

drugs", see Mathea Falco, "Foreign Drugs, Foreign Wars", *Daedalus*, Vol.121, No.3, (Summer 1992), pp.1-14. Falco's analysis is particularly important because she was a member of President Carter's "war on drug" team, and was instrumental in providing anti-narcotics aid to the Ne Win regime (in the mid-1970s). Helicopters provided for narcotics suppression were instead used by the military to transport troops to fight Karen, Shan, Kachin, and communist rebels, and herbicide provided was used against the civilian population, especially in Shan State. Also see, Jerome H.Skolnick, "Rethinking the Drug Problem", in *Daedalus*, op cit., pp.133-159.

8. Conversation with a DEA agent at an Anti-narcotics Briefing in Washington D.C., September 17, 1993, hosted by the U.S. State Department.

9. See UNFDAC: Review of the UNFDAC/Burma Program for Drug Abuse Control, October-November 1983. Also see Drug Control: Enforcement Efforts in Burma are Not Effective, U.S. General Accounting Office, September 1989.

10. Bertil Lintner, "War and Drugs in Burma's Sector of the Golden Triangle", Anti-narcotics Briefing, U.S. State Department, Washington D.C., September 17, 1993. Ronald D.Renard, *The Burmese Connection: Illegal Drugs and the Making of the Golden Triangle* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), pp. 89-96.

11. Drug Control: Enforcement Efforts in Burma are Not Effective, U.S. General Accounting Office, September 1989.

12. Top leaders who signed ceasefire agreements with the regime are: U Sai Lin aka Lin Ming-shing of the Eastern Shan State Army (ESSA); Yang Mao-liang, Peng Chia-sheng, and Liu Go-shi of the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDA-Kokang Chinese); Pao Yu-chiang, Li Tzu-ju, and Wei Hsueh-kang of the United Wa State Army (UWSA); and U Mahtu Naw of the Kachin Defense Army (KDA). See International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, 1998 (Section on Burma), U.S.State Department, Washington D.C.

13. For example, Sanda Win (Ne Win's daughter), Aye Zaw Win and Tun Oo (Ne Win's sons-in-law); Ngwe Soe (Ne Win's "black sheep" son); the son of General Than Shwe (currently head of the junta); the widow and sons of General San Yu (the second last President of Ne Win's military-socialist regime); the sons and daughters, nephews, nieces of Generals Khin Nyunt (Secretary 1 of the current junta), Saw Lwin (currently head of the National Convention and Minister for Hotels and Tourism), Maung Maung Khin (Minister, ex-Navy commander), and so on, are Rangoon's "new rich". Source:

communication with businessmen friends from Burma.

14. Richard S.Gelbard, "Slorc's Drug Link", *The 5th Column*, Far Eastern Economic Review, November 21, 1996.

15. See Stefan Collignon, "Burmese Economy and the Withdrawal of European Trade Preferences" posted on Internet by News and Information Bureau, All Burma Students League (ABSL), New Delhi, India.

16. It must however be said that the perception (or argument) which holds that opium-heroin businesses are "empires" run by a drug "kingpin", is quite Hollywoodish. In the 1970s, Lo Hsinghan was fingered (and "hollywoodized") as the world's heroin "kingpin". However his "capture" by Thai authorities in 1973 and extradition to Burma (where he received a death sentence, but was pardoned in 1980), did not affect the opium-heroin trade in any significant way. It will suffice to say that the heroin trade is too big, too complex, too transnational for it to be amenable to control by any one man or a single syndicate.

17. International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, 1998 (Section on Burma), U.S.State Department, Washington D.C.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.* For details of the legitimate business deals of "drug kingpins" like Lo Hsinhan (his son, Steven Low), Khun Sa, and Kokang and Wa "leaders of the national races", see Anthony Davis and Bruce Hawke, "Burma, the Country that Won't Kick the Habit", *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Vol. 10; No. 3 (March 1, 1998).

20. References made to the views or words of police officers are based on interviews with, and communications from, those involved in the "war on drugs" in the RCMP and the city police force. They have requested anonymity. (The interviews were conducted in April 1988. Some were conducted 2 years ago, as part of a research in preparation for an Anti-narcotics Conference in Lisbon, hosted by the North-South Center, Council of Europe, in March 1996).

21. Gil Puder, "Recovering Our Honor: Why Policing Must Reject the 'War on Drugs' ", Seminar: Sensible Solutions to the Urban Drug Problem, The Fraser Institute, Vancouver, April 21, 1998.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Richard Stevenson, "Costs of the 'War on Drugs'", Seminar: Sensible Solutions to the Urban Drug Problem, The Fraser Institute, Vancouver, April 21, 1988.

24. Stevenson, op cit.

25. Eric Single, et al, *The Cost of Substance Abuse in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Center on Substance Abuse, n.d., 1996?), p.8.