authorities seized 907kgs of cocaine in Aruba on a freighter in an operation

that involved the arrest of more than 185 people, spanned drug trafficking activities ranging from the Eastern Pacific to the Caribbean, and with the entire operation netting a total of 109,000kgs of cocaine³⁵.

The tranquil waters of the Caribbean have for years been the playground for yachts from all over the world. Over the past couple of years these yachts have become increasingly associated with drug trafficking attempts, a tendency indicated by the increased number of seizures originating on yachts. The smuggling modalities are straightforward and involve yachts being loaded, primarily with cocaine, while in dry dock³⁶ and transported on other ships back to Europe or North America. Others are intercepted with cocaine on board while en route to their final destinations³⁷. The increased security at seaports implies that drug loading operations will be deterred but indications point to the Caribbean being used for loading operations outside territorial waters and thus outside the reach of the patrolling Coast Guard vessels. The modality, observed in South

British, American and Dutch aircraft were involved in pinpointing the location of a ship containing 750kgs of cocaine off the Venezuelan coast

America and in the United Kingdom, of loading larger vessels with smaller supply vessels is a real threat that law enforcement agencies are also faced with in the Caribbean.³⁸

Although several successes have been recorded during the course of 2002 in maritime drug law enforcement based operations, the main threat is still posed by maritime based drug trafficking with container trafficking accounting for the largest portion of the volume. This is an area of control that will continue to demand greater efforts and resources as the Caribbean region strives to become a single market and economy for the movement of goods, people and services.

The consolidation of the work of the CARICOM Task Force on Crime and Security during the course of 2002 is another encouraging step forward in inter-regional cooperation. Perhaps more importantly, an understanding of the linkages between drug trafficking and crime, with their overall impact on national and regional security, is being forged within the region itself. The

CARICOM Task Force has produced a regional strategy, approved by the CARICOM Heads of Government, which highlights the regional priorities and their translation to the national forum. The national measures include the establishment of national crime commissions that aim to empower communities to work with police and assist them in dealing with all aspects of crime in the country. This is considered a positive move as the forging of new social contracts has proven to be an effective way to tackle the situation as the commissions involve systems of checks and balances. They will also seek to ensure that there is more accountability within the police force, as well as institute mechanisms to measure the performance of the police and the way that performance reflects on the civic obligations of the various communities. This bold move should result in a new Caribbean policing model, without which the region would be ill-equipped to handle more sophisticated trafficking schemes and criminal activities³⁹.

National crime commissions aim to empower communities to work with police and assist them in dealing with all aspects of crime in the country.

Annex I - Cocaine seizures, 1994-2001 (in kilos)

	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994
Anguilla	926	0	0	0	0	289	611	342
Antigua and Barbuda	767	24	26	1	126	6	115	130
Aruba	266	346	465	794	408	203	153	146
Bahamas	1,468	2,774	1,857	3,347	2,565	115	392	492
Barbados	83	81	138	35	88	36	248	246
Belize	3,850	13	38	1,221	2,691	470	845	143
Bermuda	667	13	392	11	4	23	9	20
British Virgin Islands	1,334	534	0	75	838	1,765	1,194	457
Cayman Islands	1,001	1,813	1,402	1,213	1,054	2,219	143	5
Cuba	1,278	3,145	2,444	956	1,444	7,905	372	238
Dominica	6	10	83	29	101	3	7	1652
Dominican Republic	1,908	1,307	1,071	2,337	1,225	1,341	4,391	2,888
French Guiana	..	25	446	3	213	9	64	0
Grenada	83	103	43	44	21	1,224	95	10
Guadeloupe	593	292	593	3,222	66	91	0	6,211
Guyana	31	164	37	175	167	45	51	76
Haiti	436	594	380	1,272	2,100	956	1,357	716
Jamaica	2,948	1,656	2,455	1,143	414	254	570	179
Martinique	..	15	36	46	37	17	0	0
Montserrat	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	60
Netherlands Antilles	1,043	n/a	18	639	1,302	710	111	906
Puerto Rico	2,831	5,516	9,977	10,344	15,153	11,072	12,512	15,167
Saint Kitts and Nevis	20	53	10	1	150	0	6	420
Saint Lucia	63	110	122	58	8	20	27	18
St. Vincent & Grenadines	0	50	15	13	1	2	13	61
Suriname	2,510	207	180	283	117	1,413	0	219
Trinidad and Tobago	616	303	137	79	31	180	95	342
Turks and Caicos	4	0	0	2,075	1	393	45	20
TOTAL...	24,729	19,169	22,365	29,416	30,326	30,761	23,427	31164

Annex II - Marijuana seizures, 1994-2001 (in kilos)

	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994
Anguilla	1	0	8	0	1	1	2	90
Antigua and Barbuda	662	67	94	105	628	1,485	215	3,380
Aruba	1,159	12	142	..	13	77	366	31
Bahamas	4,091	4,134	3,610	2,598	3,763	2,606	3,536	1,420
Barbados	..	2,948	1,116	96	1,092	3,083	856	377
Belize	245	249	392	1,557	263	202	40	142
Bermuda	32	N/a	n/a	83	92	107	79	0
British Virgin Islands	104	26	26	84	85	119	236	1,932
Cayman Islands	11,818	6,621	5,100	4,063	3,423	3,188	2,673	1,728
Cuba	6,121	8,802	5,559	4,610	6,023	5,369	4,482	1,195
Dominica	521	467	192	361	405	136	499	741
Dominican Republic	3,816	2,934	184	650	788	246	1,056	6,810
French Guiana	..	58	134	127	123	191	0	35
Grenada	152	195	219	688	1,057	667	1,769	250
Guadeloupe	516	1,017	515	8,860	20,179	52,377	0	1,935
Guyana	..	4,387	3,528	51	40	99	56,716	10,995
Haiti	1,705	401	31	9,255	9,000	0	0	46
Jamaica	74,044	55,870	22,740	35,911	24,729	31,587	90,737	46,000
Martinique	..	749	199	136	355	166	0	0
Montserrat	0	0	2,677	0	3	1	2	1,597
Netherlands Antilles	3,772	N/a	112	541	0	650	810	25
Puerto Rico	24	1,982	12,605	1,285	1,337	8,635	0	0
Saint Kitts and Nevis	330	120	14,124	31	67	5	3	29
Saint Lucia	753	1,804	352	352	622	326	102	182
St Vincent & Grenadines	1,962	1,709	7,180	1321	527	1,227	3,630	1,710
Suriname	6	107	177	105	65	17	35	39
Trinidad and Tobago	1,039	1,546	1558	1,850	3,120	11,408	1,634	7,249
Turks and Caicos	24	27	0	8	22	17	10	15
TOTAL...	112,896	96,233	82,575	74,728	77,822	123,992	169,488	87,953

Annex III - Heroin seizures, 1999-2001 (in kilos)

	2001	2000	1999
Aruba	65	78	6
Barbados	0	0	3
Belize	3	0	0
Bermuda	2	..	..
British Virgin Islands	1	0	0
Cayman Islands	0	1	0
Cuba	0	0	3
Dominican Republic	33	24	12
Guadaloupe	4	0	..
Jamaica	0	0	0
Netherland Antilles	72	..	..
Puerto Rico	42	24	..
Saint Lucia	0	2	0
Trinidad and Tobago	..	5	0
Turks and Caicos	0	0	0
TOTAL...	223	166	24

Annex IV - Ecstasy seizures, 1999-2001 (in tablets)

	2001	2000	1999
Aruba	59,874	85,279	873
Bahamas	4	64	0
Bermuda	153	..	..
Cayman Islands	0	80	45
Dominican Republic	30,903	125,073	0
Guadaloupe	500	25,540	..
Guyana	..	124	626
Jamaica	5,000	0	0
Netherland Antilles	20,465	..	..
Puerto Rico	1,977	..	..
Suriname	..	61,232	..
TOTAL...	118,876	297,391	1,544

ENDNOTES

¹ The trends analysis was conducted on the basis of available seizure data submitted by the various law enforcement agencies in the Caribbean. Since the 2002 data was incomplete, the analysis relies primarily on complete data sets from 2001 and an initial analysis of 2002 available seizure data.

² The highest prices in almost 20 years for coca leaf, cocaine's raw material, are pushing farmers in Peru to plant more drug crops. Nils Ericsson, head of Peru's anti-drug agency, stated that a kilo of coca leaf was now selling for between \$3 and \$4, the highest price since 1985. Coupled with a violent rebel conflict and government crackdown putting the squeeze on drug producers in the world's top cocaine-producing nation, neighbor Colombia, Peru has caught the eye of Colombian drug producers. According to Ericsson drug traffickers were counting on production in Peru to make up for difficulties in Colombia (Reuters, 11 Aug., 2002).

³ Opium cultivation has increased rapidly in the past few years, partly in response to growing repression in neighboring Colombia. In 2000 Peruvian police destroyed 25 hectares of illegally grown opium poppies. In 2001 the figure rose to 1,150 hectares and, with it, an incremental increase in quantities of morphine and heroin destroyed. (*The Financial Times*, London, 7 Jan., 2002)

⁴ Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, *Results from the 2001 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse*, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, Rockville, 2002; L.D. Johnston, P.M. O'Malley and J.G. Bachman, *The Monitoring the Future national survey results on adolescent drug use*, National Institute on Drug Abuse, Bethesda, 2002; Observatorio Europeo de la Droga y las Toxicomanías, *Informe anual sobre el problema de la drogodependencia en la Unión Europea y en Noruega 2002*, Oficina de Publicaciones Oficiales de las Comunidades Europeas, Luxembourg, 2002; and R. Bless, U. Kemmesies and S. Diemel, *Drug use trends in 42 European cities in the 1990s*, Pompidou Group, Strasbourg, 2001.

⁵ Ibid. United Nations Office on Drug Control and Crime Prevention, *Global Illicit Drug Trends 2002*, United Nations Office on Drug Control and Crime Prevention, Vienna, 2002; and UNDCP and CICAD's annual report for regions other than the U.S. and Europe; and Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission, *Analysis of SIDUC 2000: Inter-American drug use data system – student survey*, Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission, Washington, 2003.

⁶ Barry McCaffrey, the former Director of the U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy, declared before the Senate that, "We do not know how much marijuana the U.S. produces. My own sort of teaching device is probably half of it comes in from outside and half of it we are growing

domestically". United States Senate, *U.S. and Mexican counterdrug efforts since certification. Joint hearing before the Senate Caucus of International Narcotics Control and the Committee on Foreign Relations*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1998, p. 18. *The Miami Herald*, 20 February 2000.

⁷ Observatorio Europeo de la Droga y las Toxicomanías, *Informe anual sobre el problema de la drogodependencia en la Unión Europea y en Noruega 2002*, Oficina de Publicaciones Oficiales de las Comunidades Europeas, Luxembourg, 2002; and A. Labrousse and L. Romero, *Rapport sur la situation du cannabis dans le Rif marocain*, Observatoire Francais des Drogues et des Toxicomanies, Paris, 2002.

⁸ A combined methodology using the information on seizures both in the Caribbean and in other regions, as well as drug trafficking reports from the region, has been used to calculate the amounts.

⁹ Caribbean Coordination Mechanism, 2000-2001 Drug trends in the Caribbean, United Nations Office on Drug Control and Crime Prevention, Caribbean Regional Office, Bridgetown, 2002.

¹⁰ Caribbean Coordination Mechanism, 2000-2001 Drug trends in the Caribbean, United Nations Office on Drug Control and Crime Prevention, Caribbean Regional Office, Bridgetown, 2002.

¹¹ Office of National Drug Control Policy, *Estimation of cocaine availability 1996-2000*, Office of National Drug Control Policy, Washington, 2002; and M. Layne et al., *Measuring the deterrent effect of enforcement operations on drug smuggling, 1991-1999*, Office of National Drug Control Policy, Washington, 2001.

¹² In 2002, the use of pleasure crafts for cocaine trafficking originating in the Caribbean was observed on several occasions including the seizure in Spain of approx. 500kgs of cocaine concealed in a yacht that was loaded on a transport ship in Grenada.

¹³ The biggest marijuana seizure (27 bales) worth several million dollars in Antigua involved two Colombians. (*The Antigua Sun*, St. John's, 3 Jul., 2002)

¹⁴ Several incidents of corruption pointing to the involvement of public authorities with drug traffickers were reported in 2002. Here are some examples: in August 2002 the Dominican Republic's vice consul to Haiti was among five people arrested in possession of 43kgs of cocaine in Santo Domingo after a five-month investigation in the most high-profile narcotics case in recent years, according to Dominican authorities (*The Miami Herald*, Miami, 29 Aug., 2002); four men, a police constable and two BDF soldiers among them, have been charged with kidnapping in an incident that occurred about 11:00 a.m.

on Sunday, September 8th in Belize City. The police charged the four men after they investigated a report made by a Honduran fisherman after he was abducted from his house and turned over to two men who questioned him about a quantity of cocaine that he allegedly found. (*The Belize Times*, Belize City, 12 Sep., 2002); a police corporal was under investigation after narcotics agents held him with 65 kilograms of cocaine and US\$275,000 cash just outside Ocho Rios. (*The Jamaica Observer*, Kingston, 3 May, 2002).

¹⁵ Two Colombians arrested along with three other men in connection with the record cocaine seizure of 3,395 pounds (1,543 kilograms) in August, have each been sentenced to 10 years imprisonment at hard labour. (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, Kingston, 3 Oct., 2002)

¹⁶ Data provided by the reports/questionnaires sent by national authorities to the UNDCP Caribbean Regional Office.

¹⁷ A seizure of 73kgs of heroin and cocaine, possibly constituting the largest heroin seizure to date in the Dominican Republic, involved two Venezuelan military officers and three Dominican anti-drug agents arrested trying to smuggle the drugs into the country. (*The Miami Herald*, Miami, 12 Jun., 2002)

¹⁸ For an estimate of the total demand of heroin in the United States, see A.-M. Bruen *et al.*, *The estimation of heroin availability: 1996-2000*, Office of National Drug Control Policy, Washington, 2002; and W. Rhodes, *What America's users spend on illegal drugs, 1988-1998*, Office of National Drug Control Policy, Washington, 2000.

¹⁹ The number of foreign nationals detained in Barbados in transit to Europe on drug trafficking related charges has increased in 2002. In Barbados the starting point of many of the non-Caribbean nationals arrested in possession of cocaine is Guyana where the wholesale price is among the lowest in the region – again pointing to the proximity of Guyana to Colombia.

²⁰ According to the Central Police Department in Aruba, the most significant trend over the last few years has been the increase in confiscated ecstasy tablets. In 2001, 58,795 ecstasy tablets were seized among aircraft passengers arriving in and departing from Aruba. Another factor that may contribute to its spread on the local market in Aruba is its price. While in the US an ecstasy tablet is sold for US\$25, consumers in Aruba can purchase a tablet for 25 Florins (US\$14.4). UNDCP Caribbean Regional Office *Amphetamine and ecstasy use in the Caribbean*, Bridgetown, 2002.

²¹ In February 1999, the Department of Administrative Security (DAS) in Cali (Colombia) seized Colombia's first known MDMA laboratory. The trafficking organization responsible for this laboratory had a distribution network throughout Colombia, as well as in Mexico and in Miami, Florida. According to the DAS, this trafficking organization was able to manufacture 3,000 tablets every eight days. Since then other laboratories were detected in

Colombia, the last one in May 2002. (*Idem*)

²² UNDCP Caribbean Regional Office, *Heroin in the Caribbean*, Bridgetown, 2002.

²³ UNDCP Caribbean Regional Office *Amphetamine...* op.cit.

²⁴ The origin of the data utilized for the calculation is the seizure questionnaires and calculated according to the following formula: weight of the cocaine whose known origin is Colombia (or Dominica...) in seizures over 50 kilos divided by the total amount of cocaine whose origin is known and reported.

²⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, London, 4 Jan. 2002.

²⁶ The narcotics police have held 13 suspected drug smugglers at the island's two international airports since they started using the IonScan method of detection on Saturday, 1 June 2002. Seven were nabbed at Kingston's Norman Manley International Airport while the other six were taken in at the Sangster International Airport in Montego Bay. Of the six held in Montego Bay, one had ganja on his person while the others were swallowers. All seven picked up in Kingston had ingested the contraband. *The Jamaica Observer*, Kingston, 4 Jun. 2002.

²⁷ An English couple are the latest to be arrested operating as drug mules having cocaine strapped to their bodies. The English couple checked in at V.C. Bird International Airport for a Virgin Atlantic Flight to London and a quantity of 4.5 kilograms of cocaine was found, strapped to their bodies. Last week, three English women who were returning home were found with drugs strapped to their bodies and in a suitcase (*The Antigua Sun*, St. John's, 4 Oct., 2002); three British citizens were arrested and fined for attempting to smuggle a total of 3kgs of cocaine out of the country. (*The Antigua Sun*, October 15, 2002.) A 50-year-old Englishman was heavily fined for attempting to export 10.45 kgs of cocaine and possession of the drug with intent to supply. He was intercepted at the V.C. Bird International Airport while en route to the United Kingdom. (*The Antigua Sun*, St. John's, 27 Jun., 2002.)

²⁸ Terrorism has taken precedence over narcotics traffickers with the steady redeployment of US resources and manpower to the fight against terrorism. The FBI moved some 400 agents out of counter-narcotics operations to counter-terrorism task forces. The US Coast Guard, which helps intercept illegal drug shipments, moved many of its cutters from the Caribbean to defend ports along the eastern seaboard against terrorists. It plans to drop the proportion of its budget spent countering drugs from 18 to 13 per cent (*The Financial Times*, 12 Sept. 2002).

²⁹ Puerto Rico's homicide rate of 18 per 100,000 people in 2000 was more than three times the national average and higher than any U.S. state but Washington D.C. But as the national average has decreased about 30 percent since 1995, Puerto Rico's rate has remained about the same over those years. (*The Miami Herald*, Miami, 12 Aug. 2002)

³⁰ *Associated Press*, 28 May 2002.

³¹ In just one example of the smuggling attempts affecting the British Virgin Islands, three persons died while attempting to reach shore while twenty survived, among them nationals of Colombia, Haiti, México and the Dominican Republic. (*Canarsie Courier*, 19 Jul. 2001)

³¹ *The Jamaica Gleaner*, Kingston. 14 Aug., 20 Aug., 12 Sept. 2002.

³² *The Nassau Guardian*, Nassau, 16 Jul. 2002.

³³ *The BBC News*, London, 10 Oct., 2002.

³⁴ *Associated Press*, 2 Apr., 2002.

³⁵ The seizure in Sept. 2002 in Spain of a yacht loaded with approx. 500 kgs of cocaine that had been loaded in Grenada illustrates the point. In another incident, 455 kgs of hash oil were found in the lower deck of a yacht, which was docked off the coast of the Grand Lido Negril resort and was preparing for a voyage to Canada where it was to be dry-docked. (*The Jamaica Observer*, Kingston, 30 May, 2002). One of the largest seizures in France was conducted on board two sailing ships that were being transported back to France with a total of approx. one and a half tons of cocaine onboard.

(http://www.lavoixdunord.fr/vdn/journal/2002/12/24/INFO_GENE/ART5.shtml).

³⁶ A British Royal Navy destroyer has seized cocaine worth an estimated street value of \$66 million off the coast of Martinique in the Caribbean. HMS Newcastle took the illegal cargo overnight from a yacht near the island after a high-speed chase (*www.cnn.com*, 23 Jul., 2002)

³⁷ The most successful cocaine smuggling gang ever to target Britain was smashed after a massive international operation. For years the gang smuggled hundreds of millions of pounds of drugs into Britain. A Customs operation, codenamed Extend, uncovered a complex supply network embracing Colombia, Mexico, Brazil and Panama. Light aircraft parachuted drugs to waiting boats while speedboats made deliveries at sea. Yachts and other vessels in the Caribbean and South America were used to ship drugs to waters off Britain, where they were switched to local boats to avoid detection. Most of the handovers happened a few miles off Salcombe in Devon, Poole, Dorset and Lymington, Hants. Between 1996 and 1998 alone, cocaine with an estimated street value of £300million was smuggled in. (*The Daily Mirror*, London, 25 Jun., 2002). Colombian and U.S. authorities seized 12 tons of cocaine worth \$300 million and arrested nine people in international waters off Colombia. The vessel Paulo left the Colombian city of Buenaventura empty but once out to sea was loaded with cargo from speedboats. (*The Miami Herald*, Miami, 13 Feb., 2002)

³⁸ *The St. Lucia Star*, Castries, 13 Feb., 2002.