At the School of International and Public Affairs, we are, by and large, advocates for and enthusiasts of globalization. We both embody and embrace the increasing mobility of people, capital, goods, and ideas that the world has seen over the past several decades. We revel in polyglot elevator conversations and multicuisine communal meals, and we spend the wee hours of the night debating everything from free trade to cultural diffusion, international carbon trading, multinational talent pools, global governance, international capital markets, and transnational electricity grids.

But we are also clear-eyed about the dark side of globalization—the enormous costs exacted by that same mobility, in the new opportunities for trafficking in people, drugs, germs, weapons, ill-gotten wealth, even noxious opinions. This issue of SIPA News is devoted to some of the afflictions unleashed by opening the Pandora’s box of 21st-century globalization—the exploitation of women and children in international migration and the spread of counterfeit goods, illegal handguns, stolen diamonds, and debilitating drugs.

There is in fact ample evidence that many people alive today are not materially better off than their parents, and, for some, their circumstances are considerably worse, thanks to the spread of the disease and filth—literal and figurative—that seems so often to accompany the rapid development and transmission of new technologies. This mandates that those of us who are the beneficiaries of these new technologies, including those of us who can gather from around the world to enjoy and profit from the riches offered by SIPA, Columbia, and New York, bear a special responsibility to address these kinds of calamities.

Fortunately, as someone who has enjoyed and profited from an association with SIPA, Columbia, and New York for decades, I can attest to the fact that this issue of SIPA News reflects an abiding concern with recognizing the dangers and mitigating the damage of the dark side of globalization. Indeed, like the mythical Pandora’s box itself, there is one crucial element accompanying this sober look at the dilemmas we face: hope. And hope is what SIPA—its students, faculty, and alumni—represent, every day, around the world. I hope this issue of SIPA News inspires not only pride in your association with this remarkable community but also hope in our continued ability to foster positive change in the world.

Lisa Anderson
James T. Shotwell Professor of International Relations
Dean
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Just like globalization, illicit trade is spurred by fast-paced technological and political changes, creates opportunities for nonstate actors (especially networks of early adopters), and leads to surprising cultural recombinations. Indeed, sometimes the only thing that distinguishes the two phenomena is the increasingly blurred distinction between “legal” and “illegal.” As a result of this blurring, activities that used to be considered “black market”—drug dealing, human trafficking, arms smuggling, counterfeiting, and money laundering—have gradually become embedded into a global economy in which the difference between legitimate commerce and illicit trade has been obscured.

The feature articles in this issue of SIPA News address a wide variety of places, people, and stories, all relating to illicit trade. From human trafficking in Bosnia, to the khat trade in Somalia, to export security in the United States, these stories consider the economic dimension of illicit trade, but also the human cost it incurs and the policy challenges it poses.

For an introduction to this complex topic, we’ve turned to Moisés Naím, the editor of Foreign Policy magazine and the author of Illicit: How Smugglers, Traffickers, and Copycats Are Hijacking the Global Economy (Doubleday, 2005). Dr. Naím, who also served as the minister of Industry and Trade in Venezuela and as an executive director of the World Bank, spoke about his book and his research at SIPA in April 2006. SIPA News interviewed him this fall.
Moisés Naím: The central message of my book is that illicit trade is changing the world. That's a bold statement to make, because it's true that black markets, smugglers, and illicit trade have been part of the human experience for all of recorded history. But in the 1990s, we witnessed a convergence of political changes and technological revolutions that created what we call globalization. This, in turn, created the political conditions, economic incentives, and institutional settings that allowed smugglers to thrive, to become far more international, and to acquire a political potency that they had never had before. In the past, smugglers were by and large a regional plague. Illicit enterprises have now become global in scope.

Moisés Naím: I usually speak about “the three blurrings.” The first blurring is that all of these criminal networks are connected in complex, dynamic ways with the legitimate private sector. In some countries, legitimate enterprises sometimes have only two or three degrees of separation from vendors, subsidiaries, or wholly owned partnerships that are in fact part of the dark economy. In countries like Russia and China, and throughout the Balkans, Africa, and Latin America, the traditional lines that we used to have between criminal enterprises and the legal private sector have become more blurred than ever before.

The second blurring is the blurring between crime and politics. The scope, size, volume, and significance of illicit trade are so large, so global, and so systematic that it’s impossible to explain without the active complicity of entire governments. It’s no longer a matter of a few customs inspectors who look the other way, but rather something in which every part of a government is involved.

The third blurring is that, like all large, profitable enterprises, global criminal organizations spend quite a lot of money on philanthropy. In fact, in many countries, the main providers of social services and philanthropic services—the funders of schools, orchestras, sports clubs, and museums—are in fact criminals.

Moisés Naím: Consider the issue of nuclear proliferation. After the United States invaded Iraq, it became quite clear that the real proliferator of nuclear technology was not Saddam Hussein but a Pakistani engineer named A. Q. Khan, who was in charge of Pakistan's nuclear program and in the 1990s went private and global, becoming an international illicit trader of nuclear designs and know-how. He established an international network with operations in South Africa, Malaysia, the Gulf, Switzerland, and Pakistan, capable of marketing these products and delivering them to the highest bidder, including Iran and North Korea. In fact, Iran’s entire nuclear program was shaped by the contributions of this illicit trade.

And illicit trade plays an even more central role in the North Korean situation. A few months ago, there was a development that few people paid attention to—the closing, by regulatory authorities (under pressure from the U.S.) of Banco Delta Asia, a bank in the small Asian country of Macao. This move touched a nerve for North Korea, because the North Korean regime used this bank to launder the proceeds of its illicit exports, which include narcotics, weapons, and a sophisticated form of counterfeit U.S. currency known as “super-notes.” The North Korean governing elites depend on these exports. By closing down this bank, they were choked off. Now the North Koreans are returning to negotiations over their nuclear program, and one of their conditions is that the United States reconsiders some of these financial restrictions.

Moisés Naím: You’ve argued that criminal networks now have greater political influence than ever before and that illicit trade has become a major factor in international politics. What are some examples of this?

Moisés Naím: As long as there has been commerce, there has been illicit trade. What makes today’s illicit economy any different?

SIPA News: Not only has the volume and impact of illicit trade grown, but it also seems as though the line between illicit trade and legitimate commerce is becoming increasingly blurry.

SIPA News: Governments around the world are devoting massive resources to combating illicit trade. How would you characterize the impact of these efforts?
Moisés Naím: For more than a decade, I’ve studied five major illicit markets—drugs, weapons, human trafficking, counterfeiting, and money laundering. I have not found one single instance—not a single market, not a single government campaign—where it’s possible to say that these efforts have succeeded in containing the growth of illicit markets. Despite embargoes, controls, interdictions, and massive investments—like the U.S. spending $40 billion in the “war on drugs”—there is no evidence that these efforts are having any long-standing effects. That’s a pattern you find everywhere in the world.

Another pattern you find everywhere is a propensity to deal with this problem as a criminal problem and as a moral problem. However, it’s not so much a problem of low morals, but of high profits. It’s the profit motive that drives all these things. These markets operate in a sophisticated fashion. They’re magnets for people with strong entrepreneurial instincts who see the opportunities for arbitrage between places where price levels are quite different.

Yet in every case, there is a bias toward trying to contain the supply. For immigration, the solution is to build a wall. For counterfeiting, the solution is to create more controls in China and other supplier countries. With drugs, most of the money is spent on interdiction—high seas chases and undercover Miami Vice-style efforts. But there is very little attention paid to controlling the demand. If you believe that this is a market at work, then you have to pay attention to demand, because a market always consists of demand and supply.

SIPA News: If they haven’t been effective, what explains the persistent preference for supply-side solutions?

Moisés Naím: They are politically expedient. It’s far easier to jail some foreigners—often darker-skinned foreigners—for bringing bad things into your country, than to jail your constituents, who are the consumers who drive prices up and create profit margins that create these unstoppable markets.

SIPA News: In your book, you describe certain places as “geopolitical black holes” that foster illicit trade. What does this term mean?

Moisés Naím: A black hole is a place where the traditional laws of astrophysics do not apply. Geopolitical black holes are places where our traditional assumptions about politics do not apply. These are mostly assumptions about sovereignty: who has control of the territory, who is the final authority, who has the monopoly on the use of force, who enters into the most important international engagements.

But a geopolitical black hole is not defined by national political boundaries—an entire region can be a black hole. And it is not the equivalent of a failed state, like Somalia and Haiti. In fact, we find black holes in the developed world: for example, the Costa del Sol in Spain has become a major hub for criminal enterprises from all over the world. Networks from Ukraine, Belarus, Mexico, Colombia, and Morocco all have operations there.

SIPA News: As you explain, the opportunities for arbitrage that drive illicit trade are created by the contrast between these black holes and their opposite numbers—what you call “geopolitical bright spots.” Should policies aim to reduce the inequalities that create that contrast?

Moisés Naím: I don’t think so. Equality should be an important policy goal. But one of the most dangerous ideas around is that crime is driven by poverty and inequality. The corollary to that idea is that there is little we can do other than wait until poverty is alleviated or inequality is reduced. As we know, that can take several generations. Meanwhile, the conditions created by criminal trade are transforming the world in ways that are very threatening to everyone, especially the poor.

But it’s very important to understand the huge distortionary impact of international illicit trade on global politics and economics. Without taking it into account, there is really no way you can understand some of the main dilemmas of our times. Without understanding illicit trade, there is no way you can effectively understand economic development, or international trade, or immigration, all of which are central themes and challenges in today’s world.

Justin Vogt (MIA ’07) is co-editor of SIPA News and is concentrating in International Security Policy (ISP).
It’s a Saturday afternoon in October when I speak to Gerardo Reyes Chávez, and he admits that he’s tired. He’s been working on advocacy efforts all morning at the headquarters of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW), located in a rural farm community amid Southwest Florida’s swamplands. “We’re all very busy this weekend with preparations,” he tells me. In just one week, coalition members will travel from Immokalee, Florida, to picket McDonald’s corporate offices in the suburbs of Chicago, as part of their “Campaign for Fair Food.”
The Immokalee advocacy group is a community-based worker organization whose more than 2,500 members are largely Mexican, Guatemalan, and Haitian immigrants who labor for large agricultural corporations in the region's vast tomato fields and citrus groves. The coalition’s history dates back to 1993, when a small group of workers organized to address unjust wage garnishing and check-stealing practices in labor camps in and around Immokalee. Since then, it has grown to become one of the most recognized grassroots efforts in the struggle for the rights of agricultural workers in the United States. It is also on the frontlines in a campaign to end modern-day slavery in the agricultural industry in this country.

Due to the clandestine nature of trafficking and forced labor, it is difficult to determine exact numbers of victims. The U.S. Department of Justice estimates that 17,500 to 18,500 people are trafficked into the United States each year. However, these numbers do not include people trafficked within the United States and therefore fail to provide a reliable indicator of the number of people in situations of forced labor in the United States at any given time.

Data from a report issued in 2004 by Free the Slaves and the Human Rights Center of University of California, Berkeley, suggest that at any given time, 10,000 or more people are working as forced laborers in the United States, and the researchers maintain that it is likely that number is a conservative estimate. Data from this study also suggest that 10 percent of these people are forced laborers in the agricultural sector.

The fact that the agricultural industry experiences a high occurrence of trafficking and forced

“The problem lies in the mentality of the agricultural industry, which doesn’t view workers as human beings.” —Gerardo Reyes Chávez
We have a huge workforce under dire threat of criminal activity and two labor inspectors. That’s just not good enough. Department of Labor people are great and want to do better, but they are totally underresourced.” — Kevin Bales
During and immediately after the war, brothels operated openly and freely throughout the country. These usually took the form of nightclubs and bars, where customers could pay for sex, often with foreign women who had been trafficked into the conflict zone and were sometimes held there against their will. Postwar efforts by the government, police forces, and NGOs forced many of these operations to shut down, ending the era when trafficking was a highly visible problem.

But the trafficking industry has adapted to the postwar crackdown. Traffickers have gone underground, using private apartments and houses to conduct their operations. Some nightclubs and bars still function as brothels but do so covertly to avoid being shut down. And in response to law enforcement actions that made it more difficult to “import” women, traffickers have begun to turn more frequently to the local population for potential sex workers.
Irrespective of their country of origin, girls and women who are victims of trafficking often share similar stories of poverty, deception, and abduction, as well as psychological, physical, and sexual abuse. Most victims know their recruiters well. Recruiters often befriend the woman’s family before luring her away with a fake job offer. Usually, the woman accepts an offer for a legitimate job—perhaps as an au pair or a waitress—but is instead whisked away to a nightclub somewhere inside Bosnia or across the border. She is then told that she must work to repay the “debt” incurred by her travels.

“Trafficked women clean and prepare the nightclub, and then become sex workers from 7:00 p.m. until 4:00 a.m.,” says Mara Radovanovic of Lara, a women’s organization in Bijeljina, in northeastern Bosnia.

“The price for an hour with a girl is usually 50 KM (US $30),” explains Radovanovic. “But if the customer wants to beat her, the price is higher. She might eat one small meal a day, but most of the time she goes hungry. The rules are the same everywhere. It doesn’t matter what club the women end up in.”

Faced with such gross human rights violations, the police, judicial system, NGOs, and international organizations are working on ways to prevent trafficking, protect the victims, and prosecute those responsible.

Last year, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) launched a regionwide pilot school project that aimed to help teachers integrate antitrafficking educational materials in the classroom. Teachers were provided with antitrafficking “Teacher Tool Kits,” which included an antitrafficking video and suggested presentations and sample lesson plans. All participating schools were also given a television and DVD player in order to use the resources provided. “Long-term systematic prevention is best done through the school system,” explains Ajla Merdanovic, who is a team member of the IOM project in Bosnia.

The government’s State Coordinator’s Office for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings appointed an expert team to adapt the IOM’s regional manual for teachers in the field of trafficking to the circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to government officials, amending the school curricula in the already highly politicized context of educational reform will undoubtedly be slow and difficult, but also indispensable to informing children of the dangers of trafficking.

Significant government-NGO cooperation also takes place in antitrafficking law-enforcement efforts. NGOs often help the various police services obtain information about the nightclubs, underground apartments, and houses suspected of operating as brothels. According to police officials, raids are only conducted after an undercover investigation has produced conclusive findings and after a prosecutor has obtained a search warrant from a judge.

Traffickers, however, have often prepared their “workers” for the possibility of a raid. “The women rarely co-operate with us, because the owners have told them not to,” reports Mirko Skaledzija, a
police officer from the city of Travnik. “The fact that some police officers have been known to request their services makes it all the more difficult for them to trust us,” he admits.

Once the raid has been conducted, agents can transfer a locally trafficked girl or woman to a safe house run by an NGO. Foreign women are first brought to a police center for a background check and later transferred to a safe house. NGOs will then assist foreign victims in the repatriation process that returns them to their countries of origin.

Survivors of trafficking who consent to cooperating with the police are brought to one of the six safe houses run by NGOs in the country, which also offer protection to victims of domestic violence and incest.

Those who choose not to cooperate often end up returning to their former “employers” out of fear of what could happen to them or their families otherwise. The fear is well founded, as former trafficked women have in the past been harassed and violently threatened by people in the industry.

According to Nasiha Omanovic, who oversees a safe house in Sarajevo, there are four stages a woman goes through after being freed from coerced prostitution. The first consists of an individual assessment that helps a team of trauma psychology specialists and social workers decide what individual therapy is needed.

The second involves group therapy, in which victims slowly reveal their life stories, often discussing a common fear: that traffickers will be able to find and hurt their families.

The third stage is a kind of resocialization process and a facilitated reconnection with a victim’s family. “It’s at this stage that we start working with parents, who are usually surprised to hear what happened to their daughter,” says Omanovic. “We arrange a reunion once we think that the parents won’t reject or judge her.”

The final stage consists of following up on a survivor once she has re-entered society by sending a team of social workers to visit her on a regular basis. The transition back into society can be painful and humiliating for many trafficked women. Sometimes, victims have so much difficulty with re-entry that they choose to return to the safe house for further therapy and assistance.

Aside from the challenge of re-entry, victims have to struggle with the decision about whether to assist with prosecutions of those who exploited them. Many refuse to do so, since they may be required to testify in court. Prosecutors and NGOs that work with victims do their best to protect their identities, but victims are nevertheless often terrified of the potential repercussions their testimony could have for them and their families.

Fueling these fears is the fact that convictions of traffickers are difficult to secure, and sentences for trafficking offenses are relatively light.

“Traffickers are never convicted for very long, a maximum of three years, even if the girls are underage,” explains Omanovic. Judicial officials believe that limited prison capacity is one reason why prosecutors demand short sentences. There is also the perception that relative to other serious human rights abuses, like war crimes, the issue is not judged to be as serious or consequential.

In addition to the difficulty of securing convictions, Bosnian anti-trafficking efforts are hampered by a lack of resources common to post-conflict states.

“We know that traffickers have gone underground, but we need to have more financial means to track the trafficking activities that take place in private homes,” complains Mirko Skaledzija, the police officer.

NGOs also struggle to make ends meet. “Our budget keeps decreasing because of government expenditure cuts,” says Marijana Senjak, the director of Medica, an NGO that operates a safe house in Zenica. “In 2004, we had a budget of 460,000 KM (US $285,000). This year, we have 230,000 KM (US $143,000). At the same time, the government continues to rely on our services. We ultimately end up relying on private donations.”

Given these obstacles to reducing the supply side of this industry, many experts suggest that it is time to address the demand side. “In this country, there is this unfounded belief that only foreign men sexually exploit trafficked women,” says IOM’s Merdanovic. However, a recent public survey conducted by IOM showed that 70 percent of the customers come from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

“These are our friends, cousins, and brothers,” says Merdanovic, who believes Bosnia should prosecute clients who pay for prostitutes, not just the traffickers who supply them. “A client who pays for sexual services with a woman locked in an apartment is supporting criminal activities and should therefore be held accountable,” she argues.

Accountability is indeed missing in Bosnia, as are effective deterrents to trafficking. In this regard, legal reform is key, since longer sentences could significantly discourage and curtail trafficking activities. Such reform is more likely to occur if civil society is galvanized around the issue. Yet, one could argue that the problem of trafficking has not yet developed as a major issue in the public consciousness. The success of anti-trafficking measures in Bosnia may ultimately rest on whether the government, NGOs, and international organizations can discover ways to achieve that elusive goal.

DIAMONDS
THE MANY FACETS OF A DEADLY TRADE
BY BILL OLANDER
For at least a quarter of a century, the “diamond curse” has resulted in catastrophic bloodshed on the African continent. Angola, Sierra Leone, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are all countries with vast diamond deposits. Yet, far from mitigating the effects of war, poverty, and disease that have ravaged these nations, the diamond trade has instead contributed to these countries’ plight.

The Angolan case is sadly typical of the role of “conflict diamonds” in the wars that have ravaged sub-Saharan Africa. During the 1980s, rebel leader Jonas Savimbi and his UNITA movement could rely on support from the United States, since the Reagan Administration cast Savimbi’s struggle against the Soviet-backed government of Angola as a war of national liberation from Communist tyranny.

But the end of the Cold War changed American priorities, and Savimbi’s decision to return to armed combat after failing to win power through UN-brokered elections finally led his American supporters to abandon him. But Savimbi soon found another way to finance his rebellion. While his countrymen lived in utter poverty and suffered from the violence of civil
war, it is estimated that Savimbi illegally exported more than four billion dollars worth of diamonds in exchange for military hardware and training. This would have been impossible had the world’s major diamond distributors not looked the other way as their customers unknowingly lined the pockets of one of Africa’s most brutal warlords. Although Savimbi was killed in 2002 and UNITA later surrendered, the diamond’s curse in Angola has cost thousands of lives and has left the country scarred by the ravages of decades of conflict.

I witnessed the darker side of the diamond when I lived in Lusaka, Zambia, in 1999. At the time, the trade in illicit diamonds was in full swing. Few people in the major diamond centers of the West worried as Zambia became a global supplier of diamonds, despite its having no known geological deposits of diamonds. But the origin of these diamonds was no mystery: they were smuggled in daily, mostly from refugee camps along the borders with Angola and the DRC.

Just steps outside the only three-star hotel in the capital, interested buyers could easily find the right people. They were identifiable by the little parcels they carried, wrapped in newspaper. Inside the crumpled newspaper were dirt-cheap rough diamonds fresh from Angola.

I fell into the world of diamonds almost accidentally. In Zambia, the teaching job I had hadn’t lasted long. Out of work, I spent a lot of time trolling the streets and smoking cigarettes with the expats in the main hotel’s bar. I developed an interest in trading when I was approached one day by a diamond seller outside my hotel. Eventually, I found my way into a semi-apprenticeship with a British dealer who had lived and traded in Zambia for almost his entire life.

While I sorted out boxes of low-quality tourmalines and amethysts, the trader would let me listen to his office as he conducted deals with the people who came to sell stones. After I left Zambia, I studied gemology in Belgium and New York and worked as a diamond appraiser on 47th Street. I learned a lot about gemstones in both places. But it was during my time in Zambia that I came to understand why diamonds have proven to be such a persistent fixture in the global illicit economy.

Diamonds have certain unique properties that lend them well to the smuggler’s craft. In a few countries, such as Russia and Botswana, the deposits are buried in kimberlite, meaning that they are found in a mineral-rich pipe leading to the earth’s core. These stones are easy to secure, since only large companies with heavy mining capabilities can access them. But in countries such as Angola, Namibia, and Sierra Leone, diamonds are found in alluvial deposits, which means that they are diffusely spread throughout the top layer of soil. In these countries, diamonds can literally be found by anyone. Mining is decentralized, often carried out alone or organized by a group of poor laborers. More often than not, these diamonds are sold to middlemen who can pay cash and have the means to transport the stones to the buyers staying in hotels in the capital cities.

What’s more, diamonds are condensed wealth: a diamond that could be easily swallowed or hidden under the tongue can fetch ten thousand dollars. For smugglers, this means less risk and a larger return on their investment. Diamonds can easily be smuggled to willing buyers in the trading centers of Antwerp, New York, and Tel Aviv.

Once they have reached these centers, the diamonds are virtually untraceable. Country-of-origin documentation can be falsified, and it is nearly impossible to determine the origin of a diamond based on its physical characteristics. To evade scrutiny, sellers of diamonds can offer them in many different forms and at many levels of the industry: the diamonds can be sold rough, they can be cut, polished, and sold as loose diamonds; or they can be mounted onto a ring and sold as a finished good. In addition, the diamond industry is notoriously opaque: records are kept to a minimum, transactions are often conducted using cash, and millions of dollars in diamonds often trade hands with little more than a handshake.

Today, Lusaka is no longer a hub for illicit diamonds. Soon after I left, NGOs such as Global Witness and Amnesty International launched a major campaign to publicize the role of “conflict diamonds” in Angola and Sierra Leone. These groups increased public awareness and forced the diamond industry to address the issue of smuggled diamonds. Responding to the bad publicity, the diamond industry, in conjunction with the United Nations, volunteered to implement a certification procedure—the so-called “Kimberly Process”—to decrease the number of illicit diamonds on the world market.

In spite of these efforts, little has actually been accomplished. According to Corinna Gillian of Global Witness, the process needs “to move beyond rhetoric and ensure that self-regulation is backed up with substantive policy.” To many outside experts, this means greater transparency in the diamond industry and better mechanisms for gathering and analyzing data on the diamond trade.

These tasks should not be left to the industry to perform alone. Governments need the political will to commit their resources and regulate trade from questionable countries. Customers also need to play a larger role.

Thankfully, Angola and Sierra Leone have now started, slowly, to recover from their wars. As a result, the news headlines are no longer full of stories about conflict diamonds. Nevertheless, in places such as Congo and the Central African Republic the issue—like the source of many of these troublesome diamonds—remains just below the surface.

Bill Olander (MIA ’08) is concentrating in Economic and Political Development (EPD).
The glittering city of Abu Dhabi looms over the al-Wathba racetrack, a perfect reminder of the contrast between modernity and centuries-old traditions in the Persian Gulf. Zoom in on al-Wathba, and the contrast is even clearer: Robed sheikhs from competing royal families cheer on their prize-winning camels while jockeys—remote-controlled robots on titanium saddles—wield revolving whips attached to their motorized arms.

Until a few years ago, the scene at al-Wathba was quite different. Instead of robots, the jockeys on the camels’ backs were children, often as young as three or four, who were forced to labor under brutal conditions in the scorching desert heat.

By Paula Margulies
These children—who were trafficked to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) from poverty-stricken regions of Southeast Asia—were sought after for their small frames, which allowed for faster racing.

Child camel jockeys are still quietly enslaved across the Persian Gulf, but in recent years pressure from the U.S. State Department and human rights organizations has slowly chipped away at the brutal practice, most notably in the UAE and Qatar. In addition to implementing the use of robot jockeys, a widespread repatriation effort is underway to return trafficked children to their home countries and help them to rehabilitate. Given the deprivation and abuse that their growing bodies and psyches suffer, this is no small task.

Child jockeys may spend up to 18 hours a day training camels in heat upward of 130 degrees and are frequently physically and sexually abused. To keep their weight down, they are deprived of food and water and often subsist on two biscuits a day.

According to the Ansar Burney Trust, a Karachi-based advocacy organization that works to rescue and repatriate the children, “[they] are forced to eat dirty and unhygienic food with seawater, in the hope that an upset stomach will stop the child from feeling hungry. If that does not bring their weight down, they are forced to wear metal helmets to make them . . . lose weight.”

If they are injured—which happens often—they may not receive proper medical care.

“They are treated as if they are completely disposable,” said Catherine Turner, a spokeswoman for Anti-Slavery International, a London-based NGO that has been at the forefront of the issue. “The camels are treated much better than they are.”

When jockeys grow too big to be of any use to their owners, they are discarded. In a strange country, without their parents and with no education, these children have few options. If discovered by authorities, they risk being arrested as illegal immigrants and spending years in prison. Most of the children lack official documents, which are often confiscated by traffickers or owners.

Trafficking is a murky business, operating across borders and involving many different players. In the case of the camel jockeys of the Persian Gulf, unwillingness to use local children for the dangerous and brutal sport led to a demand for children from Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India.

In some cases, these children are kidnapped by gangs while they are playing in the streets. More often than not, they and their families are tricked by middlemen with promises of education, money, and a better life. In some cases, desperate parents will sell their children.

“They often don’t know that their children are in fact being trafficked,” said Geoff Keene, a spokesman for UNICEF. “They are led to believe that educational opportunities await them.”

Keene declined to provide an estimate of the number of children still enslaved as camel jockeys in the Persian Gulf, saying that the figures were conflicting. However, the Ansar Burney Trust
placed the number at around 20,000 children. Until recently, the UAE had the highest number of such children, the Trust said.

In 2005, the State Department placed the UAE on Tier Three—the lowest—of its Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report, noting that “personal observations by U.S. government officials and video and photographic evidence indicate the continued use of trafficked children as camel jockeys . . . the government of the UAE does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking and is not making significant efforts to do so.”

Later that year, the UAE signed an agreement with UNICEF, committing itself to ending the practice and repatriating trafficked children, with the help of a $2.7 million pledge from the UN agency.

UNICEF estimates that around 1,075 children have been removed from camel farms in the UAE to date. When parents can be located, their children are sent home. However, since these children often arrived without official documents and were too young to remember their personal details, a large percentage of them cannot immediately be reunited with their families. Many are sent to rehabilitation centers in the UAE or in their source countries, where they receive medical, psychological, and vocational care.

The progress in the UAE is being viewed by activists as a test case for the entire Gulf region—especially since the wealthy desert kingdom had for years promised to reform, even passing legislation that banned underage jockeys, while tacitly allowing the practice to continue.

“We called them out,” said Turner. “We forced them to admit that there was a problem.” She cited a combination of “the media, international mechanisms, and the State Department” in motivating UAE officials. In addition, she noted that camel racing is “pure entertainment in the Gulf. The economy doesn’t need it for survival.”

UNICEF’s Keene agreed, saying that the progress was the result of a “cumulative effect—a lot of pressure was brought to bear. The government started to realize that it was in their best interest to crack down on it.”

Casts to the UAE embassy were not returned. However, in a statement to the press in June, General Saif Al Sha’far, UAE’s undersecretary of the Interior Minister, said, “The UAE has succeed-ed in its measures to stamp out the child jockey practices.”

The State Department has also praised the UAE’s efforts, moving it up from Tier Three to the Tier Two “watch list.” In a briefing in June, John R. Miller, the State Department’s ambassador-at-large on international slavery, called the UAE’s efforts “significant . . . they deserve to be recognized.”

However, while human rights groups breathe a sigh of relief that some progress has been made, they say that they are not done working on the issue.

Activists note that repatriation efforts have failed to account for all of the child jockeys in the UAE—and that traffickers may have simply moved the children out of the country.

“The fact that all these children are not properly accounted for is very worrying,” said Turner. “In some of these countries, borders are artificial in some way—these are Bedouin cultures. It’s easy enough to move a child from the UAE to another Gulf country.”

Also of concern is the cycle of trafficking itself. If a trafficked Bengali child is repatriated to a poverty-stricken family in the slums, he may face the same risk of exploitation that resulted in his trafficking to the Gulf. Repatriation officials stress the need to carefully weigh the specifics of each child’s situation.

And even the best rehabilitation efforts, they say, cannot restore a lost childhood.

Paula Margulies (MIA ’07) is co-editor of SIPA News and is concentrating in International Media and Communications, with a regional focus in the Middle East.
It has been nearly six months since Diana’s daughter, Samantha, was shot twice while running from a hail of gunfire after she witnessed a mugging. On this bright, chilly day, family and friends have gathered at her grandmother’s Bronx apartment, after commemorating Samantha’s 19th birthday at her grave.

Rodriguez touches her finger to the photo she is holding of her daughter, a smiling teenager in a tiara.

“They have to change the law they have against guns,” she says. “Our children aren’t safe in the streets. Guns should be for policemen and the people who are there to protect us.”

Samantha’s killer and his weapon haven’t been found, but it’s likely the gun he used to shoot her was illegally trafficked to the Bronx. Guns sold in New York State must be licensed and registered, so around 85 percent of guns used in New York City crimes are trafficked from parts of the country where there are looser gun laws.

Gunrunning in the Northeast is so active that Interstate Highway 95 has been nicknamed the “Iron Pipeline.” Traffickers buy guns in places like Georgia, Florida, and North and South Carolina and drive them up to New York and Boston for a four- to five-fold profit.

In a report issued in 2000, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) explained that most traffickers obtain their guns through theft, corrupt licensed firearms dealers, gun shows, or—most commonly—“straw buyers.”
[Crime] is a market [the gun industry] needs for [its] profits. Guns last forever—you can give them to your grandkids. But if someone uses a gun for a crime, it’s more than likely it’ll end up in the river and will need to be replaced.” —Jackie Kuhls

Traffickers employ straw buyers, local frontmen able to buy guns from a shop that has loose regard for federal regulations, thereby avoiding compulsory checks into the trafficker’s own criminal records. It is estimated that just one percent of gun dealers are responsible for nearly 60 percent of the guns used in crimes.

“Most of the straw purchases are pretty obvious,” says Jackie Kuhls, executive director of New Yorkers Against Gun Violence (NYAGV). “Traffickers usually go in with the buyer and point out what they want.”

Nevertheless, stemming the trafficking of small arms is an extremely difficult task. Although they are often linked to the narcotics trade, illegal guns are usually sold one or two at a time to people with whom the seller is familiar—making the infiltration of gun rings one of the most dangerous police assignments.

Attempts to police firearms trafficking must also contend with the country’s powerful gun lobby. Shortly after the ATF released its 2000 report, the U.S. government passed legislation that limited the ability of law enforcement agencies to trace guns across state lines. So, although guns are always first sold into the legal market and leave an initial trail through their serial numbers and required documents, the ATF is not permitted to trace them beyond that original, legal purchase.

The U.S. gun lobby, led by the National Rifle Association (NRA), contends that an individual’s right to own firearms is guaranteed in the Constitution.

The NRA, which declined to comment for this article, often couches its arguments in rhetoric equating gun ownership with individual freedom—a philosophy that has traditionally expressed itself through a distrust of law enforcement. The organization also asserts that more guns mean less crime.

But gun control advocates say the NRA often uses misleading interpretations of data to justify these contentions. In industrialized countries where there are higher rates of gun ownership, gun control advocates say that there are also higher rates of gun-related deaths.

This fall, the NRA lobbied for the passage of the pending “Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives Modernization and Reform Act,” a Congressional bill that would make it much more difficult for the ATF to revoke the licenses of dealers who sell guns to criminals. The bill follows a federal law passed in October 2005 that prevents firearm manufacturers and dealers from being held liable for crimes committed with their products.

“We can’t keep hobbling law enforcement like that,” says Zach Ragbourn, assistant communications director at the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence. “There isn’t even any basis for the assertion that easier access to guns make people safer. It’s actually kind of laughable.”

Since 20 to 25 percent of firearms sold in the United States end up being used in crimes, the NYAGV’s Kuhls alleges that the gun industry has decided that crime is an essential market.

“It’s a market they need for their profits. Guns last forever—you can give them to your grandkids,” she says. “But if someone uses a gun for a crime, it’s more than likely it’ll end up in the river and will need to be replaced.”

While tragic deaths such as Samantha’s generate controversy in the United States about appropriate firearm regulation, few realize that the country’s gun trafficking problem also spills over its borders.

Of all the guns recovered after being used in crimes in Canada, more than half were smuggled in from the U.S. The same is true for 80 percent of recovered guns in Mexico and for more than 30 percent in Japan, according to Wendy Cukier, a professor at Toronto’s Ryerson University who heads Canada’s Coalition for Gun Control and is co-author of the book The Global Gun Epidemic: From Saturday Night Specials to AK-47s.

“The U.S. has almost one third of the world’s firearms, so it’s not surprising that it’s a major source of illegal guns,” Cukier says. “If you have a lot of guns and ineffective controls, then it’s easy to divert guns to illegal markets.”

This past July, the Bush administration was accused of catering to the gun lobby when it cast the lone vote against the United Nations Global Gun Ban Treaty, scuppering a seven-year, consensus-driven effort to eradicate the illicit trade of small arms fueling conflicts around the world.

Many observers believe the administration’s vote reflected pressure from the NRA, which accused the UN of being part of “freedom-hating forces” engaged in a global gun ban.

There has, however, been some action to curb gun trafficking on local and state levels. A little more than a decade ago, Virginia supplied 40 percent of guns seized in New York City crimes and was dubbed the “firearms supermarket” for the Northeast. Concerned that this reputation hurt the state’s business development, legislators passed a “One-Handgun-Per-Month” law in 1993, which immediately cut down on the flow of guns out of the state.

New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg has also formed the Coalition Against Illegal Guns, a campaign by mayors from across the country, which filed a federal suit in May against 15 rogue gun dealers. Five of the dealers have settled their suits, and campaign spokesperson Virginia Lam said the mayors are looking into other strategies to stop the flow of illegal guns.

While that may be a start in confronting the illicit gun trade in the United States, the Rodriguez family wants more action.

“The city’s suing people, but what have I got? Nothing,” Diana Rodriguez says. “A couple of hundred dollars will get a gun in someone’s hand, and they can go around shooting everyone. They can get away with murder.”

Patrick Falby (MIA ‘07) is concentrating in International Media and Communications (IMC). He worked as a journalist in Cambodia and London before attending SIPA.
In the early morning of June 14, 2004, the red light district of Baina Beach, Goa, awoke to the roar of bulldozers and the gruff shouts of armed policemen. In an effort to “clean up Goa”—recover municipal land for the booming tourist business and rid the community of sex workers—the Panaji (Goa) bench of the Bombay High Court had ordered the destruction of 8,500 square meters of land, including the tin-roofed cubicles housing the district’s prostitutes.
Centrally located on the western coast of India, Goa became a prominent tourist destination in the mid-1970s, as backpackers from around the world flocked to its tropical beaches. The growth of the tourism industry led to an increased demand for sex workers, and a trafficking network sprang up between Goa and the nearby states of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh.

With more than 25 percent of the population living under the poverty line, the majority of trafficking victims are deceived through promises of a better life or the opportunity to provide for their families. Poverty is exacerbated by lack of education and the elimination of traditional forms of labor, leaving many households to seek alternate forms of income. In addition, socio-cultural norms—especially those related to untouchables and other “lower” classes of individuals—condone abuse of those considered “inferior.”

According to the State Department, Indian NGOs are world leaders in their activities to fight trafficking. However, the Indian government itself has not received the same high marks. Rampant corruption, problematic national legislation, and poor law enforcement, combined with socio-cultural norms supporting the demand and supply of sex workers, have impeded progress.

The daunting task of addressing these structural and environmental factors has led some to seek a faster track to eradicating trafficking—hence the demolition of the Baina Beach sex district.

A year after the demolition, I returned with Sumitra Acharya, researcher for the National Institute of Human Rights at the National Law School of India University in Bangalore. Little had changed over the course of a year—the crumbling walls, the remnants of homes strewn across the empty lot. The monsoon winds blew through the now unprotected area, stirring up trash, dust, and dirt. As we approached, brothel keepers, *gharwalis*, emerged curiously, and children darted between the rubble.

Sumitra and I perched on a few precariously strewn rocks and invited a few women to chat. Realizing that we did not present any opportunity for business, a few grunted and wandered off. An imposing woman in a faded and dirty sari squatted next to us, drawing a few others with her.
At Ribandar, an institution surrounded by barbed wire, the women would not be allowed to leave during the hours of 8:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. They would be trained in handicrafts—an employment option that provided barely meager wages and was of little interest to most of the women. Minister Victoria Fernandes resigned from the Goa State Commission for Women in protest against the way the government handled the issue, citing a complete lack of planning in demolition and rehabilitation.

Arun Pandey, director of the local non-governmental organization ARZ (Life Without Injustice) works closely with the Baina Beach to clients. Her daughter waited behind a curtain in a shack while her mother serviced clients.

Since the demolition, ARZ has rescued an estimated 25 minors from gharwalis in the Baina area. Yet with the increasing demand for child victims, trafficking to the area continues. The government's attempt to "clean up Goa" appears to have had only one certain result—the sale of 8,500 square meters of Baina Beach to a resort developer.

Suneeta Kaimal (MIA '06) has worked with survivors of human trafficking in India.

For many of the women, returning home would mean facing the stigma of having been a prostitute. For others—who were trafficked by family or community members—returning home included the risk of being re-trafficked into worse situations.

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For more than a decade, human trafficking has engaged journalists, advocates, and government policymakers. In 1994, Human Rights Watch released the first major human rights report of the modern era using the term “trafficking.” In 2003, in an address to the UN General Assembly, the President of the United States segued from calling for support in the war against terrorism to urging for a global “moral crusade” against what he termed “sexual slavery” involving trafficking of women and girls.

At one point, some governmental and non-governmental advocates claimed that as many as four million persons were trafficked annually worldwide, with 50,000 persons trafficked into the United States alone. These numbers have since been revised downward (and are increasingly regarded as unreliable). But in 2000, driven in part by such numbers, two major anti-trafficking laws were adopted: a UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, and a U.S.-drafted law, the Trafficking Victim Protection Act (TVPA).

Despite this surge of law-making activity, some anti-trafficking activists are angry. They point to the new need to confront not only the abuses of trafficking, but also abuses flowing from anti-trafficking policies. These activists are particularly concerned that the global policy advanced by the United States through the TVPA appears to be both ineffective and producing unintended rights-restrictive effects at local and global levels.

Notably, one of the more biting critiques of U.S. policy has been offered by an agency of the U.S. government. Little noticed at the time of its release (in late July 2006), the Government Accountability Office (GAO) report, “Human Trafficking: Better Data, Strategy, and Reporting Needed to Enhance U.S. Anti-Trafficking Efforts Abroad,” provides the basis for some useful improvements in U.S. policy. U.S. policy has had—and will likely continue to have—a major global impact on governmental and nongovernmental anti-trafficking policies, because U.S. anti-trafficking legislation is attached to a global public shaming mechanism, funding for technical cooperation and assistance, and sanctions for those countries that are judged to fall below its standards.

The GAO report makes clear that the current policy and practice of the United States under the TVPA is extensively flawed, however. The GAO study highlights three main problems in U.S. policy and practice: reliance on unreliable data, inconsistent application of standards and lack of coordination. Even improvements in line with the GAO study, however, are likely to fix only part of the problem. To understand the confused current implementation of the TVPA, and its limited potential, a short diversion to the history of the TVPA is useful.

The TVPA, as re-authorized and amended in 2003 and 2005, has been produced through changing but uneasy alliances with players including the Clinton and Bush administrations and key members of Congress with very different goals. Some supporters wished to address the exploitation of migrant workers generally, with particular concern for gender discrimination, while others wished to focus only on what they termed “sex trafficking.” In debates and advocacy, the term “sex trafficking” also had various meanings, with debates moving without much clarity from practices of forced prostitution to any facilitated movement into prostitution. As adopted, the TVPA addresses persons forced into prostitution as well as persons forced into servitude in many other sectors of work (sweatshops, farm labor, domestic work, and so on).

The TVPA sets up a monitoring and assistance regime to respond to “severe forms of trafficking,” defined as “coercive, forced or fraudulent acts, within or across international borders, for the purpose of subjecting a person to servitude, debt bondage or slavery in any sector—agricultural, domestic and manufacturing work,” or such coercive acts committed “for the purpose of inducing a ‘commercial sex act’” (or commercial sex acts without force if the person is under 18). Domestically, the Act provides for prosecution of traffickers and identification and support for trafficked persons, including their permanent stay in the United States (in part through a visa known as a T-visa). All of these benefits are apportioned according to stringent criteria, which include requirements to cooperate with prosecutors bringing cases against traffickers.

Internationally, the TVPA authorizes U.S. assistance to foreign governments for the purpose of combating trafficking through legislative reform, law enforcement, and training. The TVPA also requires an annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report on country compliance, which ranks almost 150 countries in a three-tier grading system. In addition, the TVPA creates an office in the State Department to monitor, coordinate interventions, and compile the data and recommendations for the TIP report.

The Act also authorizes support to foreign and domestic NGOs working against trafficking. Notably, since 2003, U.S. and overseas NGOs are eligible to receive U.S. government funding only if they state that they do not promote, support, or advocate the legalization or practice of prostitution. This pledge applies not just to programs funded by U.S. dollars, but to all of the NGOs’ work. A number of U.S. NGOs have challenged this pledge and won in two federal district courts on the claim that the pledge unconstitutionally restricts speech (the United States is appealing); however, this lawsuit cannot free non-U.S. NGOs of the restrictions.

At the time of the TVPA’s adoption, the president and Congress hailed its tripartite approach of “prevention, protection, and prosecution.” In practice, the Act has proved illusory in all three areas. The confused combination of anti-prostitution and anti-trafficking rhetoric and increased funds for border policing and prosecution, with only minimally increased services for trafficked persons in the United States and abroad, falls far short of the stated goals of the TVPA. In the United States, while Congress provided for 5,000 T-visas per year, the stringent legal tests and practical difficulties associated with accessing this benefit have resulted in only about 650 visas awarded to trafficked persons in total since 2001. Internationally, advocates for trafficked persons rue the lack of concrete benefits for trafficked persons in most countries and criticize the diversion of money from services responding to a range of human rights abuses (including domestic violence) towards trafficking-only services.

Adding sober support to these advocates’ cri-
tiques, the GAO report notes that it is virtually impossible to assess the effectiveness of the TVPA. First, the State Department has not begun with reliable estimates of the magnitude of the problem. According to the GAO study, the U.S. government estimates of 600,000–800,000 persons globally trafficked each year cannot be verified because of fundamental methodological weaknesses. In fact, according to the GAO, “[the] government’s estimate was developed by one person who did not document this work.” The study also notes that incompatible definitions (smuggling, illegal migration, trafficking) are used in data collection, further rendering the numbers questionable.

Second, the GAO states that the U.S. government’s strategy has no coherence. The few existing efforts at coordination have “focused on compliance with U.S. policy on prostitution” only and have not generated interagency cooperation to usefully leverage U.S. action or identify common targets of greatest need. Finally, the GAO criticizes the TIP report for its inconsistent application of standards in the review of the practices of foreign countries, as well as lack of consistent criteria in ranking those governments.

Even if the U.S. government rationalized its activities, however, anti-trafficking advocates in the United States and internationally have begun to argue that the TVPA’s overall focus on prosecution and sensational rescue of women in prostitution will continue to undercut the policies needed to comprehensively address the forces that drive people into exploited work—and keep them there. Beyond being unmoored from data, rights-based reviews of U.S.-inspired anti-trafficking actions in the field are now exposing other perverse effects of this policy on rights and human dignity.

For example, Philip Marshall and Susu Thatun, who research human trafficking in Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Myanmar/Burma, Yunnan Province in China, and Vietnam, have studied the impacts of the TVPA-inspired border-control and prosecution approaches. According to Marshall and Thatun, migrants are more likely to stay in exploitative work because their need to earn an income is coupled with increased difficulties in re-migrating. Workers, increasingly desperate as normal channels of migration close through stepped-up policing, place themselves in the hands of unscrupulous agents and resort to more illicit methods of moving. Thus, paradoxically, the anti-trafficking border policing may increase the likelihood of trafficking, especially when receiving countries do nothing to protect the rights of irregular migrants from abuse.

Thus, the solution is not simply more professional application of the same U.S. policy, or even better data on trafficking alone. Better policy will be rooted in the analysis of the problems of rights, gender and racial discrimination, as well as in the structure of irregular and informal labor markets in sending and receiving countries. Human rights groups have begun this work: recent Human Rights Watch reports on migrating domestic workers in Asia reveal specific factors in contracts, employer and labor agent practices, and immunities that contribute to the exploitation and trafficking of domestic workers. Sadly, this kind of analysis and documentation is not welcomed by many policymakers, as it eschews shocking numbers and media-friendly horror stories.

While this work does not have the headline grabbing impact of the efforts celebrated by the U.S. government under the TVPA, however, it is this kind of analysis that will lead to more effective and rights-promoting U.S. policies. In 2007, the new Congress should hold hearings to review the findings of the GAO report in order to make the U.S. government work more coherent. It should reconsider the ideological restrictions on funding and focus on criteria that identify NGOs capable of doing effective service and advocacy work. Finally, researchers analyzing migration and labor markets suggest that the U.S. Congress should also move beyond the existing framework of the TVPA and initiate policies that not only prosecute abuse but also promote safe migration and rights protection of a wide range of workers and migrants. The rights and livelihoods of enterprising women, men, and children around the world demand no less.
While consulting for an aid agency last summer in northeastern Somalia, I stayed with an Ethiopian doctor who championed the chewing of leaves from an African Horn evergreen known as *khat*. According to the doctor, khat chewing was a timeless tradition for the people of the Red Sea region. He insisted the plant’s leaves held medicinal properties, despite arguments to the contrary. When he ventured out to “score” a bushel of khat in the Garowe town market, I rode along with him. As I had heard so many conflicting stories about this green, I was eager not only to understand its market power, but also to taste it.
The khat plant, *catha edulis*, contains an amphetamine-like substance called cathinone, similar to epinephrine in that it causes muscles to be stimulated in the human body. Since it contains cathinone, khat is considered a Class One amphetamine, illegal in the U.S. But as it also contains vitamin C, calcium, and niacin, it is also one of the few nutritious greens in dry area markets of the African Horn and Yemen.

The khat trade has exploded over the past century to become a spiritual and economic force for the region, as powerful as the trade of coffee and liquor in the West. For producers in Ethiopia and Kenya, khat is a driving force lifting many farmers from poverty, but in Yemen and disaster-ravaged Somalia, dependence on the product often diverts cash from communities threatened by food shortages.

When the Ethiopian doctor, his driver, and I reached the Garowe market, we drove to a stall overlooking the rubble of the former Puntland State police headquarters. Two young women and a man presided over a kiosk selling everything from Tancho Soft Natural Beauty shampoo to White Elephant batteries. Out front on a table lay bushels of red-stemmed greens. The doctor called a salesgirl wearing a black cloth to the car window so he could inspect the leaves.

He was looking for broad-leaf *hamarcot*, the strongest, cleanest variety of khat, which originates near his home in Oromiya. The weaker *dalacha* and *dimaa*, and drier *hamarcot*, which come from Kenya, disgusted this connoisseur. The market-stall strategy, I learned, is to secure *hamarcot* within less than two days of its harvesting in Ethiopia. But amid competition, most stalls sell cheaper varieties flown in from the Meru region of northern Kenya. In fact, khat shipments to and from this part of the world are so much more frequent than passenger flights that many professionals destined for Nairobi or Addis Ababa pay for space for themselves in the cargo beds of khat planes.

The street cost of khat ranges from $0.50 to $3 per hit for a portion roughly the size of a chef’s salad, which could give the chewer a double-Irish-coffee-type high for about an hour. The high that khat creates is a euphoric mania, one that lubricates conversation but is sometimes followed by lethargy, depression, and the urge to keep chewing. While many people in the African Horn have strong white teeth that they clean diligently with *rumay* sticks, khat addicts suffer obvious tooth decay and discoloration. Sometimes chronic khat chewing causes the eyes to redden and water.

The doctor made sure no other foreign agency staff were around, gave the girl a wad of Somali shillings, and tucked the khat into his seat. When we arrived back at the guesthouse, he washed the khat like a salad, boiled himself a tea, turned on BBC News, and started to chew.

“Can I try it?” I asked. “Of course.” The khat had a bitter taste and it dried out my mouth, so I followed it with tea. I expected to thrash about or recall memories from the crib, but nothing happened. “You have to chew a lot,” the doctor told me. “People spend all day chewing khat.” Impatient and weary, I ended my experiment.
and sought instead to research the product in other ways.

In Somalia and Yemen, khat chewing relates to one’s national identity. Yemeni President Saleh and many Somali politicians have admitted publicly to chewing it, though social watchdog groups have called for bans. In Ethiopia and Kenya, the khat trade has been even more hotly debated. Macro-economists see khat as a viable cash crop with the power to lift farmers out of poverty. Agents of social responsibility, however, fear that khat farmers divert water meant for food production, may cause local food shortages, and profit from the impoverishment of their clients. In neighboring Eritrea and Tanzania, anti-khat lobbies—combining drug enforcement agencies, social watchdogs, and religious fundamentalists—have succeeded in banning the plant. Even aid teams in the African Horn have tightfisted debates on the subject.

Fatima Jibrell, former executive director of Horn Relief, told me, “We don’t hire chewers.” But each time I sat in an agency vehicle and kicked the dust off my shoes, I noticed green stems lying around the floor mats. At the Women’s Affairs minister’s house, I walked in on guards playing a homemade board game and chewing khat when they were supposed to be protecting the minister from assassination. When I brought up the subject to government officials, they displayed a patient anger. They lamented the destructive influence of khat, which leads some addicts to drag their drought-affected families into debt. Even those who find more stable work continue to chew khat, risking getting fired for that ephemeral high.

Exploring the khat trade—the network leading from farmers in Oromiya and Meru to charter planes destined for Somalia, Yemen, and Western smugglers’ ports—helps one to understand culture in the Red Sea region. It illuminates the transit channels that also conduct the trafficking of heroin, weapons, refugees, emigrants, and abductees there. In many of the towns and villages that suffer the most negative aspects of the business, there are few schools, few roads, few electronic communications, low literacy, and little will to enforce any control policies. But like the global narcotics trade, which is associated with so many deaths and economic problems, the trade of khat may be an animal to be tamed, not fought.

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To the six women standing by the subway exits on New York City’s Canal Street, every woman getting off the train is a potential customer.

“Gucci? Prada? Tiffany’s?” they ask, clutching cell phones and walkie-talkies. If you look at them with enough interest, one of them will ask you to follow her, and she will then lead you through a maze of streets until you enter an unimposing row of eateries and temples. When she gets to a pink awning labeled “Wholesale Fruits,” she’ll knock a few times, wait for a colleague to answer, and then lead you to your destination: a large store teeming with knockoff jewelry, watches, and handbags.

The store is one of many in the world—from New York City to Beijing—that make up the $540-billion counterfeit luxury-goods industry. Law enforcement is difficult; police raids and fear of lawsuits have only made counterfeit vendors more careful, pushing their stores underground, into unmarked basements, instead of on the streets. Even more difficult is getting authorities in China, where most of the counterfeits originate, to bring their own lawsuits against the infringement of intellectual property rights.

Instead, the market for counterfeit luxury goods continues to flourish, as the creators of knockoff Louis Vuitton bags and Cartier watches illegally traffic their goods out of China and across the globe. No one can really stop them.

U.S. businesses have repeatedly complained about the lack of enforcement on IP theft in China. In its 2006 Special 301 Report, the United States Trade Representative put China on a priority watch list for IP-infringement. The report goes on to state, “despite anti-piracy campaigns in China and an increasing number of IPR cases in Chinese courts, overall piracy and counterfeiting levels in China remained unacceptably high in 2005.” Most recently, U.S. senators tried to get a 27 percent tariff imposed on Chinese imports, partly in response to business concerns about the counterfeit trade. Shortly thereafter, following a trip to China, U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson helped to quash the bill.

Counterfeits in China occur in a number of industries, including licensed apparel, prescription drugs, automotive parts, and luxury goods. The way counterfeit markets operate in each sector differs widely. For licensed apparel, such as the popular characters that appear on children’s clothing and accessories, Chinese manufacturers get the art from U.S. companies operating in China and then use it to create knock-offs of their own, without paying royalties to the original company. The problem is so severe that many U.S. companies working in licensing have cited intellectual-property theft and the trafficking of illegal goods as a primary reason to close shop in China and move to Vietnam.

Luxury goods work differently. When recreating luxury watches, many counterfeiters buy original parts in China and then ship the parts, along with detailed instructions, to Europe in what has become a global network of counterfeiting. In one case this past September, Chinese customs officials and police found that smugglers had dug a tunnel between the sewers of mainland China and Hong Kong in order to traffic mobile phones and computer chips. Last year, an Italian man was found using American and Swiss bank accounts to fund the trafficking of parts from Hong Kong and China to Europe. According to one civil suit in New York City, a Vietnamese group assembled 27-cent watch parts and sold them up the chain to wholesalers, followed by street vendors and consumers, ultimately reaping $250 million in sales.

According to officials, U.S. businesses aren’t the only ones getting hurt. In 2004, New York
City police and FBI agents broke up two Chinese crime rings that paid for their activities through counterfeiting Chanel, Gucci, and Coach products. The charges against the individuals did not stop at the trafficking and sale of counterfeit luxury goods but also included conspiracy to commit murder, conspiracy to take hostages, and extortion, according to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

Many analysts say that the problem is hurting Chinese markets as well, preventing domestic investment in research and innovation.

How can the illegal trafficking of goods be stopped? At the consumer level, some countries have started targeting buyers of counterfeit goods using a similar approach to the recording industry's singling out of buyers who purchase illegal music. For example, officials in France can fine a person with a knockoff bag twice the value of an original bag. LVMH Moët Hennessy Louis Vuitton filed a lawsuit against eBay, claiming that most of the handbags on the site are fakes.

Luxury goods companies have brought their own suits against stores and vendors that they discover are carrying counterfeit versions of their products. In the United States, Fendi filed a June 2006 suit against Wal-Mart, the nation's largest retailer, charging that it sold counterfeit bags in its Sam's Club stores.

On Canal Street, several landlords have banned the sale of counterfeit goods in their buildings. Beyond that, U.S. businesses have exerted pressure on Congress to urge more Chinese enforcement on the creation and trafficking of counterfeit goods. Spurred partly by the U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT), which works on trade relations between the two countries, Chinese President Hu Jintao specifically stated he would work on intellectual property rights infractions in a recent visit to the United States.

And if that doesn't work? In testimony to Congress, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative Timothy Stratford said that while the country has made significant efforts to curb the illegal business, "China suffers from chronic overreliance on toothless administrative enforcement and underutilization of criminal remedies." Stratford's testimony went on to say that according to China's own data for 2004, only one percent of copyright and trademark cases went to the police, with the rest going to administrators. As a result, the United States may try to resolve its dispute through the World Trade Organization.

At least within the United States, officials are working to curb the problem. But, if trends continue, the women on Canal Street will be looking for customers for a long time to come.

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At right: Described by Louis Vuitton as "a nice everyday bag, with an elegant, relaxed spirit," the bag's fake version sells for less than seven times the original. As one pro-replica Web site says, "When you purchase a replica handbag, you will see that there is no difference from its original counterpart, except for the pricing. So why spend double?" New York City Comptroller William C. Thompson Jr. says that replica sales are costing the New York City government more than $1 billion in lost tax revenue, and that $23 billion worth of counterfeit goods change hands in New York City each year.
Once the shipment is received in Mexico, the front company re-exports it to India, where the terrorist group plans to carry out a devastating chemical attack by releasing the hydrofluoric acid into the atmosphere, creating a lethal aerosol cloud over Mumbai. Tens of thousands would be killed or severely injured.

Shortly after using the front company’s bona fides to clear Indian customs, the terrorist group carries out its plot. The casualties are massive.

The Indian populace demands action. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh accuses Pakistan of continuing to provide support to extremist groups. Pakistan’s President Pervez Musharraf denies Pakistani involvement and warns that any Indian military actions against his country will be returned in kind.

And so two nuclear neighbors are at odds with each other, and the situation threatens to spiral out of control.

Yet for all the concern over port security in the United States—remember the ‘Dubai Ports World' controversy?—the attention paid to the issue focuses almost exclusively on the threat to Americans from illicit imports. But what about the other side of the equation? While policymakers and the public rightly worry about import controls, the United States’ role as a major exporter of potentially dangerous goods makes possible nightmare scenarios like the hypothetical situation described above.

While it is reasonable to hope that other countries are capable of securing their own exports, the fact is that some of the largest importers of U.S. goods are developing nations. When even rich nations like the United States have a difficult time ensuring the safety of imports, it should come as no surprise that the task might be beyond the reach of countries with limited resources and weak regulatory infrastructures.

By Steve Ehrlich

Consider the following scenario. At 5:00 a.m. on a Tuesday morning in September, a container ship sets sail from a terminal at the Port of New Orleans, bound for Veracruz, Mexico. Buried among the hundreds of containers loaded onto the ship is a seemingly innocuous 40-foot shipping container filled with 55-gallon drums of hydrogen fluoride, also known as hydrofluoric acid. Sidestepping regulations that are difficult to enforce and that require a license to ship this substance out of the country, an American company has sold it to a Mexican research and development firm for use in the pharmaceutical industry. However, unbeknownst to the seller, the consignee for this particular shipment is actually a front company for a terrorist organization.

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And so two nuclear neighbors are at odds with each other, and the situation threatens to spiral out of control.

Not a pretty picture.
Before 9/11, approximately 2 percent of all inbound shipments to the United States were physically inspected; post-9/11, this rate is now up to 6–7 percent. But there hasn’t been a similarly dramatic change in export controls.

One reason for the disparity is the lack of attention paid to the issue.

“Ninety percent of all post-9/11 attention on the shipping industry has been focused on inbound cargo,” remarks Arnie Bornstein, director of marketing at BDP International, an international shipping firm headquartered in Philadelphia. (Full disclosure: the author was employed at BDP from 2004 to 2006 as an export logistics coordinator.)

All that attention has resulted in major changes in government regulations of imports. Many of the same agencies that regulate imports are also entrusted with maintaining a safe and secure export shipping environment: the Department of Commerce, Department of State, Customs and Border Protection, and the Drug Enforcement Agency, to name a few. Their responsibilities include everything from information sharing to the physical enforcement of America’s borders.

However, despite this substantial government involvement, a large portion of the responsibility for securing exports falls on the exporters themselves. This responsibility inevitably forces shippers into an uncomfortable tradeoff, balancing the need to perform due diligence on their security protocols while also seeking to lower costs and stay competitive.

The Export Administration Regulations (EAR), administered by the Department of Commerce’s Bureau of Industry and Security (BIS), stipulate that it is the responsibility of the exporters to screen potential buyers and to verify the intended usage of all cargo. If exporters do not have the resources to complete this costly and time-intensive procedure themselves, they are required to enlist assistance with compliance, which can turn out to be extremely costly as well.

What’s more, exporters are charged with providing proper manifest information—a description of what the cargo contains—to the government and the shipping line. Shippers require having all manifest information no later than 24 hours prior to when they take possession of the cargo.

As supply chains become more integrated, the task of actual submission of manifest information is increasingly handled by “freight forwarders.” These firms act as “travel agents” for international cargo, assisting exporters with the complex process of shipping overseas.

Although these firms provide crucial services to exporters, saving them time and money, their involvement adds another layer to the supply chain. Each successive layer creates more opportunities for the mishandling or manipulation of information. With so many responsibilities being spread out over multiple parties, it should not be surprising that there are gaps in the system that could be exploited. Professionals in the shipping industry are keenly aware of these vulnerabilities.

Stephen Sullivan, senior logistics manager at J. M. Huber Corporation, an engineering firm headquartered in Edison, New Jersey, told SIPA News that “someone with extensive knowledge of the system can easily exploit it to suit his interests.” Sullivan specifically noted the role of freight forwarders as a concern, since they “never actually see the product, and the odds of a container being physically inspected are very low.”

Aside from the concerns regarding the private sector, another problem in shipping security has to do with information sharing among government agencies. Security managers at a number of export-management firms told SIPA News that most federal agencies have improved their ability to share information electronically but complain...
that some agencies—such as the DEA—still use an antiquated paper process that creates an information gap. They also noted that Customs has no way of obtaining a cargo manifest electronically before a container is loaded on a vessel. This tightens the window Customs has to seize and search cargo if it decides that a particular risk factor warrants such action.

Given the significant risk and the clear vulnerabilities involved in U.S. exports, it is clear that the public and private sectors need to cooperate and find solutions to improve security. Michael Ford, vice president of regulatory control at BDP International, suggests that an export-control protocol should be developed that resembles the Customs-Trade Partner Against Terrorism (C-TPAT), which was developed to improve import controls.

C-TPAT, an incentive-laden, voluntary program that so far has 7,400 subscribers, is a joint initiative between the government and private entities representing all stages of the international supply chain. The various groups work jointly to develop new security procedures and determine the best ways to implement them. The program concentrates the majority of its resources on identifying and securing cargoes with a high risk factor. U.S. Customs and Border Protection Commissioner Robert C. Bonner has dubbed it “the largest and most successful government-private sector partnership to emerge from the ashes of 9/11.”

While progress on the domestic level can improve export security, since any system is only as strong as its weakest link, multilateral regulatory agreements are probably the best way to standardize security procedures for high-risk and dual-use technologies and products. One such regime, the Australia Group, was founded in 1985 in response to Iraq’s development of chemical weapons during its war with Iran in the 1980s. The group consists of 34 voluntary member nations, including the United States. One of its missions is to harmonize international export controls on chemical weapons precursor materials.

“The Australia Group has really improved its way of doing business since 9/11,” says Dr. Dana Perkins, a former export license officer at the Department of Commerce. However, she also noted that the group, like other multilateral regimes, often tends to take a long time to reach consensus on complex issues, which in turn hinders enforcement.

Improving domestic export-control systems and strengthening multilateral export security initiatives are bound to be difficult tasks. And with so much attention focused on import controls and port security, these issues aren’t high on the political agenda. But while these tasks may prove costly and time intensive, the cost of not doing enough could turn out to be much, much higher.

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Go-Go Bars and Fishing Villages:

Three unidentified Thai women, allegedly prostitutes, wait to welcome clients in front of a bar at the seaside resort city of Pattaya. Prostitution is a major social problem in Thailand, with some 6,000 establishments catering to the sex industry. The Thai government has put the number of prostitutes nationwide at about 100,000, but social workers say the figure is closer to two million.
The town of Pattaya, which sits on the shores of picturesque Naklua Bay on Thailand’s east coast, is a holiday vacation center that attracts hundreds of thousands of foreign visitors every year. Yet, the world-class beach is not the only reason—or even the primary reason—that visitors flock to what was once a small fishing village. Even the first-time beachgoer cannot help but notice the scores of Farang (Western) men strolling arm-in-arm with Thai women or ducking into darkened doorways lit only by neon lights announcing “go-go bars.” Similar scenes are commonplace throughout the country. From the red-light districts of Bangkok, all the way to the historic northern town of Chiang Mai, sex is one of the most common “tourist attractions” in Thailand.

Explanations for the existence and growth of Thailand’s sex industry always begin with economics.

According to a 2006 report by Clean Clothes, a workers’ rights organization, “[Thailand’s] entry-level factory worker earns 4,500 baht (US $118) per month laboring 10 hours a day in notoriously poor working conditions.” Compare that to just one night of work in the red-light district, which can easily yield 1,000 baht, and the pull of the sex industry becomes clearer.

In a study published in 1999, researchers Therese Caouette and Yuriko Saito noted that, “in cases where a family may have been...
abandoned by the male head of household and the principal breadwinner, the adolescent daughter may represent the only realistic hope of earning money to support the family. As long as women cannot find better-paying jobs, many will continue to choose prostitution over other alternatives as a way to make a living.

Thailand's sex trade is perpetuated by a network of agents and middlemen who profit from the exploitation of local and foreign women who are trafficked into the country. Agents are responsible for making contact with women and children, usually near bus and train stations. Middlemen, or “transporters,” locate women who match the needs of a specific brothel and arrange for their relocation to that brothel. When a new worker is needed, brothel owners simply place a call to a middleman. Agents and middlemen also handle the bribery of police and customs officials who receive small sums to look the other way as women and children are trafficked across Southeast Asia.

But the trade in sex workers is not simply a crime committed by unscrupulous traffickers—it is also a tragedy shaped in part by historical circumstances and by global economic and political dynamics.

In the aftermath of World War II, Thai economic planning rejected import substitution industrialization, the economic model that argues that governments in developing countries should support fledgling industries to protect them from the more powerful industries of developed countries. Instead, Thailand hoped to stimulate economic growth by leveraging one of its few comparative advantages: cheap labor. This economic strategy led to a pattern of mass migration to (and within) Thailand that later facilitated the development of human trafficking networks.

The political realities of the Cold War era also played a role in creating conditions favorable to the development of a human trafficking industry in Thailand. Thailand's support of U.S. policy led to the stationing of American troops in the country during the Vietnam War. Despite the departure of most soldiers by 1975, the sex trade had by then developed a strong infrastructure. "Many women began to flock to the sex trade during the 1960s as a conscious decision to support their families,” noted Cory Rennell in the *Harvard International Review*. “Yet it was not until the influx of U.S. soldiers during the Vietnam War that the trafficking trade developed to meet the demand, and traffickers began to kidnap women and children and forced them into the industry.”

Later, during the 1980s, the Thai government promoted the “entertainment industry,” which included sex tourism, as a method for stimulating economic growth. Former Vice President Boonchu Rojanasathien encouraged provincial governors to improve “sex spots” in their provinces to attract more tourists. Tourism has been one of Thailand’s top grossing industries ever since. The annual income generated from tourism reached 110 billion baht in 1991, or about 5 percent of GDP. International financial institutions such as the IMF and World Bank also recommended the growth of the tourism industry in Thailand as a strategic development policy. Even today, in the aftermath of the Asian tsunami crisis in 2004, international financial institutions continue to tie aid to the promotion of tourism—seemingly unaware that a high proportion of Thailand’s tourist economy is based on the sex industry.

Two recent developments in the Asian economy were also pivotal to the expansion of sex trafficking in Thailand. The last two decades of East Asian ‘miracle growth’ and the Asian financial crisis of 1997. The East Asian miracle refers to the unprecedented high and sustained economic growth of the ‘Four Tigers’: South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. The ‘miracle’ also extended to the newly industrialized economies of Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand, all of which recorded high economic growth during this period.

The increased flow of trade, capital, and migration that spurred the East Asian miracle acted as a powerful catalyst for economic development, yet it contributed to the burgeoning of sex tourism, rising unemployment, and increased numbers of migrants working under vulnerable conditions. These developments were compounded during the Asian financial crisis in 1997, starting with the overnight devaluation of the Thai baht, which caused unemployment to mushroom. This, in turn, led many women into the sex economy.

The economist Lin Lean Lim argues that the economic and social forces driving the sex industry show no signs of slowing down, particularly in light of rising unemployment in the region. According to Lim, "If the evidence from the recession of the mid-1980s is any indication, then it is very likely that women who lose their jobs in manufacturing and other service sectors and whose families rely on their remittances may be driven to enter the sex sector.”

Rapid industrialization and increasing demand for labor spurs massive human mobility, facilitated by relaxed border controls and economic liberalization across countries. According to International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates in 2000, 130 million people are working as migrants worldwide, up from 75 million in 1965.

Migrants are among the most vulnerable groups in all societies, as their lack of legal status and economic resources exposes them to greater risks of trafficking. Human Rights Watch reports that thousands of Thai women are trafficked every year into Japan, where many of them endure slavery-like conditions in the Japanese sex industry. The ILO also estimates that 20,000–30,000 Burmese women work in the sex sector in Thailand, nearly all are illegal immigrants at constant risk of arrest and deportation.

Meanwhile, in places like the go-go bars of Bangkok and Chiang Mai, Thailand’s infamous sex industry continues to lure tourists from across the globe.

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SIPA CELEBRATES 60 YEARS

While overlooking the East River from the Delegates Dining Room at UN Headquarters on October 27, SIPA alumni, faculty, students, and friends gathered for the first event of the School’s culminating 60th anniversary celebration. More than 700 alumni traveled from 21 countries to participate in the weekend’s events, which—in addition to the reception at the UN—including a daylong series of alumni and faculty panels on Saturday, followed by a gala dinner and a brunch on Sunday at the New-York Historical Society.

The opening venue couldn’t have been more appropriate to set the tone for the weekend. Indeed, as former UN Deputy Undersecretary General Elisabeth Lindenmayer pointed out in her remarks, the UN and SIPA are cousins—two institutions formed from the ideals and realist tragedies that came to define a generation. Through their attempts to address the world’s challenges and to change as situations demand, both institutions share a common mission—the pursuit of a more just and equitable world. The 60th Anniversary Committee chair, Roger Baumann (MIA ’85), echoed Lindenmayer’s remarks, highlighting the strength of SIPA’s community and its increasing significance in the world today but also what SIPA continues to represent.

On Saturday, alumni were invited to attend nine thematic alumni panels that illustrated SIPA’s influence and impact around the globe. Moderated by prominent Columbia faculty, the panel sessions on economic development, electoral politics, security, human rights, energy, media, trade and finance, diplomacy, and New York City reflected the diversity of alumni accomplishments, along with the breadth and scope that SIPA offers its students and alumni today. The alumni panelists represented an array of fields ranging from a member of the UN Committee against Torture and chair of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, Felice Gaer, MIA ’71; the Swedish ambassador to the United States, Gunnar Lund, MIA ’72; the president of the Doris Duke Charitable Foundation, Joan Spero, MIA ’68; a New York State senator, Jeff Klein, MPA ’85; and the commissioner of the New York City Department of Juvenile Justice, Neil Hernandez, MPA ’88.

During the security panel session, which addressed the impact of rogue states and terrorism, alumni and student volunteers had the chance to question the current director of Asian affairs at the National Security Council, Dr.
Victor Cha, MIA '83; a former chief UN weapons inspector, Dr. David Kay, MIA '64; former assistant secretary for politico-military affairs at the State Department, Robert Mantel, MIA '63; and Professor Mark Juergensmeyer, MIA '64, author of Terror in the Mind of God.

Robust in representation, the other panels were equally hard hitting. “The seminars on Saturday were excellent. [It’s] just too bad one could not divide oneself, since there were so many interesting seminars going on at the same time,” said Bjorn Norrbom, MIA ’67.

The panel on the changing media, moderated by IMC director Donald Johnston, was an example of the currency of a SIPA education. Tom Glaisyer, MIA ’06, was live blogging from the panel for The Morningside Post, the independent blog that he and fellow students created last year (see page 41). Not only were Donatella Lorch, MIA ’88, and Edwin Finn, MIA ’83, discussing the implications of new media, they were also participating in one of its latest innovations.

During lunch, alumni had the opportunity to recreate a SIPA tradition: brown bag discussions held at SIPA’s regional institutes and research centers. The brown bags augmented the dialogue among alumni and faculty, addressing topics ranging from Latin America’s alleged left turn, to the changing role of energy professionals, to U.S./Iran relations.

The day concluded with a cocktail reception in Lerner Hall, followed by a gala dinner hosted by Susie Gharib, MIA ’74, co-anchor of the Nightly Business Report. In addition to remarks by Columbia President Lee C. Bollinger, Dean Lisa Anderson, SIPA Board of Advisors Chair Paul E. Tierney, and SIPA 60th Anniversary Committee Chair Roger Baumann, MIA ’85, the program included the presentation of three distinguished honoree awards. Professor Richard N. Gardner was presented with SIPA’s Distinguished Teaching Award for his 50 years of scholarship and teaching at SIPA and Columbia Law School; David Saltzman, MPA ’86, executive director of the Robin Hood Foundation, was presented with SIPA’s 60th Anniversary Global Leadership Award in recognition of his commitment to poverty alleviation in New York City; and James D. Wolfensohn, chairman of Wolfensohn & Company, LLC, former special envoy for Gaza disengagement, and former president of the World Bank, was awarded SIPA’s 60th Anniversary Global Leadership Award in honor of his contributions to dealing with world poverty, economic development, and conflict resolution. Mr. Wolfensohn gave the keynote address.

The festivities concluded on Sunday at the New-York Historical Society, where alumni enjoyed casual conversation over brunch and the opportunity to mix with student leaders from a number of SIPA’s current student organizations, including SIPASA, the Journal of International Affairs, the Microfinance Working Group, the Latin American Students Association (LASA), and the SIPA Energy Traders, among others.

Dan Strasser, MIA ’69, was pleased that he decided to attend. “It was the first alumni event of any significance that I have ever attended, and it gave me a good sense of belonging to a family and bringing back a lot of good memories of my two years living and studying on Morningside Heights.”

Don Rassler (MIA ’07) is concentrating in International Security Policy (ISP).
SIPA Enters the Blogosphere

**The Morningside Post** is a one-of-a-kind experiment. Can it help make “the SIPA community” a reality?

By Justin Vogt

The term “the SIPA community” is frequently used to collectively refer to the thousands of individuals—students, faculty, administrators, staff, and alumni—who have worked or studied at the school. Of course, this group is really more of an “imagined community,” a phrase coined by the political scientist Benedict Anderson in his 1983 book of the same title.

To borrow part of Anderson’s definition, the SIPA community is imagined because its members “will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”

Anderson theorized that a revolutionary 16th-century technology—the printing press—played a major role in the development of these imagined communities. Perhaps it is only fitting, then, that a revolutionary 20th-century technology—the Internet—is at the center of a new effort to make the SIPA community less “imagined.”

This fall marked the official launch of **The Morningside Post** (www.themorningsidepost.com), SIPA’s independent, student-run blog. For those readers still unfamiliar with the term, “blog” is short for “weblog,” an Internet Web site that is updated regularly in the form of a journal or a diary.

The mission of **The Morningside Post** is to create an online forum where members of the SIPA community—from current students in New York to alumni living all over the world—can share their thoughts on international affairs, especially in the context of events and developments at the school. It’s also an effort to allow the school to contribute as an institution to the increasingly influential “blogosphere,” the exponential growth of which has turned online commentary into a powerful tool in shaping debates over politics and world affairs.

“SIPA is the first program of its kind to have its own blog,” points out Tom Glaisyer (MIA ’06), one of the blog’s two founders. “It’s a great opportunity for SIPA students, alumni, and faculty to connect and create a unique voice on international affairs,” says Glaisyer.

The blog grew out of the online **SIPA Summer Switchboard**, which was developed in 2005 by Glaisyer and Michael Roston (MIA ’06) as a way to allow current students to keep their friends and colleagues posted on the internships and jobs that take SIPA students all over the world every summer. The popularity of **Switchboard** convinced Glaisyer and Roston that there was genuine interest in this kind of online dialogue and got them thinking about an ambitious expansion.

“We started to think, ‘Why not make it a year-round thing and include the voices of alumni and faculty, all in one place?”’ explains Roston.

Back at school the next year, Roston and Glaisyer teamed up with Jeca Taudte (MIA ’07) and Dan McSweeney (MIA ’07) to begin developing the project, “unofficially” at first, by creating a SIPA-themed blog on the Typepad hosting service and posting about various events at SIPA.

By last spring, the team felt confident enough to make a proposal to Dean Lisa Anderson, asking her to encourage faculty and students to contribute to the blog.

At first, the dean was skeptical.

“As I pointed out to the student advocates, I have a copy of the newspaper delivered to my apartment every morning and I carry it around to read over the course of the day,” Anderson explains. “No online news or commentary for me.”

However, Anderson was impressed with the content that the team had already produced. And developments over the summer convinced her of the blog’s potential.

One day in July, Roston received an e-mail through the Web site from a producer at CNN. At the time, SIPA student Ben Ryan was contributing to the early version of **The Morningside Post** from Beirut, where he was studying Arabic and interning at the *Daily Star* newspaper when war broke out between Israel and Hezbollah. The CNN producer had read Ryan’s detailed reports on the impact of Israel’s aerial bombardment of the city, and wanted to get in touch with him.

“They told me, ‘Anderson Cooper wants to interview this guy on his show. How do we get in touch with him?’” Roston recalls. After a series of frantic calls and e-mails, Roston located Ryan, who then gave a live, on-air interview to Cooper over the phone.

“It was exciting,” Ryan recalls. “And people at school are still coming up to me and asking, ‘Weren’t you on CNN this summer?’”

Ryan’s posts and the attention they generated helped turn Dean Anderson into a self-described “zealot” about the blog’s potential. “I saw the opportunity the Web site affords students and others to share their experiences in real time from anywhere in the world, including in the midst of the war this summer in Lebanon,” she explains. “That was really impressive.”

With the support of the school, **The Morningside Post** team undertook a re-design of the site and an official launch in September. Since Roston and Glaisyer graduated last May, the main responsibilities for maintaining the site and soliciting and editing posts have fallen to current students Jeca Taudte and Dan McSweeney.

“The goal is to have one new post every day,” Taudte explains. The site is fast approaching that “round thing and include the voices of alumni and faculty, all in one place?”

The focus is currently on recruiting more contributors, particularly alumni, and raising awareness of the site on campus. “It’s a matter of making it part of the daily vocabulary at SIPA,” says McSweeney.

A visitor to the site will find reports and commentary by current students on the many lectures and conferences held regularly at SIPA, commentary on current affairs by faculty members like Dr. Brigitte Nacos and Dr. Jagdish Bhagwati, and guest-blogging by alumni on issues relating to their professional fields.

For her part, Dean Anderson is very pleased with the blog’s progress. “I think this is a medium that should help us realize the potential of SIPA’s global alumni base to become a real network and a real community,” she says. “We have used that rhetoric for several years; now I think it can become a reality.”
Faculty Profile: Dorian Warren  By Josée Lavoie

New SIPA faculty member Dorian Warren often finds himself in an oppositional role: a self-professed liberal and populist in a national political landscape that has been dominated by conservatives. But far from growing hopeless, Warren responds to this challenge by focusing his work as a political scientist around shedding light on inequalities and how ordinary people act to change them.

“I do this work because of hard puzzles that still exist,” he says, looking pensive and shifting his weight on his chair. His shy smile is warm and inclusionary. “For instance, ‘Why don’t the poor soak the rich?’ is a question that has been around for 200 years. Why doesn’t the American public at least vote for greater equality and justice?”

Warren, who has a joint appointment in the Department of Political Science, comes to Columbia from the Harris School of Public Policy at the University of Chicago, where he was completing his postdoctoral work. He earned his bachelor’s degree at the University of Illinois and both his master’s and doctorate at Yale. Beginning in the spring semester, Warren will teach classes on ethnic politics, labor and class, social movements, and political ethnography.

Warren’s work centers on grassroots organizing and political enfranchisement. His outlook was shaped by growing up in Chicago, where classic machine politics exist side by side with a strong tradition of community organizing, particularly in the African-American community in which he was raised. “It is clear that there is discontent and frustration,” he says, insisting that more attention should be paid to systemic sources of injustice and warning against placing a heavy burden of expectation on individual leaders like Senator Barack Obama, another accomplished son of Illinois.

“There is an ethos in Chicago of not doing for someone what they can do for themselves,” he says. This ethos shaped the views of Warren’s working-class parents, who placed prime value on education. With a doctorate from Yale and a tenure-track position at Columbia, Warren has clearly taken heed of their vision.

However, he also expresses a sense of guilt at having come from a modest background and making it as far as he has. He counters this by remaining very close to grassroots organizations and by aspiring to be a role model as well as an activist.

Warren believes that the path to greater equality has never been smooth. “American society is not on a linear trajectory toward more justice,” he says. “There were 20 good years after the Civil War, then we had the Jim Crow era, and then major improvements. And then there are times like today where the situation is more dire—for example, the ending of habeas corpus,” he argues.

Warren’s political commitments were influenced in part by “being the son and grandson of very hardworking people who were limited by class, gender, and race,” he explains. But his academic focus extends far beyond the working-class America that shaped his family’s experience.

When speaking about the ideals of solidarity and empowerment for the working classes, particularly disenfranchised black Americans, Warren uses the concept of “linked fates.”

“I think that over time, people in the United States are seeing their fates linked to those of other groups around the world,” he says. In his view, human rights organizations have raised awareness of this interconnectedness, allowing more workers everywhere to better understand the factors that can lead to the loss of jobs.

“People are trying to connect the dots globally,” he says, “and they are beginning to see the ill effects of globalization.”

When asked about his ultimate professional goals, his response is succinct: “To teach people the skills to be capable participants in the political process.” Warren hopes to raise awareness of the many grassroots organizations that operate under most people’s radar but that are nonetheless very active in this country and elsewhere.

For now, Warren is still getting settled into his 14th floor office, with windows overlooking Morningside Heights. Though he calls his office space “a work in progress,” Warren already looks very much at home at SIPA. His bookshelves are filled with titles covering the spectrum of political thought, with an oversized book on The Simpsons and Bartending for Dummies providing a bit of comic relief at the end of one shelf.

“New York City is the most diverse, global city on the planet,” he says. “It’s the place to be. And Columbia itself is the best fit for the kind of scholar that I am: a place that values equality in a global sense and values the importance of teaching, which is where I always wanted to be pushed.”

Josée Lavoie (MIA ’07) is concentrating in International Security Policy (ISP) with a regional focus on the Middle East.
Faculty Profile: Alice Miller  By Jackie Carpenter

One day in the early 1990s, Alice Miller learned a basic lesson about human rights advocacy from a Catholic priest. He was an unlikely teacher for Miller, a lifelong feminist and budding gay rights activist at the time. They met while campaigning to stay the execution of Paula Cooper, who at age 16 was sentenced to death for brutally murdering an elderly Bible studies teacher in Indiana. The priest told Miller that he joined the campaign simply because the people he had the hardest time loving were the very people on whose behalf God had called upon him to work.

“Through him, I came to understand that my job as a human rights advocate, without a religious framework, was not only to protect the rights of the innocent and the easy to reach, but the hard ones, the guilty ones,” says Miller, who is now an assistant professor at both SIPA and the School of Public Health and the new co-director of the Human Rights concentration at SIPA. “I never wanted to take the easy road in criticizing something, but the hard road,” she explains. “Stopping the death penalty by finding innocent people on death row implied that it’s all right to execute everyone else. That was not my goal as a human rights activist.”

Watching Alice Miller think is to witness passion and brilliance in action. First, she leans forward, tilts her head to the right, and slightly furrows her brow. Then she asks, “Why is it that a violent political prisoner is considered a prisoner of conscience, but a person held because of consensual same-sex behavior is not?”

More difficult questions follow: “How can irregular workers exercise their human rights and make a claim, if in doing so they will be deported? What good does exposing human rights violators do, if there is no framework set up to address the environment that brought about the violations in the first place?”

Such questions reflect a common theme in Miller’s work: the belief that the existence of rights on paper means little without implementation. Miller learned this lesson firsthand when she worked as a public defender in Seattle in the mid-1980s. In that capacity, she often represented defendants accused of domestic violence. Miller became deeply troubled by the failure of the legal system to provide genuine solutions to the cycle of violence. The system not only made it difficult for women to file complaints but also failed to address the addiction problems that often contributed to the violent behavior of the men they accused. Disillusioned, Miller quit the public defender’s office and took a job as a hotel receptionist.

Luckily, one of Miller’s law professors, Joann Fitzpatrick, a human rights lawyer, convinced her to return to the legal field. Fitzpatrick introduced Miller to Amnesty International and the human rights movement, which for Miller was a welcome breath of fresh air. Soon Miller became a legal fellow in Amnesty’s London office. Not long after, she was hired as a staff attorney in Amnesty’s New York office, where she directed legal campaigns advocating U.S. ratification of human rights treaties, among many other projects. Also, in the late 1980s, she and other feminists challenged Amnesty’s failure to recognize the rape of detained women as a form of torture. This was the first of many occasions when Miller challenged the human rights movement to address its own biases and recognize that human rights violations extend beyond traditional political boundaries.

Miller first came to Columbia as a fellow at the School of Public Health in 1998. There she reconnected with her friend Professor Lynn Friedman, who encouraged her to rethink human rights claims in the context of public health and convinced her to stay on as an assistant professor of clinical public health. In that role, she has taught as an adjunct at SIPA and the Law School and recently began co-directing the Human Rights concentration at SIPA with Zori Barkan. Last fall, she taught “Human Rights, Law, Politics, and Relevance” at SIPA and is co-teaching “Rethinking Human Rights” with Barkan in the spring.

As she teaches classes, advises students, and helps revise the human rights core curriculum, Miller says that she faces her greatest current challenge in the classroom. “I believe firmly that I learned by doing,” she explains. “What can I do in the classroom that will make my students capable of learning by doing?”

With this in mind, Miller emphasizes the rapid pace of change in the human rights field, teaching her students about the evolution of human rights tools so they will be “better suited to know which tools to pick up and run with.” She also urges her students to be adaptable, because human rights is an ever-changing, ever-developing field. With Miller at its forefront, it certainly will continue to be so.

Jackie Carpenter (MIA ’08) is concentrating in International Media and Communications.
The Global Public Policy Network (GPPN): “Collaboration from Theory to Action”

By Thomas R. Lansner

Global public policymaking today faces challenges unprecedented in scale and complexity. Domestic policies alone can no longer address many issues that transcend increasingly permeable frontiers. Transformation of public policy practices now frequently outpaces analyses of problems they seek to address. And it is clear that the perspectives and experiences of any country or region are insufficient in understanding and formulating effective responses to global problems. The Global Public Policy Network (GPPN) was launched in September 2005 to expand global public policy dialogue and improve graduate-level public policy education regarding the most pressing policy challenges of the 21st century.

Founded by SIPA, the London School of Economics and Political Science, and Sciences Po-Paris, the GPPN is engaging leading graduate policy schools around the world in a growing range of activities, including collaborative faculty research, joint seminars, and student exchanges. The GPPN Secretariat is hosted by SIPA, led by executive director (and SIPA associate dean) Robin Lewis and GPPN program coordinator Tan Nguyen.

The GPPN’s Inaugural Conference in Paris on October 16–17, 2006, titled “Advancing Next-Generation Leadership in Global Public Policy: Research, Training, and Practice,” drew senior policymakers, practitioners, and scholars from around the world. The meeting discussed how the public policy research community and policy schools could best attain and sustain a deeper understanding of evolving global public policy practice, help improve tools to identify and analyze current and future critical public policy challenges, and then deploy this learning to develop knowledge and skills for new generations of effective policymakers. The two-day public meeting was followed on October 18 by a curriculum and network development workshop attended by deans and senior faculty from 17 graduate public policy programs around the world.

The conference was opened by Sciences Po director Richard Descoings, and Howard Davies, director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, served as commentator for the opening panel on Global Problems and Challenges for Public Policy in the 21st Century. SIPA was represented by Dean Lisa Anderson; Alfred Stepan, Wallace S. Sayre Professor of Government and dean emeritus; Kenneth Prewitt, Carnegie Professor of Public Affairs; David Dinkins, professor and former mayor of New York City; and SIPA alumnus and adjunct associate professor Peter Marber ’87, HSBC Halbis Partners.

Other panelists included Pascal Lamy, director-general of the World Trade Organization; Pierre Sané, assistant director-general for social sciences and human sciences, ethics, and human rights, UNESCO; and Kishore Mahbubani, dean, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore.

“Today, our greatest public policy concerns know no borders,” remarked SIPA dean Lisa Anderson. “A global network of public policy schools offers the best opportunity for the academic community to work collectively on multiple challenges—to collaborate from theory to action on issues ranging from sustainable development to trade to terrorism to public health crises to the protection of human rights worldwide—and to prepare some of the world’s most able graduate students to assume global leadership roles in the coming decades.”

The next GPPN Conference is set for Singapore in October 2007. For more information about GPPN, please visit www.GPPN.Net.

Thomas R. Lansner (MIA ’91) is adjunct associate professor at SIPA and GPPN editorial advisor.
The Global Leaders Fellowship Fund

SIPA’s Development Office is pleased to announce the creation of The Global Leaders Fellowship Fund, a general endowment fund that will provide needed financial assistance to SIPA’s students. The Fund is designed to encourage further contributions for student fellowship support at SIPA and will build support from a community of donors who recognize the value of a SIPA education. Through cumulative contributions, support for student fellowships will continue to grow—exponentially, we hope—in the years to come!

SIPA would like to acknowledge the leadership of Paul and Andrea Thurman, who created the Global Leaders Fellowship Fund on SIPA’s behalf. As a full-time faculty member teaching the MIA program’s core course in statistics and quantitative analysis, Professor Paul Thurman has come to know SIPA’s students well. Thurman admires their caliber and diversity and enjoys his role as an educator, teaching courses at the Mailman School of Public Health as well as at SIPA. We applaud his commitment as a faculty member and his role as an advocate for students within the larger SIPA community.

As a Columbia Business School valedictorian, service award winner, and teaching award recipient, Thurman has excelled in diverse arenas. He has extensive management consulting and line management experience, having held senior positions at Booz Allen Hamilton and American Express. Thurman received his BS from Stanford University in 1989 and his MBA from Columbia University in 1998.

SIPA is grateful to the Thurman family for its generosity. We are confident that this gift will inspire others to contribute in kind. Gifts to the Global Leaders Fellowship Fund start at $25,000. For more information about the Global Leaders Fellowship fund at SIPA, please contact Melissa Poueymirov at map61@columbia.edu.

The Greening of SIPA

S everal “green” milestones mark the growth of environmental consciousness at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs. While the University has developed an Environmental Stewardship Taskforce to weave environmentalism into the University community, SIPA has demonstrated leadership in other measurable ways: student enrollment in the MPA and MIA environmental policy concentrations has increased significantly; the innovative one-year MPA in Environmental Science and Policy recently recruited its sixth class of future environmental leaders; and the PhD Program in Sustainable Development, co-sponsored by The Earth Institute, under the leadership of Jeffrey Sachs and Joseph Stiglitz, is now in its third year.

The year 2006 marked another step forward in SIPA’s “greening,” with the creation of the Leous/Parry Award for Progressive Sustainability. After winning the 2005 Andrew Wellington Cordier Essay contest for their research on marine debris, SIPA students J. P. Leous ’06 and Neal Parry ’06 established the award with their prize money. The award supports interdisciplinary approaches to protecting the environment and promotes collaboration from across the University to address policy issues. To be presented at SIPA graduation beginning in 2007, the award will recognize the best student paper or project that identifies a social or political problem, highlights the environmental issues at stake, and presents a thorough cross-disciplinary solution.

“The Leous/Parry Award for Progressive Sustainability both represents and rewards SIPA’s commitment to environmental sustainability in research and in practice, recognizing excellence in student work in the field and encouraging continued commitment to environmental responsibility on the part of the SIPA community as a whole,” said SIPA dean Lisa Anderson. “It is particularly gratifying that the award was established by SIPA students on the occasion of their own graduation, since it symbolizes the personal commitment of these individuals to their classmates and colleagues at the School and highlights the community spirit that infuses so much of what we do here.”

Robert Kasdin, Columbia University senior executive vice president, echoed this sentiment, stating: “The success of the University’s efforts in this field will depend upon our community’s undertaking of initiatives just like this.”

During Dean Anderson’s tenure, SIPA has broadened the application of environmental stewardship from the simply academic to the practical. Recent “green” renovations of SIPA’s Offices of Career Services and Student Affairs include energy efficient and environmentally sustainable materials, demonstrating that SIPA puts into practice what it teaches in the classroom. The School similarly changed its procurement policy in 2006, mandating the purchase of environmentally friendly floor covering when replacement is necessary.

SIPA is well poised to expand on its recent environmental successes, and the Leous/Parry Award for Progressive Sustainability marks just the latest step taken to train the next generation of broad-based, effective leaders.

For further information about the award or to discuss opportunities for collaboration on all things sustainable, please contact J. P. Leous (jp2122@columbia.edu) or Neal Parry (nbp2102@columbia.edu).

To support the Award for Progressive Sustainability, please visit https://wwb.ais.columbia.edu/udar/UDARGiftForm.jsp. Select “School of International and Public Affairs” from the drop-down menu. Select “Other” for the purpose of your gift. Please write “Award for Progressive Sustainability” in the text box.
**In Memoriam**

**Natalie Gass**, MIA ’81, died in Manhattan on June 3, 2006, of leukemia (AML). She is survived by her husband, Mounir Khaddar, and 18-year-old son, Alex—the pride and joy of her life. Natalie achieved her very high career goals in international finance, traveled extensively for work and pleasure (especially for skiing), and always said that the most important part of her life was her family.

William W. Sullivan, MIA ’91, died on July 19, 2006, in Singapore, while posted to the American Embassy Singapore. He retired from the U.S. Army in 2001 and became a diplomat, serving in Bucharest, Romania, and in Singapore. He and his wife Ellen were married in 1994 and have two daughters, Olivia (b. 1996) and Emily (b. 1998).

**SIPA Alumni Receive 2006 John F. Kennedy New Frontier Award**

Los Angeles City Council president Eric Garcetti and Jane Leu, founder and executive director of Upwardly Global, were named the 2006 recipients of the John F. Kennedy New Frontier Awards by the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation and Harvard’s Institute of Politics.

Eric Garcetti (MIA ’95) is serving his second term as council member. During his five years in public office, he has taken on some of the city’s most pressing public problems, including affordable housing, environmental issues, and economic development.

Jane Leu (MIA ’98) founded Upwardly Global in 2000 as a nonprofit organization that helps legal immigrants reclaim their professional careers in the United States and assists employers in tapping into the talents and skills of foreign-born professionals.

The New Frontier Awards were created to honor Americans under the age of 40 who are changing their communities—and the country—with their commitment to public service.

They are named after President Kennedy’s bold challenge to Americans given in his acceptance speech to the Democratic National Convention.

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**1955**

**John Pearce Hardt**, CER, Harriman

A former U.S. Army captain who served in the Second World War, John holds a PhD in economics from Columbia. For close to a decade he worked in the Operations Research Office at Johns Hopkins University. From 1971 to 2003, John was the Associate director for research and senior specialist in post-Soviet studies at the Harriman Institute. He is an adjunct professor of economics at George Washington University. Since 2004, he has been a policy advisor for the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research.

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**1958**

**Frank W. Brecher**, MIA

This year marked the publication of the final volume of Franks's trilogy on early Franco-American relations, starting with the French and Indian War (Greenwood Press), then the Franco-American Alliance during the Revolutionary War (Praeger), and now the Louisiana Purchase (McFarland publishers).

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**1959**

**John Rim**, CER, Harriman

John received a certificate from the Harriman Institute in 1952 and a PhD in sociology from Columbia in 1959. For eight months of the year, he resides in the city of Narva, Republic of Estonia. He is very proud of fellow Columbia alumnus Toomas Henrik Ilves, who became president of the Republic of Estonia for a five-year term beginning in 2006.

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**1960**

**Will Adams**, CER, Harriman

Will has started a ballroom dance instruction program in Kansas City's public schools for students from fifth grade through high school.

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**1963**

**Frederick H. Gerlach**, MIA

Frederick received his PhD from Columbia in 1968. From 1966 to 1987, he worked as a U.S. Foreign Service officer. Frederick spent the first nine years of his retirement in Germany and then returned to his hometown of Milwaukee. He has had numerous consulting assignments and has taught international politics, the world of Islam, and Middle East politics at several local universities.

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**1965**

**Daniel L. Schlafly Jr., CER, Harriman**

Daniel received his MA in history in 1965 and his PhD in history from Columbia in 1972. Today, he is professor of history and director of the Russian and East European Studies Program at Saint Louis University. His research interests include the history of the Roman Catholic Church and the Jesuits in Russia.

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**1969**

**John Khanlian**, MIA

In 2002, John retired from the N.J. Department of Education, having worked in the field of education most of his professional life. During the past four years, he has been working for the Educational Testing Service (ETS), developing social studies assessments for public school students in several states. John and his family live in south Jersey, close to Philadelphia, and he would enjoy hearing from former classmates.

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**1972**

**George Ruffner**, MIA

After completing a four-year assignment as the senior commercial officer at the U.S. Embassy in Singapore, George commenced his duties as the minister counselor for commer-
cial affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Berlin, Germany.

1973
Steve Taylor, MIA
taylormm@ymail.com
Steve has taken time off from a marketing career to devote himself to music, performing original songs at venues around the San Francisco Bay area. He continues his interest in Latin American studies by helping to organize a concert dedicated to women victims of violence in Latin America. The concert is scheduled for the La Peña Cultural Center, January 21, 2007 with two other singer-songwriters, Meli Rivera and Silvia Parra. All SIPA alums are invited. For details, see http://www.myspace.com/thestevetaylor.

1974
James Bruno, MIA
James has published two political thrillers, Permanent Interests and Chasm, which deal with treachery and abuse of power at the highest levels. Distributed by Ingram Books, the novels are being carried by major book retailers worldwide. James, who is also a graduate of the U.S. Naval War College, served as a diplomat with the U.S. State Department for 23 years. He lives with his wife and two daughters in upstate New York and will be publishing his third book soon.

1976
Michael J. Strauss, IFP
Michael earned his PhD summa cum laude in May from the Centre d’Etudes Diplomatiques et Stratégiques in Paris. His doctoral dissertation, "The Viability of Territorial Leasing in Resolving International Sovereignty Disputes," was the first comparative and analytical study of this rarely used means of conflict resolution and showed that it can succeed. He teaches a course on "The Geopolitics of Oil" to doctoral students at the school and is Paris bureau chief for Thomson Corporation’s financial newswire, AFX News.

1978
Jill Gay, MIA
jillgay@aol.com
Jill remarried on June 25, 2005, and travels extensively with her new husband. She has two daughters—Dani, graduating from Lewis and Clark College in May 2007, and Tasha, a high school senior whose passion is rural El Salvador—and a step-daughter, Akinyi Shapiro, whose mother was Kenyan and died when Akinyi was six. Jill works as a consultant on international AIDS issues and sexual health and reproductive rights, most recently with PAHO, UNFPA, ICRW, and CARE. She also serves on the advisory board of the Nationwide Women’s Program of AFSC.

Rachel Warner, MIA
cookhaven@comcast.net
Rachel has been working in the State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research since 1990, first as an analyst of African affairs, concentrating on South Africa, and since 2000 as a program officer organizing conferences mostly about African countries. She is married to Ed Cook, an economist at the World Bank who is currently handling South Asia. They have three children—their son, Alex, is a sophomore at Columbia.
majoring in architecture; Jenny is a senior in high school, and Kelly is a seventh grader.

1980
David Cooper, MIA
david@davidfcooper.com
Mayapple Press recently published a bilingual edition of Israeli poet Rachel Eshed's book of poems, Little Promises, which David translated. In its Hebrew original, this collection of erotic poetry won the 1992 ACUM prize in Israel. Novelist Tsipi Keller says, "It is hard to speak of Rachel Eshed's poetry without mentioning 'fire': her poems virtually burn on the page, and David Cooper's renditions not only do justice to the original but magnify its richness."

Margo Berch Singer, MPA
margosinger@oasas.state.ny.us
Margo was recently appointed by the NYS Office of Alcoholism and Substance Abuse Services in Albany as state FASD coordinator. In this position, she develops policy and programs addressing fetal alcohol spectrum disorders (FASD). Currently, she directs a federally funded statewide FASD prevention project and co-chairs the NYS FASD Task Force. Margo regularly trains professional staff working with women of child-bearing age and presents at conferences. On March 2, she will be convening a citywide FASD conference at Columbia.

1981
Ann Graham, MIA
Ann’s article “The Company that Anticipated History” on Eskom, Africa’s largest electric company, appeared in the Winter 2006 issue of strategy+business (published by Booz Allen Hamilton). She also has a new book, Learning for Sustainability (Society for Organizational Learning, 2006), with Peter Senge.

1982
Barnet Sherman, MPA
b.sherman@rcn.com
Barnet recently completed training with the Massachusetts Department of Fish and Wildlife to become a volunteer hunter education instructor for both the Basic Hunter Education course as well as the Map, Compass, and Survival class.

1983
Nicholas Klissas, MIA
nklissas@usaid.gov
Nicholas Klissas and his wife Pam Gerassimides were blessed on September 11, 2005, with a baby daughter, Elena Klissas. Nick is currently senior commercial legal reform advisor for the United States Agency for International Development in Washington, D.C., where he has been focusing on programs in Mexico and Africa. In 2002, Nick ran for the New York State Assembly from Setauket, Long Island.

Mark Pekala, MIA
Mark is deputy assistant secretary of state in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs. He and his wife Maria (Alongi) Pekala, MIA, ’88, who is currently at Booz Allen Hamilton, have two daughters and live in Washington, D.C.

Craig R. Reed, MIA
Craig.reed@ngc.com
Craig is vice president of business development for the Intelligence Systems Division, Northrop Grumman Mission Systems, in Fairfax, Virginia. He is now back in the Washington, D.C., area, this time to stay (after several moves around the country). Craig is still married to Patty, with whom he has two children, Allie (15) and Andrew (12). He has fond memories of ‘The Wizard of SIPA’ and late nights at the 3rd Phase!

Charles A. Santangelo, MPA
casantangelo@aol.com
“Chuck,” his wife Kathy, and son Charles Jr. have moved to Alexandria, Virginia. As a business developer for a leading systems integrator, CherryRoad Technologies, he brings technology solutions to U.S. government agencies, including USAID, the State Department, the Department of Homeland Security, and the VA. Cherry Road runs the largest Intranet portal in the world, Army Knowledge Online. After the war in the former Yugoslavia, Chuck developed for USAID the first e-business system to link the Balkan nations.

1984
Bryan Land, MIA
Bryan has spent his entire career analyzing and advising on mining and petroleum issues. After working for three years in Papua, New Guinea, in the Department of Minerals and Energy Policy Unit, he earned a master’s degree in resources law at the Centre for Petroleum and Mineral Law and Policy in the UK. He then joined Petroconsultants and moved to the Commonwealth Secretariat in 2001, where he has been advising governments on policy, law, tax, and negotiations in the mining and
After several years “off” as a Judy Schroeder, MIA herms in handy every day! Her urban policy training in private practice in Riverdale, Errika is a real estate attorney Errika Kalomiris, MPA spondent for Reuters in Boston. continues to work as a corre- Medical Center in Boston. His at Beth Israel Deaconess Rhode Island in May 2006. He internal medicine residency in 1986
Los Angeles.

1986

George Bayliss, MIA George graduated from Brown University’s Medical School in May 2003 and completed his internal medicine residency in Rhode Island in May 2006. He is now a fellow in nephrology at Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center in Boston. His wife Svea Herbst, MIA ’88, continues to work as a correspondent for Reuters in Boston.

Errika Kalomiris, MPA Errika is a real estate attorney in private practice in Riverdale, New York (aka The Bronx). Her urban policy training comes in handy every day!

Judy Schroeder, MIA judy.schroeder@hotmail.com After several years “off” as a stay-at-home mom for an energetic five-year old, Judy is back in India with CARE as a consultant for project design and proposal development. Previously, she was in Peru as the director of Pact (U.S. non-profit offering organizational development services worldwide). Previously, she worked with CARE for more than 10 years as assistant country director for programs in Peru and India and regional technical advisor for livelihood security in Asia.

1987

Philip Sawyer, MIA philip@philipsawyer.com Philip is president of Philip Sawyer Designs & Associates, designing and crafting exquisite men’s shirts for the discerning man using all-natural fabrics. From 1995 to 2004, he developed programs to send medical and other professionals to Vietnam. Since then, Philip has focused on economic development and cultural preservation through the arts. This April he and his wife (author and speaker Anh Vu Sawyer) will visit Laos to investigate developing creative writing and business development programs there.

Gary Weiskopf, MPA gweiskopf@WeiskopfConsulting.net Gary lives in Clifton Park, New York, with his wife Lynn Weiskopf, MPA ’91, and three girls, Sarah (14), Abby (12), and Anna (9). He is a freelance public policy consultant, and Lynn is director of public policy for the New York State Department of Transportation.

1988

Lisa L. Bhansali, MIA As the task manager of the Peru Justice Services Project at the World Bank, Lisa has worked to convince the Chief Justice and Supreme Court members of Peru to “open their doors,” in order to give indigenous justices of the peace a chance to speak for the first time in Peru’s history. This recently happened, thanks to her efforts and the World Bank’s support. Lisa’s project aims to increase access to justice by providing financial support to community leaders who resolve disputes at the local level but are not recognized by the court system.

Gina Eichner Cinali, MIA geinali@aucegypt.edu After spending a couple of years in Kuwait working with startup, American-style universities, Gina has moved on to a new position as director of planning at the American University in Cairo. Mikala (18) is a freshman at AUC, and Alex (21) is a junior at Loyola, Chicago. She welcomes news and visits from friends around the world.

Andy Griminger, MIA Andy and his family will be moving back to the United States after having spent 10 years in the Middle East. Upon his return, Andy will be a technical director for MSI, a development consulting firm in Washington, D.C. He and his family look forward to reconnecting with other alumni.

Alberto Horcajo, MIA alberto.horcajoaguirre@telefonica.es Alberto is a father of five and lives in Madrid, Spain, and senior vice president of General Services at the global telecom powerhouse Telefónica. After more than three years of work with a team of 130 people and a budget of $900 million, he has helped to build the new group headquarters in Madrid, which will accommodate more than 12,000 professionals and serve 190 million customers in 23 countries in Europe and Latin America.

1989

Scott Otteman, MIA scottiman@aol.com Scott will be moving from Washington, D.C., to Cabo San Lucas, Mexico, to edit and write the Gringo Gazette, an English-language bimonthly that serves the U.S. and Canadian expatriate and tourist communities on the southern cape of the Baja peninsula. His wife, Connie Gelb, and son, Daniel, plan to join him after the school year ends.

Juliet Wurr, MIA jwurr@hotmail.com As the public affairs officer at the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, Juliet was present during the 34 days of destructive bombing exchanges between Israel and Hezbollah. Her three-year tour at the Embassy in Beirut ends in summer 2007, with Lebanese sovereignty and independence far from assured.

1990

Andy Davidson, MIA davidaw100@gmail.com Andy is a business strategy consultant for IBM. He lives in Weston, Connecticut, with his wife Tiffany and son Jordan (6).

1991

Steven E. Cohen, MIA murfcone@yahoo.com From 1996 to 1999, Steven was the senior U.S. policymaker and person on the ground in Pyongyang, North Korea, and other parts of the DPRK. He notes that his first year in this position was difficult and trying, as he attempted to get rid of the animosity of 46 years of propaganda. Over the next three years, relations improved within his small circle, as he watched enemies transformed into friends and colleagues. Steve retired in 1999 and is frustrated with the current
A former journalist and adjunct professor at SIPA, he was recently elected to the Board of Governors of the Overseas Press Club of America. David lives with his wife, Jennifer, and their two girls in Bronxville, New York, just north of New York City.

Daryl A. Mundis, MIA
mundis.icty@un.org

Daryl is a senior prosecuting trial attorney at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, where he has prosecuted cases involving Foca, Keraterm Camp, the Siege of Sarajevo, the Mujahedin, and crimes throughout Herzegovina. He lives in The Hague with his wife Deborah Leipziger, MPA ’92, and daughters Natasha, Alexandra, and Jacqueline.

Luca M. Sergio, MIA
lmsergio@gmail.com

Luca was married this December to the lovely Elena Fiorenza Coleman in Baltimore. After a honeymoon in Ixtapa, Mexico, Luca returned to his position in the metro Washington, D.C., area as vice president of marketing for the German-based, ophthalmic medical device (laser) company WaveLight, Inc. Elena and Luca recently spent time in London with fellow SIPA alum David Chase Lopes, MIA ’92. He welcomes reconnecting with his classmates via e-mail.

Dana Y. Wu, MPA
Dana lives with her family in Chappaqua, New York, where she is a full-time mom. Her family consists of Liam (9), Hannah (6), Matthew (4), and Catherine (born November 17, 2006). Her husband Mike is now at Price/Waterhouse Coopers in HR strategy, and she is glad to be in touch with Debbie Levy (Jacobs), MPA ’92, who lives in Scarsdale, New York, and Helen Cregger, MPA ’92, who is now in Denver, Colorado. She wishes everyone peace in 2007.

1993

Michael Castlen, MPA
Michael recently became the executive director of PCI—Telling Stories, Saving Lives, an international NGO dedicated to using media to combat health and poverty issues around the world. The organization was featured in a June 5 New Yorker article.

Robin Harper, MPA
rab14@columbia.edu
Robin had a busy October. On October 6, she gave birth to her third child. And on October 10, she successfully defended her doctoral dissertation in political science, “Does Citizenship Really Matter? An Exploration of the Role Citizenship Plays in the Civic Incorporation of Permanent Residents and Naturalized Citizens in New York and Berlin.” It was a good month.

1994

Hiro Ugaya, MIA
ugaya@da2.so-net.ne.jp

In 2003, Hiro happily retired from Asahi Newspapers, where he had worked for 17 years. At the age of 40, he launched a new career as a freelance journalist and educator of creative writing. Since then, Hiro has published two books about the Japanese popular music industry, as well as a memoir about corruption at a Japanese media conglomerate. Hiro is also an active composer and semiprofessional bass guitar player. His band, “The Shams,” is quite popular in Tokyo.

1995

Katie Jacobs Stanton, MIA
Katie is a group product manager at Google, working on Google finance, news, and blogsearch. She is married with three cute pug kids: Elsie (6), Caleigh, and Declan (4) and lives in Los Altos, California.

1996

Constantine Dantoulis, MIA
cdd31@columbia.edu

Constantine resides in Atlanta, Georgia, with his wife Kelley, and sons Alexander (4) and Andrew (2). He is currently focusing on consulting and merchant banking activities.

Shelly Gardeniers (Pettigrew), MIA
Shelly is married to Ton Gardeniers and is living in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, where she works as manager, business control and analysis, for Randstad Nederland bv. Shelly gave birth to their first child, Lucas, on November 23.
Chris Hufstader, MIA
Chufstader@OxfamAmerica.org
Chris is still working at Oxfam America in Boston, as a senior writer in the communications program. Last spring he spent nearly a month in Africa, where he reported on peace education programs in Senegal, gender, culture, and HIV/AIDS in South Africa and Mozambique, and on an agriculture program in Zimbabwe. He then traveled to Mali to write about his organization’s microfinance work and visited a gold mine to gather photographs and interviews for a report on gold mining and revenue transparency.

1997
Jeremy A. Craig, MIA
jcraig@testtakers-sg.com
Jeremy is in his fifth year running an SAT preparation business based in Singapore that is now expanding into the rest of Asia. He enjoys the job because he only has to work about nine months a year and rarely has to wear a tie. He has also been doing some voice acting for an Anime series and writing for education journals and golf magazines. He invites alumni passing through Singapore to contact him.

Scott Licamele, MIA
Scott has rejoined Alfa Capital Markets as vice president in charge of equity sales and trading in North and South America. He covers Russian, Ukrainian, and Central Asian equities. Alfa Capital Markets is the U.S. subsidiary of Alfa Bank of Russia, the largest privately held banking group in the former Soviet Union. Since returning to Alfa earlier this year, he has been involved in numerous Russian IPOs. Scott’s offices are in New York, and he lives in Weston, Connecticut, with his wife, Victoria and sons Anton and Bruno.

Camille Ramani, MIA
Camille has recently been promoted to chief operating officer for Upwardly Global. Upwardly Global’s mission is to help U.S. employers benefit from the hidden talent pool that exists among immigrant professionals and to equip underemployed immigrants with the skills and resources necessary to rebuild their careers in the United States. In her new role, Camille is working on Upwardly Global’s national expansion, including the recent launch of its New York City office.

1998
Robert Choi, MIA
Robert worked with Doctors without Borders in Da fur, Sudan. Currently, he is at the University of Washington, where he is doing HIV research and is training to sub specialize in infectious diseases.

Michael Eberstadt, MPA
Michael’s newest restaurant, “Rack & Soul,” has been praised by Crain’s New York Business. “Table Top” columnist Bob Lape said, “I nominate Michael Eberstadt for the Easy-to-Like Eats Award of Excellence.” Michael’s latest venture, which serves authentic barbequed ribs and other Southern specialties, is located near Columbia on Broadway and 109th Street. Michael, who also owns the “Slice of Harlem” pizzeria, is planning to open a branch of Charles’ Southern-style buffet with his “Rack and Soul” partner Charles Gabriel on the site of “Bayou,” his former restaurant on Lenox Avenue.

Anisa Kamadoli Costa, MIA
Len Costa, MIA
Anisa is director of the Tiffany & Co. Foundation. Her business travel has recently taken her to Madagascar and Austria. Len is assistant managing editor at Institutional Investor Magazine.

Nadia Jabri, MIA
Nadia_jabri@yahoo.com
Nadia lives in Dubai, where she works as a communications consultant in public affairs and CSR. She travels extensively in the Middle East, particularly Syria and Lebanon, where she lived for two years. Germanic realignment in Switzerland is a regular investment of hers. Nadia is also looking forward to moving to the States following a regime change. She loves hearing from and meeting alumni along the way!

Alina Rocha Menocal, MIA
Alina extends greetings from London, where she and her husband, Chris, have been living since 2001. On July 31, 2006, they became the proud parents of Teodoro Joel Rossbach. Alina is currently on maternity leave from the Overseas Development Institute (a development think tank based in London), where she is a research fellow working on the state and the political economy of development. She would love to learn about other alumni who live nearby.

Anne Seifried (Adair), MPA
Anne is currently the deputy director of the New York Industrial Retention Network and the chief mommy of an awesome toddler—both of which she has nurtured from infancy. She finds both to be rewarding and challenging careers!

Jonathan Sidhu (Bernstein), MIA
Jonathan and his wife Sheila recently greeted the arrival of their twin sons, Ethan and

Nadia Jabri, MIA
nadia_jabri@yahoo.com
Nadia moved to Geneva, Switzerland, to take up a position as a legal officer at the World Trade Organization. She encourages SIPA alumni in or passing through Geneva to get in contact with her.

1999
Marisa Goldstein, MIA
marisa.goldstein@wto.org
Marisa moved to Geneva, Switzerland, to take up a position as a legal officer at the World Trade Organization. She encourages SIPA alumni in or passing through Geneva to get in contact with her.

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2000

Josh Hepola, MIA
dhep28@aol.com
Josh is back on active duty in the U.S. Navy for one year in Naples, Italy, where he is working with NATO as a mission planner/controller on the staff of Commander, Allied Submarine Forces, South. After graduating from SIPA, he attended drama school in London and then returned to his hometown, Dallas, Texas, where he was working as an actor and teacher. He had a great time at Laura Ballmann’s (MIA ’00) wedding in Milan and looks forward to hearing from SIPA alumni in Europe.

Douglas Remillard, MIA
dougremillard@hotmail.com
Douglas is currently working in Paris at Salans as a merger and acquistions/private equity lawyer.

Monique Nardi Roquette, MIA
mnardiroquette@unea.org
Immediately after graduation, Monique joined the UN in Mozambique and is now in Addis Ababa, working on governance, civil society, and APRM. Her work keeps her in touch with current and former SIPA students interested in the region. She has three wonderful daughters—actually only in the last two years—which is something she says no master’s degree can prepare you for. She looks forward to a mission post in New York so she can visit Columbia again.

Sharmila Rao Thakkar, MIA
sharmila@alumnibrown.edu
After graduating, Sharmila married and moved to Chicago, where she now works as a program officer at The Siragusa Foundation, a family foundation that funds the environmental, educational, arts and culture, medical research, and human service fields. Sharmila also has a daughter, Anika, who recently turned two. She would love to reconnect with other alumni in the area.

Randy Turkel, MPA
rjturkel@yahoo.com
Randy is working as an IT strategy consultant with SRA International in Arlington, Virginia. His practice focuses on helping U.S. federal agencies make better use of information technology to carry out their services to citizens. This past October, Randy and his wife Elizabeth, celebrated their daughter Miriam’s first birthday.

2001

Joseph Andrews, MIA
jandrews@ndi.org
Joseph recently got engaged to Melissa Hill and joined the adjunct faculty at Georgetown University’s Walsh School of Foreign Service and George Washington University’s Elliott School of International Affairs, where he teaches courses on postconflict reconstruction and security issues in Africa. He intends to leave his current job at the National Democratic Institute soon for a position in the intelligence industry.

Laura Forlano, MIA
Laurel has been living in New York for SIPA’s 60th anniversary. She looks forward to hearing from friends.

Erika Jakisch (Neutz), MIA
enutz@yahoo.com
Erika is still living happily in Munich, Germany, where she is the mom of one-and-a-half year-old twins. She misses the carefree life in New York City, but she did manage to return to New York for SIPA’s 60th anniversary. She looks forward to hearing from friends.

2002

Jennifer Barsky, MIA
jlb130@columbia.edu
Pedro Arizti, MIA
Jennifer and Pedro would like to announce the arrival of their baby girl, Amelia Itxaso, who was born on November 2, 2006. She joins Tomas, who is now 18 months old. Jennifer and Pedro are still living in Washington, where Pedro is an economist at the World Bank. Jennifer worked until recently as director of the Nike Foundation and is currently taking some time off to take care of the new family member.

Laurence Berg, MIA
lhb10@columbia.edu
Jennifer and Pedro recently got engaged to Melissa Hill and joined the adjunct faculty at Georgetown University’s Walsh School of Foreign Service and George Washington University’s Elliott School of International Affairs, where he teaches courses on postconflict reconstruction and security issues in Africa. He intends to leave his current job at the National Democratic Institute soon for a position in the intelligence industry.

Monique Nardi Roquette, MIA
mnardiroquette@unea.org
Immediately after graduation, Monique joined the UN in Mozambique and is now in Addis Ababa, working on governance, civil society, and APRM. Her work keeps her in touch with current and former SIPA students interested in the region. She has three wonderful daughters—actually only in the last two years—which is something she says no master’s degree can prepare you for. She looks forward to a mission post in New York so she can visit Columbia again.

Erika Jakisch (Neutz), MIA
enutz@yahoo.com
Erika is still living happily in Munich, Germany, where she is the mom of one-and-a-half year-old twins. She misses the carefree life in New York City, but she did manage to return to New York for SIPA’s 60th anniversary. She looks forward to hearing from friends.

2003

Katharine Nawaal Gratwick, MIA
kgratwick@yahoo.com
For two and a half years, Katharine has been living in Cape Town, Republic of South Africa, which she describes as a beautiful, but poverty-laden city. Her busy life includes her ongoing work on African electricity policy and watching Muhammed Yousuf Ali, now 20 months old, climb and climb to new heights. The new year may bring another move and perhaps more surprises. She encourages any/all interested in African energy/electricity to pay a visit, before her family sets sail again.

Nori Katagiri, MIA
ynaponory@hotmail.com
After SIPA, Nori went to Washington, D.C., to work for a variety of research organizations. The following year he began his doctoral study in political science at the University of Pennsylvania. Now a fourth-year doctoral candidate, he is writing his dissertation on how nonstate actors fight and defeat militarily superior state actors in war.

Antigoni Kounpounis, MIA
ak390@columbia.edu
Antigoni has been living in New Delhi, India, for the past three years. He works at WHO-India on family planning, adolescent sexual and reproductive health, HIV prevention, and gender issues. He welcomes communication from all alumni, especially those who intend to travel to India.

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To learn more about SIPA's other degree programs: www.sipa.columbia.edu

www.columbia.edu/cu/sipa/PEPM

Natalja Kurz, MIA
Upon completion of her MIA, Natalja returned to southwest Germany. After two years of local reporting for German Public Radio (ARD), she completed an 18-month traineeship in radio and print journalism and has been working as speaker for a public youth radio and television program, as well as a local newspaper reporter on the side. She extends her regards and holiday wishes from Baden-Baden.

Marty Weiss, MIA
maweiss@gmail.com
Marty was married on September 17, 2006, to Cory Firestone. They both live in Washington, D.C., where Cory is a consultant at the Corporate Executive Board, and Marty is an analyst at the Congressional Research Service. He would love to hear from SIPA friends.

2003

Claire Adida, MIA
cadida@stanford.edu
Claire is in her fourth year at Stanford's Political Science PhD program and will be heading out to West Africa beginning January 2007 for 12 to 18 months of fieldwork in Ghana, Niger, and Benin.

Martin M. Boer, MIA
Martin joined ING in his native Amsterdam, The Netherlands, as a senior communications advisor. He spent the previous two years in Namibia, working as a consultant for UNDP and other organizations.

Ted Bongiovanni, MPA
Ted recently joined MOUSE Inc, an educational nonprofit that creates technology and leadership programs, to make a difference in the lives of underserved students. He and his wife, Deb Waldman, are proud parents of Mia Camille Bongiovanni.

Jacob (Yakov) Finkelshtein, MIA
jy2001@columbia.edu
Jacob says hello to all SIPA class of 2003 graduates and wishes everyone “happy holidays.” He welcomes visits to see him and his wife in Miami and looks forward to reconnecting with old friends and fellow graduates.

Lauren Elizabeth Herko, MPA
Mohammed Hadi, MPA
Having fallen in love while studying microeconomics, Lauren and Mohammed were wed on January 14 in New York City, where they currently live. Lauren is executive director of advocacy, government relations, and development at The College Board, and Mohammed is a reporter for Dow Jones & Co., writing about stock and options trading for Dow Jones Newswires and The Wall Street Journal.

Dae Levine, MPA
daelevine@yahoo.com
Last January, Dae and her family moved “down under” to Sydney, Australia. She works part time as a senior consultant to Essential Media Communications, which develops strategies and campaigns for clients that include government departments, political organizations, trade unions, and environmental groups. Her husband, Wade, is with MetLife, and their daughter Sullivan (3) is in preschool part time. She misses New York City, but she has also enjoyed the transition to life in Australia.

Francesco Mancini, MIA
Francesco is now the first SIPA graduate to become an associate at the International Peace Academy (IPA). He manages IPA's main research program, Coping with Crisis, Conflict, and Change: The United Nations and Evolving Capacities for Managing Global Crises, a multiyear research and policy facilitation program on emerging human and international security challenges and institutional response capacities. This past autumn, Francesco became adjunct assistant professor at NYU’s School of Continuing and Professional Studies.

Sara (Courtney) Minard, MIA
Sara.minard@oecd.org
Sara is still working at the OECD in Paris as a socio-economist for the Sahel and West Africa Club. She also works part time at Sciences-Po in the MIA program, teaching a version of SIPA’s EPD workshop class on project management.

Angela Sapp, MIA
Angela is managing director for Financial Services Volunteer Corps, a U.S.-based nonprofit organization whose mission is to help build sound banking and financial systems in transition and developing countries. She oversees FSVC programs in Asia, Russia, and Africa. She recently relocated to New York after having worked in the field for FSVC for two years in Egypt and Indonesia. Angela is a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations and serves as vice chair of the Council for Emerging National Security Affairs (CENSA).
Anna Segur, MIA  annasegur@yahoo.com
Anna is living in El Salvador, working as a consultant on enterprise development and water sanitation projects.

Peter Serenyi, MIA  pss2001@columbia.edu
Peter has been named managing editor of Development and Transition, a quarterly newsletter published by the UN Development Program and the London School of Economics that is devoted to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Peter lives with his wife Katalin and son Sebastian in Bratislava, Slovakia.

Lakshmi Sundaram, MIA  ls132@columbia.edu
After spending time in Washington, D.C., and Rwanda, Lakshmi is back in Geneva, Switzerland, where she is working as an advisor on international public health issues at the Global Forum for Health Research, a small NGO focused on health research and advocacy. She would be thrilled to meet up with fellow alumni passing through Geneva.

2004

Penny Abeywardena, MIA  penny@drummajorinstitute.org
Penny has settled in Manhattan, where she is director of strategic relations for the progressive policy think tank, the Drum Major Institute for Public Policy. She continues her commitment to social justice through her work in furthering policy and media advocacy. She is on the board of directors for Sakhi for South Asian Women and Resource Generation, council of advisors for SAALT, and is a mentor for Third Wave Foundation’s Why Give program for young women of color and transgender youth.

Eduardo Rivas Hernandez, MIA  er2047@columbia.edu
Eduardo is currently a second-year associate at O’Melveny & Myers LLP in Los Angeles, California. He is happy to be back in Southern California after many years in exile—in New England, the East Coast, and Latin America. After returning from his Fulbright Fellowship in Mexico City, it was hard for him to readjust to life in the carpool lanes, but Los Angeles is becoming the city that he loves.

Shia Levitt, MIA  slevitt@whysipaclassnotes.com
Shia is a freelance reporter in San Francisco, California, primarily doing radio but also photography and TV work. She will be reporting from the Middle East (primarily Israel) this December through February and plans to move to Washington, D.C., in the summer of 2007.

Daniel Malin, MIA  d.malin@iaea.org
Daniel and his wife Romy had a baby daughter (Lara) on October 9, 2006. Daniel continues to work at the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna on a program to advance cancer control systems in developing countries.

Kristen Morrow, MPA
Kristen is currently a fellow in the Robert Bosch Foundation’s transatlantic relations fellowship program for young American leaders (Stipendienprogramm zur Förderung von amerikanischem Führungsnachwuchs). In addition to attending seminars on German and EU politics, Kristen has spent part of the year as a visiting consultant in the European Central Bank’s international relations department in Frankfurt.

Jim Orsi, MPA  jim.orsi@tbwa.ch
Jim is working as a senior project manager at TBWA\CHIAT\DAY in New York on major campaigns for clients such as Apple, Nissan, Sprint/Nextel, and Absolut.

Lyazzat D. Tatubaeva, MIA  lyazzat@iaea.org
Lyazzat participated in Chevron’s Global Gas and Commercial Skills Development two-year rotational management training program. She specializes in commercial agreements and negotiations for large-scale gas projects and has spent six months in San Ramon, California, and six months in Moscow, Russia. Her next posting is in Lagos, Nigeria.

2006

Lauren Gottlieb, MIA  lauren.gottlieb@washingtonpost.com
Lauren is working as a presidential management fellow on counterterrorist financing for the Department of the Treasury. She just completed a five-month rotation at the U.S. Department of State.

Ludovic Hood, MIA  ludovic.hood@gmail.com
Ludovic joined the U.S. Foreign Service within weeks of completing his MIA and is currently learning Arabic at the State Department’s Foreign Service Institute before his posting to the U.S. Embassy in Kuwait in mid-2007. He has also been teaching a graduate seminar at Princeton’s Woodrow Wilson School on postconflict governance. Ludovic and his wife Alisa look forward to their move to the Persian Gulf.

Wanda Muñoz, MIA  wmunoz@handicap-international.org
Wanda now lives in France, working as a mine victim assistance program officer for Handicap International. Her job involves lobbying UN institutions in Geneva and working with governments and HI’s field offices in mine-affected countries. She hopes her classmates are doing well and urges them to stay in touch.

Simon O’Rourke, MIA  soroourke@handicap-international.org
Simon is working in Chicago as an executive director at the Chicago Council on Global Affairs with responsibilities for public programs and the Council’s activities at the Global Chicago Center.