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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Facing Consolidation, Act II

BY F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

Another election season is upon us. And once again, except for Iraq, it is devoid of meaningful foreign policy debate. Instead, foreign affairs professionals' minds are already turned to transition tactics — how to obtain adequate resources for the 150 foreign affairs account in an era of declining federal funds and how to deal with a repeat attempt to reshape and consolidate the foreign affairs agencies.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff is drafting a fiscal 1998 foreign affairs authorization bill, which will again focus on downsizing and consolidating the foreign affairs agencies. The first time last year, with the Helms/Gilman proposal, the White House countered with equal fervor, refusing to even negotiate with Congress on the issue. Stalemate ensued after an energy-draining struggle failed to address and illuminate the real, core issue: nationally agreed-upon foreign policy goals.

No longer simply a device to eliminate duplicative administrative and program costs, agency amalgamation has become a major symbol of political victory. It masks, as well, some deep Republican-Democratic disagreements over foreign policy priorities and programs. Meanwhile, the costs of political stalemate are staggering. Needed reforms have not been undertaken, funding has been cut, significant programs have been slashed or eliminated, and skilled and experienced for-

No longer simply a device to eliminate duplicative functions and costs, agency amalgamation is a major symbol of political victory.



ign affairs professionals have been pushed off the payroll.

A study last year by the State Department's Inspector General's office concluded that funding and staff time at the 10 largest U.S. embassies were not being used to achieve their goals. These results were depressing. Major resources were not going to the missions' top priorities, but instead to old Cold War activities. The world had changed. America's goals had changed. U.S. embassies had defined the right objectives, but U.S. resources and personnel were stuck in a Cold War posture, because the command and control system could not focus the work of the 50 or so U.S. government agencies on the diplomatic front lines. Whatever the overarching goals, policies and programs set by the incoming administration, the tools essential to carry them out are being wasted.

Conventional wisdom sees a Clinton II administration in the offing and a Congress returning with Republican majorities, albeit slimmer ones. If a split government occurs again, the deep fissures leave few items of mutual agreement except for old faithful — cutting the federal non-defense, discretionary budget even more. To their credit, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, deputy Strobe Talbott and Brian Atwood, head of the U.S. Agency for International Development, are working now with both Congress and the Office of Management and Budget to find additional resources. It's like climbing Mr. Everest in a snowstorm.

What is needed? The foreign affairs structure is important. Efficiency, command and control are critical. But before serious work can begin on these issues, clear goals for 21st century diplomacy need to be set. That means doing the hard work of setting national priorities. As a wise observer once noted, where everything is important, nothing is important. President Clinton, Christopher, congressional and administration leaders, and the nation as a whole, must first decide America's long-term foreign policy priorities. That being done, proper structures and personnel plans can be developed to accomplish those priorities.

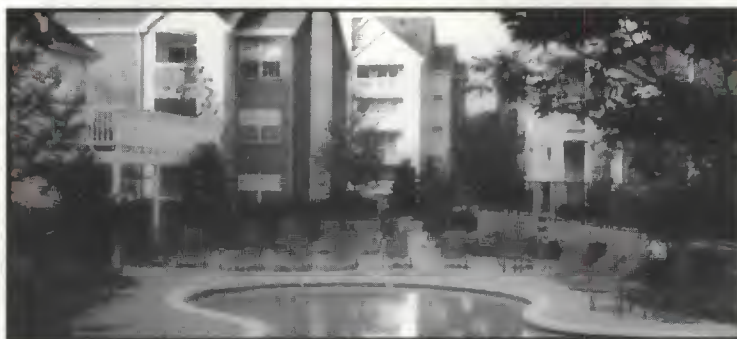
American diplomacy must move beyond political stalemate and narrowly focused short-term funding expedencies, which only provide bad foreign policy choices. Too much of America's future prosperity and security is at stake to do it wrong. ■

F. A. "Tex" Harris is president of the American Foreign Service Association.

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LETTERS

To the Editors:

Let me commend the *Journal* fiction contest entrants who made the cut and the Editorial Board for its selections. I found all six pieces absorbing and evocative, since some of the localities I've experienced firsthand.

Kudos also to Jason Levinson, whose apt illustrations for each selection were stories in themselves. Having entered the *Journal's* 1996 "Call for Fiction" myself — and then seeing the quality of the selections — makes me realize that I've got some way to go to be as competitive.

Congratulations!

*Jack H. Shellenberger
Retired FSO
Great Falls, Va.*



To the Editors:

Many thanks for the fine short stories in the *Journal* fiction issue. They had all the delightful stereotypes that are so politically incorrect these days: virile Marines with tatoos; frustrated single women officers; insufferable DCMs; and burnt-out USAID offi-

cers. My special favorite, however, was Antonia Stearns' "Like a Rock" and the "advanced case of ADDs."

Congratulations to our colleagues and to your Editorial Board for a great issue.

*John W. Limbert
Deputy Chief of Mission
U.S. Embassy Conakry*



To the Editor:

John Underriner's article, "Of Elephants and Insects" (August

Test Your Wit

The *Journal* is planning an issue on the role of wit and humor in diplomacy. Diplomats interested in testing their own wit and humor are invited to respond to the challenge below. The best answers will be published in an upcoming *Journal*.

As FSOs know, U.S. embassies often receive inappropriate demarche instructions. As the political officer in a small, poor country bordering the Sahara, you receive a State Department cable instructing you to deliver a demarche to the Foreign Ministry, announcing U.S. concern about high tariff restrictions on imported sand from U.S. companies. Although this country has plenty of its own sand, you are required to make the case for several Nevada sand exporters.

Please suggest a 50-word demarche (typed in the space below or on a separate piece of paper):

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LETTERS

Journal) is a fine piece. He does, however, make one error: He attacks Sen. Phil Gramm (R.-Texas) for implying "that diplomats lead a pampered life with first-class travel and luxury accommodations."

That Sen. Gramm and many of his colleagues have this belief is in no way their fault. They are simply reflecting what every chief of mission throughout history has demanded whenever a congressional delegation comes to town: Show them the best and only the best. Our visitors experience only the best housing, the best cooks, the best hotels, the best vehicles. Often they are treated to extras like helicopter tours graciously "offered" by the host government. They certainly don't stand in line for their tours of the local highlights, and many depend on embassy packing and shipping services to send home their purchased handicrafts.

Other than having bottled water provided in their bathrooms, they are given no hint of the fun of treating water and vegetables to make them safe for consumption. Where traffic is a problem, police escorts are requested — can't let our visitors see how long it takes students in Bangkok to get from home to school each day. They don't sit in coach if they are forced to fly commercial, and dare I say many have never even been on a commercial flight across an ocean — a private Air Force flight is the only way for them.

Then there is the choice of destinations. When a staffer lists Paris, London and Rome, does State ever suggest that Bujumbura be added?

Finally, prime congressional destinations often have well-off, non-career ambassadors who gild the lily — sometimes literally. At one time, there was an ambassador who gave actual gilded roses to house guests. These were purchased with his own funds, as were many of the works of art in the residence, but did the congressional dele-

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LETTERS

gations who invited themselves at the right time to enjoy box seats at the Opera Ball (at no cost to themselves) know that?

As long as the Foreign Service deliberately creates the picture that all is wine and roses, we can't blame legislators for believing us.

*Dan Gamber
Retired FSO
Amman, Jordan*

To the Editor:

Your focus articles on the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the international development banks (June *Journal*) could not have been more thoughtful nor timely.

There is another major flaw in the conception and management of the development banks that ought to be highlighted. This is that of non-accountability. What happens to the money after it is "loaned" to foreign governments? The fact is that we don't know what happens because the U.S. government, which is almost certainly the major donor, does not perform audits, inspections or evaluations of projects financed with international development bank "loans." Credible audits and inspections might reveal some big surprises.

It might also be interesting to know if the development banks operate with repaid loan reflows, or, after 40 years, do they still have to be recapitalized by donor governments?

*Marion H. Ford
Retired FSO
Paris, Texas*

To the Editor:

As one who has "been there" and whose career was questionably cut short, I was touched by Andrea

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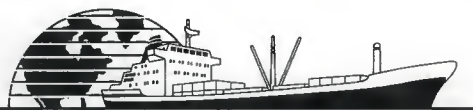
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LETTERS

Brouillette's letter in the July *Journal* lamenting Under Secretary for Management Richard Moose's postulate that "we have to get away from the notion that the Foreign Service is a lifetime vocation." I joined when President John F. Kennedy's "Ask not ..." exhortation still had meaning. I deeply sympathize with FS aspirants like Brouillette who seek to serve their country through a full career in the Foreign Service, but see that possibility disappearing.

Once upon a time the Service was merit-based and, once in, one could generally look forward to a fairly long career and a respected retirement. The Service's merit basis now exists, unfortunately, only in the letter of the law. Over the years, the "realities" of the day have intervened. The State Department's personnel system is driven by budget stringencies, downsizing fashions, lawsuits on gender- and minority-preference issues, and other non-merit factors such as State's lowly status in the eyes of the White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and on Capitol Hill. I would urge aspirants like Brouillette to keep their eyes open as to what is really going on.

But U.S. political and budgetary leaders ... continue to starve the department, which, in turn, twists, turns and thrashes around to beggar itself and the Service ever more. A sad picture.

*D. Thomas Longo Jr.
Retired FSO
Ocean City, Md.*

To the Editor:

I read every issue of your fine magazine thoroughly, but not until summer vacation, when I absorb all 12 issues of the previous year. This accounts for my belated response to your January issue with its stirring

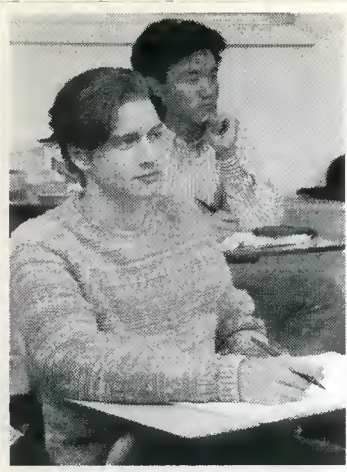
accounts of the remarkable lives and tragic deaths of Bob Frasure, Fred Cuny and Barbara Schell. Frasure's death resulted from a tragic accident, which would not have happened had we gotten seriously involved in Bosnia much, much earlier and had followed Cuny's precept of identifying the aggressors and inventors of "ethnic cleansing" who caused so many civilian deaths and displacements. Cuny's death was a tragic murder, from which I draw the lesson that we were extremely fortunate that the Cold War never turned into a conventional hot war, given the brutality toward civilian populations demonstrated in Chechnya by our adversary.

And Barbara Schell's death was nothing less than a tragic atrocity. It did not result from unfortunate, but inadvertent "friendly fire," when our military forces mistakenly target their own comrades in a combat situation. The deaths of Schell and the others aboard the two helicopters resulted from an insane policy of "shoot first and figure out what's going on later," instead of demanding the utmost restraint from trigger-happy pilots and their controllers. What if the helicopters had been Iraqi or Russian or Iranian or North Korean? What or whom were they endangering? Why not follow them to their destination to find out to whom they belonged and what they were up to? The Pentagon owes us all a much better explanation and a reversal of policy for such situations.

*Robert V. Keeley
Retired FSO
Washington, D.C.*

To the Editor:

Just a quick note to tell you how much I enjoy reading the *Foreign Service Journal* in the office. As the foreign affairs legislative assistant to



*"Something about this place
pushes you
in the right direction."*

His family's *moves* meant Sam had attended several different high schools. His *grades* had been "bad" in those where there were large classes and he was lacking *self-confidence*. After he and his parents visited five local independent schools, Sam chose *Chapel Hill-Chauncy Hall School* because he liked its campus and friendly *atmosphere*. Once enrolled, his *attitude* changed. "I started getting good grades in English class, and that boosted my *confidence*." He also began to *participate* in sports. "I'd never liked sports before, but I tried soccer and became captain of the JV team." Sam made the honor roll for the first time and began writing poetry and short stories and keeping a journal in his spare time.

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LETTERS

Rep. Amo Houghton (R - N.Y.), who is one of the few moderate Republicans on the House International Relations Committee, the *Journal* has been invaluable to me.

My boss and I have become quite dismayed over the extreme and bitter partisanship that has dominated U.S. policy lately — particularly when it seems that everyone is trying to balance the budget on the backs of the State Department and U.S. Foreign Service officers. I sincerely hope the pendulum swings back our way soon, and politics will once again stop at the water's edge.

*Bob Van Wicklin
Legislative Assistant for
International Relations
Office of Amo Houghton,
R-N.Y.
Washington, D.C. ■*

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CLIPPINGS



“One of the things that really helps me is knowing ... how to get [problem-solvers’] attention focused on an issue, before it gets ground to pieces or delayed unduly by the bureaucracy.”

— U.S. AMBASSADOR TO CHINA JIM SASSER, THE HILL, JULY 31, SPEAKING ABOUT HOW HIS 12 YEARS AS A TENNESSEE SENATOR HELPED HIM AS A DIPLOMAT

THE FOREIGN SERVICE, AT MIDDLE AGE

The U.S. Foreign Service is beginning to lose its image as a white male enclave, writes Sarah Jackson-Han in an August story for the Paris-based wire service, Agence France Presse. “Long viewed as a sinecure for well-born white men, the U.S. Foreign Service ... has begun to reflect domestic populations that are older, more ethnically and racially diverse, and more likely to change careers than ever before.”

According to the State Department, anecdotal evidence suggests new classes of FSOs have steadily grown to include more women — up to 40 percent of some entering classes — and minorities. Nonetheless, writes Jackson-Han, “more than three-quarters of senior positions still go to white men.” She also reports that the median age of entering FSOs has risen from 25 to 35 in the last 20 years.

DEMOCRACY 101 TAUGHT IN BOSNIA

Democracy is a new concept in Bosnia, a former part of the communist Yugoslavia, so it makes sense that Bosnian teachers would need a crash course in teaching the principles of democracy. But thanks to the efforts this summer of two Minneapolis, Minn., civics teachers, Gail Hnschle and Joan Beaver, those teachers in Bosnia became students of democracy themselves under “Project Citizen,” sponsored by the U.S. Information Agency (USIA).

The need for such courses grew out of the rapid democratization in the former Eastern European communist countries, USIA Deputy Director Penn Kemble told the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* in July. “We started to get queries from people overseas as these countries were going through their own transition,” Kemble said. People in the former East Bloc countries want to know how they can develop education on these subjects when “they don’t know what the words mean. They don’t know what these institutions are,” said Kemble. USIA sponsors civics training programs in the Russian Federation and six other former Soviet bloc countries.

DICK MOOSE RESIGNS AFTER ALLEGATIONS

Shortly after the State Department Inspector General’s Office began investigating allegations that State’s Under Secretary for Management Richard Moose was increasingly traveling overseas with a staff member with whom he was having an affair, Moose resigned his appointed position, according to *The Washington Post* on Aug. 24.

Moose, who declined comment, will head a study on the impact of declining U.S. government spending on foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City. State officials said that Moose decided to resign after acknowledging a consensual relationship with a female staff member.



CLIPPINGS

ON TV COVERAGE & FOREIGN AFFAIRS

It's no wonder Americans are among the poorest informed among world peoples when it comes to world events. TV news, the main news source for a majority of Americans, often gives short shrift to foreign affairs, according to *TV Guide* for the week of Aug. 3-9. "Don't kid yourself," said CBS News anchor Dan Rather in an interview with writer Neil Hickey. "The trend line in American journalism is away from, not toward, increased foreign coverage."

Major foreign news stories are covered by "parachute journalists," particularly television reporters, who drop in to a foreign locale to cover the breaking news event and then fly out. Stephen Hess, author of the recent *International News and Foreign Correspondents*, notes that television reporters "are brilliant for 72 hours. But [if you] tune in a week later, you realize how thin their understanding of the story is."

COMMERCE RENEWS FUND FOR FAMILIES

Five months after the military plane carrying Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown crashed in Croatia killing all 35 on board, the Department of Commerce has renewed its appeals for donations to help the families of the victims, according to an Aug. 29 article in *The Washington Post*.

Some victims did not have life insurance and government benefits have proved too meager to meet their families' expenses, according to the *Post*. After the crash, Operation HELP, a

tax-exempt, non-profit fund, was established to help the families, but contributions have not met the high demand of the victims' survivors, according to Commerce spokeswoman Judith Barnett.

Donations may be made to the Commerce Employees Fund, c/o Federal Employee Education and Assistance Fund, 8441 West Bowles Ave., Suite 200, Littleton, Colo., 80123-3245.

US CRYs POOR OVER ITS DEBTS ABROAD

Foreign affairs spending cuts have compromised U.S. security by slowing efforts to combat nuclear, biological and chemical threats by rogue countries and terrorists, according to an opinion piece by freelance journalist Lucy Komisar in the Aug. 26 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Spending cuts prevented the United States from hiring a specialist to monitor nuclear procurement in Iran, Iraq and Libya and from holding seminars on terrorism, she wrote.

The United States has not been forking over its share of funds for various international agreements, including its first installment of \$200,000 to pay for a U.S.-negotiated agreement to help North Korea into a nuclear program safeguarded by the International Atomic Energy Agency and its more than \$1 billion bill for its share of U.N. peacekeeping.

She puts the blame on both parties, saying that both the Republicans and the Clinton administration have called for cuts in the foreign-affairs budget,

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Another section of the *Journal* reprinted part of a *Washington Post* editorial: "A contributor whose letter appears in another column sees danger that the higher salaries now authorized for ambassadorships may encourage their use as political plums. ... Our diplomacy has been cluttered in the past with some pretty sad examples of political rewards to incompetents, social climbers and outright schemers." ■

CLIPPINGS



"The reason for having diplomatic relations is not to confer a compliment, but to secure a convenience."

— BRITISH PRIME
MINISTER WINSTON
CHURCHILL, 1949

and only Hill Democrats support it, which has been dropped to \$18.3 billion, less than half that of the height of the Cold War.

Concluded Komisar: "What lopsided priorities, what blindness verging on the criminal has caused the people who determine America's budget to fund fantasy and pork-barrel defense procurement that even the Pentagon says it doesn't need, while putting Americans in mortal danger of the terrorist and other societal threats we see around us, stripping us of resources to deal with the real world?"

'SAFE' EMBASSIES ALSO MORE EXPENSIVE

Bunkerlike embassies may keep out unwanted terrorists, but they're

expensive to build and maintain, and make "poor goodwill ambassadors," reported Mitchell Pacelle in the Aug. 1 *Wall Street Journal*. A new generation of embassies in a dozen foreign countries, built to withstand bombs and terrorists, is safe but expensive, writes Pacelle, who estimates that the new embassies cost \$3 billion to build.

Building safe embassies that are perceived as inviting by host country citizens has become a real challenge, agree U.S. officials. "We want a building that conveys that free and open nature of American society, yet it has to be secure against terrorism," noted Patrick Collins, of the State Department's Office of Foreign Buildings Operations, who said that new embassies are designed to meet both objectives. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

The FSO's Workaholic Mentality

BY JAMES R. BIGUS

Though workaholism may be prevalent in each of this society's professions and jobs, there's no work like a diplomat's work to provide more excuses to feed the workaholic mentality. With the need for round-the-clock availability and long office hours, diplomats can be so fatigued and stressed that workaholism can become a singular source of family problems. The long-term and even more serious consequences include inefficiency, physical and spiritual burnout, and even death.

How can work do so much harm? Aren't hard workers productive and admired in the Foreign Service, rising to the top of the system by virtue of their relentless toiling? Aren't they "responding to the needs of the Service" during this era of downsizing, when we all have to do more with less? The late Philip Habib, former special Middle East negotiator in the Reagan administration, and by any account one of the most successful FSOs in modern history, has often been quoted as the original source of this perhaps apocryphal axiom of Foreign Service life: "If your [spouse] is not mad at you for working too many long hours, you're not working hard enough."

What FSO does not know the meaning of workaholism? Most of us are more than willing to work long hours, if

James R. Bigus, an FSO who is deputy director of the Office of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor at the State Department, has also served in Almaty and Riyadh.

The compulsion to work is beyond the addict's control, says Workaholics Anonymous, whose Washington, D.C., chapter is one of its largest.



required. And most who join the Foreign Service find their work stimulating and accept that demands on their time will be greater than that required in the average job. The term "workaholic" may be more often used for someone who loves his work, but there's little problem if the worker understands when to stop. The real trouble begins when borders dissolve between work and other aspects of life, and when workers' lost perspective develops into an unhealthy addiction to work.

Like addictions to alcohol, drugs, food and gambling, workaholism has its own 12-step program and body of literature. According to Workaholics Anonymous, which, not surprisingly,

boasts one of its largest chapters in Washington, D.C., the compulsion to work is beyond the control of the addict. When an organization has a critical mass of workaholics, the entity itself takes on the characteristics of the workaholic. In advanced stages, workaholics neglect physical and emotional health to spend more time at work, and invite ulcers, high blood pressure and depression, which, unattended, can lead to more serious problems, such as stroke. In Japan, where workaholism has been honed to an art, there is even a word for death from overwork: *karoshi*, which the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare says is responsible for 10 percent of all deaths of working men in Japan.

Who are likely victims of *karoshi*? According to Diane Fassel, a management consultant and author of *Working Ourselves to Death*, workaholics fit into four categories: compulsives, who come to work early, leave late, take work home on weekends and vacations; binge workers, who work non-stop for days, then crash; closet workers, who meet their families' demands for more quality time by taking work home or on vacation, then get their fix in stolen, secret moments; and anorexics, who compulsively alternate between procrastination and preparing to work, finally finishing it at the moment before the deadline, when it has reached the crisis level.

As the disease of workaholism progresses, writes Fassel, it can manifest itself in low self-esteem, in the inability to relax and in the inability to say "no"

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to additional work requests. Of course, most professionals exhibit one or more of these characteristics occasionally, but it's only when they lose control that they're in danger of becoming addicts, Fassel says.

So what does this have to do with the Foreign Service? The nature of an FSO's work requires round-the-clock availability, often at odd hours, to respond to breaking developments, and for most FSOs, it's exciting to participate in making history. But too often they find their personal time invaded not for unfolding history, but for handling tempests in the bureaucratic teapot. This is the point at which FSOs need to see boundaries. The workaholic FSO achieves the same rush from the teapot as he does from making history.

This logic can be taken to absurd lengths. In *Post Office*, a novel written in the 1970s about a government agency not unlike the State Department, Charles Bukowsky recounts a scene which my postal worker friends say is frighteningly accurate: A workaholic manager tells his staff that since some mail they sort is destined for the troops in Vietnam, delivering the mail is contributing to the war effort and any less-than-workaholic performance is equal to treason.

Although no one's heard of an FSO accused of treason for refusing to spend another hour perfecting a demarche, I have heard our own version of workaholic machismo echoing in Foggy Bottom and in embassies around the world. "I worked 14 hours yesterday," one FSO might say, only to be answered by, "Well, I worked 16." My personal favorite, however, is "I have four months of unused home leave," to which the standard answer is, "Oh, yeah, well I have six months." The

SPEAKING OUT



message is clear in this FSO version of proving your manhood: Work long hours, don't take vacations. It's not exactly like saying you've loaded 16 tons of No. 9 coal, but it does convey strength and manly dedication in a language that all FSOs understand.

Still, more important than showing brawn, workaholicism serves to nourish FSOs' egos and feed their sense that their work really matters. For workaholics, the internal dialogue goes something like this: "If I don't stay until 11:00 p.m., the bilateral relationship between the United States and the Republic of Anthuria will collapse. Or it won't be done right." Most workaholics believe the world would stop turning without their vital contributions. We've all seen workaholic perfectionists agonize over an adjective or adverb in a memo until it's so old it's no longer usable since its content is now OBE, or overtaken by events.

This would all be amusing if it weren't so costly. Workaholicism costs organizations money because workaholics may not be efficient workers, according to Diane Fassel. Although their compulsiveness and long hours look good in the short term, tired workers make more mistakes and take more time correcting those errors, she says. Their inability to prioritize — a classic feature of the addiction — can generate needless crises and result in worker burnout.

Still, in many Washington offices and in embassies and consulates overseas, weekends and holidays are just regular work days. With no bottom line with which to measure profits, as in the private sector, it's harder to measure efficiency in work and how necessary the extra hours really are. Given the nature of diplomacy, tangible results might not be seen for years, if at all. But the prevailing ethos is this: If an FSO is spending

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JUGGERNAUT

Growth on a Finite Planet

Lindsey Grant (FSO Retired) examines the human condition as the tribe nears the limits of the Earth's ability to support it, discusses the ambivalent role of technology, the uses and limits of conservation, and the value of systematic foresight.

He relates population growth to current world energy, environmental, and social issues and to U.S. policies on agriculture, immigration, unemployment, welfare and health care and — of particular interest to JOURNAL readers — foreign policy, trade and aid. He proposes specific changes. "Economists say we must grow out of our problems. We cannot grow out of them, not at this stage of human history."

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SPEAKING OUT



14 hours a day in the office, he must be accomplishing something important. But we all know from example that this is not necessarily true.

Even more frightening than the workaholic individual is the workaholic manager — the workaholic version of the drunk behind the wheel. Knowing no borders in their own lives, they respect none in those of their staffs. Morale is an alien concept since they are getting their work “fix.” With enough workaholics in management, the entire organization takes on the values of workaholism, says Fassel. In *Working Ourselves to Death*, she uses the example of the human services agency that hired her to mediate a conflict among personnel. “Upon investigation, it appeared the workaholics were furious with other staff because they only worked 40 hours a week and took vacations with their families,” she writes. “The workaholics were adamant that the other workers were not as dedicated as they were. They accused them of laziness and falling down on the job. In my sessions with the staff, I found the 40-hour-a-week people to be hard-working. The difference between them and the others was that their job was not their life. This attitude infuriated the workaholics. ... It is a good example of how this disease ... is dysfunctional and the people perpetuating it are sick.”

It's difficult to judge whether the entire State Department is a workaholic organization, but some offices and missions certainly are. For example, when deep budget cuts forced the closing of post communications units on Saturdays, many FSOs were faced with, for the first time in decades, the challenge of finding something to do on a Saturday. It was a dilemma for them. And I was once warned away from

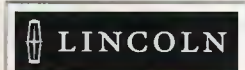
seeking an assignment at an overseas post headed by a well-known workaholic ambassador who schedules weekly staff meetings on Saturday.

It's hard to imagine management seriously taking on workaholism as a problem, even though encouraging a high quality of life for employees is supposed to be an important facet of reinventing government. Still, how can the State Department expect to meet downsizing challenges with more work and an increasingly demoralized, overworked staff? It will be up to FSOs, the workers, to tip the balance from workaholism to healthy work habits.

First, FS employees who suspect they may be workaholics can call the Washington chapter of Workaholics Anonymous at (202) 828-1997. Second, learn to set boundaries for work and personal life. Most of us want to go the extra mile to accomplish work goals, but we all know that management's demands are not always reasonable. The more employees who insist on setting limits, the easier it will be for all of us who are in the Foreign Service.

Of course, there are risks: limited advancement, rumors branding us as slackers, the vengeance of a workaholic boss who pens reviews intending to punish us. The review won't mention we refused to work Sundays and holidays, or that we requested time off to attend to our families; rather, in the review's “room for improvement” section, it will be noted we could have “shown more dedication.”

It's pointless to tell workaholics to “get a life.” They already have the one they want. It's up to the rest of us to make sure that we have the life we want, and that includes being well-rounded human beings, which will also make us better FS employees. ■



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IN WASHINGTON, MAINTAINING PRESSURE

The nation's war on drugs, first declared by President Richard Nixon a quarter of a century ago, has not been receiving favorable reviews lately. Congress is not happy. Even prominent conservative editor William F. Buckley has proclaimed from the cover of *National Review* "the war on drugs is lost" and has urged that hard drugs be legalized.

Although public support for legalization is scant on Capitol Hill and among Americans — less than 15 percent, according to a recent Gallup poll — a large and respectable body of opinion asserts that America's efforts to reduce the drug supply have failed and that it should turn its focus to reducing demand through education and treatment programs. Although overall drug use has declined in the last few years, drug use among teenagers has more than doubled since 1992, according to the Foundation for Drug Education and Awareness. This seems to strengthen the need for a change in direction. But the argument over attacking supply or demand, which is as old as the drug problem itself, is a blind alley. Economics and experience indicate that, to some degree, demand will always stimulate supply. However, it's doubtful any notable reduction in the demand for drugs can be sus-

tained without limiting supply, so abandoning that effort is also not a realistic option. Absent legalization or some radical form of decriminalization, an unlikely prospect, efforts to limit both will continue.

America's hard drug of choice is still cocaine. When the government or media use the term "drug problem," it would be more accurate to say "cocaine problem," or better yet, "crack problem." The selling, buying and using of crack, the smokable and most highly addictive form of cocaine, fuels much of the violence in the nation's inner cities. It also generates much of the revenue. Coca leaf, cocaine's raw material, is only grown in the three Andean countries of South America: Colombia, Peru and Bolivia. With these nations' full cooperation, which has been slowly forthcoming over the last decade, it would conceivably be possible to eradicate at least two-thirds of the world's coca crop in just a few months using a relatively benign herbicide.

Heroin, the second most widely used hard drug in the United States, also originates abroad, but its cultivation and eradication are more difficult to control. Poppies, which provide the opium gum from which heroin is produced, grow in nearly every temperate corner of the globe, but are harvested predominantly in countries such as Afghanistan, Burma and Iran, where the United States has little influ-



GLASGOW & ASSOCIATES

**USING DIPLOMATIC TOOLS:
CERTIFYING, SEIZING,
PUSHING ERADICATION**

*By HARRY W. SHLAUDEMAN
AND W. KENNETH THOMPSON*

F O C U S

The goal of U.S. drug policy has always been to curtail, if not eliminate, the flow of drugs into the United States, an idea simple in concept but difficult in execution.

ence. Opium is also much easier to cultivate than coca leaf. Where the perennial coca bush takes two years or more to become fully productive, opium poppies are an annual crop, and in some cases are harvested three times a year. Consequently, eradication can be of only temporary benefit. One year's losses may be offset with a bigger and better-concealed crop the next year.

Cocaine and heroin, the two hard drugs of fashion today, often sell for about the same sum on America's streets, around \$100 per gram each, although at that price, the cocaine would be much more pure than the heroin. But, heroin brings much more money at the wholesale level, with a kilo selling for \$150,000 to \$250,000, compared to \$10,500 to \$40,000 for one of cocaine. Cocaine addicts, particularly those who smoke crack, can kill themselves with five years or so of heavy, regular use. Heroin, on the other hand, allows some addicts to develop sufficient tolerance to survive for a decade or more, as long as a timely "fix" is available. The prospect of a longer-term clientele makes heroin a more attractive commodity than cocaine for drug-trafficking organizations.

A new challenge facing U.S. authorities is the rapidly growing abuse of synthetic drugs, which can be manufactured in a laboratory without relying on a crop. Synthetics themselves are hardly a new phenomenon; many were developed and used between World War I and World War II. LSD and amphetamines,

the latter also known as speed, were an active part of the drug scene in the 1960s and '70s. And now, a new generation of young users skeptical of warnings of addiction has not only rediscovered LSD but is flocking to methamphetamine, speed's more exhilarating cousin. Methamphetamines and related drugs, particularly MDMA, known as "ecstasy" on the streets, also are attracting a cult following among young users and are destined to become the dominant illegal drugs of the next decade. Arguments on behalf of ecstasy's benign qualities sound very much like the early praise for heroin, originally developed as a "non-addictive" substitute for morphine.

The foreign drug trade has been quick to cash in on the popularity of synthetics, which theoretically can be controlled at every stage from lab manufacture to street sale. Trafficking rings in Mexico, where the necessary chemicals are widely available and inexpensive, dominate the methamphetamine trade today; drug syndicates merely use the established distribution systems in the major cities of America's Southwest.

The goal of U.S. drug policy has always been to curtail, if not eliminate, the flow of drugs into the United States, an idea simple in concept but difficult in execution. In most cases, particularly with marijuana, cocaine and heroin, illegal drug traffic involves a five-link chain from the grower to the user. At one end is the farmer cultivating the crop; at the other is the street-level retailer. In between are refiners (processing), shippers (transit) and wholesalers. The object is to break that chain — but where? In terms of effectiveness and cost-to-benefit ratio, the answer is clear: at the source, or as close to it as possible. If governments can eradicate crops to prevent cultivation of the coca or poppies that are turned into cocaine or heroin, the narcotics will never enter the distribution system.

Harry W. Shlaudeman is a retired FSO who served as ambassador to Nicaragua, Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Venezuela. From 1984-86 he was a special envoy to Central America; from 1976-77 he was assistant secretary of State for Inter-American affairs.

W. Kenneth Thompson is a retired FSO who has served in Malta, Turkey, Benin, Spain and at State's Bureau of International Narcotics Matters.

F O C U S

But eradication is a difficult policy choice for governments in developing countries. Depriving impoverished farmers of their livelihood — even if from raising illegal crops — has created serious political problems in nations such as Peru and Bolivia. Therefore, most governments compromise by focusing on interdiction without totally rejecting eradication, even if interdiction is more costly and less effective.

Within the U.S. government's drug control establishment, there have long been differences between the advocates of interdiction and those of eradication. Because drug control has been the traditional province of law enforcement agencies, interdiction has usually had the edge. The Coast Guard, the U.S. Customs Service, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) and the U.S. military work closely with their foreign counterparts in source and transit countries, together mounting many extensive but expensive operations. However, in the past few years, as interdiction efforts have had little impact on the flow of drugs, the eradication approach has attracted greater interest in the U.S. drug control establishment.

One drawback to an overly heavy emphasis on interdiction is that activity can too easily be equated with achievement. Governments can collect impressive statistics in arrests and quantity of drugs seized without, in fact, reducing significantly the overall drug flow. On occasion the interdiction of supply lines has temporarily driven up the price of finished drugs, but the consensus among U.S. government experts is that interdiction has, at best, reduced the supply of heroin and cocaine on U. S. streets at any one time by no more than 10 percent.

The same experts, however, seldom speculate on what would happen if there was no interdiction at all. Presumably, the traffickers would flood the country with drugs, driving down the price and growing their customer base as all high-volume businesses seek to do. Indeed, carefully targeted interdiction can have positive short-term effects. Last year in the Upper Huallaga Valley, Peru's major coca-producing region, authorities used radar to shut down the "air bridge" by which traffickers transported coca base to Colombian labs. As a short-term result, the price of coca leaf on the local market fell below the cost of production. U.S.-supplied radars and air force patrols also helped the Colombian

government secure better control of airports and air space, forcing drug syndicates to reduce their multi-ton flights to Mexico. But to the trafficking networks, these were temporary setbacks.

The drug trade is nothing if not adaptable, and its networks' operators are as resourceful, sophisticated, efficient — and as readily replaceable — as the leaders of any multinational corporation. When air and sea interdiction shut down a good deal of the drug traffic through the Western Caribbean and the Bahamas in 1993, the cocaine syndicates simply switched to flying multi-ton loads into Mexico for subsequent smuggling across the border. After the Colombian government dismembered the murderous Medellin cartel with the manhunt and killing of Pablo Escobar in December 1993, the Cali group of Gilberto Rodriguez Orejuela and friends picked up the slack. The steady flow of cocaine into this country continued without so much as a hiccup.

Most statistics used by governments and international organizations to assess the drug trade are approximations at best. With modern imagery techniques, however, it's possible to measure accurately the size of most coca and poppy plantings. But because of differences in plants and growing conditions, it's not possible to calculate precisely the quantities of finished drugs these crops will produce. The impact of even a major seizure in an interdiction operation, therefore, is questionable. Eradication, on the other hand, provides an immediate and measurable result. Furthermore, extensive testing and environmental evaluations indicate that aerial spraying of the herbicide glyphosate would eradicate both coca bushes and opium poppies effectively, safely and inexpensively. Since the coca plant takes 18-24 months to become fully productive, major eradication would unquestionably deal a painful blow to the cocaine supply. And because cocaine's raw material comes from only Colombia, Peru and Bolivia, theoretically it would be possible to drastically reduce the supply for at least two years.

The problem, of course, has been persuading these three governments to undertake widespread eradication. Although all three countries signed the 1988 U.N. Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, which requires them to sup-

F O C U S

When discussing the nation's drug policy it's time to turn away from a war analogy Americans require their wars to be short and decisive; the struggle against hard drugs will be neither.

press illegal drug crops, the internal pressures to resist are enormous. For many thousands of farmers in this Andean region, there is as yet no real alternative to growing coca or opium poppies, since no other crop brings comparable financial compensation. The linkages between guerrilla insurgencies and the drug traffic create additional difficulties for the governments of Peru and Colombia. Corruption is also a factor. Many profit, if only indirectly, from the drug trade: politicians, financial institutions, legitimate businesses and, not least, central banks. Environmental groups have also sometimes helped block eradication, even though governments that have balked at the use of glyphosate routinely permit farmers to use stronger herbicides to clear their fields.

Among the three producing Andean countries, only Colombia — which has replaced Mexico as the leading Latin American source of heroin and is the world's largest source of finished cocaine — has undertaken aerial spraying to eradicate significant quantities of coca and poppies. Bolivia and Peru, with their long tradition of ritual and recreational coca-leaf mastication, have a more complex challenge in convincing local farmers to eliminate plantings. Bolivia manually eliminates some non-traditional coca leaf, which has kept the crop from expanding significantly. Peru's Fujimori government eradicates seedbeds, but not mature coca plants; officials argue that depriving campesinos of their livelihood may swell the ranks of the terrorist group, Sendero Luminoso, which has long been active in the Upper Huallaga Valley.

Despite these difficulties, there is growing acceptance of aerial spraying as both workable and safe. It is not inconceivable that at some point these societies will decide it is in their best political and economic interest to accept comprehensive eradication. However, much depends on whether their governments can develop alternative crops and sources of income with the help of

multilateral development banks and international donors.

Effective opium poppy eradication is more difficult. The United States' greatest success has been in Mexico, where Mexican government spray planes cut poppy cultivation in half between 1988 and 1992, from 6,700 hectares to 3,310 hectares. Though the hectareage has been increasing since 1992, presumably in response to higher U.S. demand for Mexican heroin, continuing eradication campaigns have kept cultivation well below 1988 levels. At the end of 1995, 5,050 hectares were eradicated.

To a lesser degree, eradication programs have also shown results in Southeast Asia and Southwest Asia. When the U.S. government had an active program in Burma in the mid-1980s, a few aircraft sprayed as much as 14,000 hectares of poppy in only a few weeks. Had Burma's political environment not changed so radically in 1988, which halted the U.S. eradication program, much of the crop of the world's largest opium producer would have been destroyed.

Poppy reduction efforts in Southwest Asia have been more problematical. Most of the poppies grown in Afghanistan are found in regions where the government has limited access. Pakistan's opium is cultivated along the Afghan border in the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP), where political instability hinders uniform enforcement of the government's opium poppy ban. Nonetheless, eradication has helped reduce opium poppy cultivation to 6,950 hectares in 1995, a 15-percent drop from a peak of 8,220 hectares in 1990.

The harsh light of publicity has strengthened the U.S. government's hand in pressing for anti-drug cooperation abroad. Under drug-control legislation the Congress first passed in 1986 and has since strengthened, the president reports annually to the Congress on the degree of cooperation each major

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country involved in drug production or trafficking has furnished the United States in the anti-drug effort. The president must certify that the governments concerned have fully cooperated or taken steps to meet the goals of the 1988 United Nations Convention. The certification process has proved to be an effective means of public diplomacy, forcing into the open disagreeable issues governments in source and transit countries were once accustomed to treating in private diplomacy.

The president's failure to certify a given country produces unpleasant publicity of the kind likely to embarrass any government. Among other requirements, the president must address the issue of corruption in source and transit countries, a problem that previously attracted too little public attention. Pervasive corruption is the handmaiden of drug trafficking. And for those governments that care about their international reputations, the certification process represents real pressure.

Presidents have regularly decertified Afghanistan, Burma, Iran, Syria, and, most recently, Nigeria — all

countries with key roles in the heroin trade. On March 1 Colombia became the first cocaine-producing country in South America to suffer decertification. In the months preceding that decision, Colombian officials and their agents lobbied vigorously against it. Since then the government and the private sector alike, with support from other Latin American governments, have argued strenuously that decertification was unjust, fearing the president would penalize Colombian exports, as the legislation allows him to do. In the case of Colombia, decertification has obliged both the government and the public to focus on an acute national problem.

Clearly, the United States is a long way from winning the war on drugs, in the sense that this unfortunate metaphor would force the definition of success.

But the record is not without accomplishments. The United States has been able to cast drug trafficking as an international issue of considerable weight. Most



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major source and transit countries now acknowledge responsibility for curbing supply.

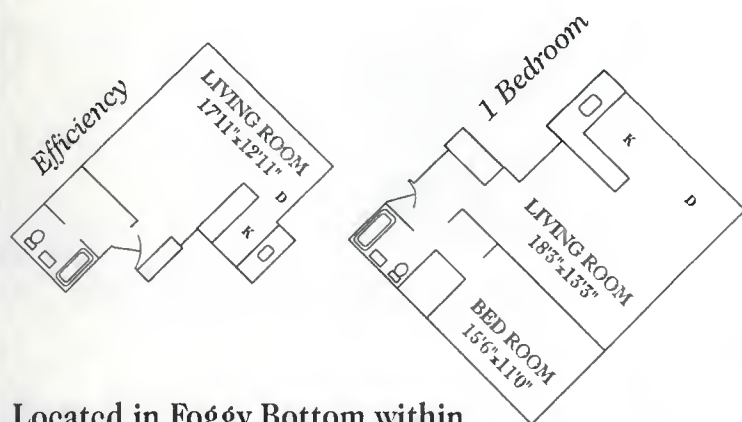
In countries as disparate as Thailand, Pakistan, Colombia and Mexico, drug mafia kingpins long considered invincible have been jailed, killed or extradited; although they are usually quickly replaced, the shakeup serves to weaken the organizations. Governments in the northern and southern hemispheres have cooperated in international sting operations that have trapped dozens of money launderers. For example, in 1994 the banking arm of the American Express Co. paid a \$14 million penalty after a four-year undercover U.S. operation found that a Cayman Island account of the bank was being used to launder money for Mexico's largest drug cartel.

Governments have also worked together to establish specialized multilateral bodies to attack the drug trade. The Group of Seven created the Financial Action Task Force in 1989 to block money laundering in the developed world; some 26 financial center governments around the world have signed on. The Drug Control

Commission of the Organization of American States (OAS), created in 1986 and chaired by retired FSO David Beall since last year, has drawn up model regulations to help members combat money laundering and halt the diversion of precursor chemicals used in drug processing. The U.N. Drug Control Program devotes resources to designing alternative development programs for areas cultivating coca and opium poppy crops. The U.S. government finances training programs aimed at building indigenous law enforcement capacity to control the international drug trade.

Every year since 1986, the Pentagon has transferred a variety of surplus equipment, such as boats, planes and other military hardware, to various Latin American countries to help in their fight against narcotraffickers. Last year, the United States, the European Union and Brazil signed bilateral agreements that control the export of drug processing chemicals by applying measures to end the transfer of precursor and essential chemicals to the source countries.

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Those who feel the anti-drug policy is a failure should go back to the Summit of the Western Hemisphere in December 1994. There, Latin American chiefs of state conceded for the first time that corruption is a critical problem in their societies and a legitimate topic for the inter-American agenda, a major departure from their previous practice of burying the issue in nationalistic denial. In fact, the summit declaration noted that "effective democracy requires a comprehensive attack on corruption," of which the drug trade is a pervasive source, and promised to "adopt strategies to prevent or reduce substantially the cultivation of [drug] crops."

All of this could be dismissed as just more blather typical of many inter-American meetings, but in this instance, governments appeared to reflect a genuine shift in popular sentiment. Throughout Latin America the watchword is governmental accountability: no more toleration for corruption and no more impunity for corrupt officials. The turmoil in Colombia and Mexico's political establishments, long the most stable in Latin

America, is striking evidence of this historic attitude shift. And it is obvious to both source and transit countries that drug corruption puts at risk civilian, democratic rule, in some cases only recently reestablished.

Still, when discussing the nation's drug policy, it is time to turn away from a war analogy, as General Barry McCaffrey, Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, has suggested. Americans require their wars to be short and decisive; the struggle against hard drugs will be neither. We should regard the drug plague as a "potentially deadly but treatable disease," as General McCaffrey has advised. A quarter of a century ago, President Nixon declared "war" on cancer. We now no longer speak of the immense, long-term effort to control that disease as a war, recognizing the substantial progress already made. Looking at the drug problem in the same fashion would promote both perspective and patience for Americans frustrated with the apparent lack of progress. Patience, however, should not mean passive acceptance of the status quo. Annually, U.S.

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drug programs cost more than \$13 billion in federal funds and \$33 billion in state and local funds.

The Clinton administration came to office with the intention of increasing the emphasis on drug use prevention through education and the treatment of addicts. But in practice there has been little change from previous years. The Federal budget for demand reduction during the last three years accounts for only 36-37 percent of the total anti-drug budget, up only 2-3 percent from funding during the Bush administration.

In the last six years, the federal government has more than doubled its spending on drug control, reaching \$13.3 billion in fiscal '95, with modest annual hikes in years thereafter, but only a fraction of this money has gone to international operations. The entire U.S. government international effort in fiscal '95, including military and Coast Guard support, came to about \$850 million, or 6 percent of the \$13.3 billion total anti-drug budget. With cocaine at an average street value of \$100 million per metric ton, that budget is equivalent to eight

and a half metric tons of cocaine. Single flights into Mexico have carried more than that. And the 130 metric tons seized annually by U.S. forces have a street value as great as the government's total anti-drug budget. Hard drugs are far and away the world's most lucrative commodities and the drug trade will always have more money at its disposal than governments with their myriad responsibilities can muster.

But governments, with the support of their citizenry, can prevail. To do so in the United States we need to answer some hard policy questions. If it's true that breaking the drug chain nearest its source is the most promising approach to limiting supply, should the U.S. government devote a larger share of resources to the international effort? Has government at all levels given sufficient priority and paid sufficient attention to prevention and education? How cost-effective are the huge amounts spent on anti-drug domestic law enforcement? These are among the critical questions the ongoing national debate on drugs should address. ■

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IN ASIA, BATTLING WARLORDS

Like an old friend, heroin is back. The Partnership for a Drug-Free America's recent media blitz to demystify heroin's hip image among young adults was launched with a full-page ad in *The New York Times* showing a desperate woman, identified as "Ashley, ex-art director," saying, "I saw a dog and thought: If I was a dog I wouldn't have a heroin habit. I wish I was a dog." Beyond the mainstream, insider journals are reporting heroin's deep inroads into the industries that manufacture youth culture. *Rolling Stone* also wiped the makeup off rock's worst-kept secret by listing dozens of mega-stars with major habits. *Allure* reported that the fashion industry's "baffling concept of heroin chic" is a reality snapshot, since top models are regular users. After 20 years away, heroin has returned with a vengeance, but why?

The answer to this riddle lies in the shifting patterns of the global drug trade. In 1990, Southeast Asia achieved the dual distinction of becoming the world's largest producer of raw opium and the major source of America's heroin supply. We now see that this event, unnoticed at the time, was the first sign of the forces driving today's heroin epidemic. According to a State Department 1989 report on drugs, the "Golden Triangle" region of Southeast Asia — where Burma, Thailand, and Laos converge — harvested 3,000 tons

of raw opium, enough for two-thirds of the world's heroin. Between 1984-90, Southeast Asia's share of the New York city heroin market jumped from 5 to 80 percent.

As heroin shipments surged into New York, the city's bulk price dropped from \$100,000 per kilo to \$60,000 of retail "deals." Responding to this market opportunity, some unknown genius on the street raised its purity, thereby creating a whole new clientele for this purer, cheaper drug. The average heroin content sold on the street rose from 3 percent in 1990 to about 30 percent in 1994, hitting 90 percent in markets like Philadelphia. There was an

added incentive for new customers: This new, pure heroin could be snorted or smoked, cutting the link between intravenous injection and HIV infection. This "safe" heroin soon became the drug of choice for the hip-hop nihilists of Generation X. Actor River Phoenix and rock star Kurt Cobain, the celebrity overdoses of the early 1990s, died from heroin. Layne Staley of the rock group Alice in Chains sings the song, "Junkhead," which asks, "What in God's name have you done?" He answers, "Stick your arm for some real fun."

GLASGOW & ASSOCIATES



AT COLD WAR'S END,
COMPLEX GEOPOLITICS
SPURS HEROIN SUPPLY

BY ALFRED MCCOY

F O C U S

Production is soaring in Southeast and Central Asia. If the warlords and their rebel states survive, Asia's opium harvest may rise to levels that defeat a solution to the drug problem.

opium supply with New York's limitless appetites. On the walkways and in the clubs, nobody knew his name; but it was Khun Sa who made New York's heroin chic happen.

In retrospect, even more disturbing is the realization that Khun Sa was a pioneer, the prototype of a new kind of regional warlord now emerging from the ruins of the Cold War. With the collapse of the Iron Curtain, there has been an eruption of ethnic insurgency along southern frontiers of the former Soviet Union. As empires fall and new states fragment across this vast swath of the globe, regional rebels armed with drug money and revolutionary fervor have begun producing illicit opium beyond the control of any power.

If these warlords and their rebel states survive, Asia's opium harvest may rise to levels that will defeat any solution to the world's drug problem. In 1995, according to U.N. field workers, opium output in Afghanistan alone jumped from 900 to 3,200 tons, raising the world's heroin supply by 50 percent. Driven by endless supplies of cheap, pure heroin, drug use is rising in Europe and the United States. Low-grade heroin is spreading rapidly into new markets like China, Russia and India. Heroin seems set to become the world's drug of choice for the 21st century.

How can the surge of Asian heroin over the past five years be explained? The answer lies in heroin's little understood character as a commodity.

Over the past 200 years, opium, and its derivative heroin, have emerged as major global commodities, with production systems and a political economy similar in scale to other major stimulants such as coffee and tea. Their production is essential to Third World survival, and their consumption is integral to First World lifestyles.

Alfred McCoy, a professor of Southeast Asian history and director of the center for Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Wisconsin — Madison, is the author of The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade, published in 1991.

Heroin's character as a commodity goes a long way to explaining the failure of America's war on drugs.

After three U.S. drug wars under presidents Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan and George Bush, global opium production rose from 1,000 tons in 1970 to more than 4,000 tons in 1990, due, in part, to suppression itself. Like all crops, opium obeys the laws of supply and demand. If an operation by the United Nations or the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) reduces supply in one area, say Turkey or Thailand, and global heroin demand stays constant, then the world opium price must rise. Responding to rising prices, farmers elsewhere, in Burma or Afghanistan, will plant more poppy, and, over time, total world supply will increase.

Opium's modern history as a commodity began in the late 18th century when European empires transformed it from a luxury item into a mass consumer good. In 1773, the British East India Co. imposed a monopoly on the cultivation of Indian opium, promoting exports to China that rose from 75 tons in 1776 to 3,200 in 1850. So important was this trade that Britain fought two wars along the China coast, forcing the Middle Kingdom to rescind its ban on opium smoking and open itself to unrestricted imports.

After defeat in the Second Opium War of 1858, China was forced to legalize the drug, soon becoming the world's largest producer. At its peak in 1906, China harvested 35,000 tons of opium to supply 13.5 million opium smokers, or 27 percent of all adult males in the country — a level of mass addiction never equaled by any other nation. By the early 20th century, opium had become a major element of Asia's political economy. The once-remote Asian "opium zone" that stretched for over 5,000 miles from Turkey to China was now fully integrated into world trade.

Straddling the major trade routes between India and China, the colonial governments of Southeast Asia were drawn into the expanding Asia opium trade by organizing

F O C U S

opium monopolies in the 19th century. By 1930, for example, Southeast Asia had 6,441 licensed dens serving 272 tons of opium to 542,100 registered smokers.

Although a major opium consumer in the colonial age, Southeast Asia remained a minor opium producer. In 1940, Southeast Asia still harvested only 15 tons of opium in a region that today produces more than 3,000 tons. Since India supplied the government monopolies with limitless, low-cost opium, Southeast Asian governments had no reason to encourage local cultivation.

The advent of the Cold War brought major changes to Asia's opium trade. Under communism, China eradicated opium smoking, suddenly eliminating the globe's major producer and consumer. Responding to international pressures, Southeast Asia abolished legal opium sales between 1950 and 1961, creating a sudden demand for illicit opiates. To meet this demand, the region's harvest grew rapidly and the Golden Triangle soon became the world's largest illicit producer. From only 15

tons in 1940, Southeast Asia's opium harvest rose to 300 tons in the early 1960s and over 700 tons a decade later.

Cold War politics played a catalytic role in these changes, as the Iron Curtain had descended along the Asian opium zone. From Turkey to Thailand, this 5,000-mile mountain rim became a strategic frontier of anti-communist containment. Over the next 40 years, the CIA mounted covert operations in these remote, rugged mountains by recruiting tribal leaders as resistance fighters, many of whom used their powerful American ally to become drug lords.

Southeast Asia's Golden Triangle opium region grew after the collapse of Nationalist China in 1949, when one of its armies retreated into northern Burma. When Communist Chinese troops intervened in the Korean War, President Harry S. Truman ordered the CIA to open a secret second front by arming some 14,000 Nationalist irregulars for an invasion of southwestern China. After penetrating no more than 20 miles inside China, the Nationalists were driven back into Burma, where they

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FSOs Find 2nd Careers as Pols

By Sharna Marcus
AFSA News Intern

There is life after the Foreign Service, and it is in politics, according to four former FSOs who have left delivering demarches and writing cables behind in favor of stumping for votes on the hustings.

U.S. Rep. Jim McDermatt, (D-Wash.), who is running for his sixth term, has not abandoned cadets, but now he's more likely to be a member of one. McDermatt, 59, from Seattle, Wash., served in the Foreign Service as a regional medical officer in Zaire from 1987-88 before leaving to run for Congress. Trained as a psychiatrist, McDermatt joined the Foreign Service after reading a story in the *American Psychiatric Journal* about work psychiatrist Paul Eggertsen was doing with the American embassy hostages after they returned to the United States after spending 444 days as captives in Iran. During a year

in the Foreign Service, he was responsible for responding to the mental health needs of employees at American embassies in Africa south of the equator.

McDermatt says that his brief stint as an FSO gave him a better understanding of how foreign policy works, a valuable asset in Congress. "If you have never lived abroad and have never seen what (other countries and cultures) are coping with, you don't know the importance of what the State Department does," he said. Still, by running for Congress, McDermatt returned to his first love. Before joining the Foreign Service, he served as a Washington state representative and senator from 1970-87. He was lured back to Seattle from Zaire to run for Congress in 1988 because he wanted to work on health care in Congress. "There is a real need in a democracy to have health care for everyone," said McDermatt. "As much as I hated to leave the Foreign Service, this opportunity was impossible to pass up."

Continued on page 4

• AFSA Dateline •

• After 40 years, Arts America, the USIA division which sends American artists overseas, will close October 1 due to budget cuts. USIA's Joint Partnership Council (JPC), which includes AFSA, sent USIA Administrator Joseph Duffey a letter protesting because USIA's unions and management were not consulted on the decision. "The elimination of a major USIA function...merited a deliberate, inclusive discussion that reflects the seriousness of such a pivotal choice," wrote the JPC.

• "Public Diplomacy," a two-part video series designed to educate Americans about USIA's role in influencing public opinion abroad, was recently released by the USIA Alumni Association (USIAAAA). The video covers USIA's history and accomplishments, including segments on the Voice of America, the Fulbright scholars program, educational and cultural exchanges and other USIA-sponsored programs in the United States and overseas. "Telling America's Story," part I, uses

Continued on page 2

After the Elections, What?

Under Secretary for Management Richard M. Moose's resignation is regrettable, from AFSA's point of view, because he would have been State's political liaison for the transition to a new administration. Now, Moose's agenda of promising management initiatives is likely to be set back.

While AFSA has not hesitated to be critical of the former under secretary's management practices, we were impressed by his emphasis on implementing the International Cooperative Administrative Support System (ICASS), completing work on Overseas Staffing Models, developing work force planning, pressing forward with badly needed reform of the logistics system, and making belated decisions on Information Systems Modernization. Since early this year, Moose had wisely narrowed his interests to these benchmark projects.

Unhappily, a weakened Department will face the transition with career Foreign Service and Civil Service officers being tested as they guide management bureaus through the post-election period to new political leadership.

But, to use the favorite words of a senior State financial manager, will there be enough on the plate? Will the right issues be presented to the transition team? Even if Clinton is re-elected, a small transition team will make personnel decisions, formulate broad management policy guidance and prepare arguments for increasing State's budget requests for fiscal year 1998.

Congressional leaders will expect the Administration and the Department to propose a reorganization of foreign affairs agencies, whether it be consoli-

dation of agencies or functional integration. The new Department leadership should not again miss the opportunity to make sensible proposals in light of the grim budget situation. To pre-

pare for this, management should tackle the following between now and January 20:

-Decide the next stage of ICASS. A self-funding administrative support agency within State is one answer.

-Develop the next stages of the Post Staffing Models, including an annual validation and needs identification

system.

-Propose a system for the review of domestic functions and staffing. (Are organizations and people doing what they are supposed to?)

-Link the foreign affairs budget (the 150 Account), mission and bureau program planning (MPP/BPP), annual budget formulation and financial allocations.

-Review the list of inadequately funded past reform initiatives, including delayering, pruning of bureau hierarchies (especially in management), reducing redundancy and consolidating management and functional bureau executive offices into service bureaus.

Former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and Ambassador Robert Barry, writing in the spring issue of *Foreign Affairs*, proposed internal reform and the creation of "super" regional bureaus prior to the consolidation of other foreign affairs agencies. Their proposals should not be ignored.

In the short time remaining before new leadership takes over, State management cannot give in to bureaucratic inertia. Otherwise, decisions will be made in spite of the Department, not with the cooperation, creativity and expertise of the Foreign Service.

"Will the right issues be presented to the transition team?"

AFSA DATELINE

Continued from page 1

interviews, photographs and archival footage to trace USIA's history. "The Road Ahead," part II, addresses USIA's role in the post-Cold War world. Former VOA director John Chancellor and commentator and presidential advisor David Gergen are featured in the series, which is available for \$10 from USIAAA, 3218 N. Kenmore Street, Arlington, Va. 22207. Please add \$2 postage for an overseas address.

● Prominent African affairs experts from government and business will be featured at AFSA's 22nd business leaders symposium, "Trade and Investment Opportunities in Sub-Saharan Africa," to be held in Washington, D.C., November 14. Franklin Sonn, ambassador to the United States from the Republic of South Africa, will be a featured speaker at the convocation ceremony. Keynote luncheon speaker will be Rep. Jim McDermott (D-Wash.), sponsor of legislation to create a comprehensive trade and investment strategy between the United States and Sub-Saharan Africa. Panelists include: George E. Moose, assistant secretary of State for African Affairs; Alan P. Larson, assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs; Lauri J. Fitz-Pegado, assistant secretary of Commerce and director general of the Foreign Commercial Service. The conference will conclude with a reception in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room.

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Continued on page 3

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AFSA DATELINE

Continued from page 2

before Nov. 1 is \$225, for NGOs, \$125. After Nov. 1, registration is \$250 for corporations, for NGOs, \$150. AFSA members may attend free of charge, however, cost for the lunch is \$60 and for the reception is \$25. Please register in advance by contacting AFSA at (202) 338-4045 or 1 (800) 704-2372 or by fax at (202) 338-6820. Payment may be made by credit card or check.

• The AFSA Committee on Education has awarded more than \$107,000 in financial aid grants to 54 Foreign Service children for the 1996-97 academic year. First installments will be paid directly to scholarship recipients' schools in Sept., with the remainder to follow in Jan.

And then...

*The prime minister's wife
whispered to the American
ambassador ...*

The *Journal* is seeking embassy or diplomatic jokes for an issue on the role of humor and wit in diplomacy. The editors are seeking new jokes, old jokes and reused jokes – the kind that requires only the jokester to drop in another country's name to revamp it for local use. Contributors' names are welcome, but not required.

Fax your favorite joke to: Editors at FSJ at (202) 338-8244, or e-mail it to Journal@AFSA.org.

DEADLINE: Nov. 15

Did you hear...

*the one about the DCM
and the geisha girl
who got stuck in
the sand storm?*

USIA V.P. VOICE

• BY JESS L. BAILY •

USIA's Future: Dwindling Benefits?

Recently, an AFSA member reported that his post differential had been reduced from 20% to 10%. When a post differential is reduced it should mean that living conditions have improved and the security threat has been lowered. But are these the real reasons for the change? Or, as some suspect, are reduced budgets forcing management to find savings by cutting Foreign Service benefits and allowances? If so, when does AFSA stand up and say enough?

We accept constant moving, difficult living conditions, isolation and security threats when we join the Foreign Service. The government accepts that to attract and maintain a professional Foreign Service corps it must provide decent salaries and added benefits – housing, education, COLAs, hardship differentials, R&R, and, yes, danger pay. Few question the benefits military officers receive, but benefits provided to Foreign Service officers enjoy less popular support. Some people think our benefits allow us to lead lavish lifestyles overseas complete with daily cocktail parties in marble palaces. Clearly AFSA must erase such caricatures from the public mind.

Our benefits and allowances are inviting targets for budget cutters, especially when compared with RIFs and elimination of entire programs. No one in management has suggested abolishing any particular benefit or allowance. Instead, new interpretations of regulations or legislation result in reduced benefits to employees. For example, post differentials across agencies have been declining worldwide, most dramatically in 1994, and housing space allowances are shrinking as rents rise. Recent examples at USIA include changing per diem for

long-term language trainees, transferring JOTs to Washington instead of putting them on TDY per diem and instituting a new language incentive policy. There is some justification for each change. Living conditions can improve and per diem for long-term language training is now consistent with the State Department practice. Many USIA officers felt that the old system of language incentives rewarded officers for acquiring lan-

guages rather than using and improving skills on the job.

What should AFSA do about dwindling benefits? Remember: It's expensive to maintain officers overseas and attempts to preserve all benefits may cost jobs in the long run. Here's my approach:

First, AFSA must remind managers, the public and the Congress that watering down benefits will result in second-rate diplomacy as morale plummets, officers resign and recruiting suffers.

Second, AFSA should listen to proposals for revising benefits. Post differentials and COLAs are not entitlements for eternity. We must not be afraid to admit when change – whether that means increasing or decreasing COLAs – is needed.

Third, AFSA must be consulted early on, before changes are made or rumors circulate. Often the way a change in policy is communicated or implemented sows more confusion and distrust among employees than the change itself. For example, it is unfair to promise benefits for an assignment only to cut those benefits mid-tour.

Finally, a personal note. I try to remember that I joined the service to live overseas, with all of the challenges and rewards that entails.

*"Our benefits
and
allowances are
inviting
targets for
budget cutters."*

Foreign Affairs in the Elections

By Ken Nokomura
Director, Congressional Relations

With the election of all 435 members of the House of Representatives and 34 Senators to be decided this November, now is the time for AFSA members, their friends and supporters to demonstrate that there is a constituency that cares about the U.S. role abroad.

For too long the conventional wisdom on Capitol Hill has been that no one really cares about foreign affairs agencies or their funding. This perception has had disastrous consequences for our country's diplomatic readiness.

When a responsible leader of one of our Congressional authorization committees can say he never gets constituent letters on foreign affairs if there is not a crisis, it means that he and others are influenced on how hard they may push a foreign affairs issue, or go out on a political limb on controversial policy questions. When the chairman of one of our important appropriations subcommittees can say that when he is home, he is never asked about funding for foreign affairs programs and what that means for U.S. diplomacy, it means that he and others are then free to think that their constituents are more concerned about other issues and are willing to see money cut from foreign affairs to go to other concerns. And when influential elected representatives, such as Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, can worry about the budget deficit and compare our foreign assistance program to taxpayers' money going down a rathole, it means there is an inordinate perception about foreign assistance.

During the election season, take advantage of opportunities to press candidates on their stands on foreign affairs and funding of foreign affairs agencies. At campaign coffee-

klatches, meet-the-candidate nights, anywhere candidates appear, remind them about foreign affairs. Even if you can only work in a sentence or two as a lead-in to a question, you might make some of these points:

- The post-Cold War world is dangerous and complicated. The U.S. can best protect its interests and gain new ground if it is fully participating in world events.

- In the past decade, non-defense spending for foreign affairs budgets has been cut by about 49%, while defense spending has been reduced only by about 20-30%. Non-defense spending for foreign affairs today accounts for about 1.2% of the national budget and is shrinking. These cuts are damaging diplomatic readiness and undercutting America's world-wide interests.

- The United States faces economic problems at home, but it must not abandon the protection and promotion of our national interests abroad for that is a federal responsibility that cannot be delegated. Congress must responsibly address both our interests of home and overseas.

- The major international problems confronting the United States are more easily solved by diplomacy than by the use of costlier and riskier military actions or covert operations. Forceful diplomacy forms a more effective front line to address the new threats to our national interests. Congress should consider the funding balance among diplomacy, the military and covert intelligence in light of the new realities.

Experience with the 104th Congress has taught AFSA that legislators need to be reminded by their constituents that they will be held accountable for their foreign affairs votes. This message is best delivered to politicians while they are campaigning in their home districts.

POLITICIANS

Continued from page 1

Rhode Islander Robin Porter, 62, didn't have to leave the Foreign Service to start a political career. He simply waited for retirement. An FSO from 1961-83 who served in Haiti, the Philippines, West Germany, Moscow and Kiev, Porter had hoped to join McDermott in Congress, but he lost a Sept. 10 four-way primary for the Republican nomination from Rhode Island's 2nd District.

A self-described "maverick, problem-solving Republican," Porter has served in the Rhode Island state senate since 1992. He credits the Foreign Service with helping him prepare for the rough and tumble of politics. "I've matched wits with the Russians," said Porter, who helped open the first American consulate in Kiev, Ukraine. Porter's experience in the former Soviet Union also helped give him a campaign issue: environmental protection. "My Foreign Service experience made it clear to me what needed to be done (about the environment)," he said. "My observation of the terrible environmental damage to the countryside in the Soviet Union made the environment a priority for me. Rhode Island is vulnerable because it is surrounded by coastal waters, with an economy heavily weighted on tourism, so we must protect our environment."

While Porter will not be joining McDermott in Congress, he has been mentored to retired FSO and former USAID AFSA Vice President John A. Patterson, 60, another Rhode Islander, who won the Republican primary in September to vie for Porter's vacant Rhode Island state senate seat. A first-time contender for public office, Patterson says he honed his political skills in AFSA. "As an AFSA vice president I learned negotiation skills and how to represent a constituency. That is directly relevant to being a decent candidate," said Patterson, whose AFSA term was 1993-94.

As an FSO with USAID from 1966-94, Patterson served in the Philippines, Egypt, Zambia and Rwanda. He says his experience with economic development "is a good fit right now for Rhode Island, where jobs and development top the list of issues." After retirement, Patterson put his development experience to work by serving on the board of Quonset Point/Dovisville, a former naval base being converted into an industrial park.

POLITICIANS

Continued from page 4

From there, all it took was a nudge from Parter to push him into the political fray.

While Patterson is running for a seat in the state senate in Rhode Island, retired FSO Jay Kenneth Katzen, 60, is trying to move from Virginia's general assembly to its statehouse as lieutenant governor. A Republican from Warrenton, Va., Katzen, a two-term delegate, retired from the Foreign Service in 1985 after serving in Brozoville, Bomako, Buchorest, Kinshosa, Bujumburo and Sydney. He says he sought a career in state politics because, "state politics is really where the action is." He supports an amendment to the Virginia constitution that would allow FSOs, many of whom are property owners and pay taxes in Northern Virginia, to vote in Virginia elections even if they are posted abroad. "I've lived in an awful lot of countries, and not all elections are democratic. We have to fight for these rights and defend them daily," said Katzen.

Does Katzen miss his 23 years overseas? "The Foreign Service is a wonderful career, and I enjoyed all of it," he said. "I also feel that politics at the state level is frankly the most enjoyable experience I've ever had. I just love what I am doing now."

That's good news for FSOs contemplating life as politicians after retirement.

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F A S V.P. VOICE

• BY WILLIAM WESTMAN •

Telling the Public About FAS

"The memory of the public is short," wrote well-known mystery novelist Agatha Christie in her book, *Lard Edgware Dies*. I propose that we paste this aphorism on the doors of all foreign affairs agencies as a reminder that we must constantly tell the public about the significant work we do. At a time when foreign affairs budgets are being gutted at Capitol Hill, we must market ourselves and our services to survive.

At FAS, that has meant a new type of outreach, as we join with AFSA to help promote foreign affairs agencies struggling for their piece of the contracting budget pie. Last July for the first time FAS officers took two days of home leave and vacation to meet with the press, form organizations, university audiences and agricultural companies in 43 states. Our volunteers fanned out across the country to bring this message: Agricultural exports, which can multiply farm income, increase American jobs and create a positive balance of trade, are the business of FAS. We provide an on-the-ground link to overseas markets, on insider's knowledge of how to avoid the pitfalls of agricultural trade and overseas connections for American companies. With agricultural exports rising, these services are particularly important. And now is our opportunity to let the public know what FAS provides.

This may not be news to AFSA members, but it was to the thousands of business people, farmers, and media we talked with in just two days. They did not know that FAS provides market research reports on foreign

agricultural trade and runs a referral service that can link U.S. companies with business partners overseas. We need to let people know that as part of its routine business the FAS might clear a load of U.S. livestock or get a health certificate for 15 cases of frozen french fries for a trade show that begins tomorrow or make a crucial link that can mean millions for U.S. businesses, and that this is a vital part of what tax dollars provide.

While FAS continues its public awareness program, we must also recognize that we are struggling with internal change. Each week our standing committee meets with USDA management and AFSCME, the union that represents Civil Service employees, in the FAS Partnership Council. Historically there have been significant divisions between Foreign and Civil Service employees at FAS, and the Partnership Council has struggled to openly discuss and discard some of this baggage so that we can work on a personnel system that provides more opportunities for all of us. After many hours of discussion, we have some successes to report. In 1996 we agreed on an assignment system that opens up competition for overseas slots to both services. We believe that this greater mobility between the Foreign and Civil Services and the opportunity it offers for cross-training will be good for all of us. Still, some prejudices and problems die hard, particularly with budget cuts affecting people's livelihoods. Now is the time to resolve these issues so that we can concentrate less on who is steering the ship and more on plugging the holes in its hull.

"We must constantly tell the public about the significant work we do."



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AFSA, FCS Adopt CB Agreement

By Tam Kelsey
Foreign Commercial Service
Vice President

After difficult year-long negotiations, AFSA was preparing to sign its first collective bargaining agreement with the Foreign Commercial Service (FCS) as AFSA News went to press. The agreement, which ran into several roadblocks, including personnel changes and the government-wide furlough, for the first time gives a union voice to the more than 200 Foreign Service employees of FCS. More important, the agreement sets the ground rules for AFSA's relationship with management and gives both labor and management an effective mechanism for resolving issues between them. AFSA is already the collective bargaining agent for State, USAID, USIA and FAS.

"AFSA is extremely pleased that the last bargaining agreement among the five foreign affairs agen-

cies has been signed to provide a structure for Foreign Service professionals in the Commercial Service to participate in the tough decisions that lie ahead," said AFSA President F. A. "Tex" Harris.

The agreement stipulates that elected AFSA representatives will be allowed "reasonable" time to conduct union business during work hours. Other AFSA vice presidents and representatives have similar agreements with their employers; the amount of time they receive to conduct union business varies depending on the size of their constituencies. In addition, FCS and AFSA agreed that union representatives will not be retaliated against for their union activities, that members have the right to have a union representative present if they might be facing disciplinary action and that AFSA can use government e-mail to conduct union business.

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F O C U S

remained for the next decade, occupying the Shan State. By the time the Burmese Army finally forced them into Thailand in 1961, opium production in the Shan State had risen from 15 tons in 1940 to more than 300 tons.

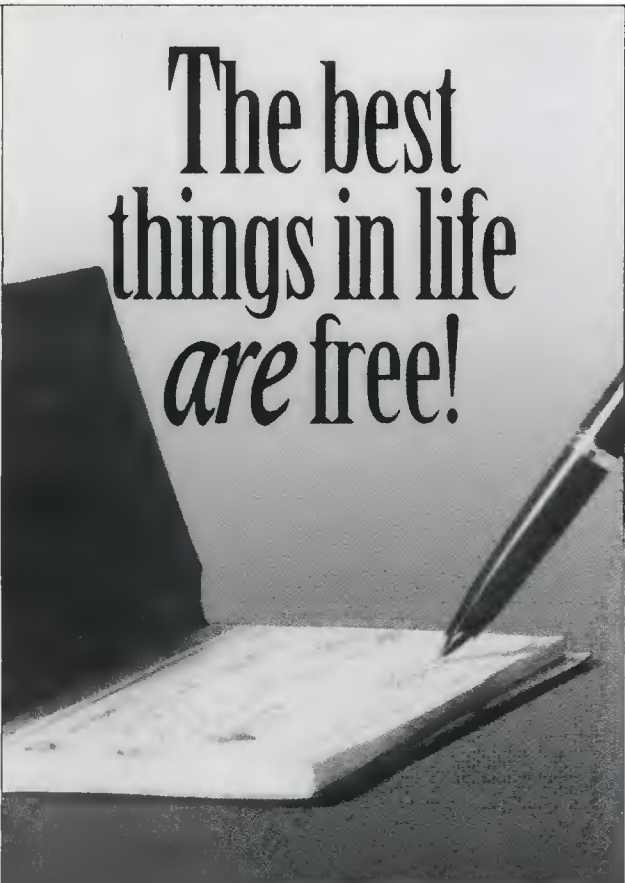
Only eight years later, at the height of the Vietnam War, the Nationalists and local warlords opened seven laboratories in the Golden Triangle to supply U.S. soldiers fighting in South Vietnam. By 1971, limitless supplies of heroin, sold in identical plastic vials, were available at every club and firebase from the Mekong Delta to the DMZ. According to a later White House survey, 34 percent of U.S. troops in Vietnam were addicted. If this figure is accurate, there were 80,000 heroin-addicted U.S. soldiers in South Vietnam, far more than the 68,000 in America.

As American troops withdrew from Vietnam in 1972, President Nixon inadvertently created a new market for Golden Triangle heroin by declaring a "war on drugs" in the Mediterranean. Acting on reports that Turkey's poppy fields and Marseilles' heroin laboratories supplied 80

percent of America's demand, Nixon pressed these allies for action. By 1973-74, Turkey had eradicated all opium production and France closed its heroin labs in Marseilles.

Ironically, Nixon's triumph rested on the premise that Turkey, which produced just 7 percent of the world's illicit supply, was an isolated opium producer that could be eliminated through a strong enforcement effort. Responding to the market stimulus of Turkish eradication, the Chinese criminal syndicates of Southeast Asia began exporting surplus heroin to America, in effect following the GIs home. By early 1975, Southeast Asia's share of the U.S. heroin market had doubled to 22 percent.

Concerned about rising Southeast Asian heroin seizures, the Nixon administration dispatched a team of 30 DEA agents to Bangkok from 1973-74 to cut the flow. Armed with a \$12 million anti-drug war chest, the DEA began making substantial seizures of U.S.-bound heroin — erecting a de facto customs shield against drug exports to America. By the end of 1975, Southeast Asia's share of the U.S. market had dropped to only 8 percent. But the DEA



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had not eradicated opium cultivation in Burma or closed heroin refineries in Thailand. It had simply deflected these exports to other markets in Europe and Australia, thereby expanding world demand.

Blocked from the United States, Southeast Asian syndicates began exporting to Europe and Australia. Total European seizures of Southeast Asian "No. 3 heroin" jumped from 22 pounds in 1972 to 873 pounds in 1978. In West Germany, deaths from heroin overdose increased from 9 in 1969 to 623 a decade later.

Although Nixon's drug war thus stimulated the global market, in the late 1970s every indicator pointed to a drop in the U.S. heroin supply. Purity of street deals in New York City declined, reaching an historic low of 3 percent. Why? Perhaps Nixon's drug war may have cut the flow of drugs into the United States. Or, perhaps President Carter's ban on major CIA covert operations from 1976-78 removed the protection that drug lords needed.

Whatever the cause of this decline, the reason for its later reversal seems clear. In the 1980s, Asian opium production tripled — from 1,450 tons in 1981 to 4,200 in 1989 — fueling a global spread of heroin abuse. The most dramatic change came in southwest Asia. In the 1970s, Afghanistan and Pakistan still produced only limited quantities of opium for local markets and there was no significant heroin production — a point made repeatedly in cables to Washington from Richard Helms, then-U.S. ambassador to Tehran and a former CIA director. By 1981, however, Pakistan suddenly became the source of 60 percent of the U.S. heroin supply and the world's largest heroin producer. The real tragedy was in Pakistan itself. Within five years, it developed the world's largest heroin-addicted population, up from 5,000 in 1980 to 1.2 million in 1985. Why did Pakistan's drug output increase so quickly?

The answer lies in the geopolitics of the Cold War. After the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, the White House directed the CIA to support the Afghan resistance. Working through Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence, the agency gave covert arms and finance to the Muslim guerrilla forces. As they took control of liberated zones, Afghan warlords like Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, now prime minister, increased opium production to finance their revolution. Shipped into Pakistan, the opium was processed into heroin by elements of the Pakistani military and Afghan resistance forces.

During the 1980s, moreover, presidents Reagan and Bush declared a renewed war on drugs, mobilizing the DEA, the CIA and the Defense Department in an \$11 billion battle against drug dealers at home and drug lords abroad. Under their tough drug laws with mandatory minimum sentences, the U.S. prison population soared from 100 per 100,000 in 1980, where it had remained for the past 50 years, to 440 per 100,000 by 1990. President Clinton continued the war when he came into office in 1993; indeed, the drug war remains one of the few Cold War survivors to command bipartisan support.

The ending of the Cold War has left some ambiguous legacies on both sides of the Iron Curtain that contributed to this surge in global drug supply. The collapse of the Soviet Union weakened key states within Asia's opium zone and destroyed the global template that had shaped the world's drug traffic for 40 years. This was done by extending opium cultivation into Central Asia, creating criminal syndicates and opening new trafficking routes that spread out from Russia in a cat's cradle of drug routes, many crossing through the Balkans. Similarly, drugs now exit the Golden Triangle by truck directly through China to Hong Kong — leaving behind a trail of drug gangs, rising heroin addiction and soaring HIV infection across China's southern provinces.

The end of the Cold War also accelerated the spread of opium in Central Asia. To compensate for the loss of U.S. covert aid, Afghan guerrillas have increased their poppy cultivation. Poppy cultivation and heroin refining are spreading from Afghanistan into neighboring states that were once part of the former Soviet Union. Over time, Central Asia may become a vast opium reservoir on the roof of the world, producing limitless quantities of low-cost heroin for markets across the globe.

In the twilight of the Cold War, it seems unlikely that a drug policy that relies on strong states as partners in repression can succeed. By the late 1980s, regional warlords in Central and Southeast Asia began to accumulate enough power, from drugs and insurgency, to defy state authority.

As evidenced by the anger out of Washington, the capture of drug lords like Burma's Khun Sa is a top priority for U.S. narcotics policy. Indeed, from 1981 to the present, the ultimate aim of the drug war has

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From the early 1950s, the U.S. relationship to Southeast Asia was close, particularly with Thailand, and correctly cool with Burma. Every battle won in Thailand was lost in Burma.

been to break up the major cartels and imprison their leaders, whether Pablo Escobar or Khun Sa. Khun Sa's career demonstrates the utter futility of this exercise. While they are still central to the narcotics trade, major drug lords remain impervious to external pressures. They can only be arrested when the political economy of the producing regions shifts in ways that render them redundant. We can only capture a drug lord when he is no longer a drug lord.

This paradox raises some questions about the nature of the global drug trade and the policy we have adopted to combat it. For the past 15 years, the ultimate logic of the drug war has been supply reduction — eradication at source in Asia and the Andes, interdiction on the high seas, and seizures from dealers on the streets. As the warlords of Central and Southeast Asia produce ever larger opium harvests, a rising tide of heroin may render any attempt at a supply-side solution unworkable.

Even if Khun Sa were to be arrested, the poppy fields and addicts would remain; and some other genius would soon reap the profit that comes from linking these two. The global drug traffic is, in fact, a vast commodities trade linking First World and Third World in a complex commerce that interpenetrates every aspect of the modern world. Just as those "gnomes of Zurich" or "Wall Street bankers" have little control over the price of gold or stocks, so drug lords do not make the drug trade. The United States has, in effect, declared war on a global commodity, and not even the surrender of the world's preeminent entrepreneur can cause a flicker in this vast commerce.

In a few years Americans may look back on the 1980s — with its ruthless Shan drug lords, wealthy Colombian cartels and 5 million U.S. drug users — as the "good old days" when the situation was under control. Whatever suppression policy is adopted, the global opium supply will probably double every five or 10 years.

In the future, drug diplomacy will have to go beyond presidents and prime ministers. If U.S. policy is to adapt to a new geopolitical reality, then America must

understand the rising power of warlords like Khun Sa.

Moreover, if any anti-drug strategy is to be effective in areas like Southeast Asia, U.S. foreign policy will need to develop a suppleness beyond the simple bi-polarity of the Cold War. While Washington enjoys ample leverage with Bangkok, it had only tenuous ties to Burma, a country that was becoming the major source of U.S. heroin.

From the early 1950s, the U.S. position in Southeast Asia was marked by a close alliance with Thailand and a correct coolness towards Burma. While America signed a military aid agreement with Thailand in 1950, that same year President Truman authorized the CIA to supply the 14,000 Nationalist Chinese troops in northern Burma. Within a year, the U.S. ambassador to Rangoon, David McKendree Keys, was firing off cables to Washington protesting the "flagrant disregard for Burmese sovereignty" and, when ignored, resigned in protest. Rangoon won a U.N. condemnation for the action, but while Rangoon continued to protest during the next decade, the United States built closer relations with Bangkok.

Every battle the United States won in Thailand was lost in Burma. During the 1980s, the steady eradication of illicit drugs in Thailand drove the traffic across the border, fueling a dramatic 500 percent increase in Burma's opium production, from 500 to 2,500 tons.

As Burma's share of the US heroin supply shot upward from 15 to 80 percent by the early 1990s, Washington suddenly found its weak relations with Rangoon a liability. Since 1989, the White House has repeatedly denied Burma certification for anti-narcotics aid. Playing upon internal divisions inside Washington, in 1994 Burma's military junta offered the head of Khun Sa for U.S. military aid and has since dangled the lure of renewed cooperation with the DEA to win a lifting of US sanctions. In the last two years, however, Rangoon's repeated refusal to deliver Khun Sa has brought US-Burmese relations to an historic low. Under the dictates of the drug war, Washington has sacrificed bilateral relations with Burma to pursue its manhunt for just one drug lord, Khun Sa. ■

IN LATIN AMERICA, QUELLING CHAOS

In the last quarter century, American taxpayers have forked out \$300 billion at federal, state and local levels to fight drug trafficking in the United States and around the world; in the last decade, a surge in drug-related convictions has pushed the federal and state prison population to more than 1 million inmates; and precious civil liberties protected by the First, Fourth, Fifth and Eighth amendments have been lost. Moreover, a final victory in this interminable war is nowhere in sight, although the early winners appear to be the wealthy and powerful Colombian and Mexican drug cartels, which have deeply entrenched themselves in America.

More than 80 percent of the cocaine and 62 percent of the heroin smuggled into America last year originated in Colombia, according to the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). In addition, nearly three-fourths of the cocaine smuggled in last year was transported across the U.S.-Mexico border by Mexican drug traffickers who have formed strategic associations with Colombian cartels to jointly supply the U.S. market with cocaine and heroin. A 1993 FBI report identified more than 33 core Colombian and Mexican criminal enterprises in three dozen U.S. states. In the process, Mexico's drug cartels have evolved from cross-border smuggling transporters for

Colombian drug cartels into major U.S. wholesalers and retailers of cocaine, heroin, methamphetamine and marijuana. More than 1 million people in the United States, Colombia and Mexico earn their living today from the illegal drug trade, including an estimated 600,000 wholesale and retail drug dealers in America.

Retired Gen. Barry McCaffrey, the national drug control policy director and former head of the U.S. Armed Forces Southern Command (Southcom), acknowledged before the Senate Judiciary Committee last month that the Clinton administration has been soft on drugs, dismantling the White House Office on National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) in 1993, slashing its budget and laying off or reassigning 75 percent of its personnel. Subsequently, in November 1993 President Clinton signed Presidential Decision Directive No. 14, which cut back funding for drug interdiction operations by the U.S. Coast Guard in the Caribbean region and U.S. Customs Service anti-drug operations on the U.S.-Mexico border, and began attacking the drug supply at its sources in Colombia, Peru and Bolivia.



**DESPITE CRACKDOWNS,
CARTELS NOW STRONGER,
MORE INFLUENTIAL**

BY JOHN SWEENEY

At the end of 1995, in a policy shift compelled by domestic political concerns and ominous developments in Colombia and Mexico, the Clinton administration adopted a tougher line against drugs.

F O C U S

More than 1 million people in the United States, Colombia and Mexico earn their living today from the illegal drug trade, including an estimated 600,000 wholesale and retail drug dealers in America.

At home, a president who admitted smoking marijuana as a college student, but who defied credibility by claiming he never inhaled the smoke, came under intense political fire from Republican critics as increasingly greater numbers of American teenagers began using marijuana and heroin. It was also clear that the administration's policy of attacking the drug supply at its source in Colombia, Peru and Bolivia had been a failure, while Mexico had emerged as a major, and increasingly dangerous, player in the hemispheric narcotics trade.

President Clinton launched his crackdown on drugs last January with McCaffrey's appointment as the new White House drug czar. The president also increased funding and personnel for the interdiction of illegal immigrants and drugs attempting to cross the U.S.-Mexico border, prompting outraged complaints from Mexican officials that the administration was racist, particularly anti-Mexican. On March 1, President Clinton decertified Colombia for not doing enough to fight the drug trafficking, even though six of the seven top Cali cartel leaders had been captured or surrendered to Colombian law enforcement authorities in 1995. Instead, the administration said decertification was tied to the 1994 election campaign of Colombian President Ernesto Samper, which had been financed in part with \$6 million contributed by the Cali cartel.

Colombia's decertification placed it in the company of pariah states such as Nigeria, Burma and Afghanistan, and cut off Colombian access to credits and technical assistance from U.S. and multilateral agencies such as OPIC, Export-Import Bank, MIGA, the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank. That was followed on July 11 by the cancellation of Samper's visa to

John Sweeney is a policy analyst on trade and Latin American issues at The Heritage Foundation in Washington, D.C.

enter the United States; the only other world leader singled out for similar treatment had been Kurt Waldheim, the former U.N. secretary general and Austrian president charged with participating in the World War II deportation of Jews to Nazi death camps.

The Clinton administration has threatened Colombia with additional punishment, although trade sanctions may not be imposed until after U.S. elections, to avoid angering American voters in Florida whose jobs would be hurt if imports from Colombia are blocked.

As President Clinton toughened his anti-drug policies and campaign rhetoric, Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole responded by proposing even stronger measures. Within 90 days of taking office, Dole would increase funds for National Guard units fighting the drug trade and illegal immigration on the U.S.-Mexico border, build fences and other border obstacles more quickly, impose trade and other sanctions against drug-producing countries, and implement a comprehensive plan for tightening border controls in the American Southwest.

Although U.S. law prohibits the military from becoming involved in domestic law enforcement, Dole also indicated that he would consider militarizing the war on drugs to halt the flow of illegal drugs from Mexico and Colombia. "If all these actions aren't enough to turn the tide in the war on drugs," Dole said during a speech at a National Guard convention last month, "then I am prepared to take a long, hard look at giving the U.S. military lead responsibility for stopping the flow of illegal drugs across our borders."

How credible are the actions and statements of the Democratic incumbent and Republican challenger? A former U.S. ambassador to Colombia who does not wish to be identified believes that the heated anti-drug rhetoric of the 1996 presidential elections will die down after Washington returns to business as usual in 1997.

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"Perhaps I am too cynical after a lifetime in Washington," this official said, "but I think that whoever occupies the White House in 1997 will try to improve U.S. relations with Colombia and Mexico, and will downplay the drug issue as much as possible."

U.S. companies and other special interest groups have mobilized in Washington to prevent the imposition of trade sanctions against Colombia. For example, Republican members of Florida's congressional delegation have warned that sanctions could disrupt fresh-cut flower exports from Colombia, putting more than 10,000 Miami-area employees out of work. They were joined in August by a dozen major U.S. oil companies and construction firms, liberal organizations such as the Inter-American Dialogue in Washington, and the North-South Institute in Miami. In addition, a U.S.-Colombia business association has been created to promote improved bilateral relations, whose Washington branch is headed by former U.S. ambassador Michael Skol, who joined the Washington-based public relations firm, Diplomatie Resolutions, Inc., after leaving the Foreign Service earlier this year.

At Washington meetings held by these groups, the usual litany of criticisms are heard about supposedly mistaken U.S. anti-drug policies and American responsibility for the drug-related problems of Colombia, Mexico and other drug-producing countries. None are unique. For example, drugs are an American problem because U.S. demand drives supply in Colombia and Mexico; the United States is not doing enough to curb demand at home; the current U.S.-Colombian conflict is blocking progress of a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) because other Latin American countries have sided with Colombia in this conflict; major U.S. investment and trading interests are at risk in Colombia because of this conflict; and trade sanctions never work, and will only weaken Colombia further. Some participants have argued that the Clinton administration's decertification of Colombia is responsible for that country's deepening political crisis.

The common objective of these groups, some of which are funded either by companies with interests in Colombia or indirectly by the government of

Colombia, is to prevent U.S. trade sanctions on Colombia and to insure it is recertified next March 1. However, while these groups' arguments are imbued with small kernels of truth — trade sanctions usually are counterproductive and the United States is really not doing enough to curb domestic demand for illegal drugs — the reality is that Colombian and Mexican governments have never had as much interest as the United States in fighting the war on drugs.

The historical record proves beyond any doubt that Colombia and Mexico have only cooperated in anti-drug efforts in response to U.S. pressure. The economic, political and social development needs of Colombia and Mexico have always been more important than helping the Yanquis fight a war perceived by Latin Americans as a uniquely American problem. And, the hard currency inflows and economic development that Colombian and Mexican drug cartels have generated for their respective countries have always been more important than aiding America's battle against narco-trafficking.

For example, Colombia's total exports of cocaine and heroin generate between \$3 billion and \$4 billion a year in hard currency earnings that return to Colombia in the form of merchandise and cash imports. This sum is nearly equivalent to Colombia's total annual sum for non-traditional exports of cut flowers, manufacturing and other goods. Moreover, Colombian economists estimate that the drug trade adds between 1 and 2 percentage points each year to the country's GNP, which explains why the Colombian economy has enjoyed respectably high growth during the 1990s despite a sluggish performance by its export sectors. During the past decade Colombian drug traffickers have purchased most of Colombia's arable land and in some cities have financed up to 40 percent of all residential and commercial construction.

In the case of Mexico, anti-drug experts estimate that in 1995 Mexican drug cartels exported over \$100 billion of cocaine, heroin, marijuana and methamphetamine to the United States, generating \$30 billion in profits. Mexican drug traffickers have laundered illegal profits in residential and commercial construction, tourism projects, and transportation and warehousing enterprises — particularly since NAFTA was implemented in 1994.

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When the Cold War ended, U.S. hegemony in the Western Hemisphere was enhanced mainly by default. Although the United States was the world's only military superpower, U.S. economic dominance in the Americas happened more by accident than by design. The European Union (EU) was more interested in Russia and the former Soviet states and Eastern Europe, while Japan focused more on its internal problems and on the rapidly growing markets of China and other Asian economies. Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari discovered this reality when he approached the EU in 1989 in an unsuccessful effort to stir up European interest in a free-trade agreement with Mexico. Rebuffed by the Europeans, Salinas had no choice but to approach the Bush administration, where his proposal to negotiate NAFTA was welcomed by a receptive audience. Bush followed up with the Brady Plan, which restructured Mexico's foreign debt and was later successfully extended to other indebted countries in the hemisphere, and the 1990 Enterprise for the

Americas Initiative, which outlined a strategy for a U.S.-Latin America partnership based on free trade.

From its inception, however, the U.S. strategy of dismantling trade barriers and opening up the hemisphere's markets collided with the unexpected emergence of drug trafficking as a new threat to U.S. national security and stability in the Americas. On one hand, the end of the Cold War buried the threat of communist expansion, but highlighted the growing international security threat of transnational organized crime enterprises involved in drugs and weapons trafficking as well as other illegal activities. On the other hand, drug trafficking enterprises were among the very first "business activities" to take advantage of the elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade. In this respect, Colombian and Mexican drug cartels were way ahead of legitimate business enterprises in their own countries. While Colombian and Mexican companies engaged in legal trade were still learning how to negotiate the pitfalls of a global economy, drug traffickers whose business activities had long been

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multinational in terms of markets and organization adapted easily to a more open global trading environment.

A poll by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations last year revealed that over 85 percent of the American public want the federal government to stop the flood of illegal drugs and illegal immigrants from entering the United States. Clearly, curbing the drug trade and illegal immigration are not partisan issues. While Democrats and Republicans compare each other's achievements and shortcomings on the two issues, an overwhelming majority of Americans, regardless of political ideology or ethnic origin, believe their communities are being overwhelmed by drug traffickers and illegal immigrants. Moreover, U.S. law enforcement professionals cite data that shows an increasingly clear link between drug trafficking and illegal immigration. During a hearing in July before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the chief of police of the city of Charlotte, N.C., said drug-related arrests in his jurisdiction increasingly

involve illegal immigrants from Mexico, Colombia and other Latin American countries.

However, while liberals stumble over these issues like mud wrestlers at a sports bar on Friday night, conservatives have turned the war on drugs and illegal immigration into the equivalent of a moral crusade. William Bennett, the former White House drug czar and education secretary who believes that America's survival rests on the reaffirmation of American values, ethics and morals, asserts that the war on drugs is a life-and-death contest "about who we are as a nation and what we believe." In Bennett's view, widely shared by social conservatives, the war on drugs is nothing less than a primordial battle between the forces of good and evil.

But there is no question that America needs to rethink its strategy for fighting the inexorable rise of transnational organized criminal enterprises that traffic in drugs. U.S. strategy, particularly in reference to Colombia and Mexico, clearly is not working. This is true, to a large extent, because U.S. anti-drug policy is

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F O C U S

mired in a hypocritical double standard that has made Colombia the favorite whipping boy of Washington drug warriors, while the drug-related corruption consuming Mexico today is ignored because such indifference suits the interests of the U.S. Treasury and the Wall Street, Boston banks and investment firms holding much of that country's \$180 billion foreign debt. Militarizing the drug war may appeal to Democratic and Republican politicians in search of easy solutions for complex problems, but in practice it won't lead America to a final, decisive victory in the global fight against drug traffickers.

Containing the cancerous spread of drug trafficking in the Americas requires two important changes in U.S. anti-drug policy. First, more must be done within the U.S. to reduce drug abuse of youth and to control the criminal activities of drug dealers. In this respect, the challenge is to develop effective policies that combine family and community education, with better law enforcement measures that will not continue to erode

the civil liberties guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. Building more jails at greater taxpayer expense is not enough; neither is dismissing teenage drug abusers as intrinsically evil people, which evades the issue of why America's families, schools and communities have failed in the 1990s to prevent a new generation of youngsters from embarking on a journey of self-destruction.

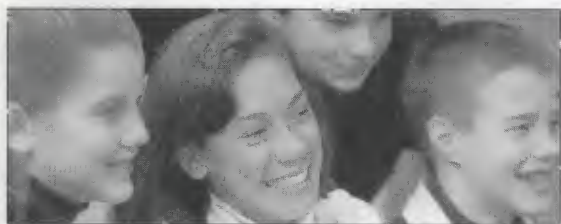
And second, if the United States expects other countries to cooperate in developing effective international solutions to contain the global growth of drug trafficking, Washington must take the lead in ridding its anti-drug policies of the hypocrisy that singles out Colombia for decertification and other sanctions, while ignoring the insidious growth of Mexican drug cartels for the sake of the financial interests of Wall Street and corporate America. The Colombians and Mexicans cannot be accused of avoiding their responsibilities in the war on drugs when the standard for evasiveness and hypocrisy is being set by Washington. ■

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IN BOLIVIA, BUCKING TRADITION

The humid, fetid jungle of the Chapare is the breadbasket of the global cocaine industry, home to some of the most potent and productive coca leaf in the world. More than 75 percent of the coca in Bolivia — now the planet's No. 2 producer — grows in this region's perfect blend of climate and soil, annually producing 180 tons of cocaine whose quality is only rivaled by that of the Upper Huallaga Valley of Peru.

Few regions of the world have benefitted more from the largess of U.S. taxpayers than the Chapare, once little more than a vast swath of sparsely populated swamp and jungle that today boasts as well-developed a transportation and utility network as any in Bolivia. As South America's poorest nation, Bolivia also holds the dubious distinction as recipient of more total U.S. aid than any other country in the Southern Hemisphere, accounting for \$1 billion-plus in food, economic, development, military and counternarcotics assistance over the last seven years, according to figures provided by U.S. Embassy La Paz. It's no surprise that development aid has risen proportionately with the world's growing demand for cocaine, which in turn has intensified U.S. pressure to eliminate the drug at its source.

But the coca leaf tradition in the Andean region is 4,000 years older than the 24-year-old U.S. war on

drugs. The indigenous Aymara and Quechua, pre-Inca peoples, chewed coca leaf to combat altitude sickness, fatigue and hunger, and revered it as a sacred symbol in social ceremonies and communal rites. Today, nearly 8 million people — mainly in Bolivia and Peru — chew leaves daily. All Andean marketplaces hawk creams, tea, chewing gum, love potions, cough syrup, liver and prostate tonics, wine, headache and diarrhea remedies, and other items made from *mata de coca*. But despite its alleged curative powers, more than 90 percent of the coca leaf grown in Bolivia is destined for the illegal cocaine market.

This year, the Bolivian government has been a particularly dutiful soldier in the U.S. war on drugs, winning two pats on the back in June alone, one for signing an extradition treaty that applies to drug traffickers and a second for winning full U.S. certification after eradicating 1,750 hectares of coca and promising to destroy another 5,400 by Jan. 1. Last year, Bolivia was decertified for its failure "to fully cooperate in anti-drug efforts," although penalties were waived for "national security reasons." The U.S. anti-drug ultimatum requires Bolivia to eradicate all coca leaf plantations by 2001.

So when President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada visited the heart of coca territory last April, U.S. officials viewed this historical first step as a sign of hope: No previous Bolivian



GLASGOW & ASSOCIATES

CROP SUBSTITUTION
SPARKS BITTERNESS
AMONG CAMPESINOS

BY KAREN KREBSBACH

F O C U S

The indigenous Aymara and Quechua, pre-Inca peoples, chewed coca leaf to combat altitude sickness, fatigue and hunger, and revered it as a sacred symbol in ceremonies and communal rites.

head of state had dared venture into the wilds of the coca country. "I hope this is the beginning of a new vision for the Chapare," he said in a brief interview on the helicopter tarmac before being flown from a celebration that had drawn hundreds of campesinos. "We are at a turning point in the drug war."

The Chapare's pivotal role in that war was determined a mere 15 years ago, when falling world tin prices sparked the widespread closing of the country's tin mines, sending a flood into the Chapare of unemployed miners with dreams of farming. Though these migrants knew little about agriculture, one thing they would learn soon enough: the coca leaf grew easily here, and it was lucrative indeed. Between 1977-81, when coca cultivation and coca base processing increased by 75 percent, the Chapare became somewhat of a boom community.

Also intensified during this period were U.S. efforts to halt the flow of cocaine to its shores by focusing on the source countries of Peru, Bolivia and Colombia, which officials claim is the most cost-effective anti-drug method. In Bolivia, U.S. strategy focused on pressuring the Bolivian government to eradicate illegal crops; providing funds to pay farmers to eradicate or not plant coca in their fields; training the military to destroy cocaine base and cocaine hydrochloride production centers; increasing interdiction efforts to prevent cocaine or coca leaf from leaving the country; and introducing crop substitution programs. In the process, America also hoped to generate sustained economic growth and strengthen democratic institutions in the Chapare.

Some of these efforts worked better than others. Despite aggressive eradication since 1988, a recent

Karen Krebsbach, the editor of the Foreign Service Journal, recently returned from a journalism fellowship in Bolivia.

report released by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) showed the number of hectares of coca in the Chapare increased from 49,597 to 54,293 from 1993-95. And although the number of hectares destroyed has increased annually since 1993, aerial photos in 1995 indicated 33,700 hectares of coca in the region — exactly the same number, though in different areas, as in 1993.

The compensation program also backfired. Since 1988, more than \$50 million has been spent on compensating farmers \$2,500 per hectare (a hectare equals 2.5 acres) to voluntarily eradicate their coca fields. "In one sense, it was wasted," says U.S. Ambassador to Bolivia Curtis Kamman, who acknowledged farmers exploited the program by demanding funds for replanted coca in fields where the crop had just been pulled. "Bolivians argue it prevented here what happened in Peru — a vast expansion of coca," he said in an interview at U.S. Embassy La Paz.

Interdiction efforts also had limited success. According to figures provided by the Bolivian national drug squad, FELCN, it destroyed more labs and cocaine factories, arrested more drug traffickers and producers and confiscated more cocaine and corresponding chemicals in 1995 than in any previous year. "There's been a big effort to catch the small wholesaler, the person who buys up the cocaine base or, in some cases, just buys up the leaf and takes it to one of these maceration pits," Kamman said, pointing out a new trend in Bolivian trafficking: Nationals have been increasingly converting the coca leaf to the final product — cocaine hydrochloride — themselves, rather than passing along the coca leaf and its value-added profits to Colombian cartels.

However, the U.S. anti-drug effort that has shown the most promise is the alternative development program, which officials call the "mirror image of eradication." Coaxing peasants, who earn less than the nation's

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per-capita income of \$770 a year, to abandon coca cultivation in favor of legal crops has been the cornerstone of anti-drug policy for both the Bolivian and U.S. governments, and there's evidence it's beginning to take root in the Chapare. "You have to make it attractive and feasible for the campesino to support his family with legal crops and you have to make it more risky, both economically and judicially, for him to get into coke," said Kamman. "Then you try and go after the traffickers to deter people from getting into the business of trafficking. We're hoping this pays off."

Other officials warn this strategy won't work with both kinds of farmers who settled the Chapare, which include the first-generation migrants seeking easy money and the long-time pioneers wanting legal work to plan for their children's future. It's this second group, say U.S. officials, which is the most receptive to alternative development, and it's this second group on which the United States has pinned its greatest hopes of altering Bolivia's economic dependence on the coca leaf.

One of USAID's most ambitious and controversial alternative development programs ever launched was in 1983 in the Chapare, where its attempt to convince farmers to grow legal crops has proved to be a 13-year experiment in frustration and a more important lesson in patience.

According to USAID figures, roughly 40 percent of the 175,000 families in the Chapare, or about 70,000, have switched to legal crops as of 1996, which the report called "acceptable progress." The region is now believed to include 70,000 hectares of legal crops or pasture land, vs. 35,000 of coca, a far cry from 1980, when the coca leaf was planted exclusively. "In one respect, you can't yet call it a success," said Ambassador Kamman. "The total amount of cocaine from Bolivia to the United States has not been significantly reduced ... but I think we are, as the president said, at a turning point in a number of ways."

The newest phase, a six-year program from 1991-97 that cost \$120 million, is designed to reduce and ultimately eliminate the production of illegal coca in a 400,000-hectare region by helping coca-growing families substitute competitively priced alternative crops to cultivate, package, market and transport abroad. This year, organizers say producers turned their first profit with the

export of bananas and pineapples to Argentina and Chile.

The success of this phase was built on that of the first cycle, from 1983-91, during which U.S. funds helped improve — or in most cases, create — a basic infrastructure of roads, bridges, electricity and utility grids. Ironically, drug traffickers and coca growing have benefited as much from the infrastructure upgrades as farmers of legitimate crops. Jorge Cala, the former president of the 120-member Association of Pineapple Producers in the Chapare, says better roads helped get his product to market faster. "Infrastructure improvements were the main thing that helped us," he said. "It helped us be more efficient."

But during that first phase, equally important work was going on behind closed doors: USAID's experimental growing station in the Chapare tested, over a decade, 30 types of fruits and vegetables for their ability to flourish in a humid, tropical region receiving between 36-216 inches of rain a year. The best bets, all being grown now in the region, include bananas, pineapple, hearts of palm and passion fruit. Runners up were black pepper and citrus fruits like oranges and tangerines. Another profitable use for land was found to be forestry or pasture, so officials hope to encourage more farmers to raise cattle.

Still, a hectare of pineapple, much more difficult to cultivate than coca, brings only \$625 a hectare, compared to the \$1,100 a hectare for coca, a crop that requires almost no care, takes only 18 months to grow and can be harvested three times a year once fully productive. Asked one farmer, "The illegal economy is winning. If we could get the price of coca to drop, we wouldn't need an alternative development program. We can't control the consumers. What's the United States doing about them?"

Ricardo Paz Ballivian, a deputy in Congress and long-time critic of U.S. influence in Bolivia, calls the alternative development program "a great failure."

"It's like giving an aspirin to someone suffering from cancer," he quipped in an interview in his La Paz office. "If someone gives you \$20 million to stop growing cocaine, but someone else offers you \$50 million to keep growing it, what would you do? This program is like a drop of water in the ocean — it will make no difference."

Other campesinos would say it depends on how "success" is defined. "Of course almost all of us still have our own small plots of coca for ourselves," said one farmer,

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*The year 1995 seems to have been a turning point,
as it finally became illegal to plant coca leaf, and
when the crackdown on campesinos began in earnest.*

who has switched from growing coca to bananas. Besides, he points out the banana-coca symbiotic relationship: The coca leaf provides added insurance if his fruit doesn't sell well and the gawky banana stalks provide shade for the fragile coca plants.

The worm seemed to turn in 1995. That was the year when it finally became illegal to plant coca leaf, as outlined in Law 1008 — and when the crackdown on campesinos began in earnest by military and anti-drug forces. It was the first year when leaf production dropped — a 5.5 percent decline from the previous year and the first year that fewer new plantings were documented. It was that year that Avo Morales, head of Chapare's coca producers group, first remembered noticing the change in U.S. rhetoric, with soft words like "sustainable development" replacing hard words like "drug war." He noted the change appeared in words only, not in actions. "That was when there was more military arrests and psychological pressure on coca farmers, more meddling by the U.S. embassy and more covert activity," he said in an interview at the group's headquarters in downtown La Paz.

That was also the year, as Morales watched helplessly as Bolivian soldiers brutally beat his campesino comrades during a march to the capital, that he recalled the change in his own attitude toward the United States, its war on drugs and its growing influence in his country. "This is not our war," he said. "This is the war of the United States. President Clinton should fight this war there, not here in Bolivia."

The source of most Bolivians' rising rage and growing anti-American sentiment can be traced to the notorious anti-drug legislation, Law 1008. Written with the aid of the U.S. embassy, 1008 directly connects the coca leaf, which is legal, to cocaine, which is illegal. Signed in 1988, the law was not exactly written by the North Americans, but it had U.S. Embassy La Paz's "fingerprints" on it, said Kamman, who arrived in La Paz in 1994. The law specif-

ically spells out Bolivia's responsibility as a signator to the 1988 Vienna Convention against drug trafficking and lays out specific penalties for growing coca and possessing chemical agents.

Its most controversial element is the mandatory appeal provision that makes it easier for suspects to be indefinitely detained on narcotics charges — sometimes for years. Kamman acknowledged this clause "received the greatest criticism from human rights groups, and rightly so."

But human rights groups were busy reporting on escalating allegations of other abuses in Bolivia. According to the Andean Information Network, the eradication of coca fields and the subsequent torture and arrest of farmers set off a series of human rights violations. As coca growers became more organized and militant, they used hunger strikes and marches to demand Law 1008 be revised, an end to eradication of coca and the decriminalization of the leaf. The worst incidents were reported in 1995, when pre-certification media attention sparked political upheaval and exacerbated long-simmering social unrest. One confrontation between anti-narcotics forces and coca growers left seven dead, including a 6-month-old baby and a 13-year-old girl. Scores more were wounded and hundreds arrested. Human Rights Watch/America accused Bolivian authorities of using excessive force and arbitrary arrest and suppressing peaceful demonstrations, singling out Bolivia's U.S.-trained and funded Mobil Rural Patrol Unit (UMOPAR) as the worst offender, but also blamed the U.S. embassy for not using its "considerable influence to curtail UMOPAR's abuses." And Amnesty International damned the anti-drug forces' use of "torture houses" to harass suspected coca growers and narcotrafficers.

And 1995 was the year Ambassador Kamman began noticing a distinct turnaround in public opinion toward the U.S. war on drugs.

"Admittedly, the people who grow the cocoa are probably not fond of Americans," he said. "But what about the

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other 7 million Bolivians who have very different interests, who have no interest in promoting cocaine trade?" He said they are beginning to accept responsibility for their part in the coca trade, he said. "They see that their international image is terrible," he said. "Bolivia equals narcotics. They don't like that. And they see, finally, that the people who grow the leaf, who tried for many years to argue it wasn't their problem — it was somebody else who converted the leaf and who consumed the final product — that they're now involved in processing that leaf. So the notion they are guiltless is much harder to sustain."

Perched on the crumbling edge of a sidewalk in northern La Paz, the 8-year-old barefoot boy wiped his runny nose with the back of his hand and squinted up at the interviewer. No, he doesn't want to give his name, but decides to temporarily nickname himself Pacho — the name of Bolivia's most popular pop group — so he can talk about his three-year odyssey with drugs.

One of the growing population of homeless children in La Paz, Pacho says he grew up on the streets and can't remember either of his parents. His crack habit, which followed six months of cocaine use, is "not bad yet," but he admitted he often goes without food so he can afford *la pasta*. He says he prefers crack to *glifa* — the glue he started sniffing when he was 5 because his street friends were, too. "I always got headaches with *glifa*," he says, one blackened tooth glaring from the center of his wide grin. "The *cocaina* makes me feel better." He leans against the filthy but well-organized wooden shoeshine kit that holds the tools of his trade: He works up to 10 hours daily to buy the two or three hits he needs to get through the day. Sometimes he eats for free or borrows a bed at the nearby Qharuru ("Tomorrow" in Quechua), a government-financed homeless shelter for children housed in an aging brick building on a dusty street with no name.

Pacho's cocaine habit is not uncommon, particularly among the growing numbers of homeless children, say

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drug abuse experts. The alarming increase in the number of drug users and addicts — an 11-fold hike in only five years — is forcing Bolivians to take another look at the drug abuse they once believed was just “the gringo’s problem.” Some 4.3 percent of the population, or 300,000 people, were drug users in 1994, compared to only 25,000 in 1979, according to Laura Baldivieso, executive director of CESE, the nation’s largest drug-prevention and education organization. Confirmed addicts make up .3 percent of the population.

“What worries me most is the number of new users under age 13,” she said in an interview at the La Paz center. She attributes increased usage to several factors, including the growing supply of cocaine remaining in Bolivia — an ironic side effect of U.S. interdiction efforts. “We’re now beginning to see a difference in attitude of the people,” she mused. “They’re realizing that drug abuse is possible in our society, too, and they don’t like it. The campesino is also beginning to be a part of this change. We need productive people in Bolivia. This is the

moment to take advantage of that changing attitude to build a strong society free of drugs.”

But change has been slow to come to Bolivia, nearly a quarter century after the U.S. war on drugs was declared by President Richard Nixon in 1972.

Does a compromise exist that would satisfy both the United States and Bolivia? Writing in a La Paz newspaper, Bolivian philosopher H.C. Felipe Mansilla believes the answer lies in maintaining the delicate balance struck over the last two decades. “What everyone involved — campesinos, governments, traffickers — wants most is something they cannot say openly: the preservation of the state of things, characterized by de facto tolerance of the production and marketing of coca and all its derivatives and the relative freedom to produce and sell the sacred substance. This ambiguity — no, hypocrisy — is the cause of high prices for [coca].”

Which just about sums up the nature of coca diplomacy between Bolivia and the United States since 1972. ■

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THE RELUCTANT ENVOY

POET, FRANCOPHILE, RENAISSANCE MAN BARLOW:
BIT PLAYER ON AMERICA'S DIPLOMATIC STAGE

BY RICHARD GILBERT

The end of the story of Joel Barlow begins on a stormy night on a road leading out of Paris toward the Lorraine, Berlin and beyond.

It is autumn 1812. Barlow, 58, is the minister plenipotentiary of the fledgling United States. He has been sent to Napoleon Bonaparte's France by President James Madison to negotiate terms under which France would accord American goods favor and pay compensation for affronts against neutral U.S. ships in European waters.

Aboard the mighty *USS Constitution*, the ship also known as *Old Ironsides*, Barlow had arrived at Cherbourg more than a year earlier, at a most inauspicious moment. Napoleon, in the midst of preparations to invade Russia, has little time for a small nation 3,000 miles away. In spite of Madison's increasing impatience, Barlow settles down in Paris to wait.

But now, after a year of persistent entreaties and inconclusive diplomatic chatter, Barlow receives a letter from Russia where the Duc de Bassano, Napoleon's minister of foreign affairs, is traveling with the Grande Armée. The Duke urges Barlow to come at once to Vilna (Vilnius) where, he promises, "we will immediately be enabled to remove all the difficulties"

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that so far had impeded negotiations.

Vilna lies a difficult 1,200 miles to the east. In the October sunshine, Barlow prepares for a journey into the Polish wastes. Accompanied by his nephew, Tom Barlow, he departs Paris by carriage on Oct. 27.

Handling the team of six horses is his driver, Louis. Soon, the weather changes. It is raining. Unknown to Barlow, or to the citizens of Paris, Moscow is aflame. Napoleon's great retreat from Russia is under way.

Despite the incessant rain, the group crosses the Rhine at Mainz by the end of the first day and reaches Frankfurt four days later. In a letter to his aunt in Paris, Tom Barlow complains, "There has been scarcely a day without rain since our departure which has made the roads very bad and the nights dark and unpleasant." From Frankfurt, the carriage hurries on in the damp and gloom passing Weimar and Leipzig and arrives in Berlin on Nov. 5. That evening, Barlow and the French minister enjoy a quick respite at the theatre. The following morning, the rain returns as Barlow and his party head across the Baltic coastal plain toward Königsberg (Kaliningrad).

Beyond the Oder, the landscape changes. No more is the countryside prosperous and developed. The Prussian roads are so primitive the party can travel only by day and must put up in crowded, dilapidated inns. The mud becomes an ever-present companion, a living thing. Barlow writes his wife of "the mud, the true sublime, the real majesty of mud."

In Königsberg on Nov. 11, the first frost arrives and the roads freeze. Travel becomes faster but

rougher as the carriage wheels slam against hardened ruts and bounce over icy rocks. Approaching the Russian frontier, the countryside turns barren. Signs of war appear. A marauding army has passed this way. Peasants huddle by half-destroyed log houses. At the river Nemen, Barlow and his party sleep fitfully in their carriage before the closed gates of the damaged border town of Kovno (Kaunas). Beyond Kovno, Barlow writes, "The people have the appearance of the greatest poverty and distress." The road is now clogged with refugees, injured and dying soldiers and wagons carrying military supplies. The decaying carcasses of hundreds of dead horses litter the roadside. Everywhere there is carnage.

Two days later, on the evening of Nov. 18, 23 days after departing Paris, Joel Barlow reaches Vilna. Just 250 miles to the east, near Smolensk, Napoleon's retreating troops are besieged from all sides by rampaging Cossacks under the command of Kutusov. In Vilna, an air of unreality pervades. The Duc de Bassano assures the diplomatic corps that all is well and that the emperor will soon be arriving at Vilna to make his winter headquarters. For two weeks, Barlow lingers. Snow is falling.

At last, on Dec. 4, a half-frozen courier dashes into Vilna with a despatch for the foreign minister announcing the slaughter on the banks of the Berezina River days earlier. What had been a French retreat is now a breathless flight out of Russia by the remains of the Grande Armée. The next day, just 50 miles to the east, Napoleon abandons his remaining troops, fixes sleigh runners to his carriage and, alone and disguised, begins a dash to Paris hoping to outrun the news of his defeat. In Vilna, panic sets in as French officials and the diplomatic community join the maelstrom of wagons and soldiers fleeing west beyond the reach of the Russians.

Barlow knows instantly that all hope of a Franco-U.S. treaty are gone. He and his party plunge into the frantic crush, their carriage pointed toward Warsaw, and home to Paris. It is now full winter. In another letter to Paris, Tom Barlow recalls the bone-chilling weather: "I never felt air that stung like this."

When they arrive in Warsaw, the temperature is 12 below zero. Without pausing to rest, the party decides

to make its way to Paris on the longer, but more southerly route, through Krakow and Vienna. They depart Warsaw on Dec. 18. The countryside is a vast, empty wasteland interrupted by snow-covered pine. As they climb out of the Vistula River valley into the hills around Kielce, the landscape appears to Barlow to take on the familiar look of a rugged New England winter scene. Inside the bouncing carriage, Joel Barlow, Connecticut farm boy, poet and American citizen-diplomat, begins to cough.

The life of Joel Barlow is the story of the founding of America and of the new nation's first steps onto the world stage at the end of the 18th century. Barlow was a bit player in a time of historic change. Although he never achieved greatness, he was an able and accomplished man of Renaissance talents. Today, his name is recognized only by a handful of American literature students and a few historians. On both sides of the Atlantic, he is remembered now mostly for appearances in the biographies of other, more significant figures. Still, in a letter to the Marquis de LaFayette in 1788, George Washington observed that "Mr. Barlow is considered by those who are good judges to be a genius of the first magnitude; and to be one of those Bards who hold the keys of the gate by which Patriots, Sages and Heroes are admitted to immortality."

It is 1772, the eve of the American Revolution. A young man and his father plod northward on horseback through the Massachusetts wilderness to New Hampshire. Joel Barlow, 19, a promising youth with "an unconquerable passion for rhyming," is traveling from his Connecticut farm home to the pioneer village of Hanover. He is to enroll at Moor's Charity Indian School, where his father has arranged a barter that trades his son's service as a dining room waiter

*Barlow successfully
engineered the
release of 100 U.S.
captives and negotiated
signed treaties with
Algiers, Tunis and
Tripoli, momentarily
averting a crisis
for young America.*

and cook's helper for his education, room and board. But the youth does not stay long. Within a year, his father dies and he enters Dartmouth College. He has, however, even greater ambition. A few months later, with his inheritance and "middling" references from Dartmouth, he arrives in the booming port of New Haven to enroll in Yale's class of 1778.

Barlow's years at Yale College are filled with the sounds of the American Revolution. Barlow himself, setting aside budding literary ambitions, heeds the call to join the militia and, in summer 1775, finds himself in the middle of the Battle of Long Island. The Revolutionary Army suffers a humiliating defeat and withdraws to Manhattan. Barlow marches with the retreating Americans to White Plains before returning to Yale. There, the college's 140 students, with little food and few supplies, are dispersed with their tutors to the countryside. In New Haven, the class of 1778 graduates and Barlow, the novice poet, pens "The Prospect for Peace." Written in endless heroic couplets, the poem describes the American independence struggle and offers an optimistic view of a "glorious" American future. It is the first in a series of patriotic poems that will establish Barlow's reputation as a native-born, truly American poet.

Barlow leaves Yale without money, position or sponsors. In spite of his bleak prospects, Barlow is, as always, optimistic. To classmate Noah Webster, he writes: "Let us show the world a few more examples of men standing upon their own merit and rising in spite of obstacles. ... If ever virtue is to be rewarded, it is in America."

For the next 10 years, Barlow flits from one pursuit to another as he seeks to create a reputation and establish the connections without which he has no hope of financial success. He has already decided on his ultimate goal: He will write an epic poem attesting to

America's grandeur. In 1780, he secures a post as chaplain with the Third Massachusetts Brigade of the Revolutionary Army. His performance is lackluster until, roused by the news of the treachery of Benedict Arnold, he delivers a fiery political sermon to the troops, which is widely admired.

Peace declared, Barlow leaves the army in 1783 and, now married to Ruth Baldwin, settles in Hartford to practice law, albeit distractedly. He edits a weekly newspaper that provides an outlet for his satirical and occasionally scandalous political essays, and those of his Federalist friends from Yale. The friends collectively become known as the "Hartford Wits" and use their writings to urge the adoption of the proposed Constitution.

In 1787, his nine-volume epic poem, "The Vision of Columbus," appears. With more than 5,000 tendentious rhyming lines, the work is an instant success and wins Barlow sudden celebrity. The poem, Barlow tells readers, "is designed to exhibit the importance of this country ... as the noblest and most elevated part of the earth ... the last and greatest theatre for the improvement of mankind." Subscriptions number 170 and allow Barlow to retire from other activities and live modestly on income from the poem's continuing sales. Within months, successful editions appear in London and Paris. At age 33, "no literary American is so well-known, so much read, or the subject of so much eulogy, as Joel Barlow," comments one observer in a local newspaper.

It is now June 1788. After a horrendous sea voyage aboard a flea-ridden English packet, Joel and Ruth Barlow step ashore in France. They will not see America again for 17 years. As a literary man of significant reputation on both sides of the Atlantic, but with few funds, he has been commissioned by a pack of Yankee entrepreneurs to orga-

nize Europeans to colonize a huge land grant astride the Ohio River. The shaky scheme quickly collapses in scandal, but Barlow escapes criticism, perhaps because his interest in the democratic, liberal ideals of the approaching French Revolution engage him far more enthusiastically than does the promotion of the suspect business interests of distant patrons.

For Barlow, the next years are a blur of activity on the fringes of the French Revolution. At first, he and Ruth live in London. A zealous member of a group of intellectuals committed to the French Revolution, he writes several influential political tracts and befriends the political and religious radical Tom Paine. As a reward for his activities, and especially for his well-received 1792 work, *Advice to the Privileged Orders*, Barlow receives French citizenship, only the third American after Washington and Hamilton to be thus honored. Meanwhile, he invests in French currency instruments and his finances prosper.

Departing London's increasingly unfriendly politics, the couple moves to France. Barlow's run as a deputy from Savoy is unsuccessful. Out of this incident is born his most famous poem, "The Hasty Pudding," a mock pastoral for which he is remembered even today.

Barlow's entrance onto the stage of diplomacy in 1795 is occasioned by the prodding of a friend, who obtains Barlow's appointment as U.S. consul to Algiers, capital of the Barbary states, "that little bundle of wretched despotisms on the southern shore of the Mediterranean." Barlow is a reluctant diplomat. His task is to obtain the release of Americans captured by Barbary pirates and imprisoned as hostages by the notorious Dey of Algiers and to negotiate an immunity to prevent the further plundering of American ships in North African waters.

He arrives in Algiers in March 1796 to find the "hairy and loathsome" Dey

"excessively annoyed," despite the extravagant gifts Barlow bears. Gold promised the Dey as ransom in agreements with earlier American envoys has yet to appear. Slowly, after fits and starts, accompanied at every step by "unsupportable insults" from the fearsome Dey, the ingenious Barlow manages to cadge funds from a French-connected banking firm to meet the ransom demands. More than a year later, Barlow arrives safely in Marseilles having effected the release of more than 100 American captives and negotiated treaties with Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. He has averted a crisis for young America, but only momentarily.

Returning to his comfortable life in Paris, Barlow is not reluctant to send advice home on relations with Europe, particularly with France. Washington, now retired to Mt. Vernon, forwards one such letter from Barlow to President Adams. Adams, stung by Barlow's audacity to advise, dismisses his views in a reply to Washington filled with vituperation. "The wretch has destroyed his own character to such a degree, that I think it would be derogatory to yours to give any answer at all to his letter," he writes.

In Paris, far from American politics, Barlow is the respected center of the American community. Meanwhile, he continues his literary output until, in 1804, he completes his magnum opus, a revised and rewritten "Vision of Columbus" entitled "The Columbiad." Now it is time to heed Ruth's pleas "to go home and be respectable." Manuscript in hand, the Barlows sail for America, arriving in New York in May 1805, nearly two decades after their departure.

America has changed in Barlow's absence. Washington is dead and Federalism is dying. The country is growing. Already the center of population has moved west beyond the Appalachians. Few remember Barlow's

early achievements. Still, the Jeffersonians greet him warmly, as an honored citizen of two revolutionary Republics. Jefferson himself, a friend from the early days in Paris, invites Barlow to Monticello and recommends a suitable residence in Washington. Barlow is not yet ready, however, to retire to the life of elder statesman. In 1807, "The Columbiad" is published, a pompous, epic-sized affair in ten volumes, embellished with fine engravings, some by Fulton to whom the work is dedicated. It is considered by many to be the finest achievement yet in American bookbinding.

In 1808, the Barlows settle down in rustic Washington, in a house on a high hill with 50 acres, for which he pays \$15,500. He christens his handsome residence "Kalorama," in honor of its magnificent view, and it quickly becomes a gathering place for official Washington. Barlow is determined to live out his days at Kalorama as a distinguished poet, public-spirited citizen and adviser to presidents.

But this is not to be. In Europe, Napoleon's First Empire is at its zenith. The map of Europe has been redrawn. In Europe's coastal waters, blockades and marauding privateers are taking a heavy toll on the profits of New England merchants. Despite the best efforts of the first four American presidents to protect shipping and the rights of neutrality — first by isolation, then by treaty — new efforts are needed. Facing war with England, President Madison turns to Barlow to unravel U.S. differences with France, America's revolutionary ally. Despite misgivings, but always the patriot, the 57-year-old Barlow agrees.

At first light on the morning of Aug. 1, 1811, the *Constitution* weighs anchor in Annapolis harbor and moves majestically under full canvas down Chesapeake Bay to Hampton Roads and to France. Joel Barlow will never again return to his beloved America.

On Dec. 20, 1812, as the frigid night air swept into the carriage, Barlow's cough worsens. Soon, it is joined by a frightening fever and chills. The following day, the carriage reaches the village of Zamowiec, a cluster of houses surrounding a 13th-century church on the banks of the Pilica River. Barlow, his condition worsening, is put to bed in the warm home of the village postmaster and a doctor is summoned, but no medicine helps. Barlow dies at noon on the day after Christmas from pneumonia, and is hastily buried in the snow-covered village churchyard.

The news of his death travels slowly to Washington. In President Madison's second inaugural address in March 1813, he refers to "the sudden death of the distinguished citizen who represented the United States in France."

In Paris, the French take larger note of the passing of a quintessential American who is also a widely admired citizen of France.

Barlow's beloved Kalorama was torn down in 1889, and in its place today is the busy Washington, D.C., intersection of 22nd and S streets in the city's Kalorama section. Barlow is remembered on a plaque in the State Department's diplomatic lobby, his name listed among those of other American diplomats who died while serving their nation; his portrait hangs in the State Department's Diplomatic Reception Room.

Most recently, Barlow was remembered in the place where his life ended. On May 4, Consul General Mary B. Marshall of U.S. Consulate Krakow unveiled a restored marble tablet, first hung in 1812 in the vestibule of the Church of Zamowiec in Krakow, which reads, "In memory of Joel Barlow, U.S. Minister to France and American Patriot, Poet and Diplomat, who died in the service of his country in Zamowiec on Dec. 26, 1812, and whose remains rest in the grounds of the church." ■

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BOOKS

VIEWS OF ORIGINAL BROADCAST NEWS

The Murrow Boys: Pioneers on the Front Lines of Broadcast Journalism

Stanley Cloud and Lynne Olson, Houghton Mifflin, 1996, \$27.95, hardcover, 445 pages.

BY CAROLINE V. MEIRS

Much already has been written about Edward R. Murrow, prominent CBS newscaster from 1935-61, director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) from 1961-63, and a legendary figure of journalistic integrity and broadcast news innovation. But *The Murrow Boys* offers a different perspective on Murrow and the industry he helped create by moving the spotlight away from him and onto his closest associates. Taking a nostalgic look at an era before entertainment talk shows and the soundbite edged aside much thoughtful television news analysis, the book examines the transformation of broadcast news from radio to television.

The authors admit their selection of "the boys" might be open to criticism, focused on journalists recruited by Murrow to staff CBS in Europe before and during World War II, including Charles Collingwood, Eric Sevareid, Howard K. Smith, William Downs and Richard Hottelet, who went on to distinguished careers at CBS and other networks; William L. Shirer, whose 1941 book *Berlin Diary* topped best-

seller lists; Thomas Grandin and Cecil Brown, who drifted away from journalism after their Murrow days; and Larry LeSueur, who served at the Voice of America from 1963-83. The "boys" also included one woman, Mary Marvin Breckinridge, who would quit CBS in 1940 to marry FSO Jefferson Patterson. But the list excludes former Murrow associate and biographer Alexander Kendrick, David Schocnbrun and others who could claim membership. It's also somewhat questionable to include Breckinridge, who worked only briefly with Murrow.

Regardless of how Murrow's team is defined, former *Time* Washington Bureau Chief Stanley Cloud and former *Baltimore Sun* White House correspondent Lynne Olson have written a clear, compelling account that reads like a fast-moving novel. They boldly sketch these remarkable people, although Murrow receives hands-off treatment until his public criticism of CBS management, which eventually led to his resignation. (According to one anecdote, CBS colleagues not among the "boys" once formed a "Murrow is Not God" Club. Murrow promptly joined.)

For readers fascinated by the history of American journalism, the advent of television and issues of journalistic independence and integrity, *The Murrow Boys* offers a lively and insightful account. Murrow shaped a tradition of vivid word pictures to communicate the news.

Cloud and Olson's narrative achieves special impact by recounting

risks taken by CBS correspondents during World War II, especially Murrow's use of live reporting, innovative since it replaced canned reports with eyewitness accounts and firsthand interpretation. Murrow is also credited for developing in the 1950s the magazine television format, with the program, "See It Now," which has been popularized today with such programs as "60 Minutes" and "20-20."

Murrow's decision to leave CBS for USIA in 1958 because of the quiz show scandals, in which the network was criticized for fixing quiz shows by providing answers to contestants before the show was taped, introduces the final segment of the book. Murrow publicly attacked CBS executives for creating a medium of "decadence, escapism and insulation," but it is also true that he was being slowly displaced from the network's center of action. After a leave of absence, he accepted President-elect John F. Kennedy's offer to become director of USIA. In the decades since Murrow and his "boys" have passed from the broadcasting scene, the authors say commercial interests in television have led to a decline in the quality of broadcast news reporting and "an increasingly blurred distinction between entertainment and news."

Those interested in Murrow's tenure at USIA or a more detailed account of his life and career will have to look to other sources such as Kendrick's biography, *Prime Time: The Life of Edward R. Murrow*, Ann Sperber's *Murrow: His Life and Times*,



or Joseph Persico's *Edward R. Murrow: An American Original*.

Caroline V. Meirs, an FSO for the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) who retired this year, served in Italy, Finland, Germany, Peru and Colombia.

BUILDING DEMOCRACY: FAILURE IN ROMANIA

**Assessing Democracy Assistance:
The Case of Romania**

Thomas Carothers, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1996, paperback, \$26.95, 144 pages.

BY AURELIUS FERNANDEZ

When the Berlin Wall crumbled and the communist governments in the region collapsed in late 1989, Congress responded with the SEED Act (Support for East European Democracy) to aid in their transition to market democracies. Author Thomas Carothers, a senior associate at Carnegie who has extensive experience with Eastern European assistance programs, offers constructive criticism of U.S. democracy-building efforts he says achieved only "moderate to negligible success." He also suggests the United States lower its expectations for such programs.

Romania, the second largest country in Eastern Europe, is a good choice for a book about democracy building. It had all the traits of a potentially weak democracy: limited experience with parliamentary democracy, democratic institutions or dissident movements; it also lacked the crucial formative experience of neighbors such as Poland or Czechoslovakia. Thus, Romania was incapable of absorbing the type of



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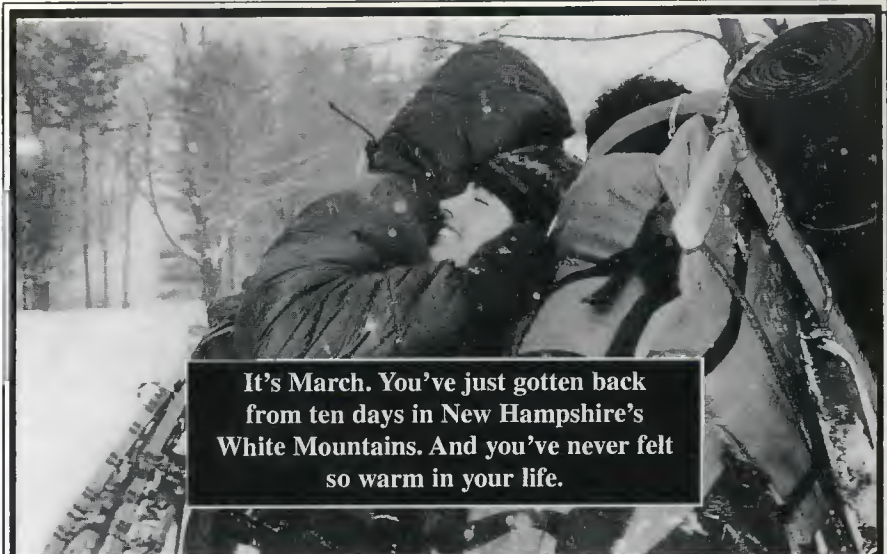
BOOKS

democracy assistance proffered by the United States. Projects in Romania focused on seven major areas: political parties, elections, rule of law, parliament, civil society, trade unions and the media. What went wrong?

Carothers' answer may make uncomfortable reading for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and for many of the NGOs' work it funded. He maintains that USAID and its contractors were thrust unprepared into an area of the world where they had no previous experience; many of those who designed policies in Washington for consumption in Romania lacked an understanding of Romania's murky political culture.

The book, which involves interviews with 150 Romanians involved with democracy building projects, also provides insight into the aid methods of Western European countries, which take a different approach to the issue. For example, while the United States tends to fund massive programs with interrelated goals, the Europeans fund more targeted, specific projects that have but a single objective. Carothers' book is an excellent primer on how to avoid repeating mistakes in democracy building. He concludes that the failure of democracy assistance in Romania is no reason to stop helping potential democracies overthrow the yoke of communism. He ends with a plea for America to "cease thinking of democracy assistance as a substance, like a spray, that the United States applies to other societies from a certain distance."

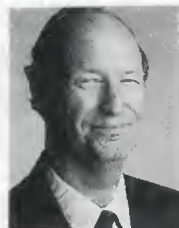
Anrelius Fernandez, an FSO who retired in 1990 from USIA, was public affairs counselor in Bucharest from 1974-76, and worked with an independent media foundation on media projects in Romania from 1990-95.



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IN MEMORY

Virginia L. Braddock, 88, widow of retired FSO Daniel M. Braddock, died of sepsis May 20 in Columbia, Md.

Born in Nashville, Tenn., Mrs. Braddock accompanied her husband to posts in Sumatra, Spain, Venezuela, Brazil, the Philippines, Burma, Cuba and India in his 35-year career, that ended with his retirement in 1964.

Survivors include five children, eight grandchildren and 10 great-grandchildren.



Bruce Buttles, 89, a retired FSO, died May 16 in Atlantic Beach, Fla., of complications from Parkinson's disease.

During and after World War II, Mr. Buttles served in the U.S. Army Air Corps. Following an assignment as assistant military attache in Moscow and various government and private-sector jobs, he joined the Foreign Service in 1951. He served in Yugoslavia, India and Turkey.

Survivors include his wife, Virginia Buttles of Atlantic Beach, Fla.; a sister, Virginia Land, of Carmel, Calif.; a daughter, a son and two grandsons.



Hugh Kemp Campbell, 69, a retired FSO, died of a heart attack on July 8 in Alexandria, Va.

A graduate of Case Western Reserve University, Mr. Case also did graduate work in African studies as a visiting fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institute.

Before retiring in 1983, Mr. Campbell served in the Foreign Service for 34 years, in posts such as South Africa, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Kenya and Israel.

Survivors include his wife, Mary Morrison Campbell of Alexandria, Va.; three daughters, Louise Messano of Annandale, Va., Rebecca Campbell of Austin, Texas, and Jean Campbell of Denver, Colo.; and two granddaughters.



Betty Morris Facey, 75, a retired FSO, died in Albuquerque, N.M., on July 17.

Mrs. Facey was the first woman civil engineer to be employed overseas by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), serving in Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Honduras and Ecuador. Following her retirement, she became chief engineer at the University of New Mexico.

Mrs. Facey was preceded in death by her husband, Thomas Facey, and a son, John Facey. Survivors include a son, Martin Facey; two daughters-in-law, Virginia Baich and Maria Romero; and two grandsons, all of Albuquerque.



Patricia Wacker Swierczek, 67, a retired FSO, died of cancer on Feb. 15 in Culpeper, Va.

A graduate of Milwaukee-Downer College, Mrs. Swierczek joined the Foreign Service in 1952 and served in Paris and Belgrade before retiring in 1957 to marry FSO Walter Swierczek, which was required by Department of State policy at the time. She accompanied her husband on assignments to London, Washington, D.C., Bangkok and Bonn. In 1974, when regulations were changed regarding working spouses, Mrs. Swierczek rejoined the Foreign Service, serving in Bonn, Washington, D.C., Bilbao and Melbourne, Australia as a communicator before retiring in 1992.

Survivors include her husband, a daughter, Lynn Swierczek of Alexandria, Va.; and three sons, John Swierczek of Baltimore, Md.; Mark Swierczek of Lexington Park, Md. and Robert Swierczek of Reston, Va.



Margarita Viesca Wells, 86, widow of retired FSO Henry Bartlett Wells, died of a stroke on March 30 in Lexington, Mass.

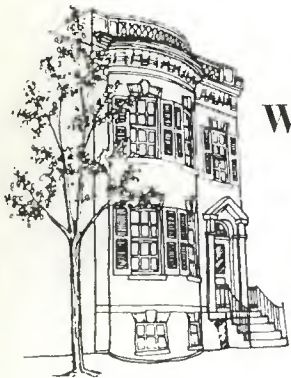
Born in Parras, Coahuila, Mexico, Mrs. Wells accompanied her husband on assignments to Montevideo, Uruguay, Nicaragua, Iceland, Cuba, Finland, Romania and Greece.

Survivors include three children, Robert Wells of State College, Pa.; Stephanie Wells Andron of Lexington, Mass., and Richard Wells of Lexington, Mass; and seven grandchildren. ■

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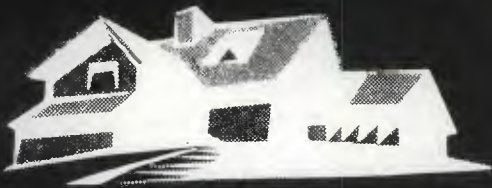
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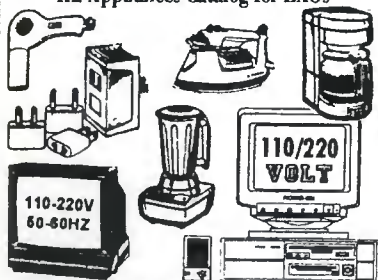
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Guinea on My Mind

BY LAP NGO

Living in Conakry certainly challenges the average Westerner's code of ethics. What is considered right and wrong or good and evil in America is tested and questioned at every turn in this Western African country about the size of Georgia.

I have lived in Africa the past 24 years with my wife, Peggy, who works for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and the continent's beauty has been a source of great artistic inspiration. Moving to Conakry two years ago, however, redefined my concept of daily life in Africa.

Perhaps the most frustrating aspect of this country is that it has all the resources needed to feed, educate and establish a system of basic hygienic health for its 7.7 million people, yet little is done to ensure the best for the population. Traveling to the northern part of the country in search of landscapes and portraits of people for my paintings, I am overwhelmed by the variety of lush vegetation and the lean, elegant beauty of the Fulani tribe who live in this region. In contrast, returning to the city of Conakry, I am immediately aware of the undercurrent of lawlessness that keeps a foreigner like me constantly on edge.

Conakry, a dusty capital of about 1

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*This beautiful,
lawless country is
rich in precious
metals and stones.*

million, is a city swathed in a veil of red dirt that permeates the body's every pore, and living here can be an asphyxiating experience. A walk through the city can lead to labyrinths of windowless shacks, from which comes an incessant buzz of activity. Diseases fester and thrive, exposing the elderly, children and immune-deficient people.

Every day the electricity shuts off at least twice for four-hour intervals, although Guinea has enough hydraulic power to generate electricity for all its neighboring countries. Another daily worry is the number of padlocks available to lock the shed of gas and fuel supplies for each household. Gas, which can cost up to \$14 a gallon here, is priceless, and thievery is common.

On the coast, the city stops where the ocean begins. Local legend has it that where there once was a beach with sand and palm trees today is but a muddy conglomeration of human feces and trash — thanks to the 25-year Communist regime of Sekou Toure, who refused to spend the country's money to maintain its beauty.

The incomprehensible paradox is that Guinea is truly a beautiful country rich in gold, diamonds, iron ore, bauxite and pineapples, most of which are largely untouched due to economic underdevelopment, government corruption and a general xenophobic temperament of the population. For expatriates, there is nothing more difficult than trying to work within a system that is constantly caving in on itself. A single sprint to the market for a day's grocery supplies is exhausting, requiring a bribe for the merchant and the man guarding your car. By the end of the day, morale can fall so low that a person's ability to reason as a logical, ethical human being is paralyzed.

Living in Africa is far from being easy and I've learned to do without the daily comforts one takes for granted in America. Far more invaluable are the exotic people and unexplored lands I've encountered in my travels, from bridal festivals to black magic rituals.

Yet, my emotional resistance has never been so profoundly challenged as in my two years in Conakry. Perhaps it is the delicate balance that coexists between the lawless chaos and the natural beauty of Guinea that creates such a disconcerting sense of unpredictability in my innermost self. There are times, however, at the end of the day when the sun sets over the ocean and the fishermen draw in their nets, when a momentary calm washes over me, and I feel I've reached a balance between my love and fear of this strange land. Though it's only momentary, sometimes it's enough. ■

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