

AUTUMN NUMBER

**DIALOGUE  
ON DIVERSITY**

*DIALOGUE ON DIVERSITY  
NEWSLETTER*

1000 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 600  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

TEL: [FFXVA] 703-631-0650, FAX:[FFXVA] 703-631-0617

BULLETIN 49

AUTUMN NUMBER

NOVEMBER 15, 2004

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

MA. CRISTINA CABALLERO

Late summer has advanced into Fall with a flurry of program activity on the Dialogue on Diversity calendar, first the annual Health Care Symposium, this year presented at AARP's Washington conference space, the Conference on Housing Issues, held October 6<sup>th</sup> at the National Press Club as a prelude to the 2004 Awards, and, of course, the Awards presentation ceremony itself, a gala event on the evening of October 16<sup>th</sup> at the Hall of the Americas, Organization of American States, celebrating the tenth anniversary of those awards. This has been a season of accomplishment and advance for the Dialogue, and we may be forgiven for expressing some measure of pride in the achievement.

The year's programs conclude with the Holiday Fair and Children's Gift Collection, scheduled for midday Saturday, December 11<sup>th</sup>. This year's Holiday Fair co-sponsor is Marriot International, and the site is the Marriott Wardman Park Hotel on upper Connecticut Avenue in Washington. Our hope, as always, is that Dialogue on Diversity groups in other cities may organize Holiday Fair celebrations in their own localities, each having as the centerpiece the perennial gift collection benefiting the children of economically disadvantaged households. Washington conspicuously, but not at all uniquely, is a city presenting the spectacle of money sloshing about in endless abundance, while at once its own populations of newcomers, of disabled, of homeless and troubled, and of those who are poor for all their hopes and labors, and their children, find themselves outside the circle of riches. Canons of decency must come into play to prompt each of us to respond with generosity. We invite our members and friends, our corporate family, and businesses in the metropolitan area to join forces during the holidays times ahead.

The coloration of official Washington promises to grow a bit more republican yet than in the four years just past. The Dialogue, with its dogged stance of impartiality, is little concerned with crying up any portion of the political agenda of either or any of the factions that have set up shop in the

Leila Teresa Rachid de Cowles, Paraguay's Minister of External Affairs, receives Dialogue on Diversity's first American Stateswomen Award

old town, but hopes that it may, by its diligent cultivation of innovative conversation, engender policy concepts that suggest new ~ and amicable ~ ways for navigating the ideological chasms that yawn on every hand.

The Dialogue's last several conferences, and indeed the recent awards program, have offered internet registration. This is achieved through the facilities of RegOnLine, a firm based in Denver Colorado. We hope friends of the Dialogue have found this convenient, efficient, and reassuring. Thanks to the staff at RegOnLine for their patiently rendered counsel as we educate ourselves in the intricacies of set up!

We were particularly pleased to honor G. Winston Smith at this year's awards, granting our Global Diversity honors for his signal achievements in the field, largely laid out by his innovative practices over the last decade with AT&T and then Microsoft. Mr. Smith, we are proud to note, has been a solid friend and supporter of our programs. While we had planned for last year's laureate, Henry O. Hernandez of American Express, to present this year's award, Mr. Hernandez, much to his and our regret, was laid low with a flu. We were fortunate, in any event, in enlisting the services as award presenter of another good friend of the Dialogue, Ambassador Abelardo Valdez, a prime intellectual mentor and inspirer of the free trade impulse in the Americas, which has issued in the NAFTA system and promises to come to a fuller fruition in the nascent FTAA system embracing the western continents from from the Bering Straits to Tierra del Fuego.

## Housing Issues Conference

In collaboration with Freddie Mac and the National Organization of African Americans in Housing (NOAAH), Dialogue on Diversity presented the first of a contemplated annual series of conferences on contemporary housing issues. Housing is a key dimension of social life for all segments of a society, but for the economically disadvantaged and the newcomers migrating to the society, the housing problematik is both a matter of the crucial need for shelter and a badge of free passage in a strange, often threatening social milieu. Historically the rights of ownership on one's home have been held paramount to the rights in any other kinds of property. Real property has its special set of rules of law in cultures around the world, and its possession is the cachet of social dignity. Home ownership thus assumes a uniquely meaningful role in the lives of the communities striving for advancement in well-being and for acceptance as worthy concitizens in an affluent and sophisticated society.

Moderator and lead speaker for the Housing Issues Conference was Philip R. Miller, who heads up the Homeownership task force of NOAAH and who, as an independent consultant on housing questions, advises housing organization around the country. Other speakers were Dionisia Bejarano Coffman of Freddie Mac, Charmaine Brown of Fannie Mae, Panchita Bello, a Washington real-estate broker, Mary Barrientos of the Los Angeles Housing Authority (who was honored later the same day by Dialogue on Diversity with its Mentorship Award for her innovative work with young people from that city's public housing), Velam Navarro of NOAAH's Denver office, Julio Barreto, and Jose Pardo-Kronemann, of the legal staff of HUD. The conference sessions were held at the National Press Club in Washington.

Much of the discussion took the form of a roundtable with the panel of experts viewing the housing market for the typically low-income prospective homeowners of ethnic communities. "Culture competence" was a prime issue, both from the point of view of the U.S. banks and real estate industry and from that of the cultural minorities, whose heritage often has not included homeownership as a possibility to be contemplated. Banks, from their side, have undertaken increasingly innovative initiatives: they have hastened to structured bi-lingual loan departments, they have packaged the home loan arrangements and taken the message to the neighborhood, complete with roving loan officers, aboard a Bank Bus, bringing a message of welcome to the previously somewhat alien and prodigiously daunting financial system. Again, the migrants and other minorities have to learn efficient practices of financial management, and the exercise of forming a new economic ethos is, in the event, the price of their achieving the fundamentally liberating condition of home ownership. Ownership, after all, is to gain a repository of wealth and at once to luxuriate in the new-found liberty to paint the living room any old color you wish (or, more likely, the color your spouse wishes).

Panchita Bello, a D.C. real estate broker, is the pioneer of what has come to be known as Home Buyers' Boot Camp, a crash

course in real estate basics from the consumer's point of view, designed for prospective, mostly first-time, buyers referred for the course by her and associated realty professionals. The course proves to buyers that they have what it takes to swing the deal and lays out the essential information on key steps in the buying proceeds -- thus de-mystifying the buying process.

Circulation of capital, or funds, in the among the functional classes in a society seen as an economic system.

Mary Barrientos, pointing out the fact that the forms of a culture are deeply rooted in ancient historical experience, recounted the special case of the Latino communities in Texas, comparing their responses in the face of housing question to that of Latinos in Los Angeles. The persons of the older stratum of Mexican-heritage population in Texas have for long viewed owned housing as a natural incident of their domestic lives: they trace their immemorial culture of landowning to the beginnings of Mexican settlement before the war -- that is to say, the Mexican war. presided over by Mr. Polk. In California, Ms. Barrientos observes, the ethos of home-ownership is a thing to be learned, and is an object of persuasion. It is a strange new plant in a garden crowded with renters.

Mr. Pardo-Krohmeman, speaking at the lunch session, reviewed some aspects of the often unforgiving economics of social institutions, among these the housing industry and the roles of private sector and governmental players in it. Economics is the science of scarcity and how to move it around, and has well earned its tag as the "dismal science", and law stands at the ready to enforce its severe dictates. That is the real. and not always gratifying. side of social existence, and the good society is the one that mediates the harshness of scarcity with fairness and with solicitude for the persons destined, if they are unaided, to bear the brunt of any inadequacy in the aggregate of social wealth. The same treasury of wealth, to draw the other side of the picture, has got to be managed to set up for the sources of productive effort in the population an array of rewards for their toil and creativity in generating an enlarged corpus of goods, in this case the goods of housing. A description of the flows of funds among the individuals and institutions of a society in response to these impulses was the central theme of Mr. Pardo-Krohmeman's discussion.

## AWARDS – PROMISE OF NEW GENERATION AND A NEW CENTURY

A reflection of the range of achievement recorded by women of the Americas and of the world was displayed in the glittering gala awards ceremonies in this culminating event of Dialogue on Diversity's cycle of program for 2004. The awards site again this year was the elegant quarters of the Organization of American States, in its Aztec Patio and the incomparable Hall of the Americas, one of Washington's premier interior spaces. A special note of appreciation is due to Ana Colomar O'Brien, O.A.S. chief of Protocol, and to Acting O.A.S. Secretary General Luigi R. Einaudi, who was on hand to greet laureates and guests and to present the key International Award later in the evening. In the pages following the fields of expertise and range of achievement of each of the awards honorees are described



## LEILA TERESA RACHID COWLES

The metier of diplomatic practice is one not typically hospitable to women among Latin America's official establishments, and the achievement of Leila Teresa Rachid Cowles, who serves as Paraguay's Minister of External Affairs, is thus all the more impressive for its rapidity and skill. Meteoric is the phrase that comes most readily to mind in contemplating the diplomatic career of Ms. Rachid de Cowles. Her family had come from Syria, like roughly 5% of Paraguay's population. She earned a degree in International Diplomacy from the Universidad Católica in Paraguay and a doctorate in Political Science from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. In her career's earlier stages she acquired extensive experience as an academician, having been a professor in several Paraguayan universities. Her labors as a public official begin in earnest in 1996, with her appointment to the post of Vice Minister of External Affairs. Two years later she advanced to the position of Ambassador, heading the Paraguayan Mission to neighboring Argentina, the first such posting of a woman in the history of Paraguay's diplomatic service. Another Ambassadorial assignment followed soon after, this time with her departure for Washington. In the critical and blasé milieu of the U.S. capital city, she promptly came to be recognized for her diplomatic skills, intellectual accomplishment, her linguistic facility, and her undeniable style. Rumor has it that more than once, on arrival at a reception with her Husband, Frank Cowles, it was he who was taken by the embarrassed host to be the Ambassador. She married Frank Cowles, an American, in the late 1990s, when his efforts to acquire a farm in Paraguay - in addition to the large farm he owned near Charlottesville in Virginia - led him to dealings with the Ministry of External Affairs, and to Ms. Rachid. The rest is history. They were married not long after, in a courtship that brought Mr. Cowles back again and again to Paraguay, as much to look forward to his interviews with the Vice Minister as to pursue acquisition of the farm. Ms. Rachid Cowles thus is related both to her own country, Paraguay, and to the U.S. by ties of family and affection. She is the first recipient of the American Stateswoman Award, being instituted this year.

## CARINA PERELLI

The 2004 International Award was presented to Carina Perelli of the U.N.'s Electoral Assistance Division by Luigi Einaudi, Acting Secretary General of the Organization of American States. A astute and creative student of society and economics in Uruguay, a tireless, no-nonsense worker in the world of international civil service, and a deeply experienced expert in the puzzling mechanics of social turmoil on multiple continents, Carina Perelli has come to exercise the power of expertise alloyed with steely moral determination as the Director of the Electoral Assistance Division of the Political Affairs arm of

the United Nations. It is in such services as counsel and management in the crucial processes of elections that the United Nations, for all its supposed weaknesses as an actor in the tempestuous controversies of big-power Realpolitik, has forged steadily ahead in a less spectacular realm of action, but one perhaps still more momentous since it is a field of real achievement - the reasoned, orderly assessment of the consent of the governed, through carefully calibrated electoral processes, as a potent counterforce to the truculent and managerially perverse tyrannies that threaten ruin and social disintegration in a dismaying number of places on the face of the earth. It is in this realm that Ms. Perelli has made her mark, and, in so doing, quietly changed the world for the better.

Upon assuming directorship of the U.N.'s Electoral Assistance Division, taking over the office in 1997, Ms. Perelli has walked into a good many of the earth's lion's dens and lived to tell the tale. She has spoken with elites and with the poor, ill-nourished, and incapacitated in the streets and byways. She, with a faithful crew, has lived with privations, discomforts, and the very real threats of bodily harm and even death. As she remarked in her acceptance of the International Award, she is unwilling to send her crews into settings where she herself would not go. She has often come back from a long day's work in a distressed social landscape to a press conference and noted that the rough and ready, but always effects-oriented work is signaled in her own mussed outfit and undone coiffure. She has bluntly told the confident sources of political pressure that she does not conduct "Mickey Mouse" elections.

Ms. Perelli, educated in the universities of her native Uruguay, and subsequently earning a degree at America's University of Notre Dame, and going on to compile a record of estimable successes as an international civil servant, has ultimately come to head up the U.N.'s very estimable Electoral Assistance Division. With a mix of genial pragmatism and moral perseverance she has faced down powerful political forces, fearsome challenges of both human and natural origins, and the fury of rogue armed bands, and still managed to set up rules and mechanisms for elections that have worked, thus bringing reason, order, and that famous basic consent of the governed into situations that most others would have given over as hopeless. The arena of action has seen a long train of challenges and achievements, among them Sierra Leone, East Timor, and soon Iraq, the key challenge of the decade. This function of the U.N., which is not its most gaudily publicized, has in fact most significantly changed the world, and the credit lies in large measure with the courage and diligence of Ms. Perelli.

## SHAMIM JAWAD

Perhaps the most meaningful of the honors conferred by Dialogue on Diversity is the Liberty Award, instituted in 2002 to offer humble recognition to women who have braved opposition and bent efforts selflessly to the defense of

human rights and to the restoration of lives lacerated by wars and abusive authorities. The first of these awards went to Jamila Mujahed, an Afghan woman journalist whose spirit kept alive during the harshest of times in that country a confidence in its women that their lives were indeed of value and that their hopes would be vindicated. The year following the Liberty Award went to co-laureates, representatives of the Israeli and Palestinian communities, each urging her compatriots to lay down weapons of destruction and to cultivate constructive dialogue. In early 2004 the Liberty Award was given to the brilliant Iraqi diplomatic representative Rend al-Rahim, who has skillfully interpreted the culture and aspirations of the diverse population of that country to a not always comprehending world. In today's Awards we turn again to the troubled Afghan scene, honoring Ms. Shamim Jawad, who has employed her position as a leading figure in the Afghan diaspora to leverage a high degree of concern for the children and the women who live with scarred memories and broken psyche as they and a traumatized culture seek to put together a life, one that is true to the intimations of liberty and of a flowering of learning and arts, and of economic advance, boons including women as well as men, all that has characterized Afghan life at its best. Mrs. Jawad, who is now the spouse of the Ambassador of Afghanistan to the United States, H.E. Seyyed Teyab Jawad, mastered the arts of business and finance in the West, working successfully in the financial industry during her years of exile. She now turns those skills and connections to the massive tasks of rebuilding a culture, a civilization, and thousands of individual lives. She heads up foundations and organizations of many kinds, intervening to afford a new dimension of care to the street children of the cities, opening and operating hospitals for children in Kabul, the capital city, and in other, remoter locales in the country, and much more. Together Mrs. Jawad and her spouse, Ambassador Jawad, are taking the beginning steps, inviting their countrymen and the world community to join, acting for a government and a civil society newly restored to functioning after the dark period of recent years.

## LINDA ALVARADO

Multiple industrial and commercial successes are part of the still growing history of Linda Alvarado's achievements, first in her home base of Denver Colorado and expanding to cities spanning the continent. Graduating from a series of posts in commercial real estate development, Ms. Alvarado at length formed her own firm, Alvarado Construction, which has grown into a major player in its industry, taking on projects from airports to skyscrapers to convention centers and more. As Chief Executive Officer Ms. Alvarado turns her expert hand to matters from labor negotiations to financial management, and finally to the long-run business strategies that are the stuff of genius. Her commercial acumen is

shared with a wide spectrum of firms she serves as a Director, from 3M to Pitney Bowes and Pepsi and many more. Perhaps the most interesting of her accomplishments is the acquisition of a co-owner's interest in the Colorado Rockies baseball franchise – a rare accomplishment for a woman in the predominantly, if not exclusively, gentleman's club of franchise owners. She has given over generously of her energies to speaking with students in the public schools and in universities, to trade organizations, and to business women's groups. She has served as a Commissioner in the White House Initiative for Hispanic Excellence in Education. This body of achievement has effectively marked out a path to be followed by women of clear insight and energy from the communities of America's ethnic and cultural diversity.

## G. WINSTON SMITH

G. Winston Smith, Director of Supplier Diversity at Microsoft Corporation, received the second Global Diversity awards, annually presented to a figure in corporate America who has most effectively contributed to the theory and practice of diversity in supply chains. In his remarks accepting the award Mr. Smith noted that during his little more than two years at the diversity helm at Microsoft the bulk of women and minority suppliers in that high-tech giant's supply chain has risen by approximately twofold. Mr. Smith has mastered ~ and in some sense invented ~ the contemporary practice of supplier diversity as a desideratum in business management in modern Corporate America. When Microsoft needed to set up state-of-the-art system of supplier diversity there was a man that was targeted to do the job – G. Winston Smith. Mr. Smith had fashioned an enviable supply chain system with AT&T, where he had worked for more than a decade, and, faced with the challenge, he made the leap from New Jersey to distant Redmond, Washington, where he has taken up work as the giant corporation's Director for Supplier Diversity. "Winston is a recognized leader," says Mr. Ballmer, the present Microsoft CEO, "in building vendor diversity programs." Backed by a career's experience in the once novel, now flourishing field of supplier diversity as part of the corporate armamentarium, G. Winston Smith has come to be a national leader in the design of supply chain policies exploiting the ingenuity and energies of the myriad small firms governed by members of the many ethnic and cultural communities of the Americas. He is an eminently worthy recipient of the 2004 honor for Global Diversity.



## RITA RIVAS

The roster of A/Del's clients ranges the gamut from Pepsi Cola to Tiffany Adversity, in the form of a menacing enervation of business activity over the last three years, has been apprehended through A/Del's opportunity-colored glasses as a historic invitation to innovate. Clients who are scurrying to shut off orders for the usual services, are still capable of excited response when a supplier offers an innovative, sharply focused service designed to the client's unique needs. We print on anything," A/Del proclaimed as it placed customers' logos on every garment and gadget in sight while the competition, with a puzzled expression, was left in the dust. The Entrepreneurial Achievement Award was presented in recognition of the stellar accomplishments of ~, whose plunge into sole business ownership some years ago became a work of passionate dedication a, of ~ at New York City. Ms. P

## WANLA CHENG

With engaging style, and with a complement of services that breathed a vital freshness in an industry that richly awards the creative spirit, Wanla Cheng's Asia Link Consulting Group entered the competitive lists in the middle of the last decade, swiftly making its mark. Old line firms in the industry watched with a mix of awe and apprehension as Wanla's crew ~ notably diverse in culture and style, but high-spirited to a man, that is to say, to a woman ~ lined up client after client. Wanla's business strategies leapfrogged the stolid conventional firms in the marketing industry. As the guiding spirit in the growing multicultural marketing firm, Ms. Chang has compiled in a relatively brief a stellar record of accomplishment in the acutely competitive world of New York's advertising and marketing whirl. What had begun as an expedient to generate need income, she remarked in accepting the awards, had become a passion. The firm, among its other coups, has participated in massive market research initiatives plumbing the psyches of Asian consumers, and of young persons in countries and cultures worldwide. The core findings of these studies, Ms. Cheng observes, disclose that cross-national and cross-cultural distinctions are everywhere overridden by a runaway fascination with popular culture, which is an international lingua franca of the world's youth. If much it had initially emanated from the U.S., its transnational flowering has gained vitality from sources in a multiplicity of countries and cultures. It is such perceptions as these, yielded by cutting-edge research, that must drive effective marketing strategies. Thus the signs are auspicious for further leaps ahead in Asia Link's future.

## REND AL-RAHIM

Iraq's Representative to the United States, Rend al-Rahim, has been an articulate, orderly, and eminently humane voice in a difficult, often confused, arena, at a juncture of history challenging to the world's moral and legal sense, and posing practical quandaries at every turn. Among the notable highlights

of the Public Policy symposium earlier in the year was the presentation to Ms. Al-Rahim of the Dialogue's Liberty Award. Ms. al-Rahim has continued in her indefatigable round of lectures, meetings, testimony, speaking, and persuading, all on behalf of the long-suffering people of Iraq as she seeks to interpret the best of Iraqi thought to an American audience intensely interested but not always well informed and often obsessed with ideological preconceptions. She has shrewdly assessed responsibility for the missteps as well as the accomplishments in the often centrifugal courses of action pursued by both U.S. and Iraqi parties, and in the process her intelligence and consummate diplomatic skills have made their mark in Washington.

## THE CORPORATE AWARD: FREDDIE MAC

Freddie Mac, a federally chartered housing finance firm, dedicated to facilitating secured financing based on home ownership, sees its mission as closely bound up with a commitment to draw out the values of diversity in American society. This project, in the view of Freddie Mac's management, has two sides, first the integration of the variegated cultures and ethnic traditions of the society into its own staff and management ranks, and second, the clustering of a host of vendors mirroring that diversity as an integral part of the supply chains that furnish a myriad of inputs for the larger company's operations. Freddie Mac, organized as a profit making private business enterprise, has been in existence thirty three years, successfully facilitating financing for residential housing. The firm's employment practices are eminently well designed to give voice and color to the ethnic variety in its work force, imparting the special stamp of each strain of ethnicity to the firm's complex image. This, underlined by Freddie Mac's energetic supplier diversity project, render the firm a worthy honoree for the Corporate Excellence Awards. The Corporate Award was accepted for Freddie Mac by ~, chief of corporate properties. It was presented by Gus Siekierka, Head of Supplier Diversity for Computer Sciences Corporation, last year's honoree.

## TRAILBLAZER AWARDS

### DR. ANA NOGALES

The trailblazer awards recognize career achievement of women who by dint of diligent labors and a distinct vitality of ideas have opened new vistas of accomplishment for women throughout their society. This year's awards went to two distinguished achievers. Dr. Ana Nogales, a licensed clinical psychologist in Los Angeles is two decades into a career of providing aid for members of the Latino communities wrestling with emotional disorders, and, more broadly, encouraging Latinas, across social class and occupational lines, to reach effectively for their professional and personal goals. She has combined ~ with uncommon effect ~ compassion and business savvy. Her tools have included broadcast appearances, books and articles, and a series of cassettes, Auto-Ayuda Psicológica, on topics ranging from the difficult (e.g., depression) to the impossible

(understanding the opposite sex). The marks of her thought and influence, and, most signally, her shrewd compassion, are impressed on individuals from many classes, ethnicities, and neighborhoods, across lines of gender and age, and on the culture of a society forever in need of encouragement and definition.

#### MERCEDES LYNN DE URIARTE

Throughout a career in both academia and active journalism Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte, also a 2004 Trailblazer honoree, has welded strands of learning and experience into a formidable record of achievement. She is an experienced hand in both the practice and the theory of the mechanics and the psychology of a diverse society. She is Associate Professor at the University of Texas at Austin, specializing in journalism, Latin American Studies, and Women's Studies. She has written extensively on these topics, most recently in *Learning and Knowledge for the Network Society*, being published this Fall. A persisting concern in her work has been diversity - often very defectively present - in news organizations, and a concomitant appreciation by the working journalists of society's diversity in the resultant journalistic product. In accepting the Award, Prof. Lynn de Uriarte pointed out, by way of quashing any facile optimism about the progress of women and diversity in journalism, academia, and society generally, that the rates of increase in the fractions of these groups represented in these professions are lamentably slow and a rough equality will, at the present rate, be achieved in no less than another hundred years. Translation: relaxation is not the order of the day. The problems besetting efforts to achieve this elusive diversity are highlighted in her 2003 report: *Diversity Disconnects: from Class Room to the News room*. Her dedication to solving this problem, which goes to the root of responsible public discourse surrounding the essential issues of policy and of a society's moral constitution, have brought her to serve extensively as a media diversity consultant to news organizations and foundations concerned with the manifold modalities of public information.

#### SHAMIM JAWAD

Perhaps the most meaningful of the honors conferred by Dialogue on Diversity is the Liberty Award, instituted in 2002 to offer humble recognition to women who have braved opposition and bent efforts selflessly to the defense of human rights and to the restoration of lives lacerated by wars and abusive authorities. The first of these awards went to Jamila Mujahed, an Afghan woman journalist whose spirit kept alive during the harshest of times in that country a confidence in its women that their lives were indeed of value and that their hopes would be vindicated. The year following the Liberty Award went to co-laureates, representatives of the Israeli and Palestinian communities, each urging her compatriots to lay down weapons of destruction and to cultivate constructive dialogue. In early

2004 the Liberty Award was given to the brilliant Iraqi diplomatic representative Rend al-Rahim, who has skillfully interpreted the culture and aspirations of the diverse population of that country to a not always comprehending world. In today's Awards we turn again to the troubled Afghan scene, honoring Ms. Shamim Jawad, who has employed her position as a leading figure in the Afghan diaspora to leverage a high degree of concern for the children and the women who live with scarred memories and broken psyche as they and a traumatized culture seek to put together a life, one that is true to the intimations of liberty and of a flowering of learning and arts, and of economic advance, boons including women as well as men, all that has characterized Afghan life at its best. Mrs. Jawad, who is now the spouse of the Ambassador of Afghanistan to the United States, H.E. Seyyed Teyab Jawad, mastered the arts of business and finance in the West, working successfully in the financial industry during her years of exile. She now turns those skills and connections to the massive tasks of rebuilding a culture, a civilization, and thousands of individual lives. She heads up foundations and organizations of many kinds, intervening to afford a new dimension of care to the street children of the cities, opening and operating hospitals for children in Kabul, the capital city, and in other, remoter locales in the country, and much more. Together Mrs. Jawad and her spouse, Ambassador Jawad, are taking the beginning steps, inviting their countrymen and the world community to join, acting for a government and a civil society newly restored to functioning after the dark period of recent years.

#### BETTY BACA

The 2004 Mistress of Ceremonies, Bettie Baca, brought consummate skills to the task of presenting the long train of eminent guests and speakers at this tenth anniversary celebration. Ms. Baca is of the original cohort of leaders in the Latino communities as they gained a new political sophistication in the last decades of the 20th century. She, along with a brave and creative cluster of associates, was present at the creation, as they say, bringing onto the national scene a vital and aggressive element, with its special voice, insistent and persuasive. We are proud to count Ms. Baca as one of the Dialogue's directors and to recognize her as a firm friend and advocate of the Dialogue's programs and purposes - and to offer her a delightful Mistress of Ceremonies!

Shami

#### HEALTH CARE SYMPOSIUM

Dialogue on Diversity, with the assistance of AARP, the national Cancer Institute, the National Diabetes Association, and other organizations, presented its fourth annual health care symposium

August 25th at the conference spaced at the AARP national offices in Washington. As featured speaker for the midday session, Vice Admiral Dr. Cristina V. Beato, Assistant Secretary for Health at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, sketched the public health scene in the U.S. at the beginning of a new century. Dr. Beato p---

Dr. Daniel Gozzi, of the American Diabetes Association, offered an in-depth look at the symptomology of this potentially debilitating condition and described a battery of preventive strategies.

Several speakers explicated the ins and outs of the current, temporary system of prescription drug benefits under Medicare. A system that is scheduled to be succeeded by a fresh and more generous provision at a time in the year 2006, which is not as far off as it once sounded. In the meantime the system in place has been complained of, first, for the meagerness of its assistance to the older patients who are to use it, and again for the moderate complexity with which it confronts prospective users. It was supported by advocates who judged it to be better than nothing, and opposed by persons who opined that it was not much better. AARP had come down in the former camp. Its reigning expert on the new system is Ms. ---- Ginzler, who laid out a user's roadmap for navigating the election among the options the system presents.

The symposium logistics were aided greatly by the attentive aid of AARP's Mr. Gale Brock, who welcomed guests and speakers at the opening session. His aid, along with that of the AARO staff, was a material contribution to the symposium's successes.

## DIVERSITY -- THE ENGINE OF PROGRESS

To be an American is, and has always been, to live in the midst of diversity. To be a resident of dozens of other countries around the globe as well is to stand in the midst of diversity. In some of these places the diversity of ethnic strains and cultures and linguistic varieties has begotten a chaotic and perilous encounter, a destructive war of every group against every other, while in others the diversity has been a source of healthy interchange, the mutual exploration and testing of experience, skills, styles, insights, and manners. Diversity, in some measure and in some form, is an ineluctable fact of existence in nearly every society. The question is how the diversity is dealt with by individuals, by a well-ordered civil society, and by government. In some societies, again, the diversity has been a matter of the economic exploitation and social oppression of certain weaker communities within the whole at the hands of older, more numerous, more powerful classes, castes, or tribes, or of lately formed aristocracies in their ascendant.

The dimensions of diversity, therefore have in one respect been matters of class, culture, and nationality. But a pervasive split in social condition that probably all societies have permitted to exist is that between women and men. That split has been the

occasion, similarly, of exploitation and subordination. It cuts across all the other dimensions, Women are a perpetual presence -- obvious, inescapable, and indispensable, to say the least -- in every class and culture, so that the roots of the social discrimination lie, first of all, in the intimate relationships of domestic life, and then in the reinforcing practices of extended families and tribes, and finally in the organs of government and even religion.

No community or cultural group can escape the question of the condition of women. And for that very reason the question of the lot of women is a common theme that inevitably unites women everywhere. It is a theme that indeed confronts every society, every country, and every family with the same question. At the same time it confronts women everywhere on the globe with an identical challenge. The women of each class and culture and country are called on to take up that challenge the light of their own special circumstances.

This most ancient and most pervasive dimension of diversity -- the cleavage of societies into moieties by gender -- has rooted itself in the folkways, the intellectual traditions, and indeed the religions of peoples around the world. In their combined weight these sources of inertia are formidable. They have been the occasions of battles of long standing -- battles that have been more and more convincingly won in the smarter, more flexible world of the last hundred years. Women have gained the powers, one by one, to hold property, to vote in the political process, to enjoy authority over their children and to have legal protection for their interest in raising them, and to have a measure of equality in domestic relations law, from matters of divorce and annulment to succession to family property. In what we call "advanced" countries they have legally enforceable interests in employment, education, and other relationships. In many parts of the world these social and legal protections have been stubbornly withheld by societies without broad educational attainment and wanting reason-based legal systems. The introduction of, say, a right to vote, at the instance of reformers, or through external pressures, has led some men in the affected countries to observe that the spectacle of women voting is passing strange. I will soon have to decide whether I will let my wife vote or not -- a recent quote from a burger in an Afghan city. Law can be what it will, but it has a battle to win against entrenched mores.

The first thing they can -- and must -- do is to join with women in every other part of society -- across the tracks in one's own city and across the ocean as well -- to engage in a creative interchange of ideas, testing their own unique experience, along with the special techniques each community has developed -- their own practiced ways of asserting the rights of women and for promoting the rich, all too often neglected, potential of this half of every society. It is this program of action to which Dialogue on Diversity sounds the clarion. We have put this fundamental idea into highly effective practice for some fifteen years. The creative conversation of women across lines of culture and ethnicity and race can transmit to each community of women the special excellences of each of the others. More striking yet, the encounter in constructive dialogue, as we have discovered, will yield new dimensions of excellence in the cause of women, excellences that had not existed before in any single cultural community. This is a result that will come about not by passively waiting for cultures to

melt into one another. It is to be produced actively by the resolute action of women who make it their business to bridge the ethnic and racial barriers, to stop worrying about the parochial concerns of Puerto Ricans, or Mexicans, or African Americans, and to join in the battle, working shoulder to shoulder.

The U.S. is our primary arena of concern and the field on which we have to take action if we are to act at all. Here too the inertia of the mores of countless generations operates as a brake on the attainments of women. It is felt in the slowly to be eroded segregation of girls into cooking classes and boys into mechanics classes, the shunting of boys to science and the girls to typing, the women to middle management at best, while those chosen as the corporate ramrods are thought best to be men. The toughness and creativity of a Carly Fiorina cracks but does not totally demolish these walls. The job lies ahead in a myriad arduous struggles of as many thousands able women.

The state of women, who admittedly stand near the centers of power – the power is exercised by persons of their immediate families up and down the entire social pyramid -- is historically bounded by dogmas of manners, even of religion, that undertake to assign to the genders each its peculiar role. That given to women was always the informal one, beneath the threshold of logic and calculation, that wordless tenderness, the stuff that lubricates and makes tolerable the frictions of social existence. (All doubtless very fine, if you are good at it, and if you as an individual have a taste for it, but is just this picture necessarily and eternally coterminous with femininity?) The forms of education for women were thus not those that cultivated the use of reason and calculation as an instrument in the pursuit of a career. Each of these devices tended to wall off women from the partaking of the power that was as close as the other side of the breakfast table. Some women, in ancient, mediaeval, and modern times, have broken through the barriers – the ossified manners, the taboos of tribe and culture, and the strictures of religion aside -- but these women have been favored by extraordinary situations, or by extraordinary skill. We, however, are surely interested in the persons who are not heirs to thrones, or gifted with one-in-ten-million genius. If there is in fact a peculiar role for women, dictated by the existing state of culture, or indeed by the ineluctable structure of the genetic endowment, then the characteristics of that role will be at length revealed in the evolving observation of what in fact women will have accomplished. That will be quite clear at the end of history. It is not wise to be dogmatic about it before then, while the lodges of their priceless human potential are less than fully mined.

Upon this analysis, the barriers that have held women back from the cutting edge of achievement in the important contests all across the social landscape are seen, in part, as a texture of external bonds, the strictures of mores and law (most of the legal barriers, to be sure, have been for some time removed in “advanced” societies) and, again in part, as the deadly internalized sense of a duty to stay -- quietly -- in one’s bounden role. This does not sit well in America. It jars with the ethos of the country, and doubtless the women of the U.S. have been far more restive than most under their prescribed role as amiable supporting characters. But for the most part, even here, women have been subservient to the ancient taboos and have not risen to the

promptings of that audacious spirit of omnicompetence that at its best animates American civilization.

The next step in the universal battle to be won is to bend all our efforts to forcing the key issues with governments in the parts of the world where the hurts and disabilities forced on women are the most blatant – the countries where a permissive view of honor killings, deprivation of the vote, bars to entering professional occupations, blaming and ostracizing the rape victim, and the rest of the well-known train of hateful abuses still are present. Not only to remove these abuses but to take affirmative steps to repair the trauma to women and to bring them “up to speed” in the economic and social and educational systems. But it also means making one’s voice heard with force and clarity in Washington D.C. and in fifty state capitals on a myriad of issues, small as well as large, where the basic human rights of women, here and around the world, are in the balance. Not as partisans of a particular political platform, but as partisans of basic human entitlements for women. We must sharply question, for example, whether the opportunities in our own educational systems still shortchange girls, shunting them to a selected range of menial occupations or confining them to a limited set of athletic options. Whether, again, the asylum rules in our own US. should require that women subject to a sickening history of abuse at the hands of family members be deported and sent back to the same hell they had once escaped from. Our silence and our reluctance to step forward in the battle condemns women all around the globe to hollow and anguished lives. Our Dialogue has actively moved to bring innovating discussion of all these issues to the fore in a range of public policy forums and publications. We invite women everywhere to join in this vital enterprise of dialogue and policy innovation.

The task standing before women – a task that indeed ought to stand as a challenge to both genders – before all those who would render it instead that immensely creative conversation that can arise from the interface of unlikes but equals, is thus divided between two corresponding theaters of battle. One is the ferreting out and demolition of the remaining rules, laws, entrenched practices – in the most diverse fields of activity, ranging from lox trimming in New York’s delis to professional golf at Atlanta -- that diminish the set of options for women. The other is to introduce to the lagging cohorts among American women that enlivening spirit of omnicompetence. There is work enough to be done, taking the efforts of all the willing. There is work sufficient in variety to employ the complement of women’s skills across every gamut of occupation, class, culture, and place.

Here we recur to the conception of diversity mentioned at the outset, that of ethnicity, culture, and language. The women of these diverse communities, whose battles to assert their human potential against the restraints of the traditional roles for women are far from won, find their task complicated by this other layer of diversity, which, again, operates as both barrier and opportunity. Indeed the arduous labor of asserting their rights as women can draw force from the interchange of experience and ideas in a vigorous creative dialogue with the women of other ethnic traditions. The women of distinct communities often stand at different stages of progress, they have designed their own strategies, and each has a special insight, a special angle of vision, and a special narrative of accomplishment to communicate to each

of the others. As in social movements generally, full answers to problems are likely to be as multifarious and complex as the problems themselves. But answers there must be, and progress is to be reckoned on numerous fronts at once. Strategies must range across the board – advocacy for legal and administrative reforms where these are the necessity of the day, training in technology and personal skills, from public- and private-sector sources alike, where those will effectively rack up advances for women of affected groups, and the instilling of that spirit of omniscience that will carry all before it.

## IMMIGRATION: PROBLEMS AND PERCEPTIONS

### LATEST TRENDS IN IMMIGRATION LAWS

One of the speakers at the Dialogue's 2004 Public Policy Forum, Ms. Tamar Jacoby of the Manhattan Institute, is seen in regular appearance on think tank panels, television news, and is the source of frequent articles on the country's most respected op-ed pages, lending her extensive expertise on the social, legal, and historical phenomenon of immigration. She spells out the paradoxical logic of the recent electoral result in Arizona, where an ostensibly anti-immigrant, even xenophobic, measure approved by the voters of that state, may in fact reveal a much subtler and more reasoned response to the social impact of immigration. The act of the Arizona electorate displays starkly some of the insistent, if often obscured, quandaries touching the incidence of expense as among regions and over social and economic classes, and as between the national and local levels of government – all difficult matters that the authorities at the federal pole would prefer not to think about any too closely. Ms. Jacoby's view of the Arizona voters was gained in grass roots contacts throughout the campaign period. The dominant public view of the question at hand – which was a matter of withholding certain public services from undocumented persons -- began with a rush of overwhelmingly anti-immigrant energy and progressed, after a siege of intense discussion, in which high sentiment and cold reason tussled for the upper hand on both sides, to something near an even division. The initiative was approved; the "anti"-migrant impulse had gained the preponderance of votes. But the result, in fact, was less a decisive declaration of a solution (with loud nativist, or xenophobic, overtones) than a pained outcry over the sharpness of a state's anguish before the human calamity being played out on its soil – with precious little by way of reasoned policy innovation or federal money to salve the wound. The system of laws and rules and border patrol and – increasingly – vigilantes have not shut down the flow of migrants from the south and have certainly not suppressed the human moments that have driven the movement. The actuating forces are, to all appearances, chiefly matters of living standards. A labor market of a new kind has evolved, one whose "technology?" is built to use the plentiful numbers of migrants with relatively little skills, meager literacy, but an evident willingness to power the industry designed for this low-skill-labor-intensive technology. As always, technology, as economists would put it, is endogenous: it is not a fixed complex of techniques created and elaborated by forces isolated from the intricately interlocking systems of markets. It is driven, specifically, by the prices of available inputs. The technology adapted to this source of labor, that is, the migrants, is distinct

from and operating in a market largely separate from those labor markets in which domestic U.S. labor is for the most part employed. It is the fashion of operation finding a ready home in portions of many industries -- in fruit and vegetable agriculture, for example, in food service, in office maintenance, in landscaping work, in construction. It is like domestic labor, however, in some respects – most pertinently, as a source of tax revenues. Yet the illegality of the employment tends to force much of the labor into a world of "underground" transactions, in which payment of income and social security taxes is spotty at best. An observer of such a society would be likely to conclude that public policy would most expediently turn from resisting this deeply entrenched economic apparatus and instead exploit it for the highly productive source of tax revenues that it might come to be. To return to Ms. Jacoby's analysis, however, it emerges from her experience with these problems that the outlines of a sensible public policy approach would be to determine some optimum – or at least acceptable – number of migrants (either as a periodic flow quantity or as a number for the total population of migrants in the country or in particular regions of the country -- who would be licensed to work with full legal approval, while integrated into the regulatory, taxation, and welfare systems in which they have been only a ghostly, occasional presence heretofore. The question to which this analysis appears to lead is that of settling on the number of migrants to accept as part of the national economy.

As a matter of practice, given the techniques of a contentious legislative apparatus, the number will be the upshot of pulling and hauling and the bargaining with every form of political currency in play, rather than any dispassionate calculation of the number sufficient to satisfy this or that mathematical expression of sufficiency.

A shrewd analysis of the fundamental facts of the immigration phenomenon is elaborated in an article last year in *Foreign Affairs* by Jagdish Bhagwati, an eminent economist whose thought has advanced the profession's notions of the forces of international economic forces. Prof. Bhagwati distinguishes between two kinds of immigration flows, first that of highly skilled persons, and, again, that of the unskilled. In addition there are the migrants whose movement is forced by political or social abuses in the home country. The question of the first type, the entry of skilled persons, implicates the questions of "brain drain" that have been a troubling feature of international existence during the post-war period. Or the most part the skilled persons are those who come to the U.S., and to other "advanced" countries as students, often earning graduate degrees, and then opting to remain in the U.S. For the most part this practice has been viewed as highly advantageous to the U.S., which thereby is seen to be engrossing the world supply of highly skilled operatives. It has correspondingly appeared to despoil the home countries of the persons constituting one of their most valuable resources, a cohort of able persons who otherwise would be constructing a productive infrastructure for those countries. (It may be noted that the exodus of such types may, however, be much to the advantage of authoritarian governments regarding with apprehension the assembling of any numerous and active intelligentsia, seeing them, with a good deal of justification, as a threat to the authoritarian party rule -- what is of advantage to such a government, of course, is not necessarily congruent to what is of advantage to the society as a whole.) Prof. Bhagwati sees little practicable means for

stanching the flow of skilled migrants to advanced countries, but he suggests that the unfairness, or inefficiency involved could be large cured by an expanded notion of nationality, or a persisting bond to the home country. The problem with the brain drain is that the home country has invested some little of its resources in various forms of preliminary training for the persons who subsequently travel to the U.S or Western Europe. If the persons in question remain in the U.S. – pointedly illustrating the effect immortalized in the World-War I song: “How’re you gonna keep ‘em down on the farm, after they’ve seen Paree?” -- then the investment in this modicum of early training will be lost. The home country, once it is aware of the likely course of events, will thus find it inexpedient to invest very heavily in its promising students. It is rational to invest only as much as stands to be “recouped” (that is, to be actually received as a stream of benefits by the country of origin from the fraction of such students who stay (or return) home). The solution, it is submitted, is to loosen the bond of nationality, or citizenship. The skilled migrant would retain citizenship in the home country, while often taking up U.S. citizenship as well, so that there would be a parallel nationality (the notion of one’s allegiance to single state is thereby somewhat attenuated). The duty of the skilled “diaspora” to the home country would include paying taxes to that country of origin. This would satisfy the fairness test, in that the country losing the skilled worker would enjoy some compensation for the loss, and economically that country would be recouping the expenses incurred in his early education. Since there would be recoupage, the country of origin would find it rational to spend a fuller amount on such training – which would redound to the benefit of its people through a swifter course of economic development. The administrative mechanisms for the operation of such a system would apparently require tax treaties between source countries and destination countries (principally the U.S.) by which the U.S would be the collection agent for the taxes to be remitted to the country of origin. (otherwise, the country of origin would have no ready means for collecting the taxes it claimed). The skilled migrant would be fairly treated in that he is only compensating the home country for his training and moral formation, so that a “correct” allocation of labor resources between the countries would be achieved. That is, migrants would remain in the U.S. only if they were able to produce (earn) within the U.S. an amount sufficient both to pay for their prior education and to satisfy their current needs. This would cut down the number of migrants remaining in the destination country relatively to the number remaining under the present, pure brain-drain system.

With regard to the question of non-skilled migrants Prof. Bhagwati, having concluded, as a factual matter, that there is no effective means of cutting off inflows of immigrants. When there is an income differential pulling migrants, as in most other cases, the social engineer who would stop it is almost always going to lose to Adam Smith. The question is now to accommodate it, abating where possible, such deleterious effects may be produced, and maximizing the benefits for the non-immigrant populations, or for that population augmented by the migrants. A few suggestions are offered by Prof. Bhagwati. One purpose ought to be to integrate migrants, whether or not officially documented with all the proprieties, into the elementary education system, so that if, factually, a new generation will at length be present as part of a community, it will be an element of that community that

knows arithmetic and knows the ropes. The other is to encourage – by what means, not specified – migrants to reside in patterns evenly spread over the country and not with massive concentrations in certain districts. While this recommendation may have justification as a means of evening any arguable welfare burdens and, similarly, of softening the depressive effect on wages in any particular place, it ought to be noted that in fact a sort of ethnic microcosm of the city, with a lively mutual aid infrastructure, is likely to evolve among any large group of migrants, and the existence of such structures vastly eases the burden on the surrounding communities. Thus concentrations of a certain size are surely desirable, concentration over some optimum size less so.

The notable tendency in these proposals is a recognition that the canonical role of the so-called “nation state” is to be attenuated and rendered flexible, and to interpenetrate with other dimensions of functionality and “belonging”, not to say loyalty. This is often a threatening notion to persons of deep-dyed-in-the-wool national consciousness. It is a development that is well on its way, however, in the dance of transnational business enterprises as they shift funds, production operations, and marketing campaigns from place to place on the globe as opportunity invites, in the evolution of the European Union out of a solemn duty to repair the traumas of two world wars (and to improve the opportunities afforded by a universe of beckoning commercial prospects into the bargain), and in the rise of free trade regimes in nearly ever continent during the post-war period – all hastened along by the technology of information that insistently circumvents natural and man-made iron curtains. Law and economic theory were the heralds of much of this onrushing change, and it is now their task to keep up by swiftly designing adequate structures to make an orderly and tolerable world as the details are elaborated.