

disproportionately serve in support, not combat arms. Hispanics are underrepresented.

Broader national service makes even less sense. It would divert people from military service to civilian tasks, jail young men and women who prefer not to put their lives at the discretion of political officials, and waste people's lives in frivolous, pork-barrel pursuits. How can one compare picking up cigarette butts in a park with patrolling the streets of Afghanistan?

Although a volunteer military beats a draft force, the Bush administration's foreign policy risks driving down recruiting and retention, which over the long-term could wreck the AVF. If forced to choose between a policy of promiscuous military intervention and freedom, the administration might turn to a draft. Argues *Washington Times* editorial page editor Tony Blankley, it is critical to increase the size of the military, "whether by draft or by voluntary means."

Ironically, Blankley recognizes that voluntarism impedes an interventionist foreign policy—which disproves Representative Rangel's final contention, that "there would be more caution" in going to war if policymakers' children were at risk. The surest barrier to war is not a draft, which allowed the Vietnam War to proceed for years, but the AVF, which empowers average people to say no. A related argument by *Washington Post* columnist David Broder is that a draft would ensure that more leaders served in the military. But conscription would not increase the incidence of military service, which was low throughout American history until World War II and the Cold War. With new accessions in 2003 running only 185,000, the armed services require fewer than 10 percent of male 18-year-olds, and 5 percent of all 18-year-olds, irrespective of how the military is manned.

American and British forces are interdicting an important source of income for al-Qaeda:

heroin produced in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Several men arrested over the past three weeks transporting heroin in the Arabian Sea are believed to be al-Qaeda and are being interrogated. The value of the seized cargoes is a modest \$10 million, but the three vessels captured by coalition naval forces were only a small part of a much larger smuggling operation. Thousands of small, motorized dhows ply the Gulf waters, and most are never boarded or inspected by naval patrols. The poppies are grown in Afghanistan, and the heroin is processed along the Pakistani border in traditional tribal lands lacking permanent central-government presence. British Special Forces are now training an elite Afghan force to destroy heroin laboratories and to interdict narcotics traffic inside Afghanistan, but local farmers will undoubtedly resist violently. Pakistan, alarmed by two nearly successful assassination attempts against President Musharraf, is indicating that it will also co-operate.



Local fishermen have discovered and compromised a counter-terrorist operation along the Somali coast.

Electronic devices on the tiny island of Bur Gaabo near the Somali/Kenyan border have been monitoring suspected al-Qaeda movements. The devices, linked to a satellite, included infrared and other surveillance cameras powered by solar panels as well as sensitive microphones. Bur Gaabo, an uninhabited rocky outcrop, is close to the larger island of Ras Kambona, where U.S. forces had discovered an al-Qaeda arms depot and training camp. Somali fishermen usually do not frequent the area and may have landed in an emergency. The equipment is being retrieved, and al-Qaeda and members of the Islamic Somali Federation are now avoiding the area. Several hundred U.S. Special Forces are based at a nearby French military facility in Djibouti.



Karl Rove has decided that aggressive U.S. foreign policy initiatives must be minimized

in the run-up to the November elections. The Rove political strategy is in response to polling that indicates the American electorate is uneasy over long-term entanglement in Iraq and the prospect of new foreign adventures. There is also a continuing concern over terrorist threats and a "fatigue factor" due to repeated "cry wolf" national alerts. The White House is now willing to lessen confrontation and maintain a quiet dialogue with Iran, while emphasizing support for Iranian so-called moderates. This recognizes that Iran's ayatollahs cannot easily be dislodged and concedes that Tehran has played a relatively constrained role in Iraq. The administration is also suspending hostile action against Syria, whose alleged support of opposition to the American presence in Iraq has irritated administration hardliners. Neoconservatives at the Defense Department and in the vice president's office had proposed an invasion of Syria this spring to topple President Bashar Assad, and the White House appeared to be acquiescent. The neocons, always acutely sensitive to Israeli security concerns, argue that Syria supports terrorist groups Hezbollah, Hamas, and Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

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What to do? The obvious place to start is improved pay and benefits, especially for Guard and Reserve members, who are increasingly being treated like active-duty soldiers. For instance, Democratic legislators have proposed extending health insurance for National Guard and Reserve members even when they are not deployed.

Improved treatment for those deployed in overseas, and particularly in battle zones, also matters. In September,

Another creative approach, which runs against military tradition, is to bring in trained personnel laterally. The demand for civil-affairs personnel, technology experts, and translators, for instance, vary by conflict.

DoD also should consider establishing a multi-tiered reserve force, with some units available for longer-term deployments, others for temporary emergencies, and a number for homeland duties. The CBO suggests creating

nam to save the Army. Plans to turn authority over to Iraqis are welcome and reflect administration realization that, as one unnamed official put it, "The Iraqis won't tolerate us staying in power for that long." The administration, however, plans an indefinite military occupation.

The administration must recognize—even if it does not publicly acknowledge—its mistake in invading and occupying Iraq. This is not the first time that the U.S. has intervened militarily in potentially disastrous civil wars and irregular conflicts. But, as Korb points out, in the cases of Lebanon and Somalia, "[T]he Presidents admitted their mistakes and withdrew the military before more problems were created for the military and the country." Better to accept the prospect of Iraqi instability with equanimity and focus on preventing accumulation of weapons of mass destruction and co-operation with terrorists.

The U.S. military won the Cold War, defeated a host of small states with minimal casualties, and could overwhelm any nation. But it cannot do everything. Michael O'Hanlon of the Brookings Institution worries, "It would be the supreme irony, and a national tragedy, if after winning two wars in two years, the U.S. Army were broken and defeated while trying to keep the peace."

Conscription is no answer. Fiddling with military compensation and force structure would help but would not address the basic problem. Only abandoning a foreign policy of empire will eliminate pressure to create an imperial military. ■

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ONLY ABANDONING A FOREIGN POLICY OF EMPIRE WILL ELIMINATE PRESSURE TO CREATE AN IMPERIAL MILITARY.

the Pentagon began the first rest and recuperation leave program since Vietnam, allowing soldiers 15 days at home. The House has approved legislation to pay for the flights from Baltimore (where military flights land) to servicemen's hometowns.

Resources also need to be put into recruiting. In fact, so far the Pentagon has helped stanch potential personnel losses by increasing signing bonuses, doubling the advertising budget, and developing cyber-recruiting.

The Armed Services could use uniformed personnel more efficiently. Explained Secretary Rumsfeld, "We can get some, possibly 300,000 people, military people, who are doing non-military jobs out of those non-military jobs and into military positions." The strategy is sound, though civilian functions in war zones cannot always be easily categorized, and civilians do not come cheap.

DoD needs to rethink the mix of duties within services as well as shift some billets between active and reserve forces. As acting Army Chief of Staff Gen. John Keane has observed, "We need more infantry. We need more military police. We need more civil affairs."

temporary "constabulary" units made up of members of the Individual Ready Reserve and people who recently left active or Reserve or Guard service, which could train for six months, deploy for one year, and then disband. Moreover, the military could offer higher compensation for reservists willing to accept more frequent deployment. In fact, the Navy uses assignment and sea pay, and the Army offers stationing pay to encourage personnel to accept undesirable jobs and locations. Larger reenlistment bonuses also are employed for some hard-to-fill specialties.

Most important, the U.S. should drop unnecessary commitments. The Pentagon is now reviewing America's strategic posture. Even Secretary Rumsfeld is talking about turning Bosnia and Kosovo over to NATO and reducing the force presence in South Korea and the Sinai. Far more could be done in both Asia and Europe.

But the first priority should be to exit Iraq expeditiously. Lawrence Korb of the Center for American Progress points to Gen. Maxwell Taylor, who observed that we went to Vietnam to save the country but had to withdraw from Viet-

An American In Paris

How George Plimpton waged the literary Cold War

By Richard Cummings

TWENTY-SIX YEARS AGO, the *New York Times* ran an article on the cultural cold wars and, without citing sources, stated that author Pete Matthiessen had served in the CIA in the 1950s and that his literary activities had served as a cover for his intelligence work. By then, Matthiessen had become a legend, combining an austere life as a bayman on the South Fork of Long Island with a prodigious literary output, including fiction and nature writing.

Matthiessen was also known as a founder of the illustrious *Paris Review*, which he launched in Paris in 1951, allegedly to publish *avant garde* fiction, poetry, and interviews with famous and up-and-coming literary figures, including Ernest Hemingway and Samuel Beckett.

The official history of the *Paris Review* describes how Matthiessen brought in his boyhood friend, George Plimpton, who had been studying at King's College, Cambridge, as its editor, a position he took without salary. While running with the bulls in Pamplona, the history goes, Plimpton made Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, a son of the Aga Khan and a graduate of Harvard, an offer he could not refuse to become the publisher of the *Paris Review*. Henceforth, Plimpton invariably described Prince Sadruddin as the *Paris Review's* benefactor.

The 1950s were a period of intense intellectual and political ferment in Paris, with anti-Americanism on the rise, as left-wing French intellectuals and

writers, such as Louis Aragon and Jean-Paul Sartre decried American support for Franco in Spain. Of the French intellectuals, only Raymond Aron resisted Marxism and the notion that the Soviet Union had more legitimacy and moral authority than the United States because it supported the liberation movements in Algeria and Vietnam.

In this environment, the American *jeunesse dorée* of Peter Matthiessen; his stunning wife, the writer Patsy Southgate; George Plimpton; and *Paris Review* managing editor, John Train, Sadruddin Aga Khan's roommate at Harvard, flourished. Plimpton became a well-known figure in Paris, a Gary Cooper look-a-like who spoke perfect French but exuded a classic American naïveté.

The *Paris Review* continued to publish, ultimately pulling up stakes in Paris and relocating to George Plimpton's apartment on the fashionable East Side of Manhattan, as Plimpton's personal fame as an author and personality grew. He seemed to be everywhere, at Andy Warhol's Factory, at sophisticated parties, boxing with Archie Moore, and experiencing life as a pro football player, publishing his exploits in best-sellers that dramatically increased his fame. He created Sid Finch, the ingenious fictitious pitcher, and gave lectures on world politics.

Matthiessen, likewise, became a legend as the author of *At Play In The Field Of The Lord, Far Tortuga*, and *The Snow Leopard*, as well as a series of

nature classics and pieces for the *New Yorker* from far-off locations. He became a Zen Buddhist master and monk.

But Matthiessen, who moved increasingly to the left politically, supporting Cesar Chavez and the American Indian Movement, began to express his anguish to friends about his work for the CIA. At first, he was not specific, saying only that he regretted having done it. As a militant liberal, Matthiessen began to see his own experiences in the CIA as somehow a betrayal of his liberal principles, just as the Rev. William Sloan Coffin did. He no longer regarded the efforts to stop the communists in Paris as something laudable, a point of view that became endemic to American liberalism, which characterized the CIA and its covert operations as nefarious, exposing the liberals to charges that they were naïve about national security.

What actually happened in Paris is a story of the times. Patsy Southgate, who was at Smith College when she became engaged to Matthiessen, described how Matthiessen had been recruited by the CIA at Yale to serve as an intelligence officer. Upon their marriage they were whisked off to CIA orientation and then dispatched to Paris, where, she said, Matthiessen's assignment was to "found a literary magazine" as his cover, a task that proved more difficult in its execution than in its conception. Instead, he joined up with expatriate Harold Humes, who was starting a fledgling literary publication that would also feature articles on Paris nightlife and restaurants.