

The background of the cover is an abstract artwork. It features a large, textured globe in shades of blue, green, and yellow. A hand, rendered in a dark blue color, is shown holding a white star. The hand is positioned in the center of the globe. In the bottom left corner, there is a network of white nodes connected by thin lines, resembling a web or a map. The overall composition suggests themes of global connectivity and international relations.

BRIDGES

SPRING 2004

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY • DAVID M. KENNEDY CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

American
Primacy and
Anti-Americanism
in World Politics



Kennedy Center Fourth Annual Photography Contest

First Place, "Play Time," Breanne Bell, Iași, Romania



BRIDGES

SPRING 2004

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Director's Message

Cory Leonard, assistant director



We are constantly looking outward, as we work with faculty, students, and friends, across the campus, community, and globe, for those who see the world from various perspectives—and, hopefully, more on its own terms. In this issue of *Bridges*, we try to look inward and consider the way “we” (Americans, Latter-day Saints, or Westerners) are viewed from other perspectives and hope to try and learn something that we couldn’t see before.

Let me highlight our key features:

Against America on All Sides | Several of our most exciting lectures during the 2003–04 academic year came courtesy of the vibrant, new Center for the Study of Europe at Brigham Young University, directed by Professors Wade Jacoby and Jamie Lyon. In particular, renowned academic and observer **Peter J. Katzenstein** of Cornell University addresses the issue of America’s role in the world and in particular, anti-Americanism. Rather than looking at protest as a form of disapproval, he sees it through other lenses as a validation of democratic institutions. And he asks us to consider the great complexity of international relations, including what used to be a safe bet—transatlantic relations—in the post 9/11 world.



Outsiders Inside Iraq | On campus, students from all majors flock to anything remotely related to the war in Iraq, so it should come as no surprise that BYU alumni are playing a key role through focus on **Keith Mines** and **Steve Bit** Foreign Service Student Organization hand accounts on democracy’s tenuous “ers” from the U.S. Foreign Service de





Growth of the Global Church | If the Enlightenment played a role in preparing the way for the Restoration of the Church, then what forces have shaped the global growth of the Church in the last 150 years? At the most recent International Society conference—a unique network of LDS professionals with international experience—**Elder Robert S. Wood** of the Seventy addresses cultural distinctions in Latter-day Saint customs and doctrines in a worldwide faith. He considers the monikers of First, Second and Third World, explores current trends in Church leadership and administrative practices, and challenges us to see our ‘developing world’ in a new, albeit, enhanced way.

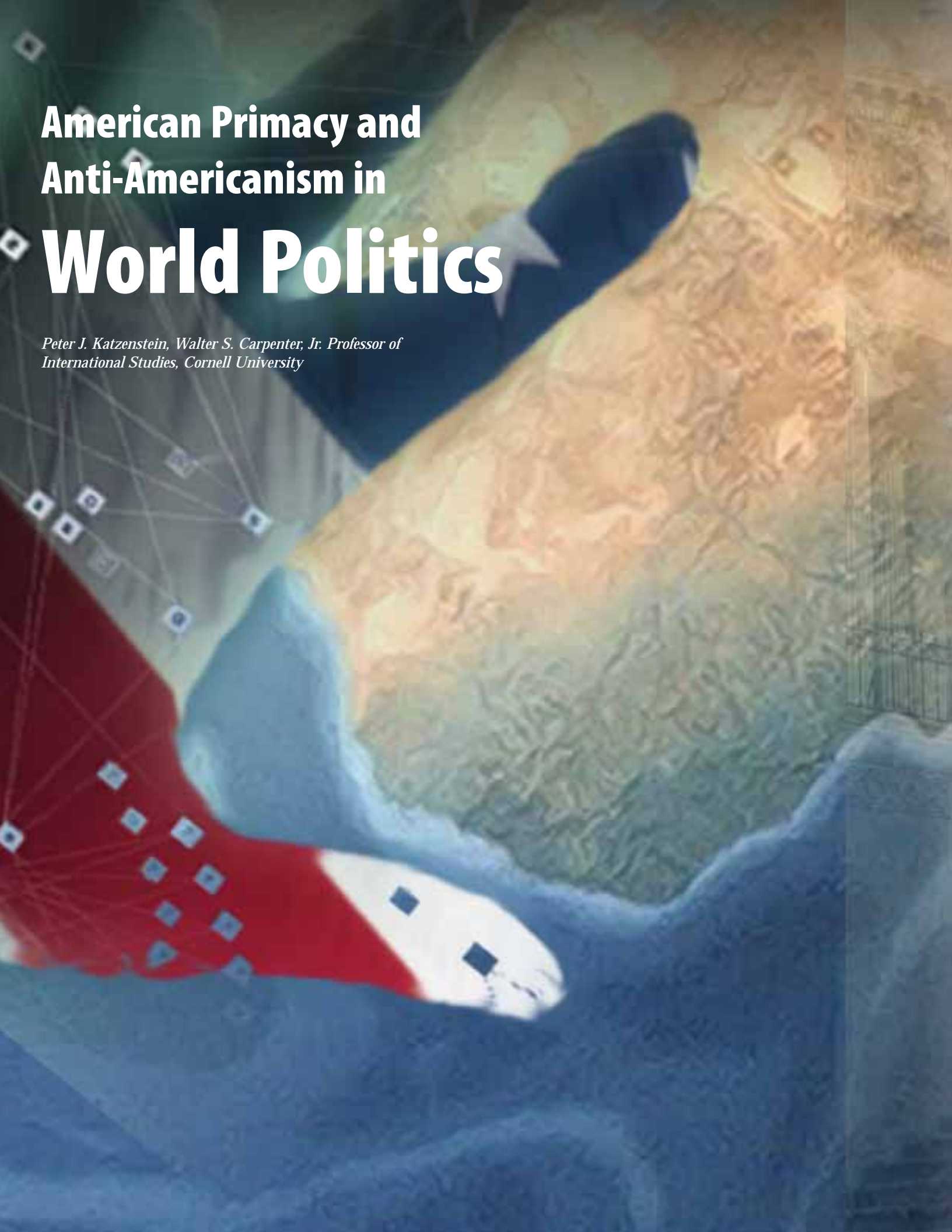
Only a small fragment of content highlights made it into this issue of the magazine. So follow our mantra and “Expand Your World” from wherever you are with an Internet connection and a few spare moments. Also, you may have missed journalist and war correspondent **Thomas Goltz**’ firsthand account of elections in the Caucasus; **Patrick Beslin**,

of the InterAmerican Foundation, on why we don’t get development right; an intellectual giant of Latin America, **Jose Joaquim Brunner**, on Chile’s education system; **Father Robert J. Drinan** on U.S. ambivalence on human rights; **Phillip Notarianni** on Utah’s cultural diversities and heritage; a standing-room only lecture by **French Ambassador Jean-David Levitte** on France–U.S. relations; as well as BYU professor **Valerie M. Hudson**, who discussed issues from her recently published book, *Bare Branches: Security Implications of Asia’s Surplus Male Population*, or **Professor Eric Hyer**’s firsthand account as an elections observer in Taiwan on 20 March 2004 (see Campus).

During spring term, our weekly lecture program—newly named the **Global Focus Series**—used the theme “Horrors of War” to circumnavigate the personal, political, and regional impact of conflict. Check out all of the events, conferences, lectures, teach-ins, and activities at our web site, the point of reference for everything in the magazine and at the center, at <http://kennedy.byu.edu>.


Stay tuned, drop us a line, and help to keep our views and news fresh and real.





American Primacy and Anti-Americanism in World Politics

*Peter J. Katzenstein, Walter S. Carpenter, Jr. Professor of
International Studies, Cornell University*



My comments reflect changes in U.S. policy since 9/11 and are organized around two topics that are closely related politically, though analytically distinct. One is American primacy, and the other is Anti-Americanism.

American Primacy

American primacy consists of three dimensions: economic, military, and political. Individually they describe different types of power. Collectively they refer to American primacy.

Economics

In the 1990s, the American economy could do no wrong. Only in the last four years has it become apparent that not everything is going well. The U.S. has experienced the sharpest increase in unemployment since 1973–75, and the most sustained loss in jobs since Herbert Hoover. We appear to be at the beginning of what parts of Europe have coped with for the last decade—jobless growth. The number of long-term unemployed has increased to two million. And we have no reliable figures to track those who have left the labor market altogether, and those who are no longer counted as belonging to the ranks of the unemployed. Early in 2004, many economists estimated that this unreported number would add another 2 percent to the official unemployment statistic of 5.6 percent. If you add a significant portion of the two million who are incarcerated, a number unparalleled in the advanced industrial world, you come to an unemployment rate that is quite comparable to the European double-digit figures.

The current U.S. budget deficit runs around 6 percent of our GDP, twice as large as the maximum of 3 percent that the EU permits its member states, which France and Germany are currently “overshooting—slightly. Under the Bush administration, the U.S. reaches the 3 percent level only by raiding the “lock box” of Social Security, which is currently still running a surplus. However, this breaks the president’s solemn pledge never to touch those surpluses (from his 2000 campaign). The fiscal recklessness of the current administration will simply increase the bill for a future cohort of political leaders and future generations of Americans.

The turnabout in the fiscal future of our country is truly astounding. From a \$2.6 trillion surplus at the beginning of

the Bush Administration, we have turned to a \$5.5 trillion deficit (as projected by the bipartisan congressional budget estimate for the coming decade). That is an \$8 trillion turnaround. The deficit amounts to about 80 percent of our annual GDP. The good news is that I will pay only a small portion of this; the bad news is that, during their lifetime, students at Cornell and BYU will pay the most.

Conservatism in this country used to mean fiscal responsibility. In budgetary terms we do not have a conservative government now, rather an extremist one—a reckless one at that. This is not to argue that the administration’s massive tax cuts were ill-advised—they were not. The best way out of a recession is to put money into the pockets of consumers. Democrats who opposed *any* tax cuts were clearly wrong. Those who opposed *permanent* tax cuts geared overwhelmingly to the very rich were not. The fiscal recklessness of this administration and of the Republican majority in Congress is breathtaking. So is the political hypocrisy of a substantial number of Democrats who opportunistically exploited their short-term political gain at the expense of our long-term economic loss.

Our trade deficit now runs in the vicinity of \$500 billion a year, a figure unfathomable even four years ago. Insatiable consumer demand and a national savings rate that is too low (by about 2–3 percent of GDP) means that we need to borrow from others. One way to illustrate the financial imbalance in the world economy is by the size of governments’ foreign exchange reserves—a proxy measuring which countries are providing the capital to finance our trade and budget deficits. China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan together hold about \$750 billion in reserves: \$450 billion for China, \$200 billion for Taiwan, and \$100 billion for Hong Kong. Japan holds \$620 billion, Europe \$320 billion, and the United States, by far the largest economy in the world, holds all of \$72 billion in reserves, or about 10 percent of the combined holdings of China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Foreign holdings of U.S. stocks, bonds, and other assets exceed American holdings of foreign assets by \$2.3 trillion—about 20 percent of our GDP. In sharp contrast, at the height of its empire, Britain before 1914 owned foreign assets valued at about 150 percent of its GDP.



"Our economic prosperity depends on the confidence and willingness of foreign investors and governments to bankroll our runaway spending habits."

The trend line in these figures has not changed much during recent years, or recent decades. For almost four decades, the U.S. has tended to act like a vacuum cleaner sucking up other countries' savings. Foreign investors have trust in the political safety of their investments in America and in good economic returns. But the degree of U.S. indebtedness has increased so much that even economists who interpret these figures—as illustrations not of financial weakness but of strength, indicated by the depth and liquidity of U.S. financial markets—are now worrying about investor confidence in times of financial turbulence or crisis. Our economic prosperity depends on the confidence and willingness of foreign investors and governments to bankroll our runaway spending habits. The size of our deficits are unavoidably diminishing that confidence. Exogenous shocks or a slowdown in our economy may test that confidence in the not too distant future.

In sum, the economic foundations of American primacy look shaky. One likely source of fierce opposition to the administration's extremist pursuit of a policy of primacy lies at home among the American voting public, who are going to have to pay the expenses supporting primacy.

Military

I recall giving lectures in the early 1990s on the meaning of the collapse of the Soviet Union for the United States. I used comparative defense spending figures to make one central point. Depending on which ruble/dollar conversion one used, Soviet defense spending was running around \$25 billion, less than 10 percent of the corresponding American figure at that time. These figures showed that world politics had moved beyond bipolarity. Yet I had a very difficult time convincing my audience that we had moved into uncharted territory. Since it had nuclear weapons, Russia was, by definition, a superpower. No longer. Today it is indisputable that militarily we are living in a unipolar world. There is only one superpower—the U.S. Our current defense budget runs at about \$500 billion, an approximate and minimal estimate since, in the interest of avoiding unwelcome political transparency, this administration fights the Iraq war off-budget to the tune, soon, of about \$200 billion, a figure that is bound to increase as the time of our stay in Iraq extends into years. Our defense budget is considerably larger than the combined outlays of

the next fifteen countries combined—and all of these countries are our allies or would-be allies. It is quite reasonable to ask, as some Americans do, whether we are overspending on defense and underspending on homeland security and other issues that relate to our security indirectly.

Our military victories in Afghanistan and Iraq confirmed what supporters and opponents of both wars had predicted: the U.S. would win. We won in Iraq with half the troops, in half the time, compared to 1990, not because we had new, high-tech weapons, but because UN sanctions had reduced the Iraqi army to about half its 1991 fighting strength. The low casualty figures during the war surprised and invalidated the arguments of those who had opposed the war with predictions of a bloodbath in Iraq's cities and casualty figures running in the ten of thousands. It turned out that members of Iraq's Republican Guard simply had no fight in them. They melted away. Urban warfare, however, came after the end of

the war, and it continues, with Iraqis paying most of the bill in terms of casualties and running great risks in their daily lives, not to speak of the insufferable hardships that the war and the occupation has brought. With unemployment rates as high as 50–70 percent in some places now, many Iraqi's who are thankful to be rid of Saddam Hussein, scoff at the American notion of "Operation Freedom." Will the U.S. snatch political defeat from the jaws of military victory?

Our enemies are a heterogeneous coalition of remnants of the old Baathist regime, thousands of criminals whom Saddam Hussein released from prison shortly before the war, Sunni and Shiite nationalists, and Al-Qaeda fighters or related groups. These cadres and groups are gathering in Iraq as a consequence of the war. They were not there before. By replacing Saddam Hussein, we solved one problem. But by mobilizing Al-Qaeda to attack the many soft targets that Iraq now offers, we have created a new and urgent problem of widespread terrorism that leaves the U.S. without a clear exit strategy. The rationale for the war—an immediate security threat to the U.S.—did not exist. This was a massive intelligence failure, here and abroad, and the result of what, to me at least, looks like a politically motivated strategy misleading the American public. "Weaponized weapons of mass destruction" that could be deployed in battle and on short-term notice—not weapons of mass destruction—were the



main reason the president offered to mobilize Congress and the country into war. Meanwhile we have learned, through all the verbal obfuscations at daily White House and Defense Department briefings, that those weaponized weapons of mass destruction never existed.

Political

The 9/11 attack has had a profound effect on American politics. I happened to be in Manhattan on that day. The experience left a deep imprint on me, much deeper than on my students in Ithaca or my colleagues at, I venture to say, BYU. I only happened to be in Manhattan. I do not live there. For those living in New York and in Washington, D.C., the impact has been nothing but traumatic. They have experienced firsthand becoming targets of mass murderers and live their daily lives with the knowledge that history may indeed repeat itself. The president reacted as he did as the result of a profound shock that continues to be felt acutely in these two cities, and in the country at large. The dramatic change in policy that we have experienced reflects a dramatic event in our history.

In the 2000 election, we elected, in a manner of speaking, an inexperienced president who preached humility and caution and who hired realists and pragmatists to run his foreign policy. It was one of the strengths of this president to acknowledge, through his appointment of a group of seasoned professionals, at the outset that he was ill-prepared to conduct the nation's foreign affairs. After 9/11, the administration argued that a revolution had occurred in world politics. The administration was correct in insisting that we were once again at war—and not one of our choosing. They were wrong in interpreting the war on terror primarily in the traditional framework of interstate war, thus focusing attention too quickly and too strongly on Iraq and other “evil” states that we could defeat with our military might and diverting attention and resources away from the unfamiliar and relatively unprotected front of homeland security.

We rushed into the Iraq war for reasons that were not only related directly to the events of 9/11. We rushed for a whole lot of other reasons that had little to do with 9/11. Some were well defined, geostrategic ones, others were extremely ambitious ideological ones, still others were narrowly focused on Iraq—due to what a core group of centrally placed indi-

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viduals in the administration regarded as unfinished business that combined geostrategy with ideology. Because the point has been silenced in the American discussion, while it is widely aired in the rest of the world, let me address the issue of oil that brings into focus a narrow conception of the U.S. national interest, and the rationale for the war.

This is an administration staffed by people who know the energy industry extremely well. They had good reason to worry about U.S. energy security. After all, fifteen of the nineteen attackers on 9/11 were Saudi citizens. In 1976, the U.S. made a very straightforward deal with Saudi Arabia: We will protect you, the six thousand princes of the House of Saud, and you will run a responsible energy policy that leaves the price of oil denominated in dollars, thus assuring the continued status of the dollar as the world's lead currency. Both sides heeded this pact. The House of Saud, however, had earlier made a deal with radical clerics inside Saudi

Arabia: We, the House of Saud, will abet, indeed support financially, as you teach and train young jihadists for fighting abroad, and you will not destabilize the House of Saud. Since 1979, Saudi Arabia has exported not just oil but also about twenty thousand militants who have fought in Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Bosnia, and, currently, also in Iraq. Having defeated one super power, the Soviet Union, they are eager to bring down a second, the U.S.

The Saudi and U.S. governments find themselves in a very difficult position. It would have been foolhardy for any president, for example, to discount the possibility of dramatic change either in the Saudi regime or in Saudi policy. Furthermore, another catastrophic attack on the United States with extensive involvement of Saudi citizens might be a cause for war, forced upon a Republican or Democratic administration by an enraged populace. Thinking about an alternative source of oil for the U.S. must have figured geostrategically, apart from all other considerations. Anticipating unpleasant futures, it is far from foolish to plan for the development of a firm military and political base in the second-largest oil producer in the Middle East, thus preparing for the eventuality of a rupture in Saudi-U.S. relations.

I have no direct evidence supporting my hunch that



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strategic calculations motivated the administration’s policy toward Iraq. Yet, I find it implausible to assume that geostrategic calculations carried no weight in an administration headed by a president and vice president with exceptionally close ties to the energy industry and staffed by hawks and realists. The only plausible conclusion is that the official rationale for war, weaponized weapons of mass destructions, was a convenient smoke screen, because it lent a sense of urgency and made it possible for the administration to make its case based on fear and intimidation rather than strategic reasoning. Geostrategy does not easily yield consensus in democratic politics at home or persuasion in coalition politics abroad. Fear and intimidation—in this administration’s thinking—do.

However, by moving as it did, unilaterally, without the support of the UN, the U.S. greatly increased the security risk for other countries with large Muslim populations, particularly in Europe, and quite possibly our own as well. The determined and unrelenting opposition of all but a handful of countries on the UN Security Council surprised the United States. That has not changed since the end of the war.

In February 2002, the U.S.’ diplomatic strategy aimed to isolate France in the UN Security Council and to have at least a substantial majority of the council endorse the war, thus giving the action a semblance of legitimacy though not legality. Britain, Spain, and Bulgaria were clearly on the side of the U.S., while France, Germany, Russia, China, and Syria were clearly opposed. Traditional friendship and intense pressure and economic promises made by the U.S. did not change the determined opposition of six states perceived to be in the middle: Pakistan, Mexico, Chile, Cameroon, Guinea, and Angola. The U.S.’ unwillingness to call for a vote in the Security Council was an enormous diplomatic defeat for the administration’s Iraq policy, even before the war had begun. The absence of compelling evidence that Iraq posed an immediate threat to its neighbors or the U.S. was simply too glaring, subsequently borne out by the fact that as of March 2004, despite an intense search, the U.S. occupation had failed to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq.

Like Pearl Harbor, 9/11 was deeply traumatic. The U.S. had armed itself throughout the Cold War to avoid another

surprise attack, out of the blue sky. We were successful then against the other superpower. We are failing now, against an enemy we only dimly perceive and do not understand.

Marshalling the enormous economic, military, and political resources at the disposal of the U.S., the Bush administration has fundamentally misunderstood, and neglected, the most important resource of primacy in world politics—legitimacy. The Bush administration’s reckless disregard of issues of legitimacy has stripped the U.S. of an essential power resource, something this administration, even if reelected, will not recoup. Our foreign policy agenda will remain seriously damaged for years to come, whatever the outcome of the war on terror or the success or failure of our policies in Iraq. The exercise of raw power thus has begotten anti-Americanism.

Anti-Americanism

If we can trust the results of surveys commissioned (by Gallup, Pew, the German Marshall Fund, and the U.S. State Department among others), one empirical finding stands out in all the anti-Americanism studies: Responses differ greatly depending on whether questions are asked about the U.S. and its policies or about the American people and their values. In most areas of the world, respondents deeply dislike the U.S. and its policies—especially this administration. The same is not true of attitudes toward America and American people, including, significantly, in many parts of the Middle East and the Islamic world.

Among our traditional allies in Europe, anti-Americanism is rampant now. The outpouring of grief and sympathy felt after 9/11, and testified to by huge marches and candle vigils in most major European cities and many smaller towns, had been transformed by February 2003 into the largest anti-war demonstrations in peace time that Europe has witnessed since the end of World War II. In Britain, the most trusted and dependable ally of the U.S., 1.5 million people marched through the streets of London in strong opposition against the war in Iraq. Comparable demonstrations occurred in all major cities, including in Italy and Spain, where governments backed the war against the overwhelming preference of the electorate. Surprisingly, over time, opposition to the U.S. has increased, not diminished.

In South Korea, another trusted and long-standing ally, anti-Americanism is also running rampant in a most civilized



**"We are a great
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and dignified way. In December 2002, tens of thousands of people marched week after week, holding candles and protesting the U.S. This was not the Korean "left" snake-dancing and shouting slogans, while confronting police armed for violent street demonstrations 1980s-style. This was instead all of Korean society on the move, protesting a variety of errors of commission (undercutting the sunshine policy of President Kim by the incoming Bush administration as well as what were widely interpreted as calculated acts of public humiliation of Kim), as well as acts of omission (Bush's failure to apologize to the South Korean people and government for a very unfortunate mishap that cost two Korean girls their lives in the summer of 2002). Even though it remained crucially dependent on the U.S. in times of heightened threat from North Korea, public support for the U. S. collapsed in South Korea, dropping by more than half within the last five years.

Turkey is the most optimistic scenario for a U.S.-inspired reorganization of the Middle East, including Iraq—a democratizing, modern Muslim state with strong secular institutions. Seeking permission to use a Turkish corridor to attack Iraq from the north, the Bush administration offered Turkey over \$20 billion in loans and aid before the Iraq war. The Turkish Parliament voted down the U.S. offer for the obvious reason that more than 90 percent of the Turkish population was strongly opposed to the war and to U.S. policies. It is not inconceivable that a modernizing, democratic, secular Iraq will be overwhelmingly anti-American. A modernizing, democratic, Shiite Iraq, perhaps in close relations with Iran, will be even more anti-American. And these are the two most optimistic scenarios for the current U.S. occupation of Iraq.

Anti-Americanism is so intense in part because of the yawning gap between what the U.S. says and what the U.S. does in pursuit of its objectives. We have enormous power to do good in the pursuit of our professed values. Yet we also do enormous evil. Anti-Americanism abroad is fueled by talk of "betrayal" and "hypocrisy." In the eyes of many, the U.S. government betrays U.S. ideals typically expressed in highly moralistic and, in more recent years, religious language. Just as U.S. moralism knows no bounds, we think there is no limit to U.S. power. As is true for other countries, in the case of the U.S., often expediency and petty interests prevail.

Anti-Americanism is fed by the inevitable shortfall between the inflated expectations that American rhetoric raises

and the often modest results that our flawed policies produce. The result is a deep ambivalence in popular attitudes toward the U.S. that is fed by both general and specific sources of anti-Americanism.

General Sources of Anti-Americanism

Power Imbalances and Threats. Overwhelming material capability begets its own opposition. Power balancing among states and popular resentment have existed throughout history, as they did in the mid-1990s in China, and in

France in 2002–03. Power balancing is primarily the business of governments. Publics resonate also with other sources.

Globalization Backlash. The demonstrations in Seattle in 1999 show that a broad and heterogeneous coalition of forces, here and abroad, oppose globalization—typically associated with Americanization. This phenomenon is not universal. It is happening in Latin America, but not in East Asia. It is happening in the Middle East, but not in Africa.

Conflicting Identities. Our national interests are to some extent defined by who we are. This is true of all societies. The U.S. is exporting many values, often contradictory, among them women's rights, popular culture, and religion. Those exports are experienced in different parts of the world as deeply threatening and distasteful; in other parts of the world, they are met with indifference; and in still others, much of the American youth culture and religious values are embraced. Whether you are running a socialist-capitalist hybrid economy in China, whether you belong to a Fundamentalist Hindu party in India, or whether you are an atheist in Europe, America's secular and religious exports feed the sense that "they are different from us." Through politics this sentiment can easily be converted into a source of anti-Americanism.

Specific Sources of Anti-Americanism

History and Memory of Grievances. We are a great power that has done a great deal of good in the world. I, for one, would not be an American now if the U.S. had not defeated Nazi Germany in the bloodiest war in the twentieth century and subsequently rebuilt and reformed Germany. But as with all great powers, the U.S. has also done harm in the world, either unintentionally or willfully. There is an African saying: When the elephants make love, the grass suffers. The U.S. has also stomped on the grass and crushed it, and more than once people abroad have interpreted these as acts of aggression or vengeance. For many Chinese, Koreans, and Indonesians,



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not to mention Vietnamese, for example, given the history of the relations between the U.S. and these countries, it would not take much to become anti-American. The same holds for Greece, where the U.S. intervened in a civil war in the late 1940s, and for Spain, where the U.S. supported, for many years, the fascist regime of General Franco during the Cold War. Anti-Americanism easily feeds off those historical memories. This is true also in the Caribbean, where the U.S. has left very deep footprints for many decades and in Latin America, where the U.S. has supported many military dictators for decades. Through our actions we have created a history and a memory of grievances, which is easily turned into anti-Americanism.

Politics of Democracy and Democratization. A second specific source of anti-Americanism is democracy. Anti-Americanism is a device that is useful for contesting political office in old and new democracies. It is an ideology around which politicians can build coalitions to support their efforts to get elected. Leaders in an autocratic government are fearful of unwittingly starting a process of democratization. In an era of democracy and democratization, anti-Americanism is bound to be a useful tool for instrumental, narrow purposes by self-interested political elites. Anti-American campaigns can be useful for grandstanding at election time. Experienced in the form of American nationalism every four years, Americans understand the grandstanding aspect of democratic politics particularly well.

Regional Context and Transnational Connections between Countries. Finally, it would be wrong to think about anti-Americanism just as a relationship between any one country and the United States. Each country has neighbors, and very often those neighbors are deeply detested—even more so than the United States. For example, the Chinese and the Japanese do not like each other one bit. They may not like the Americans, but they dislike each other more. The quality of anti-Americanism is influenced by such neighborly dislike. Such dynamics may also be in play for India and Pakistan, Japan and South Korea, and other conflicting relationships.

Migration can also spur anti-Americanism. Take for example South Asia and the Middle East. Many Indians, from Kerala and other parts of India, work in the Middle East, as do citizens from the Philippines. They bring back not only cash

but also information and attitudes. Such migration can spread anti-Americanism. Muslims from the Middle East end up in Europe, which has a population of 17 million now compared to 0.7 million in the 1970s—one of the fastest growing populations in Europe. The contact between the Middle East and Europe is particularly intense, and some mosques there are now breeding grounds for recruiting militants and sending them on to conduct attacks or wage war.

Conclusion

Anti-Americanism is a prejudice, like many others. Unlike others, it is becoming fashionable and politically acceptable. It is a language by which politics can be conducted in the era of American preeminence. That language is universal. And it is American. We have a lot of anti-Americanism in the United States and have had it for more than 150 years. Mark Twain is a superb example. As the U.S. turned imperialist at the end of the nineteenth century, Twain and others organized in the Anti-Imperialist League turned against America. A century later,

in today's polarized politics, close to half of all Americans are also anti-American, strongly opposed to this administration's foreign policy.

The war on terrorism has moved us into uncharted territory, and all governments in the world—not just in Washington—are rethinking basic assumptions of world politics that have been unquestioned for half a century. Trading consent for coercion, the course that the Bush administration has chosen, may well create a world disordered, even though after September 11th, what we wanted most of all was a more secure and orderly world.

The central point of these pages is simple: Because the Bush administration has favored naked power over legitimacy, America's primacy is now shallower than it was a few years ago, and anti-Americanism is on a sharp upswing. What is unfolding, however, is not preordained. Political choice will remain enormously consequential for future developments in world politics. 🌍

This article draws on an Area Focus Lecture delivered Wednesday, 3 March 2004 on the Brigham Young University campus and sponsored by the Center for the Study of Europe.

From a Trickle to a Flood—the Stirrings of Democracy in Iraq

Jocelyn Stayner

Keith Mines, a BYU alumnus (1982) with over twelve years of experience in the Foreign Service, volunteered from August 2003 to February 2004 as the provincial governance coordinator in the Sunni Triangle of Iraq. Steve Bitner, also a BYU alumnus in international politics with a minor in Arabic (2001), worked with Mines in the Al Anbar Province as political advisor from December 2003 to February 2004.

Replacing Traditional Power Systems

The war in Iraq is being played out in two disparate images: one of insurgents who are bombing and kidnapping, and the other—less covered by the media—that of political and economic progress. In an unusual and coincidental partnership, two BYU alumni spent two months trying to form a new provincial council in the Al Anbar province of Iraq, currently one of the most violent and fractured provinces in the country. Their experience offers a rare firsthand glimpse at the challenges, and the promise, that lie in Iraq's future.

"While military operations in Iraq continue to steal most of the headlines, experts generally agree that the fight for Iraq's future will not be determined on the battlefield, but rather in the political process that eventually emerges there," said Keith Mines, governance coordinator. "In Al Anbar Province, this complex process involved a struggle between the old tribal structure and more modern technocratic methods of governing, between authoritarianism and democracy, and between tradition and modernity."



Keith Mines and Steve Bitner stand with the Governor of Al Anbar Province and local area sheikhs.

Bridging the chasm between the old and the new required much external and internal support, coming from U.S. forces and Iraqis alike. The chief duties of Governorate Team members including Mines and Steve Bitner, as political advisor, focused on the promotion of U.S.-Iraqi relations and on fostering stability and democracy specifically in the Sunni Triangle Province of Al Anbar.

"Anbar," said Bitner "is a 98 percent Sunni province—the location of the restive cities of Fallujah, Ramadi, and Khaldiyyah. These are the so-called losers of the new Iraq—those people who were previously favored by Saddam and are now afraid that they are going to lose all their prestige and power when the country shifts to democracy." Nervousness over this political change created conflict not so much against

the idea of democracy but toward the changes in traditional power systems. Fallujah, a major city in Al Anbar Province, became a center of insurgent warfare in April as residents tired of the occupation by foreigners.

Keith Mines added that though Anbar has “a disproportionate share of the losers in the new Iraq, it is also home to one of the many resistance movements to Saddam’s rule in the 1990s, with a complex tribal structure, a strong business community, and an educated populace.”

Bitner explained that “despite their reputation as being anti-coalition and pro-Saddam, the vast majority of Iraqis in Anbar were relieved to be rid of Saddam and were looking forward to a better future. But to be sure, there was a great deal of anxiety that the country would split and fracture or that the Shiite majority would suppress the Sunnis.”



Keith Mines walks with the Governor of Al Anbar Province and other local leaders.

a public affairs officer, and an administrative officer.”

Efforts by both Coalition and Iraqi forces brought impressive results. “In the beginning, there was a near total lack of partners and facilitators on the Iraqi side. Civic society and political parties were simply moribund,” Mines lamented. “But the process itself of involving various groups to explain and understand the concepts of democracy served to animate civic society, and soon there were a number of very promising leaders and organizations.”

Selection vs Election

One of the greatest roadblocks on the political side of the Iraqi reconstruction is the conflict between past ways of ruling government and the new democratic processes. “The 15 November agreement called for the provincial councils to play a more central role in the political

virtue of size and openness, have some legitimacy without overwhelming the Iraqi–Coalition administrative capacity to manage it.”

Caucuses were designed around existing groups, but that did not alleviate the potential for tensions to arise. “In mid-December we developed a template for the new council, which would divide the forty seats along political, regional, tribal, and functional lines,” Mines said. “While our arbitrary division of seats looked straightforward and fair on paper, it quickly became apparent that defending it would be a major challenge. In Iraq’s political culture, the notion of representation was still light-years away—you are either on the council or you are not. Status also weighed heavily, and dozens of individuals considered that they should have been on the council simply by virtue of tradition or tribal position.



Keith Mines supervises the election of a representative from the local business community to the Provincial Council of Al Anbar.



A simple ballot system. These votes were from the lawyer’s caucus in Al Anbar.

Describing the current political involvement in Iraq, Bitner explained, “Iraq is composed of eighteen governorates, or provinces. Each province has a Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) Governorate Team (GT) that works with the local government officials and community leaders to develop the local political scene and civic society. This civic and political development is done by forming political processes to choose government officials, assisting civic leaders in developing their organizations, mentoring local government officials and civic leaders, and identifying and supervising rebuilding and reconstruction projects, among other things.” Bitner continued, “Each GT is generally comprised of a governance coordinator, a deputy coordinator, a political advisor,

process,” said Mines. “I was given the opportunity as the provincial governance coordinator to oversee the formation of a new council. My key partner, Steve, on loan from the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw, was the coalition political advisor. The process of choosing a council remained a challenge, however, since we were stuck somewhere between selection and election, the first lacking legitimacy, and the latter being too complex to manage,” he explained.

To promote a stable environment in which democracy can flourish, Mines, Bitner, and the rest of their team assisted the Iraqi caucuses. Mines explained, “The caucus mechanism, in which select groups of Iraqis would convene to elect their leaders, was intended as a compromise approach that would, by

“By mid-January the caucus process was ready to roll. In some areas, the current town leadership tried to control attendance at the caucuses, while others were well managed and open. But in all cases, observers reported both a clear hunger by Iraqis to be directly involved in their political future and an Iraqi fascination with the process of casting a ballot,” he reported.

Negotiating the Democratic Way

Designing the ballots proved to be a straightforward process. “Our Iraqi team came up with a simple template in which the 200 or so individuals in each of the occupational caucuses—engineers, educators, doctors, lawyers, etc.—were briefed on the rules of the game, and candidates were allowed to give brief

speeches,” said Mines. “Then each individual was given a blank ballot on which to write his choice after verifying his credentials with the judge. Ballots were then counted by the judge and tallied on a blackboard by a small committee in an open forum viewed by all caucus attendees.”

Reflecting on the caucuses, Bitner said, “In total, more than twenty-five meetings were held either to elect a representative or to prepare the electorate for an upcoming vote. Some of the meetings were very peaceful and subdued. Many, though, were marked by loud debates and walkouts. Nearly every meeting that we held was covered by the local news media and broadcast to the people of Anbar. This open, argumentative, democratic process created a snowball effect where each subsequent meeting was attended by more individuals.”



A large group of community business leaders listen to candidates declare their platforms.



One vote per person.



Triumphant supporters of the winning candidate carry him out of the room on their shoulders while they sing and dance.

Yet the depth of integrated democratic ideology varied with each caucus. “Several of the caucuses were almost too simple. For the Ramadi religious seat, we had thirty or more Imams [Muslim clerics] show up and inform us that they did not need to vote, since they all agreed on the moderate Khaled Sulayman as their choice. A quick show of hands confirmed this decision and another quick voice selection yielded his deputy,” said Mines.

Other caucuses were much more complicated. “The educators’ and the health professionals’ elections did not go smoothly,” reported Bitner. “The first election was very well attended by about 250 local primary school, secondary school, technical school, and university educators. Unfortunately, the

groups do not get along. It’s sufficient to say that tempers were high with various groups and individuals accusing each other and the CPA of circumventing democracy.

“At one point, a loud individual railed against the injustice of having only one seat for educators on the new Provincial Council instead of three. Soon nearly half of the congregation started for the single exit in the back of the room. Acting fast, we yelled for the police officer to ‘Seal the doors!’ so the discussion could continue. The audience became captive. Twenty tense minutes of explanation, discussion, and negotiation later and the would-be participants agreed to continue their involvement in the election. It was an exhausting meeting,” he disclosed.

Thinking back to the educators’ caucus, Bitner admitted, “In retrospect, I think the experience with the educators

was actually very positive. It demonstrated to me that the Iraqis are dedicated to having a true democratic process, so much so, that they are willing to boycott the process if it’s not perceived as genuine. Fortunately, we were able to convince them that the current process was as genuine as possible.”

Both Mines and Bitner hailed the business caucus as successful, yet complex. “There was such intense interest in the business caucus that we were forced to hold three successive votes after our first attempt was overwhelmed,” commented Mines.

Bitner added, “We knew that we would potentially have about one thousand people come out to participate in this caucus. The room that we had been using for these events holds about three

hundred, so the numbers created some logistical problems which we solved by holding three meetings in quick succession so that everyone who wanted to would be able to vote.” He also pointed out that “it was a challenge to ensure that people only voted once and that the room didn’t become so full as to pose a lethal fire hazard, but we pulled it off.”

The circumstances sound like something Hollywood would create for a movie set. “We were in this fairly large hall. Due to power outages that frequently plague Ramadi, there were no internal lights. Because of the crowds crushing to get inside to witness the final tally, all the doors to the outside were shut and locked. The only light came from a few windows in the back of the room and the small LED flashlights that our team was carrying,” said Bitner. “Over the past three hours the room had been full of hundreds of smoking indi-

viduals, so a haze had settled that made everything murky.

“As the final tally was announced, the jubilant supporters of the winning candidate broke out in clapping and chanting. Somebody ripped open the doors that led directly outside. Sunlight streamed into the room, and a large crowd picked up the candidate and carried him out of the room on their shoulders, the crowd chanting and dancing the whole way. Democracy at its finest,” he affirmed.

No Longer Silenced

Men weren’t the only ones involved in the political process. In special caucus sessions, women voiced their opinions and cast their votes. As Bitner reported, “One of our greatest successes was the

women's caucus. It was phenomenal. We had 248 women of Ramadi vote for their representative to the provincial council. Originally, the women were supposed to meet on 12 January in order to elect their representative, but when we arrived for that meeting there were a total of about twenty women. Rather than go ahead with that small number, we decided to postpone the election until 22 January in hopes that more women would participate and the results would enjoy greater legitimacy."

Mines explained, "Our first attempt to hold a women's caucus failed when the majority of the women turned away at the sight of television cameras. A second meeting was scheduled with the promise that no cameras would be present."

The turnout for the second attempt was gratifying. "We had about 280 women attend the second caucus. The women who nominated themselves

ered by the local and international press as has been the case with all of our other elections. It's too bad. I think that all Iraqis would have benefited by seeing that kind of event," Bitner attested.

Personal Safety and Security

The war that created the need for political reconstruction must also now deal with the extremist anti-coalition and anti-American Iraqis remain, posing a threat to the safety of coalition participants. Precautions such as round-the-clock bodyguards and bullet-proof vests were necessary to protect Mines and Bitner against violent assaults. "In the Anbar Province, the U.S. military provided site security at both our place of work in downtown Ramadi as well as at the military base where we slept and worked at night. They also often provided convoy security as we made movement around the town and prov-

in a roadside bomb with other persons in it. Luckily, it was an armored vehicle so no one was harmed. The team has been hit by at least one more IED (Improvised Explosive Device) since I left. We used our weapons several times to respond to ambushes but nothing more than that. We also generally traveled with military convoys, and they had the mission of protecting us, but we wanted to be able to pitch in if necessary. We never carried weapons when around Iraqis doing our day-to-day jobs."

Despite the obvious dangers facing the coalition, participants were ready and willing to put fear aside in order for democracy to flourish. "As far as fearing for my safety," Bitner conceded, "Shortly after arriving it became clear



Several women participate in the election for a representative to the Provincial Council of Anbar.



A local woman exercises her right to vote.

Steve Bitner prepares for the trip downtown.

as candidates for the seat were amazing. They were more articulate and passionate in presenting their visions for the future of Iraq and the place of women in that future than any other candidates in any other election had been—all of whom were male," said Bitner. "At the end of the meeting, the clear winner was the Islamic candidate. The progressive candidate, a lawyer who had lost three brothers to Saddam's regime, gave a concession speech where she stated that it wasn't important who had come in first or second, the real winners of the day's election were the women of Iraq.

"Unfortunately, a great many of women present at the meeting stated that they would leave and boycott the vote if any television cameras were present. As a result, this meeting wasn't cov-

ince," said Bitner. "In Ramadi, I wore a flack-jacket style vest and carried a firearm while traveling to and from locations. In addition, during our rounds of election meetings, I wore a low profile bullet-proof vest under my shirt."

Mines concurred that "with regards to the vests and weapons, every time we left the base we put on bulletproof vests and carried weapons while we traveled. We were under constant threat from ambushes and roadside bombs." And conditions at that time were not as heated as they have become in recent weeks.

"Steve and I were never hit," continued Mines, "but the day after the caucuses ended, my vehicle was destroyed

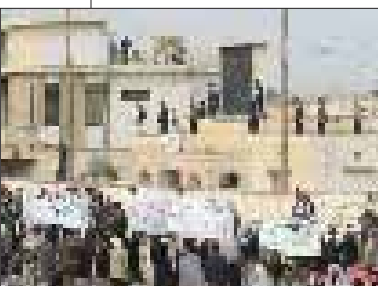


that every day that we operate in Iraq, we are at risk, but you learn to minimize the risk and it becomes tolerable. Most everyone with the coalition accepts that and is able to cope without letting fear consume them."

An Elected Provincial Council

Democracy comes in baby steps. It is a long and difficult process to go from a system based on military dictatorship and a strong emphasis on tribal and traditional leaders, with little say from the public as to who ruled or even how the country was run, to a system based on the democratic ideals emphasizing the citizens' rights in forming and directing the government. But the initial move toward democracy did result in a representative council.

"Over a two-month period, over five thousand Iraqis, most of whom had never been involved in politics before



Demonstrators were in opposition to the Provincial Council that had recently formed in Hillah, Babil Province.

and many of whom were previously hostile to the coalition, assembled in caucuses to select their representatives," Mines said. "This process, though recognized by all as imperfect, was nonetheless a major breakthrough for civic society and the development of democracy in this restive province. It demonstrated an absolute desire on the part of the citizens of Al Anbar to be directly involved in selecting their leaders, an intuitive feel for the process of democracy, and a fascination with voting."

Though a difficult journey still in the process of realization, the implementation of democracy was greatly aided by the caucuses. These meetings served to establish an elected provincial council as they aided in breaking down social barriers among the people in Iraq and between Iraq and the coalition members.

"By the end of the entire process we had overseen the creation of a provincial council that represented the people of Anbar to a degree never before seen in the province," reflected Bitner. "Not every elected representative on the council could be considered a friend of the coalition, but their inclusion convinced many that the U.S. is committed to democracy in deed and not just in word. There was a palpable difference in the way that the citizens of Ramadi regarded coalition members when compared with attitudes displayed before the creation of the council."

The new council held its first meeting on 8 February. "The council was recognized as an imperfect body that had been selected through an imperfect process, but it was also widely recognized as the first



democratic body to represent the people of Al Anbar," Mines concluded.

"Significantly, we saw the hunger of Iraqi citizens for a voice in how their affairs were managed and an utter fascination with the process of voting. From a trickle to a flood, democracy had arrived in the Al Anbar Province of Iraq."

The Process Continues

After a short break, Bitner is again serving in Iraq, this time in Babil Province. "Babil Province has been a somewhat different story from the Province of Al Anbar," he said. "This is a predominately Shiite province, whose

citizens suffered a great deal under Saddam. Security continues to be foremost on everyone's mind.

"Here, the four-member governorate team has a number of Polish paratroopers that have been detailed to provide our security as we work and travel through the province. The City Hall building that houses the governorate team's office is guarded by Polish paratroopers and whatever contingent of Iraqi police assigned to the building for the day."

Due to recent attacks, more precautions must be taken for safety. "Unlike Anbar, here in Babil Province, I do carry a sidearm with me during my daily work. While inconvenient and a possible detriment at times in building relations with local Iraqis, the possibility that a sidearm might be needed out-

weighs any negatives associated with carrying it," said Bitner. "That said, the vast majority of Iraqis that we deal with are very receptive to what we are doing here in Hillah. They want a free and independent Iraq." 🇮🇶

Bitner will remain in Babil Province until June 2004, at which point he will return to his post as a consular/economic officer at the embassy in Warsaw, Poland. Mines returned to his post as a political/military affairs officer at the embassy in Budapest, Hungary.

A BABE UPON ITS MOTHER'S LAP: CHURCH DEVELOPMENT IN A DEVELOPING WORLD

Elder Robert S. Wood, Quorum of the Seventy

In a real sense, human societies, whether portrayed as developed or developing, are designated in the prefatory section of the Doctrine and Covenants simply as “Babylon the Great,” whose fundamental tendency is to “seek not the Lord to establish his righteousness.” At the same time, however, the Church of Christ, called forth out of obscurity, has been commissioned to proclaim the fullness of the gospel, to establish the everlasting covenant in the hearts of the people, and to prepare them to “speak in the name of God, the Lord, even the Savior of the world” (Section 1).

In the first Worldwide Leadership Training Meeting on 11 January 2003, President Boyd K. Packer reminded us of an earlier such meeting, as reported by President Wilford Woodruff:

[One] Sunday night [in 1834] the Prophet [Joseph Smith] called on all who held the Priesthood to gather into the little log school [in Kirtland, Ohio]. . . . It was a small house, perhaps 14 feet square. But it held the whole of the Priesthood of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints who were there in the town of Kirtland, and who had gathered together to go off in Zion's camp. . . .

The Prophet called upon the Elders of Israel with him to bear testimony of this work. . . . When they got through, the Prophet said: ‘Brethren I have been very much edified and instructed in your testimonies here tonight, but I want to say to you before the Lord, that you know no more concerning the destinies of this Church and kingdom than a babe upon its mother's lap. You don't comprehend it. . . . It is only a little handful of Priesthood you see here tonight, but this Church will [grow until it will] fill North and South America—it will fill the world’ (*Conference Report*, April 1898, p. 57).



Recalling the words of President Woodruff and speaking by satellite transmission to priesthood bearers around the world, President Packer underscored just how far the Church had developed since that Sunday evening in Kirtland. He cited the flock's diversity among whom the shepherds of Israel now labor. But he also cited the unity that transcends that diversity and the categories into which we sort people: "Although we differ," he said, "in language and custom and culture and in many ways, when we meet together we strengthen one another, and we become one. The language of the Church is the language of the Spirit."

Americans or Brazilians, French or Chinese, Europeans or Africans, developed or developing—there is a tie that steps over the limits of time, space, and tradition. As the Apostle Paul recognized in his own Mediterranean world, that bond makes us "no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the Saints, and of the household of God." It is worth emphasizing that Paul recognized that this transcendent citizenship is founded upon prophets and apostles with Jesus Christ as the chief corner stone (Ephesians 2:18–19).

As it was in the first century, so it is today. With this vista before us, let us now together consider what is, in fact, developing in the developing world and how the Church's destiny, as foreseen by the Prophet Joseph Smith, is being realized in that segment of the Lord's vineyard.

"Americans or Brazilians, French or Chinese, Europeans or Africans, developed or developing—there is a tie that steps over the limits of time, space, and tradition."

DEVELOPMENTALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM

As many of you well know, the very term *development* is weighted with much baggage and often intense controversy. As some of the terms of the debate are relevant to the discussion of the Church's role, particularly outside of Western Europe, Canada, and the United States, let me venture into these murky waters. The notion of the developing world preceded in various guises the contemporary world and may in some sense be seen as related to what the historian J.P. Bury called the "idea of progress" in Western history. So let me start where such things often begin—in ancient Greece.

Despite the strength of the ancient belief that human history is cyclical—or that, at best, humanity's finest moments lie behind it in some golden age—by the start of the fifth century before Christ, the Greek poet/philosopher Xenophanes (560–478 B.C.) wrote: "The gods did not reveal from the beginning all things to us; but in the course of time, through seeking, men find that which is better." Through human effort and striving, things may get better—that is, they develop.

Aristotle explicitly linked development with inherent potential and the fulfillment of that potential with human happiness. Each living thing—given proper external conditions and nurture—tends toward some good or end. So it is

with human beings—and, by extension, human societies. Individual and social development, in this view, is not simply culturally determined—although favored or inhibited by the conditions of time and place—but is defined by the nature of human beings, their potential, and hence, their proper end.

This philosophical stance was given a powerful boost with the industrial revolution's onset. Insight into how the material world works—along with human inventiveness and invention—reinforced both the notions of development as improvement and of the commonality of that development in all societies.

By the 1950s, a whole literature on intellectual, scientific, technological, economic, social, and political development surfaced but with it, controversy whether or not such an approach to those societies characterized as "developing" was but an imperial or colonial perspective, a mirror image of Western intellectual and social history.

Indeed, after the Second World War, policy makers and analysts alike divided the world in three parts, with the first two parts being defined by the Cold War divide and the Third World being those who were not clearly associated with either side of that Cold War divide or were assertively nonaligned. A high percentage of those states were in the southern hemisphere and were characterized not only by their stance on the Cold War but their level



of development. Development was explicitly defined by reference to key political, social, and economic traits of the American-led coalition, centered in North America (the United States and Canada), Western Europe, and Japan. Aside from the military containment of the Soviet Union and its partners, coalition members were increasingly defined by policy goals and processes that favored economically integrated, market-based, liberal democratic, and rule-coordinated communities.

With the Cold War's conclusion, containment, with its triadic view, gave way to another tripartite perspective, this time defined by the notion of "globalization." The terms of reference were remarkably similar to those of the Cold War: vanguard societies networked together, not only by the instruments of the information revolution, but by broader and deeper economic integration and commitment to democratic norms and practices. This vanguard is the center and the driver of global economic growth and increasing social equality. It centers as during the Cold War in Western Europe, North America, and Japan and accounts for 70% of global gross domestic product (GDP), 80% of global foreign direct investments (FDIs), and 10% of global population.

If Western Europe, North America, and Japan are again the new *First World* core, what are, in this view, the other two worlds? The Second World refers to those societies who are going through the interlinked process of domestic political transformation and interna-

tional economic integration, with all the social and cultural implications implied by such changes. This is seen as the true world of development and includes such diverse states as China, India, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, a number of states in Southeast and Northeast Asia, and the states of Eastern and Central Europe associated with the European Union. Some states may be problematic as to whether or when they would enter into this world, but the key direction of progress is seen as integration with the First World.

Transitional disruptions in investment and employment patterns and social dislocations are assumed not only in the Second World but in the First World as well, but the expectation is that sustained economic growth, democratization, and social betterment will result. And what of those states who seem marginalized in this process, notably in the Middle East and Africa? They are clearly the newly defined Third-World denizens and a breeding ground of resentment, anger, and violence.

Whether from a Cold War or a globalization perspective, this is, of course, an idealized version of the *worlds* since the Second World War. It does sustain the argument of those who see the very notion of development as stemming from a particular Western vantage point and being reflective of the political economies and the policies of key Western countries.

If there is, however, a powerful tendency in the literature of development to see certain common elements of intellectual, economic, or political evolution—indeed, progress—in both Western and non-Western societies, so there has arisen a comparably powerful school of thought that emphasizes the cultural distinctiveness and hence incommensurate evolution of different societies—with the possible exception of technological inventions. This latter exception could, however, be quite troublesome in the argument if one holds that technological development itself—and the science that undergirds it—decisively shapes other areas of human endeavor. In any case, we can discern two distinctive approaches to the course of social evolution—what I would call the *development school* and the *multicultural school*.

How might these perspectives bear upon the subject at hand? In the first place, if there is a common human nature and good—destiny, if you will—transcendent of history, then the touchstone by which to evaluate development in all cultures and societies must be that common nature and good. Gross domestic product, economic arrangements, political decision making, social relations, customs—all the items we use to pronounce a society as *developed* or *developing* may be consequential only to the degree that they nurture the good man or woman. If this is so, it may well be that literacy, political democracy, economic growth, free markets, and greater social equality are intimately



“When the restored gospel enters into any country or society, the kingdom of God accompanies it. “

connected to human potential, and that the Western experience *is* universal in its implications and not simply the imperial and mirror-gazing fantasies of Western economists and politicians.

Second, it may also be that some practices that we too quickly dismiss as the Wasatch Front's quaint customs, may be intimately connected to the kingdom's doctrinal foundations. Zion is not only the pure in heart but a society of the pure in heart. Israel, the Kingdom of God, Zion—these are all social concepts. When the restored gospel enters into any country or society, the kingdom of God accompanies it. Being no more strangers and foreigners but fellow citizens is a weighty idea. A developing church in a developing world carries breathtaking implications.

IT WILL FILL THE WORLD

Whatever the vantage point, what finally defines the developing world? In the first instance, it is defined by what it lacks. Secondly, and more controversially, it is defined by whither it tends. In general, the developing world is deficient in sustained economic growth and social equality; it is lacking in constitutionally delimited democracy and honest bureaucratic structures; its market system is typically rudimentary and modern infrastructure fragmented and unreliable; it is characterized more by oligarchy and personal favoritism than independent legal and institutional norms; its population is young, but its mortality rates are often high; personal and group security is fragile and violence more typical than peaceful resolution of disputes; and the hopes of its people, stimulated by a global media

and market system, are often shattered by the realities of social barriers, corruption, and political incompetence.

However, these societies so characterized are really on a spectrum both in terms of the relationship between their past and their present and among each other. Development means not only movement away from the things described above but movement toward norms, institutions, practices, and global engagements that can only be described as Western in origin, empowered by a science and technology that reached its apogee in the West.

On the other hand, in many of these developing societies, particularly in the southern hemisphere, there is an important cultural gap between them and some of the most advanced Western-based communities—the spirit of faith. Unlike Europe, west *and* east, which has once again embraced paganism with a rapidity that few would have suspected, many of the peoples in the developing world retain a strong spiritual sense. As many commentators have noted, they are open as perhaps never before to the teachings of theistic religion in general and Christianity in particular. Indeed, it is in these areas that the Church's growth is most visible as it is among immigrants coming to the United States, Canada, and Europe from these developing regions.

In one sense, the establishment and deepening of the Church in these areas sustains the influence of Western modes of development, for the Church's culture, like the culture of Christianity in general, is intimately connected with

certain norms closely associated with the rise of the West. At the same time, however, critical elements of Church doctrine and social practice increasingly diverge from the secular trends so widespread in the West. Such doctrines and practices focus and refine the spiritual sense often found among the peoples of the developing world. I would signal three key elements that have prepared the Church for the preaching of the gospel and the establishment of the kingdom in the developing world—doctrinal, cultural, and institutional.

BY SOUND DOCTRINE BOTH TO EXHORT AND TO CONVINCE (TITUS 1:9)

I am not sure that the general membership of the Church has fully grasped the significance of the Worldwide Training Meetings commenced in January 2003 of which there have currently been three, with additional broadcasts scheduled for June of this year and two in 2005. The broadcasts are the apostolic voice to Church leadership in every country about the fundamental doctrines, principles, and practices that define the restored gospel's mission and roles. Since the opening of the heavens to the Prophet Joseph Smith that spring day in 1820, the Lord through his prophets has established the latter-day kingdom's fundamental canon. Beyond that canon, over the years, a tradition of religious exposition and teaching has evolved, as have programs to meet the needs of a growing church. As the Church's membership has grown beyond its North American core, however, the brethren have sought to reinforce in the minds



***"The unity of the faith worldwide
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of all people that which is most fundamental to the Restoration and to emphasize the key role of the Spirit's guidance in the conduct of the Church in a diverse world.

The unity of the faith worldwide is founded on Christ, and the guidance and teachings of the apostles and prophets. It is undergirded by the commission to the Saints and their leaders, not to be themselves instructed by the philosophies of the world, but to "teach the children of men the things which [the Lord has] put into [their] hands by the power of the Spirit. And [they] are to be taught from on high." They are summoned to "sanctify [themselves] and [they] shall be endowed with power, that [they] may give even as [the Lord has] spoken" (Doctrine and Covenants 43:15–16).

What have been the central themes of these worldwide training meetings? They include: the doctrines of the Restoration as revealed to the Prophet Joseph Smith and his successors; the principles of revelation and priesthood authority; the critical importance of the redeeming ordinances as the instruments of the Atonement and the temple as the focus of our efforts; the standards of personal worthiness; the eternal nature of the family; the mandate to prepare missionaries and preach the gospel; the role of the stake, the bishops, and the auxiliaries; and the adaptability of organization and programs to the varying circumstances of our members. Running through all these presentations are doctrinal foundations, illustrations on how to fulfill the Church's mission

and the roles of the priesthood and auxiliaries, and the need to seek and follow with all diligence the Spirit's guidance in the diverse opportunities and challenges facing the Saints.

In effect, the Church's response to the diversity of the circumstances of our members is an emphasis on the basic doctrinal and principled foundations that both transcend those circumstances and provide the key to the necessary adaptations in programs and organization. There has been a great deal of talk in recent years about reducing and simplifying. Although much of the inspiration for this may lie in the need to provide our families "space" within which to carry out their divine role, a major impetus is to provide a framework within which the Church can respond to the varying circumstances of our members, most particularly in the developing world.

AN HOLY NATION (TITUS 1:9)

As earlier observed, when the gospel enters into a country, the kingdom goes with it—and hence a particular culture. The Church members are the products of different histories, languages, and civilizations, which bring a richness of experiences, perspective, and custom to the common enterprise to bring forth and establish the cause of Zion. Overarching and transcending this rich variety of customs is a gospel culture. Often this culture joins seamlessly with the local culture, but at times, it requires a change of such local cultural perspectives and practices.

There are some who are uncomfortable with the notion of a distinctive Latter-day Saint culture for fear that it represents the customs of the Western Mormons. There are, indeed, customs that are parochial, but a number of practices are integral to the restored gospel and the drama of latter-day Israel.

Robert Louis Wilken, a professor of the history of Christianity at the University of Virginia, recently wrote concerning the special culture of Christianity in general and its abandonment in European and American culture. Referring to T.S. Eliot's characterization of culture as the "total harvest of thinking and feeling," Wilken points to "the pattern of inherited meanings and sensibilities encoded in ritual, law, language, practice, and stories that can order, inspire, and guide the behavior, thoughts, and affections of a Christian people." Not only theological ideas but actual historical experiences define the universal Christian community. As he concludes, "Christ does not simply infiltrate a culture; Christ creates culture by forming another city, another sovereignty with its own social and political life" ("The Church as Culture," *First Things*, April 2004, Number 142, p. 32).

What are some of the elements of the distinctive "pattern of inherited meanings and sensibilities" that characterize latter-day Israel? Some of those elements are grounded in basic doctrinal principles, as, for instance, the nature and role of the family, sexuality, dress and demeanor, the care of the

"There are, indeed, customs that are parochial, but a number of practices are integral to the restored gospel and the drama of latter-day Israel."



body, the sanctity of speech, and certain forms of entertainment. The doctrine of eternal gender and the relationship between a man and woman, as well as the divinely mandated roles of mothers and fathers, are closely connected with standards of sexual behavior, modesty in dress and speech, and the inappropriateness of some recreational and lifestyle choices. The Word of Wisdom also does not simply define what should be taken into the body but separates Latter-day Saints from some of the cultural practices and associations often connected with such things as alcohol, smoking, drugs, coffee, and tea.

The concept of individual freedom is central to the plan of salvation and the Atonement and carries implications far beyond the theological realm. The organization of society and notions of rights and duties naturally flow from the teachings that life entails not only choice but the ability to make choices and to be responsible for the consequences of ones' actions—in effect, personal accountability. The emphasis on both self-reliance and ties of community and charity are themselves shaped by the central doctrine of moral agency and personal freedom. These beliefs and norms give rise in turn to certain cultural expectations and patterns of behavior distinct from the broader society, whether it be in the highly secular society of the developed world or the more restrictive but spiritually open societies in much of the developing world.

If fundamental doctrine defines the broad culture, so too does the historical experience of the Latter-day Saints.

As doctrine has shaped the “pattern of inherited meanings and sensibilities,” so, too, has the history of the restored Church. To say that the events in upper state New York, Kirtland, Zion’s Camp, Missouri, Illinois, the westward trek, and the rise of the Mormon communities in the west are but parts of Americana or Western American history, is to miss the universal significance of these shaping events in the latter-day kingdom’s rise. It would be comparable to saying that the Passover, the forty years in the wilderness, the Babylonian captivity are but chapters in the history of Egypt, Canaan, and the ancient world. Not only was Israel defined by these epics but so, too, was the consciousness of Lehi’s children and of Christianity itself.

The twenty-fourth of July celebration and the Mormons’ settlements throughout the west are not of parochial concern but the workings of God to prepare a people with a universal mission and readiness to receive the triumphant Lord upon His return. The spread of the gospel and the kingdom entails the incorporation of diverse peoples into this historical consciousness. It is part of the spiritual covenant that causes them to stand apart from their societies, even as the nineteenth-century Saints were separated from the diverse peoples from which they came. As Peter told the early day Saints, harking back to the commission of Moses to the children of Israel, “Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation . . . which in times past

were not a people, but are now the people of God. . . . As he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation” (1 Peter 2:9, 10; 1:15).

FITLY FRAMED TOGETHER (EPHESIANS 2:21)

As an eternal and universal doctrine and a transcendent culture have prepared the Church for its vocation in the developing world, so, also, has the inspired organization raised up by the Prophet Joseph Smith. One stands in awe at the simplicity and adaptability of the institutions established by the Prophet and their subsequent development to meet the needs of a growing and increasingly diverse Church. Family focus; lay leadership; priesthood keys and quorums; inspired and hierarchically generated and congregationally sustained calls; geographically delimited local congregations; stakes as the fundamental defense, refuge, and gathering places of the Saints; gender-based, age, and special-needs groups organized as auxiliaries of the priesthood—these institutional building blocks can be introduced and adapted in remarkably different circumstances. Programs have and will change, but these fundamental institutional elements, like the doctrine, remain constant. Overarching these local organizations stands the apostolic direction. In many respects, it has been at the pinnacle of the Church where the most significant developments have occurred.

If one had to pick a date of most contemporary significance to the Church’s growth in the developing world, one could probably do no better than 9 June 1978, subsequently followed by



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an official declaration of the First Presidency on 30 September in the same year. As the declaration stated, “In early June of this year, the First Presidency announced that a revelation had been received by President Spencer W. Kimball extending priesthood and temple blessings to all worthy male members of the Church” (Doctrine and Covenants Official Declaration 2). The implications of this removal of all restrictions on those of African descent were immense for the preaching of the gospel and the establishment of the Church in Africa, Brazil, and around the world. If one adds the global explosion of temple building, reaching its apogee under the direction of President Gordon B. Hinckley, the Church’s whole relationship to areas once distant, not only physically but socially, from Salt Lake City was decisively altered from that June date onward.

Another key element in the developing Church is in the transformation and extension of the apostolic voice. In my own memory, the direct involvement of the apostles, organized in the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve, has been intense and extensive, not only in the policy but in the implementation arena. As one reads the Church’s history, it is clear how necessary this extensive direction was. The spirit of the organization that the Prophet erected had to penetrate deeply into the consciousness of lay leaders coming from many backgrounds and cultures. Handbooks and manuals have been written to codify the objectives, standards, and practices of the Church

organization, but, as has often been noted, there are intangible things that cannot be reduced to paper or computer programs. In a real sense, the Church is multigenerational, not simply in the sense that it generates families of Latter-day Saints but it is multigenerational in its organizational capacity. Simply, it often takes several generations to appreciate fully how one ought to lead and guide.

One can take nearly any country in which the Church has grown in recent years to appreciate how the strength of the Church organization depends on the transmission of the gospel through several generations. In Brazil, where I served in an Area Presidency for three years, I was struck by how developed the Church was in the south as compared to the north, where the Church’s establishment was of later origins. Yet even there, the great strength came from a few families who had years earlier joined the Church, as well as those families who had moved into the area from the south. At the same time, I saw the foundation of families who will provide the inspiration and leadership of the Brazil North Area and of the Church as a whole in the years to come.

This process of development in Brazil is in fact comparable to what has occurred elsewhere, even in the United States. A number of families who came from the Rocky Mountain West moved to the west and east coasts and the north and south of the United States and provided the initial Church leadership, which has subsequently given

way to “home grown” families that have provided leaders not only in their localities but throughout the world.

It has sometimes been joked that the Church is guided by revelation, inspiration, and relation. Underlying this wry witticism lies a profound truth. The Church’s rise depends not only on those who can read and understand the “rule books” but those whose very instincts and sentiments grasp the spirit that is at the heart of the institution. More, they grasp that it is *the* Spirit that must ultimately be the guide. As the Church’s history demonstrates, this understanding can be seized by a single new convert. But it becomes rooted and is perpetuated in his or her own family.

To return to the original point, given the need for close guidance of a young and growing church, it is not surprising how involved the apostles have been in the Church’s daily administration. Yet, in recent years, as the Church spread into many cultures and climes and witnessed unparalleled growth, it became apparent that the key issue was how to ensure that the apostolic voice would continue to be heard. The worldwide leadership meetings, the reach of modern telecommunications, the active chairing of the Church’s principal committees, and a travel schedule that remains breathtaking—these all will remain key elements in ensuring that the apostolic and prophetic foundations of the kingdom endure. At the same time, progressive steps in the evolution of the general organization have extended the apostolic voice.

“The worldwide leadership meetings, the reach of modern telecommunications, the active chairing of the Church’s principal committees, and a travel schedule that remains breathtaking—these all will remain key elements in ensuring that the apostolic and prophetic foundations of the kingdom endure.”



In April 2004, it was announced that, beginning in the second half of the year, many stake conferences theretofore presided over by a General Authority or Area Authority Seventy would be clustered together and the First Presidency and members of the Quorum of the Twelve would meet with those stakes in their respective centers on the Sunday of conference by satellite transmission. The stake presidents would preside over the regular Saturday priesthood leadership and Saturday evening sessions. Moreover, the reorganization of stakes were to be henceforth done by the Quorum of the Twelve and the Seven Presidents of the Seventy, assisted where needed by other General Authorities and Area Authority Seventies.

Over the years the apostles have organized and deployed various “arms” to share in the burdens of administration and by which they could reach throughout the world. Assistants to the Twelve, additional counselors in the First Presidency, regional representatives, area administrators, as well as the development of an extensive Church “civil service” in the temporal and programmatic areas, have all been employed to ensure the clarity, reach, and vigor of the apostolic guidance.

But one of the most significant developments has been in the extension of the role of the Seventy. The Lord declared in the Doctrine and Covenants the pattern whereby the apostles may build up the Church and regulate all of its affairs:

“Over the years the apostles have organized and deployed various “arms” to share in the burdens of administration and by which they could reach throughout the world.”

The Twelve are a Traveling Presiding High Council, to officiate in the name of the Lord, under the direction of the Presidency of the Church, agreeable to the institution of heaven; to build up the church and regulate all the affairs of the same in all nations, first unto the Gentiles and secondly unto the Jews. The Seventy are to act in the name of the Lord, under the direction of the Twelve or the traveling high council, in building up the church and regulating all the affairs of the same in all nations, first unto the Gentiles and then to the Jews; the Twelve being sent out, holding the keys, to open the door by the proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and first unto the Gentiles and then unto the Jews. . . . It is the duty of the traveling high council to call upon the Seventy, when they need assistance, to fill the several calls for preaching and administering the gospel, instead of any others (Doctrine and Covenants 107:33–35, 38).

In the same section the Lord called upon the Seventy to join with the Twelve as “especial witnesses” of Christ and the restored gospel “unto the Gentiles and in all the world—thus differing from other officers in the church in the duties of their calling” (Doctrine and Covenants 107:25).

Throughout much of Church history, this pattern was realized by the organization of the seven-member First Council of the Seventy as General Authorities, with the body of the Seventies called to serve as full-time or stake missionaries. It is clear from

the words of Section 107, however, that when the mission of the Church required, the role of the Seventy could be considerably extended. Beginning in the early 1960s, in response to the Church growth, there began what President Boyd K. Packer has called “a pattern of intense revelation.”

First, in 1961, four members of the First Council of the Seventy were ordained high priests and authorized to organize and reorganize stakes and give assignments to stake presidents. The members of the First Council of the Seventy were subsequently given the sealing power. After a gestation period in which regional representatives were called and stake presidents given increased authority, the First Quorum of the Seventy, with provision for emeritus status, was organized as General Authorities and called, not only to assist in the general administration at headquarters but as Area Presidencies to carry out the mandate to assist the Twelve to build up and regulate the Church in all nations. Subsequently, the stake seventies quorums were phased out, and the Second Quorum of the Seventy, with term appointments, was also called with its members designated as General Authorities with responsibilities comparable to the First Quorum.

Finally, in 1995, regional representatives gave way to Area Authorities, who were subsequently ordained Seventies and General Officers of the Church. They were to serve in Church service comparable to bishops and stake presi-



dents: continuing their professional lives, living in their places of residence, and given responsibility in the broad geographical areas in which the Church was organized. They were initially organized in the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Quorums and given extensive responsibilities in the organization and reorganization of stakes and general oversight responsibilities—some even serving in Area Presidencies. In April 2004, the First Presidency announced the division of the Fifth Quorum to create the Sixth Quorum.

It was further explained that the Seven Presidents would be released as executive directors of six of the key headquarter departments and given responsibility for the eleven areas in Canada and the United States, hence dissolving the Area Presidencies in those areas. Other Seventies were called as executive directors of the several departments. Area Authority Seventies, whose numbers grow, would continue to have area responsibilities. The international Area Presidencies would remain in place. Members of the Twelve, assisted by assigned members of the Presidency of the Seventy, serve as first contacts for these international Area Presidencies.

This is but an abbreviated sketch of recent organizational changes, but it points to two key developments. First, greater responsibilities devolved upon stake presidents, including the ordination of patriarchs and the setting apart of full-time missionaries. The responsibilities of stake presidents will be

further heightened in the years to come. Second, the Seventies, under the direction of the Quorum of the Twelve, were organized under the presidency of the Seven Presidents of the Seventy, either as General Authorities or Area Authority Seventies, to assist in the apostolic charge to build up and regulate the Church. The apostolic keys pertain only to the apostles, but the apostolic authority may be exercised by the Seventy under the direction of the apostles. Hence, the stakes as defenses, refuges, and gathering places have been built up under a strengthened local stake president and apostolic oversight is universal and continuous, whatever the diversity of cultures and a world in commotion.

THE DESTINY OF THIS CHURCH AND KINGDOM

As President Hinckley has often noted, there was a great prologue to the Restoration of the Church—a development period, if you will. If all things are present with the Lord, it is clear that the preparation of ancient Israel, the ideas of ancient Greece, the rise of Christianity, the Renaissance and the Reformation, and the enlightenment ideas of the Age of Reason, prepared the political, economic, and social soil for the implantation of the latter-day kingdom. The Church came “forth out of the wilderness of darkness” and is shining forth “fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners” (Doctrine and Covenants 109:73).

If great secular developments prepared the way for the Restoration, it seems plausible that these same developments and others have converged together to prepare the way for the preaching of the gospel and the establishment of the Church throughout the world. Separate cultures may stand as barriers to the spread of the gospel kingdom, but the eroding and unifying forces of development begun in, but now no longer limited to, the West have cast down walls and opened doors. Many of the forces associated with political, economic, and social development are painful and even unjust. Some are morally corrupting. So, too, has it been in the history of Europe and America. But the power to weaken the “tradition of the fathers” (Doctrine and Covenants 93:39) and to open doors and hearts must not be underestimated. What Joseph Smith saw that Sunday night in 1834 was that the flowering of the Church and the sweep of history would ensure that “the truth of God will go forth boldly, nobly, and independently, till it has penetrated every continent, visited every clime, swept every country, and sounded in every ear, till the purposes of God shall be accomplished, and the Great Jehovah shall say the work is done” (*History of the Church*, Volume 4, p. 540). ❧❧

“the truth of God will go forth boldly, nobly, and independently, till it has penetrated every continent, visited every clime, swept every country, and sounded in every ear . . .”





A Reader's Journey: Exploring Issues, Principles, and Conditions

J. Lee Simons

From the history of the world to the current terrorist threat, the campus community is invited on a reader's journey to explore issues, principles, and conditions facing mankind in the twenty-first century through the Kennedy Center's Book of the Semester. Faculty and administrators seek input to determine which book addresses a timely topic in a provocative way, and the author is invited to present their viewpoint in an open forum. Prior to each forum, a panel of faculty—each with significant knowledge and research interest in the topic—is selected to discuss the book's theme(s). We invite you to join the exploration.

The Book of the Semester, inspired by an honors program at BYU, began in winter 2003 with the first selection, the *Paradox of American Power*, by Joseph S. Nye, Jr., dean of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. "A timely warning that it is peril-

ous to disregard the deeply held concerns of the rest of the world," said Henry A. Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State. Excerpts from the preface offer a flavor of the contents:

Americans are still wrestling with how best to combine our power and our values while reducing our vulnerabilities. As the largest power in the world, we excite both longing and hatred among some, particularly in the Muslim world.

American popular culture has a global reach regard-

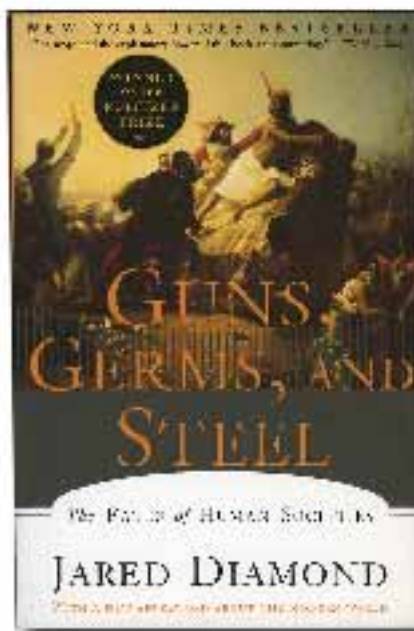
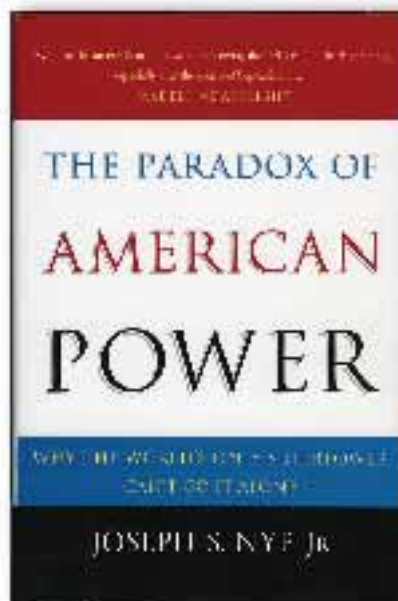
less of what we do. There is no escaping the influence of Hollywood, CNN, and the Internet.

The real challenges to our power are coming on cat's feet in the night, and ironically, our desire to go it alone may ultimately weaken us. On many of the key issues today, such as international financial stability, drug

Author Nye was chairman of the National Intelligence Council and assistant secretary of defense in the Clinton administration. He has been a frequent contributor to the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Wall Street Journal*, and he has authored several books, including *Governance in a Globalizing World* and *Bound to Lead: the*

Changing Nature of American Power.

In fall 2003, a standing-room-only audience listened as author Jared Diamond discussed his Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: the Fates of Human Societies*. "Diamond has written a book of remarkable scope . . . one of the most important and readable works on the human past published in recent years," said Colin Renfrew in *Nature*.



smuggling, or global climate change, military power simply cannot produce success, and its use can sometimes be counterproductive.

In his book, Diamond attempts to answer “Why did history take such different evolutionary courses for peoples of different continents?” with a 13,000-year synthesis of history guided by modern advances in molecular biology, plant and animal genetics and biogeography, archaeology, and linguistics. His lecture was presented in conjunction with International Education Week 2003.

Diamond, who received a PhD from the University of Cambridge, is a professor of geography at the University of California—Los Angeles, and he was previously a professor of physiology at UCLA’s School of Medicine. In addition to the Pulitzer, his book garnered the Phi Beta Kappa Award in *Science* and the Commonwealth Club of California’s Gold Medal; it was also a featured selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club, Quality Paperback Book Club, and History Book Club.

Then last winter, we encouraged consideration of the question When is war justified? by reading a scholar’s argument for war in *Just War Against Terror: the Burden of American Power in a Violent World*. Author Jean Bethke Elshtain is the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Professor of Social and Political Ethics at the University of Chicago. “[Elshtain] has addressed what is probably America’s most important—and difficult—moral and ethical debate . . . [She] raises ques-

tions we cannot, as a nation, afford to ignore,” said Henry A. Kissinger.

Excerpts from the introduction provide a sample of Elshtain’s ideas:

Why . . . in the context of America’s war against terrorism, do so many tick off a list of American “failures” or even insist that America brought the horrors of September 11, 2001, on herself?

❖

We could do everything demanded of us by those who are critical of America, both inside and outside our boundaries, but Islamist fundamentalism and the threat it poses would not be deterred.

❖

We can change, through the political process, what we do and how we do it in the realm of domestic and foreign politics, but we cannot repeal our commitment to personal freedom.

❖

As I watched and wept, I recalled something I had said many times in my classes on war: Americans don’t have living memories of what it means to flee a city in flames. Americans have not been horrified by refugees fleeing burning cities. No more. Now we know.

Elshtain has authored many books, including the *Jane Addams Reader*, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy*, and *Who Are We? Critical Reflections and Hopeful Possibilities*. She has also authored over four hundred

articles and essays in scholarly journals and journals of civic opinion. In 1996, she was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. She is the recipient of seven honorary degrees. And she is co-chair of the recently established Pew Forum on Religion and American Public Life.

Both the faculty panel discussion and Elshtain’s lecture are archived online at <http://kennedy.byu.edu/events/BkofSem.html>. The faculty panel consisted of Sally H. Barlow, professor of psychology; Brian M. Hauglid, assistant professor of ancient scripture; Valerie M. Hudson, professor of political science; and John Tanner, professor of English. We have extracted selected statements from these faculty concerning *Just War Against Terror: the Burden of American Power in a Violent World* and include them here to stimulate thought on this topic as well to generate anticipation for those yet to come.



Sally H. Barlow
professor of psychology

I have three over-arching *weltanschauung*. The first is my belief in Christ, and that I am admonished to seek the peaceable things of the kingdom. The second is Constitutional. I am enormously proud to be from the United States, and I believe in division of church and state, the Bill of Rights, Article I. Finally, I am much influenced by my profession: psychology. The research on individual and societal influences suggests that peace comes from within the individual—though I realize societies and cultures greatly influence the context within which the individual operates. Still, we have to tame our own midbrains. Everyone has an amygdala.¹

❖

Over the years, I have learned to tolerate the tension of these three worldviews as they continually move in relationship to each other in a dynamic dialectic.

❖

[Elshtain’s] treatise is that September 11 was an act of terror, our freedom is at stake, and we are “justified” to preserve our freedom, not enact revenge.

But as I read Elshtain’s book, I was struck by our similar taste in authors, *e.g.*, Camus, Niebuhr, and Tillich, whose works have influenced me a great deal. I was persuaded by her argument more than I wanted to be, and I was tugged into her worldview almost against my will. Nevertheless, my bedrock position is to resist war. I am hopelessly constrained by my anti-Vietnam war college days; I have a visceral response to the word “war.” Thus, politically I would do just about anything to avoid war.

❖
I am only persuaded to consider some instances of "legitimate or justified" war by my religion.
❖

Pahoran says to Moroni in Alma 61:14, 15:

Therefore my beloved brother, Moroni, let us resist evil, and whatsoever evil we cannot resist with our words, yea, such as rebellions and dissensions, let us resist them with our swords, that we may retain our freedom, that we may rejoice in the great privilege of our church, and in the cause of our Redeemer and our God.

Therefore, come unto me speedily with a few of your men, and leave the remainder in the charge of Lehi and Teancum; give unto them power to conduct the war in that part of the land, according to the Spirit of God, which is also the spirit of freedom which is in them.
❖

And the only leader of a war that I would support must have these characteristics found in Alma 60:36:

Behold, I am Moroni, your chief captain. I seek not for power, but to pull it down. I seek not for honor of the world, but for the glory of my God, and the freedom and welfare of my country.

Brian M. Hauglid
assistant professor of ancient scripture

Well written, intelligent, thoughtful, and, at times, a provocative foray into the justification for war. It is an emotional book as well.
❖

Elshtain does a good job of showing contrasts between terrorists and soldiers, collateral damage and gratuitous death, justice and revenge, the rules of a just limited war and indiscriminate killing.
❖

One concern I have with the general definition of terrorism put forth in this book is that it fails to discriminate differences in terrorist activity. In the Middle East, for example, are the motivations to do terrorist activities different from one region to another? I believe so. It is my view that the rationale of a suicide bomber in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict differs considerably from that of an al-Qaeda adherent. The former perceives his situation from the point of despair of living in occupation under an oppressive government backed by the USA, while the latter is more likely to be an educated Islamist ideologue, who views the U.S. as another colonial empire pushing its corrupted culture, politics, and religion upon Islam. Would a careful analysis of terrorist motivations help to refine foreign policy? Should the U.S. deal with terrorism in Israel in precisely the same way as it does terrorism in Ethiopia or London?
❖

We may have the biggest hammer in the world, but without careful analysis of the finer points in this conflict, we may end up using the hammer with no peripheral vision, or at worst, blindfolded.

❖
Elshtain shows some signs of being outside her field when it comes to her understanding the Islamist, Muslim, and especially Arab mind set. Most Arab Muslims really do remember the Crusades like it was yesterday. It really does play into their religious views.
❖

How should Latter-day Saints view this war on terror? I think President Hinckley's statement in general conference just one month after the September 11 attacks are still timely today:

Those of us who are American citizens stand solidly with the president of our nation. The terrible forces of evil must be confronted and held accountable for their actions. This is not a matter of Christian against Muslim. . . . We value our Muslim neighbors across the world and hope that those who live by the tenets of their faith will not suffer. I ask particularly that our own people do not become a party in any way to the persecution of the innocent. Rather, let us be friendly and helpful, protective and supportive. It is the terrorist organizations that must be ferreted out and brought down (General Conference, Oct. 2001).

This statement was given after President Hinckley was handed a note saying the bombing of Afghanistan had just begun. The scriptures, too, are very specific that a just war be a smart, defensive war (Alma 43:63; 3 Nephi 3:20-21).

Valerie M. Hudson
professor of political science

First, LDS persons would agree that evil is not reasonable. At its core, evil despises both life and freedom, which in our community we call agency.

Elshtain points out several phenomena that accompany evil, which list is quite perceptive:

Lies: It is hard to have evil when the ground is truth.

Equivalences and twisting of words, including refusing to judge and judging wrongly: Isaiah (5:20) prophesies there will come a time when good will be called evil, and black will be called white. That time has come.

Complacency and inertia: We are to beware those who tell us everything is fine, and that "all is well in Zion" (2 Nephi 28:21, 25), for this is how Satan lulls men into carnal security.

Complicity: With evil in refusing to see, refusing to judge, refusing to act.
❖

Elshtain's observation that "A willingness to sacrifice children is one sign of a culture of death" (p. 104). We believe that is true, and that the one sin for which God has consistently destroyed peoples throughout the scriptures is the crime of killing one's own children.
❖

Second, Elshtain is completely on-target when she quotes Bernard Lewis concerning the centrality of the gender question to issues of security. She is absolutely right in saying that "we underestimate the centrality of the gender question at our peril." The Family Proclamation of the Church, published in 1995, echoes these sentiments, to wit, that failure on the part

NOTE

1. The amygdala is an almond shaped mass of nuclei located deep within the temporal lobes, medial to the hypothalamus and adjacent to the hippocampus. Functions: arousal; controls autonomic responses associated with fear; emotional responses; hormonal secretions. See online at <http://biology.about.com/library/organs/brain/blamygdala.htm>

of men to respect, honor, and treat women as equal partners will bring about the promised plagues and destructions foreseen for the last days. My own work on the linkage between sex ratios and security in Asia, is an example of how important, yet how overlooked, that relationship is.

Third, Elshtain contrasts Islamic principles concerning the state and security with a robust Christian realist approach. Interestingly, in some aspects, LDS theology would point us more in the direction of Islamic values, while in other aspects, LDS theology would point firmly in the direction of robust Christian realism.

Fourth, there is an LDS tradition of just war theory, based on the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and statements by modern prophets. These are explained thoroughly in the new volume, *Wielding the Sword While Proclaiming Peace: Reconciling the Demands of National Security with the Imperatives of Revealed Truth*.

Fifth, it is true that LDS persons would probably not agree with Elshtain's characterization of Jesus Christ on p. 99 of her book. We believe that Christ wants us to marry and have children. We also believe that God very much wants us to be engaged in temporal pursuits, to be anxiously engaged in good causes and not to bury our talents. LDS persons do not believe that discipleship is a call to withdraw from the world, only a call to withdraw from the sins of the world and then to be a righteous leaven and salt in that world.

Sixth, there are several mis-

cellaneous points in which LDS theology would find resonance with Elshtain's work. The issue of "dirty hands" is one such. Since LDS persons believe we are to engage the world, then, with Elshtain, we must also believe that God will help us find a way through our dilemmas, and not deliver us from our dilemmas.

Last, there is an argument propounded by Elshtain that might be difficult for LDS persons. This is Elshtain's "equal regard doctrine," meaning to intervene in failed states and against tyrants wherever found due to our equal regard for the lives of our brothers and sisters. This is problematic from an LDS point of view because of our respect for agency.

We also believe that transformation at the level of individuals and families through grassroots missionary activity can be a more powerful force than transformation from above.

But we can certainly be thinking about how our foreign policy can be made more moral. In addition to just war, can we not also speak of "just economics" and "just diplomacy"?

John Tanner
professor of English

When is war not justified? Just War often used to restrain state violence: aggression, aggrandizement, vengeance, national honor.

When is it justifiable?

- legal authority, open
- response to aggression against one's people or innocent third party.
- done with right intentions (without hatred)
- last resort
- maybe: prudential, chance of success

[In her book] the context is 9/11 and the decision to fight in Afghanistan (pre-Iraq).

Limitations: needs more discussion of unique problem of new evil: terrorism; wish it had dealt with Bush doctrine of preemption; wish it had dealt with Iraq.

Strengths: Augustinian tough-mindedness: "Politics not the nursery"; attention to language (definition: murder v. martyr; terrorism v. unintentional civilian casualties; justice v. revenge; punishment v. revenge; etc.) And to facts (numbers of casualties, etc.); challenge to pulpit and academy to respond to evil; like the question: responsibility of power.

Weaknesses or concerns: like what she opposes better than proposes; especially not sure about "return to imperialism" (p. 166); pacificism disdressed as idealistic, but does it function as moral conscience? This has value. Also, has nonviolence sometimes worked, even in fallen world? (e.g., Gandhi, MLK, Anti-Nehi-Lehies)

My ethics are grounded in the theology of eternal identity: brothers and sisters. All war civil war. All murder fratricide. Tragic. Grievous. God weeps (as Pres. Hinckley says and Enoch saw).

Just War theory is helpful, useful in common cause to restrain as well as to prosecute war. I agree that love of neighbor requires force: police, court, military. I'm not a pacifist. But in personal life, committed to ideas that better to suffer harm or evil that respond in kind.

I believe that LDS teachings add important caveats: forbearance; willingness to "bear patiently"; primacy of third parties, not self defense; standard of peace: instead of last resort; positive obligation to seek political solution; obligation to engage in repentance.

As we noted at the beginning of this article, we invite you to join the reader's journey of exploration into issues, principles, and conditions we are currently facing. Let us hear your views on the Book of the Semester—past and future. Or if you have suggestions for future book selections, please send them to Cory_Leonard@byu.edu.



In Defense of Right

J. Lee Simons

The Early Years

A native of Lahore, Pakistan, Farooq Hassan, was a visiting scholar at the Kennedy Center during fall 2003. Lahore is the capital of Pakistan, an area his family has lived in for several generations. "My parents live there; my grandfather lived there. And my family was fairly influential," Hassan described. "One of my uncles was a chief justice; another uncle was next to the president thirty years ago. My own father held an important position in the government, and my maternal grandfather was one of the greatest poets of India."



And though deeply connected to Pakistan, London is where he spent the better part of his first twenty-three years. “My home is in two different places. I also think of England as home, where I grew up as a child. My parents sent me to study at Harrow, which is one of the two best schools in England,” Hassan explained. “Winston Churchill went there, and I lived in the same house he had lived in.

“Then I went to Oxford for six years to receive a PhD, and I practiced law there. So I spent a lot of time in England, and I still have a law office in London. When I have time, I go back to London. And I believe what [Ben] Jonson said, ‘if you are fed up with London, you are fed up with life.’ I still tell everyone that London is the best place to go and stay.”

Living in the USA

Hassan also calls the U.S. home. “I came to this country twenty-six years ago to teach and practice law; I brought my three children—all girls—with me,” he said. “They went to school here, so all of them are now American, and they live like Americans do.”

After completing his education in England, the first U.S. state he lived in was Texas. “I was at Southern Methodist

people cannot go in Saudi Arabia, such as in Riyadh, the capital. “First I went to Riyadh, where the conference took place. This was a very big moment for me, and I was criticized by the Western press saying that Saudi Arabia was not in a position to have any human rights,” he said, but added that “their system is different. Like in Pakistan, my native country, it’s just very different. The system in every country is different. I have connections to over 125 countries in the world, and I think, except for Western Europe, where there is a similarity of culture, the structure of living is totally different.”

He referred to the system in Saudi Arabia as a “personalized, remedial system” where, for instance, the governor of Riyadh holds a daily open office where any citizen may come and speak with him without an appointment. Even in our democracy, that is not a likely scenario with our elected officials—from the mayor to the president.

The political nuances are more complicated than open meetings to air grievances though. “The people like to get things resolved very quickly, and in a very direct manner—that is a system that works there,” Hassan reasoned. “Now, I know there are quirks in their courts, but I saw for myself the manifestation of their human rights in action, which are more or less



“I came to this country twenty-six years ago to teach and practice law; I brought my three children—all girls—with me. They went to school here, so all of them are now American, and they live like Americans do.”

University in Dallas, working with dean of law, Robert Storey, who had been the deputy prosecutor of Allied Forces in Nuremberg,” he recalled. “I was a fellow there for three months. But we have a home in Boston, because I taught at Harvard University.”

Human Rights in Other Nations

Hassan is currently researching the forms of the family institution as found in different countries, but his work as a legal consultant has taken him to many countries, and given him the opportunity to meet with high-ranking officials. “The Saudi Arabian government and crown prince invited me to do some work for them And they organized the first-ever human rights conference in Saudi Arabia, at which I was one of the main speakers,” he said. “I was very privileged to receive the Citation of Honor from the royal court [an honor received by Hassan from the brother of the king, Prince Salman, the governor of Riyadh].”

According to Hassan, there are many places where regular

similar to those found in a hundred other countries that are consistently called ‘Third-World countries.’”

Hassan’s background in human rights is impressive and should be noted. “In 1974, I received the initial Professor’s Diploma of Human Rights Teaching, the first of its kind in the world, from Rene Cassin’s International Institute of Human Rights in France,” said Hassan. He also worked with Cassin, who had earlier won the Nobel Prize for drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In 1980, Hassan was selected by the UN and UNESCO as one of the six jurists, and the only one from a Third World country, to frame new human rights. He was responsible for the right now known as “the right to be different.” He went on to teach this subject at the Harvard Law School’s Human Rights Center and is the author of nearly twenty-five professional articles on this subject. He has also been a delegate and member of the UN Human Rights Commission and one of the experts for the UN Sub-Commission on Human Rights in Geneva.

Religious Observance

While in Saudi Arabia, he had the opportunity to undertake an *umra*, similar to a *haj*, which for Muslims is what Hassan deemed a “very invigorating experience.” The haj is done once a year at a prescribed time by millions of believers, but the *umra* is an individual devotion that may be done many times at the discretion of the believer.

“The first time I went to the Ka’bah, I saw the first house for worshipping the liberty of God at Mecca. It was so comforting to look at,” Hassan attested. For Muslims, Ka’bah, or the sacred mosque at Mecca, is the center, holiest place of worship in Islam (which means *submission*)—al Masjid al-Haram, the Arabic name, means *cube*, and refers to the cube-shaped stone structure built in the middle of the mosque. This structure is believed by Muslims to have been built by Abraham for the purpose of worshipping God. The *umra* is a three-hour ritual experience, after which the believer would normally then travel to Medina, where the Prophet Mohammad lived.

“This was a short trip; I only stayed two or three days,” he added to explain why he went to Medina. “The duty of the religion calls upon people of means to go to Mecca at least once in a lifetime. Jerusalem is common to all three monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Mecca is not shared by the other religions.” Across the Ka’bah courtyard are footprints that Muslims believe are those of Abraham.

This experience offers a sense of immense renewal, according to Hassan. “We feel very good in performing this pilgrimage. We say one word, *lebac*, which means, ‘I am present my

the Church. He took me with him to London in his car. He was the only one with a car, you know. We didn’t even have a bicycle. And I remember he never had a cup of tea, which we had; he only had milk. So I came to know the eating habits of the Mormons.”

In later years, he became friends with the late Congressman from Utah Gunn McKay. “I met him many years ago in Pakistan, and later I had an opportunity to help him. I’ve had, over the years, many close contacts with Mormons, and I have found them to be the most noble and most honest people—very hard working.”

Defending in the Courts

Most of Hassan’s time is spent in the U.S. practicing law, but he has been the main lawyer in Pakistan for human rights civil litigation in their Supreme Court. “I have argued more important cases in Pakistan than any lawyer in the history of the country. I have cases with high commission, and I have taken the case of the underdog. My clients have included most of the former Prime Ministers of Pakistan and many politicians as well, mostly when they have left office,” he acknowledged. “I also work on the equivalent of cases that you would find in the U.S., like you have now with the Michael Jackson case or, earlier, the Simpson case.”

Working in the political arena in Third World countries has not always been the safest work for Hassan. “A year ago, when I was doing a big case against Pervez Musharraf, I thought he should pack up and go home, have elections in his country, and allow the constitution to prevail. But he wants to



"I've had, over the years, many close contacts with Mormons, and I have found them to be the most noble and most honest people—very hard working."

God, I have come my God.’ We say this several times to mark our presence before God. Therefore, out of all our worldly pursuits, we found time to go and present ourself to God.”

Making Friends with the Latter-day Saints

Hassan has represented The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in legal matters in Asia, but his first contact with the Church came while attending Oxford. “Thirty-five years ago, one of my classmates was a son of then-BYU President [Ernest L.] Wilkinson, David, who later became Attorney General of Utah,” he related. “He was older than me, having come from Germany after performing military service, but we were very good friends. That was my first contact with

stay there forever with his children, without elections. He’s still the Army chief, so it is a classic military coup,” Hassan said. “And this is the kind of thing that I have worked with all my life. One of the grievances that people have with the American government, not the people, is that they have supported dictators in Islamic countries. That is not good. On the 6th of November [2003], President Bush actually said that we [the U.S.] will not respond to dictatorship, and I hope the United States sticks to this resolution.”

Dialogue is an important aspect of foreign policy according to Hassan. “There are very good, motivated people in Pakistan who like the U.S., but when they see their own government having things said about them that they know are all

false, people begin, then, to lose trust. I think that trust has to be gained.”

When asked about Pakistan’s support for the U.S. against Afghanistan, Hassan was adamant that “any government in Pakistan would have supported the United States, because Pakistan, with the largest Islamic population, has been fast allies with the U.S. for fifty years against the Russians. But helping military dictators is going to backfire. And you don’t go to war unless there is no chance left for earthly dialogue.”

Does this mean the U.S. should have dialogue with terrorists? “No, I’m only propagating a principle. Whether the prin-

impression on my mind. One is the moral code of the people. This is a very big university—I went to Oxford and Cambridge where the number of students was 5,000. Here, I believe, there are 30,000 or 40,000—such a large university and yet so well behaved students! No noise I find; no dirt I see; no filth I see; no rubbish I see. It’s remarkable!” Hassan exclaimed.

“This is the kind of discipline that I would like my children and our families to grow up with. If this is the only manifestation of a pattern for living life, then this speaks volumes for the training that people receive at this institution. And this is something that I will carry with me.



“If you don’t have a foundation of morality you are nothing. If you start making concessions, there is no such thing as being a little bit moral. Either you are moral, or you are immoral.”

ciple is applicable or not applicable will depend upon the situation. Now, you did not ask me that question, you asked me whether any government in Pakistan would have helped, and I said, ‘yes.’”

The UN and Family Policies

Hassan’s connection with the Kennedy Center began in 1997, when he was heading the delegation of Pakistan to the United States General Assembly, 3rd Committee, which deals with social issues surrounding the family, children, human rights, and political rights. “That’s where I came to know Professor Richard Wilkins [professor of law at BYU] and the World Family Policy Center. Through him I came to know many other people in this field,” he said.

As the United Nations has assumed the role of international lawmaker, the World Family Policy Center has taken a stand to lobby against the limited voices of a few, powerful lobbies—particularly in the area of traditional families. The center is supported by the J. Reuben Clark Law School and the David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, in partnership with the School of Family Life at Brigham Young University.

“Since then I have been very lucky to attend most of the annual forums, and I’ve also attended the religious liberties conference that the university organizes in October every year. My visits to BYU continue to be of a consistent nature over the last several years.”

His experiences at BYU have left him with a very positive spin on at least two aspects of campus life. “I am grateful to be here, and there are two things that have left an indelible

“And second is the dedication to intellect. I understand that being a church-related school, it has to have a certain policy orientation, even if you don’t want it. But whatever you call them, Christian values or Mormon values, they are basically good, *human* values. I think these values should be cultivated in other places, and intellect is a strong base. When people say there is a debate between secularism and religious thinking, there is a presumption that secularism is synonymous with rationality,” he said.

“I would argue that rationality is synonymous with religion. If you don’t have a foundation of morality you are nothing. If you start making concessions, there is no such thing as being a little bit moral. Either you are moral, or you are immoral,” concluded Hassan. 🌿

Middle East Consortium

The events of 9/11 focused the nation on the need for immediate expansion of our national linguistic capacity for Arabic translators and interpreters. Congressional leaders realized there was no national language resource center for instructors and students of critical Middle East languages. Soon after came the mandate for such a national center to be established.

In August 2002, BYU received a grant from the U.S. Department of Education to become the National Middle East Language Resource Center (NMEELRC), directed by R. Kirk Belnap, BYU associate professor of Arabic, and with associate directors at other institutions over boards for each of the four languages.

The NMEELRC is a virtual consortium of over twenty institutions, with the strongest programs in Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, and Turkish languages at such universities as Emory, Georgetown, UCLA, Arizona, and Princeton. "No single institution has the resources to serve as an effective national LRC for any one of the languages, let alone all Middle East languages," said Belnap. Though the NMEELRC does not offer classes, BYU benefits as another user of the materials and initiatives that it develops.

Of the four languages supported by NMEELRC, Arabic is the largest. With the impact of 9/11, national enrollment is roughly 5,000 students, which is more than the combined enrollments of the other three languages. Like all Middle East languages, Arabic is challenging. Most native English speakers need four years of college courses in a foreign language to score a 3.0 rating in the Foreign Service Language Proficiency Examination—the minimum level required to qualify for a government position using the language. Some languages, such as Japanese, Russian, and Chinese require five years to achieve that level of proficiency. Arabic takes seven years. There are so few programs capable of providing students with the finishing touches that the entire nation produces only about seventy-five gradu-

ates per year. Yet one government security agency alone is calling for over four hundred each year—merely doubling funding would accomplish very little.

With that in mind, NMEELRC trains instructors, develops teaching materials, supports the develop-

ment of assessment instruments, and researches solutions to challenges facing the instruction and acquisition of Middle East languages. As an indication of the potential impact of their efforts, this

year about seventy BYU students signed up for a study abroad experience in Alexandria, Egypt, during fall semester 2004. Many of these students took their first Arabic class in winter semester 2004, where teaching assistants used DVD-support materials developed through NMEELRC last year. Those students will finish two full years of Arabic classes with intensive sessions in spring and summer to qualify for the fall Egypt program.

Before returning to campus at the end of December, most of those students are expected to test at level 2.0 for the Foreign Service—after one year of language study. This will validate many of the assumptions upon which the efforts of NMEELRC are based and help assure that the center has a strong impact on the instruction of Middle East languages across the nation.

For more information, please see the NMEELRC web site at <http://nmelrc.byu.edu>.

Canadian Ambassador Honored

His Excellency Michael Kergin, Canadian Ambassador to the United States, lectured to an overflow crowd in the Harold B. Lee Library auditorium on 22 October.

Kergin was the Asael E. and Maydell C. Palmer Lecturer in Canadian Studies for the 2003–04 academic year. His topic was "Partners for Progress." "Canada and the U.S. have much in common. We

are grateful to have had an opportunity to hear from Ambassador Kergin," said Jeff Ringer, Kennedy Center director.

Prior to working as ambassador, Kergin was heavily involved in international affairs, beginning his term as a Foreign Service Officer in the Department of External Affairs—now the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade—in 1967. His postings for the department included New York, Cameroon, Chile, and Washington. Following his two-year appointment in 1984–86 as senior department assistant to then-Secretary of State for External Affairs Joe Clark, Kergin became Canada's ambassador to Cuba from 1986 to 1989. He has served twice as assistant deputy minister, being first responsible for Canada's Political and International Security Affairs until 1996, when his appointment changed to focus on the Americas and Security/Intelligence Affairs. Two years previous to becoming ambassador to the U.S., Kergin became both the foreign policy advisor for Canada's prime minister, and the assistant secretary to the cabinet for foreign and defense policy from 1998 to 2000.

Kergin earned his bachelor's degree in history and languages from the University of Toronto before completing his masters in economics from Magdalen College at Oxford University. He is married to the former Margarita Fuentes. They have three sons: Patrick, Christopher, and Andrew.

A transcript of the Palmer lecture is on the Canadian embassy site at <http://www.canadianembassy.org/ambassador/031023-en.asp>. An Area Focus Lecture from the same day is archived online at http://kennedy.byu.edu/events/lecture_archives.html.

Human Rights Dialogue

Four prominent international figures gathered at the Kennedy Center for a dialogue on torture and terror in the twenty-first century, "Human Rights and Wrongs: The Search for Justice," on 23 October.

Peter W. Galbraith, a former U.S. ambassador to Croatia and currently a political advisor to Kurds in Iraq, was the day's keynote speaker on

"In August 2002, BYU received a grant from the U.S. Department of Education to become the National Middle East Language Resource Center."



the topic of "The United States and Iraq: the Collision of Realpolitik and Human Rights."



"You see him regularly on the news talking about what the Kurds want and their negotiations with the constitution," Darren Hawkins, area coordinator of the Kennedy Center's international relations major, said of Galbraith. "He

also was one of the first people to uncover the Iraqi genocide back in 1988-89; the chemical gassing of the Kurds. He was a wonderful speaker."

A panel discussion followed on "U.S. Policy and Gross, Systematic Human Rights Abuses." Hawkins acted as moderator, with panelists Bill Berkeley, author, *New York Times* editorialist, and freelance journalist; Donald Shriver, a scholar and author of twelve books who was the William E. Dodge Professor of Applied Christianity and former president of the Union Theological Seminary in New York; Michael Southwick, former ambassador to Uganda; and Galbraith.

As part of the day's events, participants watched *A Closer Walk*, a documentary exploring the AIDS epidemic. "The film demonstrated the nature of the AIDS crisis in a variety of countries around the world, with some focus on African countries. Better than most films, it captured the degree of human suffering of AIDS victims and it helped us understand them as real people," Hawkins commented.

The panelists and the audience discussed the film and the issues it presented in a forum immediately following the documentary showing. As Hawkins explained, issues and perspectives the film overlooked were covered by the panel and audience discussion.

"I wish the film would have helped us understand better the political and economic context of these issues—notably, AIDS, but our panelists did an admirable job of that," observed Hawkins. "It is important to recognize that politicians, for example, can actually gain politically by ignoring the AIDS crisis since it strikes some of the weakest and most helpless or by shifting the blame for AIDS to others, thereby

exacerbating rather than addressing the problem."

Overall, the conference was a success as students, faculty, and honored guests engaged the current and ongoing issues surrounding humanity's basic rights.

For more information, please see the conference archive on the News and Events page at <http://kennedy.byu.edu/events>.

Evening of Diplomacy

The Kennedy Center's Foreign Service Student Organization (FSSO) held a unique one-night event encouraging networking between students and foreign service professionals. The second annual Evening of Democracy was held on 1 November 2003 at the home of FSSO president Cameron Jones.

"Over time, we have developed a relationship with the retired FSO (Foreign Service Officers) community in Utah. These are men and women that have lived extraordinary lives serving the government and the Church worldwide," explained Jones. "In order to pay tribute to them and create an environment in which students can meet them and gain valuable insights, we organized our own 'diplomatic

reception.'" A night of food, entertainment, and mingling, the event serves to promote the FSSO's goal of assisting students in their future foreign service careers, by giving them access to several foreign service professionals in a conversational environment. "It's important that we continue to develop the relationship that allows students the opportunity to interact with men and women who have years of experience in government service," said Jones.

To prepare for the event, FSSO members send invitations to former FSOs living in Utah and to Kennedy Center faculty members. Students are then encouraged to attend, dressed in formal attire, and be ready to

interact with potential mentors. When the night is over, everyone seems to go away happy. "The FSOs love sharing their stories with students, and everyone ends up having a great time—win-win for everyone involved," said Jones.

FSSO is a club open to students in any major. All that is needed is an interest in foreign service careers. "I've enjoyed working with the FSSO staff members to provide this service to the BYU student body. We want everyone to know about the foreign service, and the fascinating career opportunities therein," explained Jones. "When people think of the State Department, they typically think that only political science or international relations majors are recruited. This, however, is not true at all. The State Department includes the Civil Service and a myriad of other professional positions. They are looking for bright, capable individuals from any educational background who are interested in serving their country within the U.S. as well as abroad."

Jones concluded, "One of our main goals is to act as an information hub from which students can obtain the information they need to make the career choices that are right for them."

For more information, e-mail fsso@byu.edu or see the FSSO web site at <http://kennedy.byu.edu/student/fsso>.

International Education Week 2003

Students, faculty, and the community immersed themselves in global issues, raised their awareness of international cultures, and discovered international opportunities at the annual International Education Week (IEW), 17-21 November. "We planned a series of events with guest speakers and student activities that focused on different aspects of BYU's international depth and breadth," said Jeff Ringer, Kennedy Center director. The week-long schedule of events celebrated the diversity of America and the many different cultures, languages, and traditions that make up our global community.

"Over time, we have developed a relationship with the retired FSO (Foreign Service Officers) community in Utah."



IEW is a joint initiative of the U.S. Department of State and U.S. Department of Education to promote programs that prepare Americans for a global environment and attract future leaders from abroad to study, learn, and exchange experiences in the United States. "To better understand this new twenty-first century world, we need to expose our children to languages, cultures, and the challenges outside our borders," said Rod Paige, U.S. Secretary of Education.

Highlights for 2003 included a celebration of the center's twentieth anniversary, which happened to be the 17th of November. A dinner held at the Joseph Smith Memorial Building in Salt Lake City featured guest speaker Michael K. Young, then-dean of the George Washington University Law School, who has since become the new president of the University of Utah.

Other selected events from IEW are covered below.

Book of the Semester

A faculty panel discussed the premise of *Guns, Germs, and Steel: the Fates of Human Societies* to an open audience at the Kennedy Center. BYU faculty members Mark C. Belk and Duane E. Jeffery, professors of integrative biology, James E. Faulconer, professor of philosophy, Elaine Marshall, dean of nursing, and Hal L. Miller, professor of psychology, formed the panel.

Miller commented, "I welcomed the opportunity to participate in the panel presentations, since it assured that I was reviewing a book that had left a deep impression when I first read it."

"The panel was enjoyable," remarked Jeffery.

"Why did history take such different evolutionary courses for peoples of different continents?" asked Diamond. "This problem has fascinated me for a long time, but it was now ripe for a new synthesis because of recent advances in many fields seemingly remote from history."

Diamond is also a physiologist, evolutionary biologist, and biogeographer, and he has also been a medical researcher and professor of

physiology. His other books include *Why Is Sex Fun?: The Evolution of Human Sexuality* (1998) and *Third Chimpanzee: The Evolution and Future of the Human Animal* (1992). His representative articles include "Blitzkrieg Against Moas" (*Science*, 2000), "Rivers in the Sky" (*Discover*, 1999), and "Dirty Eating for Healthy Living," (*Nature*, 1999).

Contest Winners Announced

Winners in the Kennedy Center's fourth annual photo contest and first annual essay contest were announced at an awards reception on Thursday, 20 November.

PHOTO CONTEST.

Close to two hundred photos were entered in the competition. Programs ranged in variety from study abroad in Europe to volunteers in Africa or from internships in Japan to field studies in India. First place and \$100 went to Breanne Bell's "Play Time," a student playing with children in an orphanage in Iași, Romania; second place \$75 went to David Trichler's "Sandy Day," taken in the sand dunes of Namibia; and third place \$50 went to Jennifer Jackson's "Eating Fufu," a shot capturing hands in a bowl of fufu in Mampong, Ghana (all three are featured on the inside covers of this *Bridges* issue). Trichler is currently serving a mission in Manaus, Brazil.

Honorable mentions

were awarded to thirteen additional pictures from such locations as Italy, Japan, Mozambique, Guatemala, and Senegal. All sixteen photos are on display in the hallway gallery for the next year. Photos from each year's contest are also archived

online at <http://kennedy.byu.edu/publications/photo>.

ESSAY CONTEST.

Students were given the choice of three topics to address, and the papers were then read and ranked by four professors from four different disciplines. First place and \$500 was awarded to "External Debt and the Developing World: Problems and Solutions," written by Kent E. Freeze, a sophomore and economics major (see *World Community/Global Report* in this *Bridges* issue). Second and third place each received

\$250: "America's Hard Condition: Constraints on Multilateral Intervention," by Camille M. Jackson, a sophomore, and "American



Hegemony and the Balance of Power: the European Reaction," by Milton A. Haws, a junior, both of whom are political science majors.

Each student presented an overview of their essays at the reception. All three essays are posted on the Kennedy Center web site at <http://kennedy.byu.edu/publications/essay>.

For more information, please see the IEW web site at <http://kennedy.byu.edu/events/IEW>.

"I set myself the modest task of trying to explain the broad pattern of human history, on all the continents, for the last 13,000 years."



"I concluded that my participation experiences would be unique as I associated with peers throughout the world..."



IT in Education

BYU technology scholarship found a place in international academia when Ronald F. Gonzales had the opportunity to present a paper titled, "Context Oriented Stratified User Interface" at the Multimedia and Information and Communication Technologies in Education conference (m-ICTE 2003) held in Badajoz, Spain, 8–11 December 2003. Gonzales, a professor of information technology at BYU, stumbled across the conference's Call for Papers as he was searching the web for information on HCI conferencing. After reviewing the 2002 conference proceedings, Gonzales said, "I concluded that my participation experiences would be unique as I associated with peers throughout the world concerned with common issues of user interface and related topics."

The theme of the conference was "Advances in Technology-Based Education: Toward a Knowledge-Based Society." It was conceived and organized by a group of researchers at Extremadura (Spain), working in collaboration with a broad team of professors worldwide with the aim of promoting discussion about the pedagogical potential of new learning and educational technologies both in the academic and corporate world.

During his presentation at the conference, Gonzales analyzed the design issues involving both context and stratification of user interface. User interface scholarship, Gonzales described, includes considering how "the ability of a person to perform tasks is strengthened as the design of the task sequence is articulated, for the context under which the task is performed, and the level of preparation acquired by the user, or stratification."

Other topics included knowledge management, didactic and pedagogical schemes, user interface designs, case studies, research papers, divulgation, technical notes, and project

presentations. In addition, more than ten European projects (transnational cooperative projects) and two books were presented, which made the conference an interdisciplinary and lively meeting. With the use of language translators it was a simple matter to participate in all presentations, although the majority of the presentations were conducted in English.

"The conference proceedings [vols. 1–4] represent an exceptional record of published scholarly works that will have a deep impact in the ICTs and education scientific community during the next years," said Gonzales.

He summed up his experience and concluded with: "My involvement at the conference provided an extraordinary opportunity to network with professionals from all over the world. During my conversations, I accumulated dozens of business cards and a collection of handouts that have permitted me to communicate daily with colleagues that are leading their field in efforts to strengthen the community of user interface experts."

New European Influence at BYU

Since the U.S. Department of Education's bestowal of a \$1.2 million grant in August 2003, the Center for the Study of Europe (CSE) has actively encouraged professors and students in their European studies by funding scholarly projects and forming three new European study courses. In January 2004, CSE awarded eleven grants to BYU faculty for the purpose of fostering scholarship on Europe at BYU.

Projects include Frederick G. Williams' book the *Poetry of Portugal: a Bilingual Selection of Poems from the Thirteenth through the Twentieth Centuries*; an article by Brandie R. Siegfried titled "The Idea of Ireland in Seventeenth Century England, Spain, and France"; Darl Larsen's book the *Annotated Monty Python's Flying Circus*; and Charlotte Stanford's book *Building Civic Pride: Constructing Strasbourg Cathedral From 1300 to 1349*.

Other grant beneficiaries included Codell Carter, who plans to translate and publish two

Hungarian accounts of the life and work of Ignaz Semmelweis; Hans-Wilhelm Kelling, Paul Kerry, and David Crandall, who will translate, annotate, and publish the memories of Margarethe von Eckenbrecher; and Mark Choate, who will use the funds to complete his book *Italians Abroad: Emigration, Colonialism, and Greater Italy*. Don Harreld will launch a new phase in his ongoing study of early modern European long-distance trade. Additionally, Kendall Stiles, Stan Taylor, and Scott Cooper will each conduct research studies.

Three new European courses have also been added, including Honors 330 "The Idea of Europe" taught by Scott Sprenger; History 390R and 590R taught by Harreld on European revolutions; and a capstone course on the European Union and NATO (PLSc 450/470) taught by Wade Jacoby, CSE director and political science professor. In Jacoby's course, students are looking at the historical evolution of both political organizations and focusing on the various interpretations of the current dilemmas that each organization faces. In accordance with CSE's goals of enhancing knowledge of foreign societies and languages, Jacoby said he encourages students "to use their language abilities by incorporating foreign-language texts into their final seminar papers."

For more information, please see the CSE web site at <http://europe.byu.edu>.

Asian Studies

BYU focuses on the diverse regions of the world, from the familiar to the still unknown. One such area of scholarly exploration is Asia. "We emphasize East Asian topics in the Asian studies major," explained George W. Perkins, coordinator and professor of the program. "The heaviest areas of concentration are

"The heaviest areas of concentration are China, Japan, and Korea."



China, Japan, and Korea."

With over twenty-eight students enrolled in the major, Asian studies has been revamped in the past two years to require students to emphasize one of the three focus areas, with a substantial language component in each. Courses in general Asian history and political science are other new requirements. "While the three areas form the nucleus of the program, students may occasionally complete a minor with emphasis on Southeast Asia, though uncertainty in language offerings presents a substantial challenge," Perkins indicated. "The first students under the new curriculum are just reaching the end of their programs now, and four will be presenting their senior research results to the faculty and students at the end of this semester."

Students are also encouraged to participate in study abroad and intern programs in Asia, such as the Asia business programs. And an important part of any international studies area is exposure to international political figures and important minds. Asian studies has sponsored such notable scholars as Catherine Pagani, associate professor of Asian art at the University of Toronto; Anwar Yusuf, president of the Eastern Turkistan National Freedom Center in Washington, D.C.; Wu Yiye, a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) National Committee; and Robert Griffiths, deputy director of Mainland Southeast Asian Affairs at the U.S. State Department.

Concerning the future of the Asian studies major, Perkins said, "We would be pleased to add faculty from art and other departments with potential for offerings related to Asia. We hope to continue to foster intellectual exchange, not only on campus, but with scholars from a variety of institutions across the world."

For more information, please see the Asian studies web site at <http://kennedy.byu.edu/academic/asian>.

Colloquium Hosted Senegalese Author

In conjunction with Black History Month, the 2004 Colloquium "Gender in Africa" welcomed Aminata Sow Fall, an award-winning author and pioneer in Black African

literature from Senegal. Fall's lecture, entitled "African Women: When Light Emerges from Darkness," opened the colloquium Thursday, 26 February. "Aminata Sow Fall is one of the most daring and creative authors in Black Africa today," said Chantal Thompson, colloquium organizer and French instructor at BYU. Thompson has taken BYU students to Senegal for study abroad where they met Fall.

With wit, Fall exposes in her novels the problems of political corruption and the role of tradition in social practices in postcolonial Africa. "I have tried to produce literature that goes beyond the rehabilitation of the black race—literature that reflects the way we are, a mirror of our souls and of our culture," said Fall.

Other featured scholars and their lecture topics were "Gender and Justice in Ghana's Courts of Law," Gwendolyn Mikell, professor of anthropology, Georgetown University; "Female Circumcision in Africa: Cultures, Controversy, and Change," Bettina Shell-Duncan, professor of anthropology, University of Washington; "Gender, Power, and Development: Perspectives from East Africa," Dorothy Hodgson, professor of anthropology, Rutgers University; and "Colonizing Women and Globalizing AIDS in an Urban Nairobi Clinic," Karen Booth, professor of sociology, University of North Carolina—Chapel Hill.

Duncan expressed her appreciation and said, "I thought the talks complemented each other perfectly. And the student response was truly fantastic—the quality of their questions impressed me."

Fall's lecture may be accessed online at <http://kennedy.byu.edu/academic/AfricanStudies>. For more information, please contact Professor Bill Olsen, 953 SWKT, 422-9187, or wco3@email.byu.edu.

Students Participate in Model Arab League

From 26–28 February, twenty BYU students competed with six other universities at the Rocky Mountain

Model Arab League competition held at the University of Denver. The competition is a simulation conference which began in 1983 as a one-time cultural event at Georgetown University. The experience has since expanded to annually involve 2,500 students from over 200 schools nationwide.

BYU students prepared for the competition by taking 354R—Model Arab League Preparation, a 0.5 credit class which met weekly. "The class, though not very rigorous during in-class time on Thursdays, was well structured to prepare me for Denver. Assigning Arab League countries to each student gave us the opportunity to learn and share vantage points from all the Arab League states," said Stanford Swinton, an international relations major and an honorary mention delegate at the competition.

In Denver, BYU students represented Algeria, Djibouti, and Iraq, earning several awards for their achievement, including the Honorable Mention Delegation Award for the Algeria group and the Outstanding Delegation Award for the Djibouti group. Awards are based on how eloquently and accurately the delegates represented their countries, how effective they were in getting resolutions written, negotiated, and passed, and how knowledgeable they were in using parliamentary procedures. The Djibouti group were invited to compete in April at the Washington, D.C., National Model Arab League competition.

BYU sent a team of fourteen students to D.C. and received the Outstanding Delegation Award for representing Djibouti. This was BYU's first time competing at nationals. Other universities participating included the University of Utah, Air Force, American University in Cairo, UC—Berkeley, Northeastern, Oklahoma Baptist University, George Mason, Kennebec State, and Old Dominion.

Five BYU students received Outstanding Delegate awards: Chris Bergaust from the Joint Defense Council, Amy Sullivan of the Council of Arab Ministers of the Interior, David Duerden of the Arab Economic Unity Council, Brad Smith of the Council of Arab Social Affairs Ministers, and Stan Swinton of the Council on Palestinian Affairs.



"Aminata Sow Fall is one of the most daring and creative authors in Black Africa today."

Two additional students received Honorary Mention Delegates Awards—Adam Fife of the Arab Court of Justice and Roger Cheney of the Council of Palestinian Affairs. Beth Chapman, Alexia Green, Rachael Johns, Ryan Balli, Jason Petty, and Eric Lewis were the other BYU students on the Djibouti Team.

"Overall I am very thankful to have had this opportunity to represent BYU at a competition where the interest of a relatively misunderstood Arab region is brought to light, discussed, and given its due," commented Swinton. "The ability to see things from an Arab mind-set was the key to our success at the National Model Arab League."

For more information, please see the Middle East Studies/Arabic web site at <http://kennedy.byu.edu/academic/MESA>.

Sixth Annual Inquiry Conference

Ethnobotany, child welfare, agriculture, and African culture were just a few of the topics addressed as students presented their research findings during the Sixth annual Field Studies Inquiry Conference, 3–5 March. "The conference is an opportunity for students to present their international research and to share their experiences while conducting field studies," said Tricia Fifita, conference organizer and a presenter at last year's conference.

Different regions of the world were the focus on respective days. "World Day" featured research from a variety of countries, with topics ranging from Ukrainian religious legislation to Japanese education and from Fijian culture to leadership in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Chris Vermillion's "The Perceived Relationship between Hinduism and Caste Discrimination in India" explored how the "caste system and Hinduism are so intertwined that it is almost impossible to separate the two, but there are teachings that definitely support the idea that people should be treated well. Causing harm to humans is very bad. Thus, persecuting someone for any reason is wrong and the law of karma states that it will eventually come back to you, and you might be born in a situation in which you are discriminated against," he said. "On the one hand, this concept seems to suggest

that one shouldn't discriminate based on caste. On the other hand, it also seems to suggest that perhaps people who are discriminated against because of their caste had it coming from when they discriminated against others in a previous life."

During the Latin America sessions religious stability and change, the correlation between religion and education in Mexico, and health and human rights were presented, with a geographical focus on Guatemala and Mexico. Richard Hawkins focused on the implications of statistical evidence of language loss and ultimately how that loss affects and will affect an entire people. In his study, "Maya Language Loss in Guatemala: A Statistical Analysis," Hawkins found that factors such as the perceived cost-benefit of Spanish or another language over the Mayan language and the relocation of a person affect the rise in Maya language loss. "The more movement you have throughout the country, the more likely you are to abandon your language," he explained.

International development, culture, international health and medicine, gender, religion, and African culture were all part of the Africa region. Chelsea Shields cited superstition and other cultural biases for why the treatment of mentally retarded children in Ghana varies in her study, "The Cultural Whys of Mental Retardation: Nonmedical Etiologies of the Ashante People in Ghana." Shields noted that where the discrimination falls depends on the prophecy of the witch doctor, who is believed to be able to detect why a child was given a handicap—whether as a punishment for a parent's sin, to keep the child's evil spirit from being able to harm others, or for an unknown reason—good or bad.

"I argue that it is neither the environment nor historical variables that determine societal treatment towards the handicapped, but rather the nonmedical ideologies—and ideologies is origins, or causes; it is the science of causation," Shields said.

"All of the stories I collected can be sectioned off into four causation categories: parental, religious, medical, or non-existent."

For example, under parental causation, there is both direct and indirect causation. "Direct causation is, 'I have sinned or I have broken a taboo or I have been greedy and so I am punished.' Indirect causation is 'I have done all of these things, but the punishment for what I have done is being reflected on either my relatives or my offspring,'" explained Shields.

All students who participate in a field study receive faculty mentoring. Students' majors are not important. Those within and outside of the Kennedy Center participate in the field studies programs as opportunities to apply learning and experience a culture beyond the classroom setting. Papers submitted were reviewed by the Inquiry Conference committee and selected papers were then presented at the conference.

For more information, see the Inquiry Conference web site for archived films of the conference at <http://kennedy.byu.edu/events/inquiryconf.html>.

SID Hosts Annual Hunger Banquet

Students for International Development (SID) hosted its fourteenth annual Hunger Banquet on 12 March. "The Hunger Banquet provides opportunities for quality development projects to receive



"The banquet set up often will make people feel uncomfortable, and if it does, then SID has succeeded."

funding and to educate the campus and the community about international issues, specifically hunger," said Ashley Tolman, a senior international relations major (development emphasis) and president of SID.

The process begins as SID members mail letters to a number of organizations explaining their desire to fund projects. Eventually, they receive project proposals, and a proposal committee weeds out those

that do not meet the club's proposal guidelines. Finally, all SID members meet to discuss which proposals should receive priority. "The group meeting facilitates great discussion and learning on what good development projects consist of and what they should be," said Tolman.

The Hunger Banquet requires a full year's work and effort, from booking rooms to filling out fundraising forms, advertising, getting speakers and arranging entertainment, making the programs, and even setting the mood with decorations. "The night of the banquet, people line up at the door a half hour before the event begins and are given a program that contains a profile of a person in either a First-, Second-, or Third-World country. The profiles are put together to give a face to real-life situations," explained Tolman. "The participants are then seated according to their profile. The minority, those in the First World, are seated at nice tables, with catered food; the Second-World diners sit on chairs around the periphery of the room and usually are fed pizza; but the vast majority, those representing the Third-World, sit on blankets on the floor and eat rice and beans." The seating is done in direct proportion to the world's current conditions. All the food is donated by restaurants in the community. Without that assistance, SID would not be able to provide food for the Hunger Banquet.

SID's goal for the Hunger Banquet is to make the diners aware of the injustice that occurs in the world. "The banquet set up often will make people feel uncomfortable, and if it does, then SID has succeeded," said Tolman. "The banquet is a time for reflection and learning. Each year we try to plan in such a way that people will be inspired to get out and do."

As part of the night's festivities, the Hunger Banquet includes a keynote speaker as well as live entertainment. John Hatch, founder of the Foundation for International Community Assistance (FINCA), an organization that sets up microcredit groups primarily in South America, gave this year's lecture.

Entertainment consisted of a band called Simple People, the Spring Performing Arts Company, the

Breakdance Club, the Hare Krishnas, an African drumming duo named Coumbe, and groups performing Salsa dancing, Indian dancing, and Polynesian dancing. All of the groups performed free of charge so that 100 percent of the banquet proceeds were dedicated toward project funding.

In addition, to raise extra funds for the projects, the Hunger Banquet included such extras as a live auction and the sale by children of donated flowers and candies—setting an atmosphere similar to one found in a Second- or Third-World country.

The recent banquet was unique, however, in its involvement with the Marriott School's annual microcredit conference. "This year we held the banquet in conjunction with the microcredit conference and thereby continued the action fair into the evening. The action fair allows local organizations to book a table and show their projects and get interested people signed up for more information or to volunteer," said Tolman. "We hope this assisted participants in finding ways to get more involved in service and development within their own community."

For more information, please see the SID web site at <http://kennedy.byu.edu/student/sid>.

Cultural Showcase a Success

International Outreach sponsored its fifth bi-annual Cultural Showcase on 18 March. "It is really neat because we take advantage of the variety of students we have here on campus and they have an opportunity to share something about their culture," said Ana Loso, International Outreach program coordinator.

With performances representing cultures worldwide, the showcase is a true international experience. "We try to have a little bit of each continent," Loso remarked. "Everybody gets to share something, so they can sing, they can dance—any talent they have."

The showcase serves as a medium to further International Outreach's goals of fostering open cultural exchange within the education and

business communities and promoting increased global understanding through the students.

Auditions are held previous to the actual performance to ensure quality, and the showcase is free of charge. "Each time we have around 300 people come," said Loso. "They loved it. They enjoyed it."

International Outreach (IAS 353R) is a three-credit course offered by the Kennedy Center. Students must have lived in another country for three months or more to enroll. With the knowledge and experience gained from living abroad, students prepare a multimedia presentation to be delivered to elementary and secondary students ages five to eighteen. By preparing the presentation and presenting it, students gain further understanding and appreciation of their own and other cultures. After the presentations, the students then have the opportunity to publish their experiences, the best of which become the widely recognized *CultureGuide* series, available for educators to purchase for classroom use.

For more information or to purchase CultureGuides, please see the IO web site at <http://outreach.byu.edu>.

Taiwan Voting Controversy

What was expected to be a normal presidential election in Taiwan turned into potential controversy due to the close numbers between the candidates following an attempted assassination on President Chen Shui-Bian, the Democratic

Progressive Party (DPP) or Pan Green party candidate. Eric A. Hyer, associate professor of political science and China expert at BYU, was an observer to the 20 March elections.

"I was invited by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Republic

of China—Taiwan, to be part of a group of election observers," Hyer said. "My going there as an election observer was, in fact, an effort by the government of Taiwan to promote knowledge and understanding of Taiwan's democracy. I was not there because there was concern that this election would not be legitimate or would be corrupt, and I was not an election judge—just an observer."



"Everybody gets to share something, so they can sing, they can dance—any talent they have."

Hyer was one of a representative group from the Western United States. Individuals from other areas of the U.S. and various countries around the world were also guest observers at the elections.

The assassination has since been questioned by the opposition Kuomintang (Nationalist) Party (KMT-PFP Alliance, also called Pan Blue) as possibly being a hoax staged to win sympathy votes for President

Chen. Hyer noted, "No one dreamed the election would turn out to be so controversial, because people were anticipating that the opposition party—the Nationalist Party—would win by 3 or 4 percent. They lost by 0.2 percent. That immediately made it controversial, because the margin was so slim."

Responding to Pan Blue's demands, the High Court scheduled a recount of the election votes for 10 May to reaffirm the vote and ensure that the judging procedures have been just. "Roughly 13 million people voted. That's 80.2 percent turnout of voters: 13 million people voted out of the eligible 16.5 million voters," said Hyer. "The Pan Green (DPP) party won by about 29,000 votes. But alarmingly there were 330,000 invalid ballots. So you have to figure, out of those 330,000 invalid ballots, a small change in the count would shift the election."

Though the number of invalid ballots may seem large, especially compared to the small margin of victory, a labor party movement may have been the cause behind the unexpected numbers. Hyer explained that the "330,000 invalid ballots is three times more than the last election in 2000. This time the labor party—not really a formal party, because they didn't have any candidates running—orchestrated a movement to encourage people to cast invalid ballots as a protest against both parties. They are angry that both parties are not more pro-labor. The majority of the people in that movement are from the Pan

Blue group. So it makes sense that the majority of the invalid ballots would probably have been Pan Blue."

A future issue for Taiwan is a new constitution, scheduled for completion in 2006 and implementation in 2008, and the potential conflict this would add to China-Taiwan relations. "Mainland China—Communist China—views this as a bid for independence, and so they are very opposed to the constitution," said Hyer. "If you talk to people in Taiwan, the pro-Pan Green, they say it's not that at all. The constitution Taiwan uses right now is a constitution written in 1947. That means that it is a constitution that was written when all of China was controlled by the Chinese Nationalist Party. And they say it is just simply historically irrelevant to the way they live their lives now. Taiwan is now a very democratic country and has not been ruled by Mainland China for over fifty years."

Focused on Latinos in Utah

Scholars and advocates for Latino issues joined forces at "Latinos in Utah" on 26 March to discuss the history and current challenges that Latinos must navigate in our state. "We were excited to sponsor this important discussion of the circumstances and prospects for Latinos in



Utah," said George Handley, Latin American studies coordinator. "We hope that the conference inspires further interest in and action in behalf of this important community." The keynote address, "A Remote Corner of Aztlan: Mexican Americans and other Latinos in Utah, 1900–2000," was delivered by Jorge Iber, an associate professor of history at Texas Tech University and author of *Hispanics in the Mormon Zion, 1912–1999*.

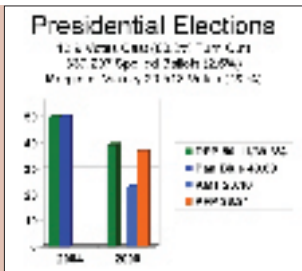
"We all felt that the conference was a great success in providing a forum for the Latino community to express itself and to explore its relationship to others," Handley said. "The entire day saw steady attendance that filled most, if not all, of the conference room, and it was clear from the question and answer sessions that important contacts were made both among Latinos from different areas of Utah who attended and between the university and the community."

Lectures were interspersed with Latino poetry readings by BYU students. Presentations featured "The Universidad Hispana: Educating Hispanics in Utah," by Arturo de Hoyos, emeritus BYU professor and president of Universidad Hispana; and "Facing Challenges and Navigating in the American Financial System," by Gladys Gonzalez, founder and current publisher and editor of *Mundo Hispano* newspaper. She represents the Hispanic community at the Hispanic Task Force in Washington, D.C., is a board member at Centro de la Familia de Utah, and is also the founder and chair of the Pete Suazo Business Center; "Utah, Latinos, Catholics, and Mormons: Situating Utah within Latino Studies Parameters," was presented jointly by Armando Solorzano, an associate professor of family and consumer studies at the University of Utah, and Ignacio García, an associate professor of history at BYU; "Latinos and the

Law" was similarly offered by David Dominguez and Laina Arras, both of the J. Reuben Clark Law School at BYU; and "Social Issues within the Latino Community that Promote and Hinder Progress," was presented by Leticia Medina, of the Utah Office of Hispanic Affairs.

Chilean artist José Riveros joined Handley, also an associate professor of humanities at BYU, to present "Migrations of a Latino Artist." Handley said, "The conference brought together for the first time an interesting mix of academics and community leaders and appealed to both students and nonstudents alike. Another positive outcome is that we

"Roughly 13 million people voted. That's 80.2 percent turnout of voters."



"We all felt that the conference was a great success in providing a forum for the Latino community to express itself and to explore its relationship to others."

also foresee future collaboration with the University of Utah on this important issue. We are looking into the possibility of hosting something like this every year."

Handley only regretted that "there wasn't more time for discussion throughout the day, because it was apparent that there was a great hunger among the attendees to be involved in the discussions. Nevertheless, in the time allotted, it was wonderful to see the interactions and the mutual education that took place for all of us."

For lecture archives see <http://kennedy.byu.edu/events/latinoconf.html> or for more information, please contact George Handley at (801) 422-7151.

Global Management Center

The Marriott School's Global Management Center (GMC) is designed and funded by the U.S. Department of Education a Center for International Business Education and Research (CIBER) in the nation. CIBER schools serve as resources for innovative curriculum design, faculty development programs, international scholar exchanges, outreach to the business community, executive education, and financial support for original research among many things. We are pleased to include highlights of their recent activities here.

Business Language Grants

Six business language professionals, including two teachers from BYU, received individual grants of \$500 to be used for attending business language conferences. "We think these conferences will enhance their business language teaching skills and experience," said Marlene Hernandez, GMC business-language specialist.

Recipients of the grant included Yan Zhang and Dorly Piske of the University of Wyoming, Yuka Tachibana of the University of Montana, Debora Ferrera of Utah Valley State College, and Hans-Wilhelm Kelling and Yvon Le Bras of BYU. GMC awarded the grants

based on diversity, experience, and interest in business language. Faculty located in Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, Nevada, and Montana were eligible to apply. "We wanted to extend these opportunities to other institutions and give them the chance to improve their programs as well," said Hernandez.

Kelling, a business language teacher for ten years and professor of German and Slavic languages, used the grant to attend a language and culture workshop at the University of Memphis in Tennessee. "I need to learn what works well for other instructors so that I can improve my own courses," Kelling remarked.

Nearly 15 percent of Marriott School students come from outside the United States and most of the faculty and students have lived abroad. Some 80 percent of students are bilingual, and more than 25 percent speak three or more languages fluently.



Italian and Arabic Classes Added

Quanto costa inserire pubblicità nel giornale? Learning how much an advertisement costs in a foreign language is only the beginning of what students can experience in business Italian and Arabic classes, offered for the first time through the GMC last winter semester. These courses joined nine others, more than any other CIBER in the United States.

"This class would be helpful for students who want to feel comfortable using Arabic in a business setting or environment and will basically get the students acquainted with the business culture in the Arab world," said Ayoub Sunna, the business Arabic instructor. The newly added classes followed formats similar to their predecessors. Students learned vocabulary, cultural issues, and other skills enabling them to be more competitive and confident in an international market.

The Marriott School has offered foreign language business courses

since 1992. For students interested in international business, these courses contribute to the completion of requirements for the GMC Certificate.

Student Biography: Kab-Pyo Hong

Michael Moffat, GMC writer

Life takes us in many different directions, some of which we would never have expected, and no one knows this better than Kab-Pyo Hong, or "KP" as he likes to be called. He is a thirty-one-year-old MPA student from Seoul, South Korea, who earned degrees in French and law from Hankuk University of Foreign Studies.

One turn in his life came when a good friend in the Korean ROTC introduced him to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. After joining he heard about Brigham Young University. He decided to come to BYU not just for the good tuition or because he was a member, but because he seeks spiritual knowledge over secular. "This is the school of God," KP said. "Even though I already finished my degree in Korea, I wanted to experience something unique at BYU, such as spiritual and ethical culture that I had never had before."

"Some 80 percent of students are bilingual, and more than 25 percent speak three or more languages fluently."

In an effort to learn English so he could study at BYU, KP and his wife, Kyung-sook Son, moved to Provo, where he studied at the English Language Center. "When I came here the first time, I felt culture shock," said KP. But because of the people he interacts with at school, KP says he has made the adjustment. "My professors and classmates are very kind and helpful to me in my course work," he said.

Although he excelled in English at the language center, he failed to gain acceptance to the MBA program twice. Then a church leader told him about the MPA program. He felt it was a good idea and is currently in the human resource track of the program. He has learned that education in America means discussion, teamwork, and participation in class; he has also noticed a service-oriented society. KP said these things don't exist in Korean schools and society.

As a result of the changes that have come to his life, another goal has been added to his desire to return home to Korea and serve the

government upon completion of his degree. "My ultimate goal is to serve North Korean people and bring them the gospel," says Hong. "I would like to become an influential LDS member in Korean society as a BYU alumnus, being able to give a good example to Korean people."

For more information, please see the GMC web site at <http://marriottschool.byu.edu/gmc>.

BYU Wins Big at Competition

Students representing BYU received the top award at the National Model United Nations conference in New York City. This is the best showing from the program, sponsored by the David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, since 1999. More than 3,000 students from over 300 universities in the U.S. and abroad compete at the annual event each spring. This year BYU chose to represent Canada and a lesser-known nongovernmental organization, "Socialist

International." BYU's teams ranked among the top 3% and 1% of delegations respectively, receiving the coveted "Distinguished"

and "Outstanding" awards by the National Collegiate Academic Association (NCAA).

Since 1991, BYU has ranked among the top twenty programs at the conference, but two things made this year unique and the awards particularly sweet. "Growth in the number of conference attendees—up from 200 to over 300 universities—and the fact that our team is largely inexperienced made the competition a significant challenge," said William Perry, program instructor. BYU students spent two semesters learning about the issues, countries, and organizations necessary in order to become effective "diplomats."

BYU's program affords students from any major the opportunity to learn about international affairs and diplomacy through a multilateral simulation of international organizations. Students gain experience competing head-to-head with others who try to represent their country's positions as accurately as possible. "The

event is very intense, highly competitive, and demanding. It stretches you intellectually and forces you to work in groups," noted competitor Said Alhmayek, a computer engineering major from Palestine.

The two BYU delegations were proud of their achievements. On the Economic and Social Council Plenary Committee, which held its final meeting at UN headquarters, delegates Ashley Carter and Drew Ludlow united European and African delegates on the issue of women refugees. They forged consensus for an "established a policy standard across existing international agencies," something they recognized does not yet exist in the realm of international policy and humanitarian law.

BYU's Canadian delegation met with their actual counterparts, senior diplomats at the Permanent Mission to the UN from Canada. Professor Earl Fry, of political science at BYU, coordinated the briefing, which gave students immediate access to the experts and official representatives of Canada. A letter from His Excellency Michael Kergin, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, was presented in which he commended the BYU students for their research and preparation and welcomed their efforts.

The experience also brings professional benefits for students with no academic or formal interest in diplomacy. Matt Toskovich, a finance major from Fairfax, VA, said the sessions "did a great deal to prepare me for interviews and future professional challenges, especially in terms of developing negotiation, leadership, and communication skills."

Ryan Keller and Peter Stone, BYU's Truman Scholar recipients in 2004, participated in the three-credit-hour course (IAS 351) that prepares students from various backgrounds, and they found it to be a fascinating complement to the various courses, internships, interviews, and experiences they have already had.

For more information, contact BYU Model United Nations, (801) 422-3548, mun@byu.edu, or see <http://mun.byu.edu>.



BYU Hosts Summer Diplomacy Camp

The Kennedy Center will host the first-ever Summer Diplomacy Camp during the week 19–24 July for all interested high school students. Workshops and activities at this year's camp will center on a five-fold curriculum dealing with issues pertaining to:

- Leadership Foundations
- The Local Side of Global Issues
- Culture Matters: Understanding the World
- The Five Skills of Parliamentary Debate
- Trends in International Relations

The camp's workshops, speakers, and classroom experiences are complemented by an array of fun social events including a diplomats' dinner reception and dance, a cultural showcase, and an international cinema night. Space is limited for the camp's pilot year, so register early. All camp expenses, including room and board for the week, are \$400.

For more information, visit the Diplomacy Camp web site at <http://diplomacycamp.byu.edu>, contact the staff by phone at (801) 422-3723, or via e-mail at diplomacy_camp@byu.edu.



"Students representing BYU received the top award at the National Model United Nations conference in New York City."

Shelly (Camacho) Astle

Shelly (Camacho) Astle, a 2000 American studies graduate, said she “remembered a situation when a professor gave the class counsel on how to combat the inevitable teasing we would receive from those who derided our major as impractical and hardly helpful when looking for employment upon graduation.” Astle has taken the tools gained in her major and capitalized on them quite well—pun intended—as she worked for two U.S. Senators and a governor.

“When choosing my major for both my undergraduate and graduate degrees, I used the following personal

philosophy: Enjoy the journey,” Astle said. “If I was going to take all those classes and write all those papers, I’d better enjoy what I was learning.”

A self-proclaimed American history junkie at heart, American studies was a natural choice. “I loved anything and everything having to do with the study of America,” she said. “Thus my journey began. And to this day I cannot think of a single class that I didn’t enjoy.”

Several courses changed Astle’s perspective on things American in a big way. In the introductory course, taught by Professor Neil York, her concept of the “American Dream” was forever changed. The American film course, taught by Professor James D’Arc, altered the way she viewed films. And two courses taught by Professor Frank Fox, one on popular culture and the other on San Francisco, also had a long-lasting affect.

“Politics is all about people, and American studies is the study of the American people—as they were, as they are, and as they will be—molded by shared experiences, traditions, and values such as liberty, individualism, and equality,” said Astle. “By coming to understand what it means to be an American through my studies at BYU, I understand people better and have learned to thrive in a profession that is all about people.”



Her career began in the offices of Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah. “He gave me my first break as a staff assistant answering phones in his D.C. front office and giving tours of the Capitol building,” recalled Astle. “I was soon promoted to work as a legislative correspondent, drafting responses to mail from his constituents.”

“In 2002, I moved to the office of Senator John Ensign of Nevada, as his advisor on natural resources, energy, and various other issues,” she continued. “I drafted bills, worked with legislators and staff, and became an integral part of the policymaking process—a dream come true.”

Early this year, Astle joined the staff of Governor Mitt Romney of Massachusetts as a speech writer. “This has been an excellent opportunity to get an idea of how state government works and see things from an executive perspective,” Astle affirmed.

She remembers a comment made at her graduation, that they “were part of a group of individuals who would do incredible things—not only for our nation but also for our world. I was inspired that day, and I knew I wanted to pursue a career where I felt like I was making a difference. My education at BYU has enabled me to achieve that goal.”

Astle had the opportunity to do the inspiring for spring 2004 graduates as the alumni guest speaker at convocation.

Austin S. Hamner

Austin S. Hamner, a 1986 Kennedy Center graduate, just completed a deployment from the U.S. Army Reserves to support the Armed Forces Medical Intelligence Center (AFMIC), a branch of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). Hamner is now in Bagdad, Iraq, as part of the Iraq Survey Group (ISG), a team assisting in finding key evidence relating to the war. “I have now been mobilized three times,” said Hamner of his current deployment.

“I was called up in 1991 for the Gulf War, in 1996 for Peacekeeping in Croatia, Bosnia, and now in 2003 for the War in Iraq,” said Hamner. “This current mobilization

has been the longest by far, and the first ten months were at Fort Detrick, Maryland, where I was blessed with being able to go home for three days once every six weeks.”

A husband [to wife Patricia] and father of six, three boys and three girls, Hamner defends the importance of serving others and one’s country. “I hope through this sacrifice, my children will see that sometimes it is necessary to stop talking about serving your country and fellow man and actually do it, regardless of the sacrifice,” Hamner explained.

In 1980, Hamner’s international service began in the form of his mission to Kobe and Osaka, Japan. Upon returning from his mission, Hamner pursued a bachelor’s degree in international relations. “Professor Stan Taylor with all of his professionalism still took time to talk one on one with students,” Hamner recalls of his experience at the Kennedy Center. The center also had an effect on his community involvement. Hamner noted that “Professor Richard Vetterli’s desire to get more students in the electoral process prompted me to run for school board.”

Following his Brigham Young University studies, Hamner received an MBA from the University of Indianapolis, though he “will candidly admit that [he] would like to have achieved the master’s in the international program as well.” Hamner further commented regarding what the master’s would have meant in his current situation, “I can tell you from interfacing with the intelligence community that the master’s of international relations means a great deal to them.”

Prior to his involvement in the War in Iraq, Hamner worked full-time as a territory manager for Kato Spring of California, a Japanese



springs manufacturing company Hamner helped represent in the Midwest of the United States. He will pay a significant price after his deployment is completed. “I built up the territory for two years before being mobilized. Inasmuch as it (his

former position as territory manager) was 90 percent commission, the damage will be severe

“... I understand people better and have learned to thrive in a profession that is all about people.”

“... we should all be prepared to preserve not only our careers and reputations, but our church, our families, and our country.”

"I remember quite well my position as a student, both the things I did and did not know."

by the time I return to the territory," he reflected. "Of course I will still have a job, but the income difference will be substantial."

Despite these obvious challenges, Hamner is answering his country's call, and he is grateful for those who have likewise been willing to serve in the past. "While freedom is never free, we begin to take it for granted when we don't see the sacrifices of those who no longer live among us." Hamner continued, regarding his own involvement in war, "I've been told that our government should send only single guys to war, but the bottom line is basically this: If not me, then who? If not now, when? Certainly we should all be prepared to preserve not only our careers and reputations, but our church, our families, and our country."

Cory T. Hrnčírik

Cory T. Hrnčírik, a 2002 graduate in international studies with minors in business management and European stud-

"A class in European geography opened my eyes to world cultures, economies, political structures, and peoples. . . ."

ies, said, "My BYU education, especially the knowledge and experience gained through the Kennedy Center, gave me a broad base on which to begin building my career. The decision to pursue international studies

provided me with more than memorized formulas and case studies and instilled in me a desire to understand this world—to "become acquainted with all good books, and with languages, tongues, and people;"¹ and to "obtain a knowledge of history and of countries and of kingdoms, of laws of God and man."²

The most useful skills for Hrnčírik's career were not those gleaned from textbooks or lectures. "The assets I left BYU with include the ability to learn new things, to be sensitive to different cultures, and to analyze the economic and political situation of different countries," he said. "Also the ability to use computer software (especially Microsoft Word, Excel, PowerPoint, and Outlook) is invaluable in performing my regular work tasks and responsibilities, as is the capability to work in

teams and to make presentations to a group."

Several courses are recalled as being particularly beneficial. "One of the first classes in my major, which started me on the right foot and inspired me, was a general international business

class offered through the Marriott School," Hrnčírik said. "A class in European geography opened my eyes to world cultures, economies, political structures, and peoples; and a class in economic geography taught me to analyze various countries according to a wide range of indicators and to present my findings to others."

And finally, he said, "The Kennedy Center lecture series provided real world examples of global issues, challenges, and opportunities."

What advice would he offer students today? "Strive to gain a broad education, but do so with careful selectivity, not whimsically or without focus. Take some classes outside of your selected major that are of particular interest and will round out your education. Complete an internship or study abroad as part of your education. Pursue knowledge that goes beyond textbooks," he offered.

NOTES

1. Doctrine and Covenants 90:15
2. Doctrine and Covenants 93:53

Hrnčírik is married to the former Rachel Harmon. They have two children: Juliana (2) and Joseph (6 mos.). Hrnčírik has been living with his family in Prague, Czech Republic, since March 2002, where he is employed as the Head of Research for Central and Eastern Europe at CB Richard Ellis, an international property consultancy firm.

Alumnus Addressed Energy Issues

A. Jamal Qureshi, a 1998 Near Eastern studies graduate, presented "Oil, Politics, and Principle: Causes and Repercussions of the Invasion of Iraq," on Thursday, 13 November 2003. Qureshi is a Middle East political and oil analyst for PFC Energy in Washington, D.C.

"This was my first time lecturing at BYU," he said. "Since I'm one of the main Iraq analysts at my firm, I used the issues surrounding Iraq as the topic, then I also gave class lectures on oil markets and a few

other Iraq topics, along with participating in one class discussion on Palestinian-Israeli issues." During his visit, Qureshi said he was kept very busy.

He enjoyed the return visit to campus after a number of years away. "I remember quite well my position as a student, both the things I did and did not know," he said. "I enjoyed sharing some of what I've learned in the intervening years with students who I know will be making similar journeys. And hopefully I helped in some small way."

His visit was also an opportunity to "deepen existing cooperation." Outside his work for PFC, Qureshi is involved with an online project for which he utilizes BYU interns (see <http://www.menavista.com>), whom he met in person for the first time to both give and receive feedback. He is looking for additional interns who are interested in tracking events in the Middle East. He can be reached through the web site listed above.



Global Report

External Debt and the Developing World: Problems and Solutions

Kent E. Freeze, BYU sophomore and economics major

Introduction

One of the main problems facing the developing world today is large and confining debt. A major obstacle to continued capital acquisition and future economic growth, debt burden is now one of the main concerns in international affairs. Many lesser-developed countries (LDCs) today simply cannot repay these debts, without the assistance of developed countries (DCs). This article looks into the status of the current debt crisis, and solutions to this crisis through trade barrier reduction, International Monetary Fund (IMF) assistance, debt restructuring, and debt forgiveness.

The Current Debt Crisis

The debt crisis is particularly acute in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to the World Bank classification, twenty-six of the thirty-three severely indebted, low-income countries are found in Sub-Saharan Africa.¹ The external debt in these countries is approximately equal to their Gross National Income (GNI) (See Table 1, p. 46). According to E. Wayne Nafziger, a prominent development economist, "Sub-Saharan Africa's high ratio of payment on debt to exports, without new foreign inflows or debt rescheduling, dampened new capital formation and external adjustment."² The extremely high ratio of external debt has effectively squeezed out capital inflow.

One of the main problems with external debt is how it directly damages capital inflow. According to Nafziger, "Net Capital Inflows = Imports - Exports = Private Investment - Private Saving + Budget Deficit."³ Capital inflows are greater with higher imports, higher investment and a higher deficit. However, in order to pay off loans, just the opposite is true. It is necessary for LDCs to produce more than they spend, export more than they import, and save more than they invest. Debt payments come at the direct cost of foreign capital inflows.

In order to afford debt payments, many LDCs have found it necessary to restrict imports. As stated earlier, this will restrict capital construction in LDCs. Accordingly, net long-term resource flows to LDCs fell from 5.3 percent of GDP in 1997 to 3.1 percent in 2001.⁴ Also disturbing to LDCs is their high rate of capital flight—the amount of an investment that will return to the investing country.

Many creditors are unwilling to loan funds if they know that a large portion of their investment will simply flow back to the investing country through capital flight. For example, during the period 1976–82, forty-two cents of every dollar loaned by foreign creditors left Nigeria through capital flight.⁵ The LDCs' high degree of capital flight, coupled with debt-induced import restrictions, have kept their capital stock from much needed growth.

During the 1980s, the developed world quickly became alarmed as LDC debt skyrocketed. It was soon apparent that many LDCs simply had no way of repaying these loans. Fearing a widespread default, several major American banks devalued and began selling various LDC loans on the secondhand market at 40 to 70 percent discounts.⁶ The DCs, faced with the prospect of a domestic banking crisis, began debt negotiations with LDCs, resulting in the restructuring of LDCs commercial and multilateral debts. LDCs and DCs are both very involved in the problem of LDCs external debt. As a result, it is necessary for both developed and undeveloped worlds to work together to put a halt to ballooning LDC debt.

Resolving the Crisis

There is no simple answer to the current LDC debt crisis. A combination of increased trade liberalization, correct changes to the IMF, effective debt reconstruction through debt swapping programs, and appropriately forgiving LDC debt will ensure satisfactory recovery of LDCs from the burden of debt.

The Reduction of Trade Barriers

Historically, DCs have maintained higher tariffs in the agricultural and textile industries, both of which are essential parts of almost all LDC economies. These tariffs were not included in the original General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) agreement following World War II and were only recently bound under the Uruguay Round of GATT. These tariff limits were intended to liberalize markets in

a manner similar to GATT's success in previous rounds for industrial goods, by setting new bindings from which future tariff reductions would be specified.⁷ Decreasing trade barriers will increase total welfare throughout the world—it is not a zero-sum game.

However, welfare changes often come at the cost of smaller segments of society. In hypothetically supposing the complete liberalization of agricultural trades, overall societal gains can come at a cost to producers or consumers (*See Table 2*). As a result, it has often been difficult to lower trade barriers, especially when faced with well organized producer organizations.

Significant progress has already been made in reducing trade barriers, but there is still much room for progress. While the developed world currently boasts a low, unweighted tariff rate around 5 percent, LDCs' average tariff rate is much higher—at about 16 percent. The rate in Sub-Saharan Africa is even higher—at around 20 percent.⁸

LDCs feel forced to keep tariff rates high for two main reasons. First, high tariffs help to keep imports down and thus ensure a positive trade balance. When faced with high levels of foreign debt, LDCs will finance debt payments by a tariff-induced positive trade balance. Debt payments come at the cost of higher net welfare gain by trade liberalization. Second, many LDCs feel a need to protect infant industries that have the potential in the future to be competitive on the global marketplace.

To repay LDC external debt, it is impera-

tive for LDCs to have increased access to foreign markets. This allows LDCs to earn foreign currency necessary for debt payment. However, in order to encourage capital inflow, LDCs need to increase foreign access to domestic markets. Therefore, LDCs and DCs must

Table 1
Summary Debt Data and Debt Indicators for
Severely Indebted Low-Income Countries

(US \$Billion)	1970	1980	1990	1999	2000
Total Debt Stocks (EDT)	13.1	84.3	252.9	353.1	342.6
Interest Payments (INT)	0.3	4.8	9.1	9.9	10.9
Exports of goods and services (XGS)	NA	NA	76.4	114.2	144.0
INT/GNI (%)	0.5	1.8	3.2	3.1	3.2
EDT/GNI (%)	22.2	32.2	88.1	110.5	100.3
INT/XGS (%)	NA	NA	11.9	8.6	7.6

Source: World Bank, Summary Tables (236–37)

work together to continue encouraging the further reduction to trade barriers around the world.

International Monetary Fund Assistance Reform

For many of the poorest countries, little access is available to private funds. In the event of various economic crises, it has become necessary for the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to step in. However, in the 1990s, the IMF attracted a great deal of criticism regarding its usage of funds. According to Graham Bird, critics claimed that the IMF "reflects bargaining power rather

Table 2
Gains and Losses in Agriculture Due to Global Liberalization
(US \$Billion, 1986)

	CONSUMER GAIN	PRODUCER GAIN	NET WELFARE GAIN
United States	28.7	-19.9	8.8
European Community	40.2	-27.3	12.9
Japan	27.8	-22.1	5.7
LDCs	-14.8	15.7	0.9

Source: (Krissof, 13, 33, 46)

than economic circumstances and that it is driven largely by the political self-interests of the fund's major shareholders."⁹ One of the greatest issues facing the IMF is that of conditionality—the attaching of various conditions on IMF assistance. Proponents for conditions claim that conditionality provides for a greater likelihood of repayment, however, studies have shown this is not always true.¹⁰ For example, the conditions for IMF assistance might be the elimination of trade barriers, monopolies, or tax distortions. These reforms are shown to increase total welfare *in the long run*. However, the short run effect of implementing these policies could lead to economic disaster.

LDCs seeking IMF assistance typically are already facing a financial crisis, one that could potentially become disastrous if the conditions for IMF assistance cause a negative short-run economic effect. Any serious economic shocks could erase any positive effects of IMF assistance.

This was dramatically shown in the experience of Kenya, which received a small IMF assistance program in 1993 on the condition that it open up its financial market system. Kenya resisted, complaining that the rapid liberalization would create chaos in the banking system. However, with no other financing options open, Kenya was forced to accept IMF assistance with the conditionality. The required reform resulted in fourteen banking failures within one year.¹¹ David Glover and Diana Tussie stated that they were forced to “conclude that liberalizing in the hope of receiving credit has not been a particularly successful tactic.”¹²

Critics of IMF claim that it has further conditionalized its assistance by putting LDCs onto rigid timetables: countries are told what is to be accomplished in thirty, sixty, or ninety days. Sometimes, these agreements even include stipulations on which laws the country must pass in order to meet these requirements.¹³ The resulting loss of political sovereignty increases inter-

national animosity within LDCs. For the IMF to effectively distribute assistance to LDCs, it must do it in ways that pay better attention to the needs of these countries. When LDCs ask for IMF help, they are usually in a financial crisis, which leaves the LDCs very little leverage to debate with. The result is the wholesale adoption of IMF conditions with very little input on the part of the LDCs.

The IMF must listen to LDCs. The arrogance shown by the IMF in the past has made LDCs extremely wary of the IMF and not committed to IMF-imposed conditions. The result has been an ineffective IMF that fails to address the needs of LDCs. With increased input from LDCs, specialized assistance and intelligent, LDC-supported conditions can result. As a result, IMF assistance will be much more effective.

Another option is that of giving IMF assistance based upon selectivity instead of conditionality. This means that IMF funds are given to countries who are shown to have accomplished various

“... liberalizing in the hope of receiving credit has not been a particularly successful tactic.”

reforms. Instead of forcing unpopular reform in LDCs, this system encourages rewards for self-imposed reform. There is economic evidence that selective aid can significantly promote economic growth and reduce poverty in LDCs.¹⁴

Debt Restructuring

In 2001, \$25.6 billion worth of multilateral rescheduling agreements were reached with seventeen different countries. These restructuring agreements dealt mostly with Heavily Indebted Poor Countries.¹⁵ While restructuring has helped LDCs, by giving them a window

of breathing space, it often simply delays the problem rather than solving it.

A fairly new form of loan restructuring entails swap arrangements. These arrangements often have the advantage of allowing external debt to be repaid in local currency. The most common form of swap arrangement is the debt-equity swap. These swaps “involve an investor exchanging at the debtor country's central bank, the country's debt purchased at discount in the secondary market for local currency, to be used in equity investment.”¹⁶ This effectively transforms the debt into local currency, which is much easier to repay, and gives LDCs a measure of relief. The debt-equity swap has the advantage of increasing investment in LDCs, while offering a path of debt repayment.

Other forms of swap arrangements are debt-for-nature and debt-for-aid swaps. Debt-for-nature swaps allow the foreign debt to be paid in the local currency, with some of these funds being used as an “environmental protection fund,” and the rest is used for other development projects. The debt-for-nature swap arrangement is attractive as it allows for debt relief, while aiding the country.

Debt-for-aid works in much the same way, with local currency payments being used instead for foreign aid projects. As opposed to raw foreign aid, which tends to breed dependence on the developed world, swap arrangements allow an effective means of economic growth while still repaying debts. As a result, swap arrangements have grown in popularity in recent years. Statistics from the World Bank indicate that “an estimated \$4.2 billion of debt had been swapped for local currency claims by the end of December 2000. Of this, \$2.2 billion was in the form of debt-for-equity swaps and \$1.6 billion debt-for-nature and debt-for-aid swaps. Other debt arrangements accounted for the remaining \$0.4 billion.”¹⁷ The continued and expanded use of swap arrangements will provide an effective reduction in the debt load of LDC countries.

Debt Forgiveness

In recent years, the movement for debt forgiveness has drawn much attention. A special interest group dedicated to debt forgiveness, Jubilee 2000, managed to attract significant support throughout the developed world for widespread debt forgiveness. As a result of their efforts, by the end of 2000, a total of twenty-four countries qualified for international debt relief.¹⁸ There is a good and simple reason for debt forgiveness: LDCs simply cannot grow without it! The proportion of exports devoted to external debt payment is much higher than they can currently bear (See Table 1, p. 46).

While wholesale forgiveness of all LDC debts is obviously impractical, relatively small amounts of money can make large differences in LDCs standard

"To effectively lower external debt, changes must be made within the IMF."

of living. There is also a moral aspect involved regarding the repayment of *unjust* debts, especially debts incurred during the Cold War. Stiglitz, a former chief economist and senior vice president of the World Bank, argued:

When the IMF and the World Bank lent money to the Democratic Republic of Congo's notorious ruler Mobutu, they knew (or should have known) that most of the money would not go to help that country's poor people but rather would be used to enrich Mobutu. It was money paid to ensure that this corrupt leader would keep his country aligned with the West. To many, it doesn't seem fair for ordinary taxpayers in countries with corrupt governments to have to

repay loans that were made to leaders who did not represent them.¹⁹

Debt forgiveness for these older and unjust loans seems especially appropriate.

Several proposals for debt forgiveness have been put forward. One idea is that of the creation of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) by the IMF. SDRs are a kind of international money standard conceived in the 1960s as a replacement to the gold standard.

Currently, with many countries saving billions of dollars to protect against international market instability, some of this money has not been converted into aggregate demand. As a way of offsetting this loss in global aggregate demand, some have suggested the use of SDRs for the payment of LDC debts. As a result, debt accounts are paid, and aggregate demand remains high. Another suggestion is using global mineral resource revenues, such as sea bed minerals and fishing as a fund for LDC development assistance.²⁰ Debt forgiveness has not been used enough by DCs and must be used more in the future. The debt relief afforded by such measures will go far in future growth and trade.

Conclusion

The developed world and LDCs need to coordinate effective plans for LDC debt reduction. A lower external debt ratio will allow LDCs to increase capital flows and lower barriers to international trade. Lower international trading barriers will allow the expansion of LDC capital inflows and make the repayment of loans more feasible. To effectively lower external debt, changes must be made within the IMF. Conditions tied to monetary assistance have often harmed LDCs by including unrealistic and sometimes economically damaging standards.

An economically smarter IMF that coordinates better with LDCs will more effectively adapt assistance to each country's specific needs. Debt-swapping programs are an effective way of making debt payment more manageable and realistic, while lessening the harm to capital inflows.

Furthermore, the forgiveness of external debts by the creation of SDRs or using global mineral profits will go far in the fight against LDC debt. It is imperative that these measures are carried out with extensive consultation with LDCs. Without the support and understanding of LDCs, it will be impossible to effectively implement any of these measures. The cost of these reforms to rich countries is negligible and will ensure future growth in the developing world. 🌍

This paper received first place honors in the first annual Kennedy Center Essay Contest, which was held in conjunction with International Education Week, 17-21 November 2003.

NOTES

1. World Bank. *Global Development Finance: Financing the Poorest Countries Analysis and Summary Tables*, Washington, D.C., 2002, p. 121.
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4. World Bank. *Summary*, p. 32.
5. Nafziger, pp. 90-91.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
7. Abbott, Philip C. and Philip L. Paarlberg. "Tariff Rate Quotas: Structural and Stability Impacts in Growing Markets," *Agricultural Economics*, fall 1998, p. 257.
8. World Bank. *Global Economic Prospects and the Developing Countries*, Washington, D.C., p. 51.
9. Bird, Graham. *The IMF and the Future*, New York, Routledge, 2003, p. 224.
10. Stiglitz, Joseph E. *Globalization and Its Discontents*, New York, W.W. Norton & Co., 2002, p. 42.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
12. Glover, David and Diana Tussie, ed. *The Developing Countries in World Trade*, Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1993, p. 236.
13. Stiglitz, p. 43.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
15. World Bank, *Summary*, p. 153.
16. Nafziger, p. 189.
17. World Bank, *Summary*, p. 153.
18. Stiglitz, p. 243.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

Scandinavian Literary Scholars Gathered

An elite group of scholars met at BYU under the direction of Professor Steven Sondrup a Scandinavian Literary History Conference, Thursday–Saturday, 5–7 February. The conference was a follow-up to a planning session held in March 2003 to begin work on a new Scandinavian literary history. “I feel this conference was hugely successful; the group chemistry worked very well,” said Sondrup, Scandinavian Research Program coordinator of BYU’s David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies and comparative literature professor. “Our work provided an important and decisive step in the realization of our goal to re-think the approach to the literary and cultural history of Scandinavia.”

Scholars who attended the conference were Thomas A. DuBois and Niels Ingwersen, University of Wisconsin—Madison; James E. Knirk, University of Oslo, Norway; Lars Lönnroth, emeritus, University of Göteborg, Sweden; Pirjo Lyytikäinen, University of Helsinki, Finland; James Massengale, University of California—Los Angeles; Finn Hauberg Mortensen, University of Southern Denmark; Margaret Clunies Ross, University of Sydney, Australia; Mark B. Sandberg and Karen Sanders, University of California—Berkeley; Stefanie von Schnurbein, Humboldt University, Berlin; George Schoolfield, emeritus, Yale University; Tone Selboe, University of Tromsø, Norway; and Mario J. Valdés, University of Toronto, Canada—all experts in Scandinavian literature.

These scholars have been charged by the International Comparative Literature Association in Paris to compile, edit, and publish a three-volume set of research comparable to work that Valdés was responsible for publishing in Spanish and Portuguese last fall (Oxford University Press). “Valdés looked at regional literary histories instead of period or national histories,” said Sondrup, who will be the principle editor of this project. “His methodology attracted attention

and caused scholars to re-think their notions of literary history.” Their re-thinking led to the Scandinavian project.

On the final day of the conference, spent at Sundance, it snowed



all day—adding to the Scandinavian mood. Sondrup enjoyed meeting with his colleagues from around the world. “I am grateful for the assistance provided by the university and feel honored by this opportunity to work closely with some of the leading experts in our field.”

During their meetings, these specialists in various aspects of Scandinavian literature and culture explored the theoretical framework for the project and constructed a working table of contents from which they will each be designated to head specific sections and make contact with other scholars to contribute articles for the project.



Sondrup said they had already been contacted by several important scholars who are “eager to be a part of the project.”

The conference also received coverage in *Svenska Dagbladet*, a newspaper with the largest circulation among the Nordic population, comparable to the *New York Times*.

Reporting following the conference, Professor Lönnroth said, “We were impressed and inspired by Professor Sondrup’s energy, enthusiasm, wealth of ideas, and magnificent organizational ability.”

Loftur Bjarnason Lecture

While Professor Ross was on campus, she offered the Loftur Bjarnason Annual Lecture in Scandinavian Studies. Her lecture was entitled “The Poetry of Egill Skallagrímsson.” Ross is the McCaughey Professor of English Language and Early English Literature and director of the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Sydney, Australia. Her research and publications have focused on the literature and poetry of Old Norse-Icelandic studies, medievalism, and the history of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Gothic studies, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Loftur Bjarnason, now deceased, was a Utah native with Icelandic ancestry who endowed this lecture to stimulate interest in Scandinavian studies.

For more information, please contact the Scandinavian Studies office at (801) 422-5598 or Professor Sondrup at steven_sondrup@byu.edu.

China Teachers Program Evolving

For the past few years, the China Teachers program has sent annually about sixty-five teachers to eighteen universities in eight major cities in China. Eight of the current universi-

ties are among the top twelve in China. In the past, teachers have been asked to teach English, and the creativity with which they have done so has been as varied as the couples and individuals themselves.

Recently, several universities have asked for the teachers to present classroom content from their specialties: law, business, technology, engi-

neering, and science in addition to English. Fortunately, the applicants' backgrounds matched the requests from the universities. This year, eight teachers were asked to teach some aspect of business, seven to teach law, three to teach science, two to teach engineering, and two to work directly with university administration. We expect this trend to grow.

Included here are samples of how the teachers have magnified their teaching, each in their own unique way.

**Gordon and Diane Coffman,
Peking University**



As foreign experts and teachers in China, China Teachers see firsthand how mystifying a place China is. What we learned very quickly is that traveling China's vast terrain and studying its incredible history does not provide the true picture of this magnificent land. What makes China beautiful is its people.

While teaching English writing, we have had the rare opportunity of looking into the minds and culture of these beautiful people through the writing assignments of our Chinese students. My wife and I are three-year veterans of the program, and she is the author of the textbook *A Peking University Coursebook on English Exposition Writing*, in which she said:

My students write essays about life in China to fulfill the writing assignments in my English writing class. By

reading their essays, I gain greater insights into the culture of China. Seeing China through my students' eyes has given me a new perspective as a foreigner in China, and also as a human being on this earth. From me the students have learned the essential techniques and components of good essay writing; from them I have learned about their ancient and modern cultures, their views on the outside world, their sensitive feelings on life, their dreams, their struggles, and their triumphs. I think I got the better education.

Many of the Kennedy Center teachers share this same sentiment. On behalf of the students who contributed many of the essay examples for the textbook, Diane is donating a portion of the proceeds to the China Charities Federation for advancement of education in rural China. For as little as 1,000RMB (about \$120), three to five rural Chinese children can receive nine years of education. "The students feel a sense of responsibility to help the less fortunate in their country," she said. "This is one small way in which they can accomplish that."

**Richard and JoAnn Criddle,
Nanjing University**



The Criddle's were featured in a Chinese newspaper for taking part in the Sunshine Project, which was initiated in 2002. They and other China Teachers discussed with their students and university faculty what they might do to be of service. The result was 50,000 Yuan raised for the Gaochun Special Education School. Dubbed the Sunshine Project, they purchased a projector, copier, and scanner for the school; a reading corner was built as a place for students to study; and eighteen students without means received tuition to return to school.

Friends and family in the U.S. as well as Liu Cui'er, a Hong Kong doctor, and many students of Nanjing University and Nanjing Foreign Language School are now participating in the project with donations of time, talents, and additional money. Two Nanjing University students set up a system to help students use the Internet. Students from Nanjing Foreign Language School donated books, 400 yuan, and provided entertainment.

The children reciprocated with gifts they made for their guests and benefactors. The children sang *Seed a Sun*, "It's enough to seed one sun, one sun is enough; it will grow many, many suns. And every corner of the world will become warm and bright."

**Donald S. and Dana Gull,
Nankai University**



When my wife and I first learned we would teach at Nankai University in Tianjin, China, we had the impression that the class sizes would be twenty to thirty students. I was to teach a core course in economics/business strategy in the MBA program. Shortly after arriving at Nankai, I was informed that my classes would be seventy-five to eighty students per class, six classes per week, three hours long, no text was provided, and two days to prepare.

This presented an enormous problem of how to effectively teach a core business subject like economics to so large a group. More importantly, how was I to effectively teach them English—particularly oral English.

Having spent most of my business career in New York, and never having taught a college course in my life, I felt overwhelmed. The only model I had to go by was one at MIT, where I received my MBA and training in economics. That wasn't much help. I concluded that a traditional classroom experience would not apply. I had to find a way to engage the students in speaking



as much as possible in class, but I was determined to find a way to give them a 24/7 experience in English if they could find the time. Total immersion was the objective.

With that in mind, I set up a web site for each class, provided them a reading homework assignment that consisted of a case study: a current event or a business situation not more than two pages in length. From the reading, I selected vocabulary words and provided definitions and sample sentences. In addition, I created a situational dialogue between two people using the vocabulary words. I also added a long list of words without definitions as a pronunciation exercise. To support all of this, I created an MP3 recording of my voice for each of these assignments and posted it on the web site. This allowed them to simultaneously read, listen to, and mimic all the English words and expressions in the written homework. Some of them used their MP3 players to listen and practice while walking around campus.

In class, I tied all exercises to the homework. I had them divided into teams of four students. Each team had a company name like American Airlines, and they had a title: director of marketing, administration, production/services, or finance. They were required to sit together. I had them develop solutions to cases, write sentences from the vocabulary words, develop dialogues, create arguments for debates as a team, and then present them in brief to the class. All students participated in the creative writing process, and at least two-thirds of the students made presentations to the class each week. They were also assigned to give from memory what they had written in class with teammates so they spent a lot of class time discussing their work with each other. No one escaped. The rule was: no Chinese spoken.

As they worked, I roamed the class. If I heard anyone in a team speaking Chinese, the team had to sing their team song—words they had created to the tune *Edelweiss*. They had so much fun singing; I wondered if they were speaking Chinese on purpose. I had a number of games and challenges using the same subject matter to add variety to the classroom experience. Critically

important were frequent explosions of laughter. You must have a sense of humor or the pressure of this approach will bring class meltdown.

Each three-hour class only had a ten-minute break, and it was intense. One hour was devoted to teaching the core subject material. I believe this multifaceted approach accelerated their learning. Their English improved dramatically and, by all reports, they genuinely enjoyed the course.

Gary and Shirley Howlett, Tsinghua University



In many ways, Tsinghua might be described as the heart and soul of the government in China. Since the current president, Hu Jintao, along with many other important individuals in top-level leadership, is a graduate of this university, it is safe to say that many of our current students will assume important roles of responsibility in China's future. Along the path of globalization, they will make important decisions affecting conditions of billion children. With these thoughts in mind, we often recognize our time in this members of the Church in the way possible under the laws and regulations of the government.

During the past year and a half, we feel it has been a great fortune to establish "relationships of trust" with many students and colleagues in the Foreign Language Department. Our feeling and admiration are real, and we cherish our times and experiences together. It takes time to break down certain barriers by differing cultures, false notions, misunderstandings and ideals, and a general attitude from years of isolated and limited association with the West.

I recall one colleague who experienced a change of attitude when she witnessed an American mother hugging and kissing her teenage son as he was about to board a plane at the airport.

had been taught that American families do not share a loving and close-knit relationship.

During the past Christmas season, when we were at our home in Las Vegas, we entertained Dr. Lu Zhong, the deputy director of our department, and her fourteen-year-old daughter. When she returned to Beijing, she wrote a letter of gratitude and mentioned how much she had learned about how American families share love and respect in the same way as the Chinese. Even though she is a strong member of the Communist Party, we consider her friendship as very genuine and are always happy to spend time together at dinner parties and other sightseeing opportunities. She felt sufficiently comfortable to allow her daughter to attend school for a week in Las Vegas with some of our grandchildren, and not just school but Church services and early morning seminary. She had a wonderful time and continues contact with some of the girls in the ward via e-mail. These are just a few examples of many such cases of relationships that have been established and hope to maintain long after our return home.

Through the increased level of trust with our colleagues, we



Department. Dr. Lu asked me to serve in an administrative capacity as the liaison between the department and the other foreign teachers. In this capacity, we adequately address communication issues from both sides. We have learned that it is so easy to misunderstand the intentions and meanings of one another and how important it is to gain clarification as quickly as possible to minimize or mitigate problems.

One of the concerns I had was that there are eleven foreign teachers working in the English Department and about one hundred Chinese teaching English in the same department with little or no interaction or involvement with each other. In October, I sent out a notice of intent to organize an English Teachers Association and invited all to attend. I asked that they consider this as an association that would be driven by the wants and desires of its members and would proceed accordingly. We had a reasonable response and were able to provide them with a questionnaire to establish the direction and purpose of the group. We now have organization of leadership with both foreign and Chinese teachers involved and a monthly association luncheon meeting where we are in-serviced in areas of common interest and need.

With such a strong need for learning English at our university, the department was presented with the challenge of improving oral English instruction for all 37,000 students on our campus. In early November 2003, the administration asked our department leaders to devise a plan for a six-week summer program of intensified English instruction for every freshmen currently enrolled at Tsinghua. When this project was described to me in my weekly meeting with Dr. Lu, I told her that this sounded like what we

Americans would call an immersion summer camp where there would be a variety of activities and

instruction to stimulate interest and enthusiasm as well as improve the skills of daily language use. I offered to produce a simple description of such a camp, which she could use as she wanted.

A couple of weeks later, she accompanied the dean and another deputy director to a meeting to present their plans. The dean and deputy director had put together a plan that they felt would be adequate to the task using the traditional Chinese teaching style of ten hours per day of "rote learning." They were told that would not do, and they must come up with another plan. At that point, Dr. Lu pulled the very rough draft of what I had given her out of her pocket. After describing it in the best way she could, the administrators said that it was exactly what they wanted. That's when our lives in China changed.

At present, I am working with one other China Teacher and six Chinese department heads on a steering committee to organize and conduct a four-week (we were able to get it reduced from six) total English immersion summer camp on our campus. We are working to bring nearly forty foreign teachers from across the United States and Great Britain to work alongside seventy Chinese teachers in providing the instruction and activities for this project. We will also have about forty volunteers who are mostly high school and college age students to help with many of the activities and mingle with the students. Shirley has been given the responsibility to produce teaching materials.

Sometimes it is very exciting, and at other times it is quite frustrating and difficult as we try to understand one another on something that is so different from any-

thing they have had any experience with. It has been most gratifying to receive nearly 100 applications from potential teachers from the U.S. and the UK. We will have a great variety of talented and experienced people on our staff. It is here that I hold the most promise for the potential success of the project.

It is quite understandable that as a Church member many of our contacts for recruiting teachers here are Latter-day Saints. I would guess that approximately 25 percent of the foreign teachers and volunteers would be members of the Church from a variety of places. Teachers who are members will be instructed to adhere to the Chinese government's policy of not teaching religion. At the same time, we anticipate that there will be relationships developed between the Chinese and Americans that could be long lasting and perhaps very beneficial to all in the future. 🌍



Kennedy Center Third Annual Photography Contest

Second Place
"Sandy Day"
David Trichler
Namibia



Third Place
"Eating Fufu"
Jennifer Jackson
Mampong, Ghana



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*“Our economic
prosperity depends on
the confidence and
willingness of foreign
investors and governments
to bankroll our runaway
spending habits.”*