

## The Education of Americans in Egypt The Villa Years: 1945-55

Egypt's relationship with the United States of America is of relatively recent origin, with World War II as the major turning point. One interesting aspect of that relationship involves the education of Americans who lived in Egypt. Before World War II, the few Americans resident in Egypt availed themselves of existing educational facilities or created small, ad hoc arrangements for the education of their children. For example, there was apparently a tiny school for Americans conducted on a houseboat near Maadi prior to 1945. Other foreign communities in Egypt - British, French, Greek, etc. - had established schools for their own children in Cairo, and there were several good quality Egyptian schools that would admit foreign pupils. There was also a small church-affiliated American boarding school in Alexandria, but in Cairo there was nothing specifically for Americans, except the school on the houseboat, until 1945. The war brought many Americans employed by the military and the US government to Cairo, and the aftermath of the war ensured that more American civilians would come, as the US began to take a more active interest in the Middle East and to attempt to establish a more visible presence in the area. This essay concentrates on what became the major institution associated with the effort to educate the children of Americans in Egypt, Cairo American College.

With the post-war increase in the American population, the leaders of the small American business community decided to establish a school, which they named the Cairo School for American Children (CSAC). The new school was established in Maadi, a British-planned garden suburb on the Nile, roughly eight miles south of central Cairo.

On the eve of World War II, Cairo had about 1.3 million people, approximately 8.3% of the population of Egypt. By 1947, it had grown to 2.1 million and constituted 11% of Egypt's population. Most of Cairo's growth (64%) was due to migration from the countryside, mainly from the Nile delta and settling in areas north of the city center. Maadi grew as well, but more slowly than the northern fringe areas. Its population in 1947 was about 37,000, up from just over 8,000 in 1937. Included in that population were 936 foreigners, according to the official census of 1947. Maadi was shielded somewhat from the growing pains and resultant stress and excitement of the rest of Egypt and Cairo. As Cairo's only western-style suburb, it had many single-family dwellings, often set in spacious gardens rather than the apartment buildings so characteristic of the rest of Cairo. In fact, villas with gardens were the norm in Maadi at that time and, according to the original plan, no building could be higher than five stories. From then until the early 1970s, Maadi was also separated from the city by several miles of agricultural land. It was connected to the city by the Cairo-Helwan road and the Cairo-Helwan train, which stopped at the Maadi station two blocks from the vine-covered villa which housed the Cairo School for American Children.

The chief sponsors of the new American school were executives in the major American businesses in Egypt at that time, mainly in the oil industry. Chief among these was the Socony Vacuum Company (which later became Mobil Oil), and it was a grant from Socony that gave the school its start. As the school handbook for 1953-54 stated:

The school was originally founded by American businessmen who believed that the parents of American children would be more inclined to remain in foreign service if

their children had the opportunity to benefit from the accepted American school training.

Maadi in those years was an oasis of tranquility, relatively isolated from the upheavals Egypt was experiencing. The people who lived there were mainly wealthy Egyptians and foreigners, primarily British. It also had a sizeable number of Egyptian and foreign Jews. The focal point of the village was the Maadi Sporting Club, which, unlike the Gezira Club at the time, admitted Egyptian members. There was also a riding stable and, some years later, a yacht club, but a major factor in Maadi's livability in those years was the Maadi Club and the lifestyle that went with it. The school handbook extolled the virtues of the Club, with its 18-hole golf course, twelve tennis courts, two movie theaters, and other excellent facilities, and went on to describe what Maadi was like at that time:

The village of Maadi is a unique residential community, where American families can enjoy a holiday atmosphere and an American school system comparable to that of a sizeable town in the U.S. The inhabitants of Maadi are friendly and congenial and everyone knows everyone else. It is an informal community where the women and children can walk or ride their bicycles in sport clothes or shorts.

By the 1980s, Maadi could boast several restaurants. In the 1940s, there were only two, one at the Club and the other, called Diamonte, located on the Nile on part of the land now occupied by Grand Café/Fish Market. For shopping, most residents went to Road 9. Some no doubt shopped at the earliest version of the Gomaa Brother's grocery, which started out as a cigarette and candy stand.

The curriculum of the American school was typical of American education at that time, except that it included French and Arabic. American textbooks were used whenever possible so that students could move easily from or to another American school. The program at the high school level was college preparatory. During the years when it was able to offer all four high school years (1946-48; 1952-55), the program included four years of English, French and physical education and three years of mathematics, science, and history. Electives in Arabic, music, dramatics and art were also available, as was typing in some years.

Basketball and track and field were the main sports with interscholastic as well as intramural games featured. Considering that high school enrollment varied in size from 11 to 28, the curriculum of the Cairo American School was quite impressive.

The CSAC also aspired to give its students knowledge of and respect for the history and culture of Egypt, and it was "given as much consideration as possible in the school curriculum." However, the 1953 school handbook also states that: "All courses are conducted in the American language and all historical, economic and political courses of study are presented from the viewpoint of Americans in America." It is not clear what is meant by this statement, but it is clear that the founders of the CSAC considered that:

The American social, economic and political institutions have their foundations and their roots in the American educational system. The educational theory is that the American educational system tends to develop imagination, originality, initiative, consideration, kindness, democracy, cooperation, freedom of thought, and a liberality

of creative thinking which will perpetuate and maintain our American social, economic, political and business institutions.

This attempt by Americans in Egypt to import a little bit of America was evidently not intended to be exclusively American or to educate only American children. In its first year, the Cairo School for American Children was an elementary school only, with 50 pupils enrolled in grades one through eight. In the following academic year, however, a high school was added and two students were graduated. One, Colette Arif, was Egyptian, the other was a Belgian, Monica Brancart. It was not until 1948 that CSAC graduated American high school students. In that year four people, including Jeanne Badeau, the daughter of the President of the American University in Cairo, received diplomas. During its first ten years, the American portion of the small student body averaged about 75%, with Egyptians and Europeans making up the rest. Knowledge of English was required for admission; it was the language of instruction, except for classes in Arabic or French. Americans were a majority of the faculty as well, but some subjects, notably French and Arabic, were taught by citizens of countries other than the United States.

The Cairo School for American Children was originally housed in a three-story rented villa located at number 36, Road 7, in Maadi. The main entrance hall on the ground floor served as the library, which doubled as a general meeting room. The first floor also housed three elementary level classes. The second story held five classrooms, in what would have been bedrooms, and the top floor had two classrooms. The landscaped grounds featured a flower garden. After a few years a basketball court was built on a vacant lot adjacent to the school but outside its fence. A year after its founding, additional space was rented nearby to accommodate the high school, but this was let go for financial reasons at the end of the 1947/48 school year, when the last two years of the high school were dropped. The same thing happened again in the early 1950s.

At the start of the 1948-49 academic year, the name was changed to the Cairo American School. Although only a tiny institution, the CAS provided many services for its students, including a hot lunch program and a bus for those who did not live in Maadi. Quartered in what had been a single family dwelling, the Cairo American School had a distinctly family atmosphere, with elementary and secondary level students attending classes in the same building and parents serving in a variety of volunteer capacities, from teacher's aides to coaches for sports.

According to the school's records, in the 1947/48 academic year 46% of the students lived in Maadi, 40% in Cairo, and 14% in Heliopolis, which was then a relatively sparsely populated planned community to the north of Cairo. Of the 94 pupils in the school that year, 20% were from families employed by the US government, 16% from Socony Vacuum Company, 17% from TransWorld Airlines, and 12% from Standard Oil. The largest group, however, were the "independents," those whose families were not employed by a major organization such as those listed above. This included the children of missionaries, Egyptian businessmen, and various relief organizations. Tuition, except for some independents, was paid entirely or mainly by the employer and varied according to grade level and number of children a family had in the school. In 1951, the first year for which we have data, tuition for the secondary school (grades 9-10), was 100 Egyptian Pounds (LE) for the first child, 80 LE for the second, and 60 for any additional children. At that time, roughly 44 families sent children to the CAS. The school was still quite small; only 74 pupils attended that year in kindergarten through the 10<sup>th</sup> grade. After the Egyptian revolution of 1952, costs increased and tuition was increased to 120 LE a year for the high school, which now included grades 11 and 12. To

make the increase easier to manage for those with many children, if a family had three or more students in CAS, the first two would pay full tuition but all subsequent children would attend free. (Try that on today's Board of Directors!) Tuition did not always cover all of the school's expenses. The potential deficit in the budget was mitigated by corporate and individual donations and by the proceeds from what was called "The American Carnival," a once a year bazaar-type activity held on the grounds of the American Embassy.

The Cairo School for American Children, and its successor the Cairo American School, had trouble attracting and holding students during its early years. For example, during its second year of operation, the records state, "17 American students who were in the school for the 1945/46 school year did not return for the following year." It is not clear why this was so, but one assumes a combination of parental transfers and dissatisfaction with the size and program of the school were the major factors. However, while at least 17 students left, an additional 34 arrived, and enrollment went up to 77, including 14 in the high school, which was added that year. Two years later, when the last two years of the high school were dropped for financial reasons, the CAS lost nearly one-third of its enrollment. Thus, in its early years, a pattern was established which continued to plague the school for several decades: enrollment was unpredictable and volatile, affected often by events outside the school's control. In addition, it was marked by the fact that many students would not complete even a full year, some arriving well after the school year began in September and some leaving at odd times during the academic year. A life marked by frequent moves is often traumatic for children, but the size of the school was probably an asset in this regard, making it easier for teachers to devote a great deal of personal attention to new arrivals and to leave departing students with fond memories.

During its first ten years, CAS's average enrollment was 87, with a low of 50 in the first year and a high of 162 in 1954/55, its final year on Road 7. The faculty grew from 8 to 16, while the administration consisted of a principal and a secretary, who frequently taught typing.

Enrollment was not the only volatile and frequently changing feature of the new school's life. During its first ten years, five people served as principal. Unfortunately, we know the name of only four: Miss Margaret Willis, Mrs. Reetha Breeze, Mr. C. M. Breining, and Mr. Lewis Feesler, who also served as the first principal of the school in 1955, when it changed names and location.

Considering the size of the institution, the number of people on the Board of Directors is somewhat surprising. According to an early school handbook, it consisted of fifteen members, "Nominated and elected as vacancies occur by the remaining members of the Board. Members of the Board as far as practicable, represent the principal American business organizations, the American educational and cultural agencies, the American Embassy and auxiliary institutions and the American community." The Board set policy on all matters pertaining to the school, and also set salaries and qualifications for the teaching and administrative staff, hired the principal, and was responsible for the school's finances. It had four officers, elected by the Board, and worked through six committees. Thus, for most of its early years, more people served on the school's self-perpetuating Board of Directors than on its faculty. The records are silent on this point, but one cannot but wonder if having so many cooks stirring the educational broth might not have helped account for some of the frequent administrative turnover in those early years. There were, however, other factors involved, including the general political and economic atmosphere in Egypt at that time.

For the first ten years of the school's life, Egypt was an especially tumultuous place. When the Cairo School for American Children was founded, school holidays included the Egyptian King's Birthday, February 11. Ironically the school was located in a suburb dominated by the British. The days of the monarchy were drawing to a close, however, as were the days of British primacy in Egypt. Between 1945, when World War II ended, and 1952, when the reigning monarch King Farouk was deposed, the country was in frequent turmoil. Epidemics broke out, politicians were assassinated, Egypt fought and lost a war in Palestine, and Cairo was the scene of several demonstrations, protest marches and major and minor riots. Except for a few events, Maadi, and the young American school were relatively untouched by most of this, except for the war, which resulted in the creation of Israel and provided CAS with a number of Palestinian refugee students. Additionally, a British soldier was assassinated on Road 85 and, during the Palestine War, a bomb exploded in the telephone office next to the railroad tracks. For the most part, however, Maadi was something of an oasis, shielded from much of Egypt's turmoil.

This isolation ended and the school had to be closed for about ten days following the riots and demonstrations known variously as "Black Saturday" or "the Burning of Cairo," on January 26, 1952. These anti-British (and anti-foreign in general) riots were in response to a series of incidents, but especially the killing by the British army of 50 Egyptian policemen in their barracks at Ismailia the day before. CAS's first yearbook, published three years later, indicates a lingering awareness that Americans were not especially popular in Egypt at that time, but also that the moment passed. These riots helped set the stage for the Revolution, which took place in July of 1952. The King's Birthday was no longer celebrated, but many new holidays created over the years by the revolutionary regime were added to the calendar of the school. In 1952 CAS began to grow, due largely to an increase in American enrollment. This was mainly the result of an expanded relationship between the United States and the new government of Egypt, especially that brought about by Point Four, the American aid program named after a speech by President Truman in which he had called for post-war American foreign policy based on four points, the last of which involved an ambitious effort to stimulate development in countries such as Egypt. Soon the three-story villa on Road 7 was much too small for the student body, and the Board of Directors decided to move rather than simply rent another house in the neighborhood. By 1955, 34% of the student body of 162 came from families associated with Point Four. Socony – which had founded the school – was down to one student, as the fortunes of the American oil industry in Egypt had suffered a severe slump. This was not the only important change that occurred in the decade. Ironically, the successful revolution, which abolished royal privilege and took property from the royal family, provided the opportunity for the American school to move to the grounds of a palace, thus closing one chapter in its life and opening another.

## The Palace Years: 1955-70

In the 1940s, Prince Mohamed Ali Ibrahim had built a new palace for himself and his family at Number 40, Road 78, in Maadi. The actual occupants of the house were Princess Hanezada, her husband, and their children. After the 1952 Revolution, this palace, modest by royal standards, was taken over by the government, and in 1955 it was rented to Cairo American School. The villa on Road 7 was seriously overcrowded with 162 students in its last year. Furthermore, enrollment was expected to grow and “the old firetrap,” as some students were known to call it, was clearly no longer adequate.

Changing location meant the school would be further from the train, but closer to the Maadi Club. It also meant much more space would be available and the move afforded the opportunity for a number of changes in the way the school was conducted and the image it presented to the public.

The first alteration was to change the name of the institution from Cairo American School to Cairo American College, in an apparent attempt to enhance its status. For the next several years the chief academic officer of CAC, then Mr. Lewis Feesler, was called Headmaster rather than Principal, as had been the custom from 1945 to 1955. Furthermore, the Board of Directors, which had been self-perpetuating, became a community-elected group with members serving three-year terms. The nature of the program remained essentially the same, except for the differences made possible by the new facilities. At the elementary and junior high school levels, curricular emphasis was on reading, writing, and arithmetic, with supplemental courses in science, social science, music, art and physical education. High school courses varied somewhat from year to year according to the needs of the students, but the standard program included four years of English, French, mathematics, science and social studies, with electives in Latin, art, music, journalism, drama, typing and Arabic. French was taught at all levels, from the first grade through the senior year in high school. In general, the curriculum was designed to be typical of a good American school at the time. It also offered courses in French, Arabic, and emphasized the history and geography of the Middle East and Asia. The program was intended to prepare students for higher education and most of the graduates of CAC did go on to college or university.

As CAC’s constituents entered the walled enclosure of the Palace, they walked down a short avenue lined with palm trees, Royal Palm at that. The rose garden was converted into a basketball court and the circular driveway became a running track. The royal garage was modified and became elementary classrooms, and a two-story building behind the Palace housed most of the high school classes, with the exception of the chemistry lab which was located in the former Turkish bath, whose marble walls and floors provided some protection against the predictable spills and leaks. It should come as a surprise to no one to discover the Palace itself held the administrative offices, but elementary classes, the Turkish bath chemistry lab and the library, located in the former reception hall, ensured that administrators had to share royal splendor with others.

The last year in the villa on Road 7 turned out to be the year of the heaviest American enrollment in the school’s history, with 91% of the students coming from the United States. CAC began its new life in what turned out to be the most American period of the school’s existence. For the majority of the next fifteen years, the vast majority of the students and the faculty came from the United States. In its first year at the new campus, 11 of the 12 graduating seniors were American; only one was Egyptian. No senior class has had a higher percentage of American students since that

time. Within a few years, however, the school lost its Egyptian students due to changes in Egyptian laws, and for nearly two decades there were no Egyptian students at Cairo American College.

At the start of its existence, private American businesses and educational or cultural institutions were probably the main constituents of the school. In the early 1950s, that began to change. Students whose families were associated with the American Embassy, the American aid program (Point Four), the Naval Medical Research Unit (NAMRU 3) and the Fulbright program caused enrollment to grow, especially its American portion. A typical student body was predominantly from the US and included students of only four to six other nationalities, with Egyptians dominating the non-American group. The Suez War was the catalyst for a major transformation of the CAC constituency.

The year 1955, when Cairo American School became Cairo American College and started its Palace years, was a year of major change in Egyptian politics. It began with the American attempt to induce Egypt to join the Baghdad Pact (an anti-Soviet regional military alliance), the Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal, and the subsequent tripartite invasion of Egypt in 1956 by Israel, France, and Britain. This is not the place to try to tell the story of these events, but it is relevant to note that the attempt by the US to get Egypt to align itself with the west in return for financial aid to build the High Dam at Aswan backfired. Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal in order to secure the funds necessary for the project and invited the Soviet Union to finance part of it. Egypt also asked the USSR to supply Egypt with arms and other forms of development assistance. The nationalization of the Suez Canal also helped bring about the Suez War, ended in part by American pressure on its allies - Britain, France, and Israel - to withdraw forces from Egypt. Relations with the United States suffered from the conflict over the High Dam and the Baghdad Pact, but due to American assistance in ending the war and getting Sinai back from Israel, there was not a total break in relations. However, the number of Americans in the country dwindled for the next few years and this had a major impact on CAC.

During the Suez War, and for the five months until Egypt regained control of the Canal and of the Sinai, CAC was closed. Virtually all Americans in the country were evacuated, and only a few students returned to classes in April 1957, when the school reopened. No high school classes were offered at that time and hence there was no class of 1957 at CAC.

Egypt had many elementary and secondary level schools in which Arabic was not the principal language of instruction. Unlike most other foreign language schools, CAC was not taken over by the Egyptian Government in this period. However, it was not recognized by the government as an official school. Consequently, in order to attend, Egyptian students had to be granted special permission from the Egyptian Ministry of Education. In the super-nationalist environment of the time, such permission was not forthcoming. Some Egyptians did attend during this period, but as dual nationals (e.g., British-Egyptian, American-Egyptian) and were not registered with the school as Egyptians. It would not be until the early 1970s that CAC would once again have Egyptian students.

With the size of the American community in Egypt reduced and Egyptians unable to attend, CAC developed a new dimension. By 1960 – a typical Palace Year – it had become the major school in Cairo for the English-speaking children of the international community. As the largest city in Africa and the Middle East, and one of the major centers of international diplomacy, Cairo needed a

school for the children of the small but diverse and transient diplomatic and international community it attracted. CAC became that school. Whereas in 1955, only six nationalities attended, including Americans and Egyptians, in 1960 the student body of 252 was two-thirds American. Twenty-six different nationalities made up the remaining one-third. For the next ten years, approximately the same number of nationalities were represented in the student body, with the American portion rising as high as 75% in 1961 and 1967 and dropping to as low as 49% in 1968. American in name, curriculum, and overall management, CAC by 1960 had become an international school as far as its clientele were concerned. Students from all continents were enrolled and Eastern Europeans, especially Yugoslavs, were consistently present in significant numbers. In 1960, 5% of the students were from Yugoslavia and the President of the senior class, Monika Ulrich, was a stateless refugee from Czechoslovakia.

What was it like to be a student at Cairo American College during the Palace Years? What follows is impressionistic rather than scientific, but it should help readers understand something about CAC between 1955 and 1970. For most institutions and people, strengths and weaknesses are integrally related. Thus, a person could be appreciated by some friends for being "the strong silent type," and decried by others for being uncommunicative. For CAC, its major assets and liabilities during this period were all a function of the same features: its size, location, program, and the nature of the CAC community.

Nursery school through the senior year in high school was all housed on the same campus for most of the period. This helped create something of a family atmosphere, where older students helped younger ones and everyone knew everyone else. Being in Maadi gave the school a small town rather than big city atmosphere, and students were also drawn together by similarity of background. Regardless of nationality, the parents of most students were professionals with relatively high incomes, had received some form of post-secondary education, and had traveled extensively. Most were, in one way or another, associated with international business, diplomacy, or academia. Most were transient, knowing their time in Egypt would be limited, with stays of more than four years rare.

The high school probably received most of the attention of the administration and Board of Directors but it represented only about one-fourth of the students in any given year. Classes were small and both culturally and linguistically diverse, with one-third of the students speaking English as a second (or even third or fourth) language and with 25 to 30 nationalities in the school at any given time. Until the mid 1960s, there was no special English as a Second Language Program.

Americans were the largest single group, sometimes comprising three-fourths of the student body, and they set the tone of the school, especially for the social life of those in the upper grades. This was not always a positive feature apparently. One student, who had been at CAC earlier and returned in the 1965/66 period, felt the school had changed. It had become "less international, more American and the values of the student body had changed away from constructive activities into hanging out." At this time, this particular student felt CAC "got very clique oriented – lots of drinking, sex, and a gossipy incestuous atmosphere developed and [CAC] lost its academic orientation."

Smallness can be an asset permitting more individual attention than would be possible in a large school, but it also limits curricular possibilities. Non-academically oriented students were

confronted with a college prep program and few electives of interest to them. High achievers lacked the intense competitive atmosphere that often helps them excel. However, for most students, it was a good school and it afforded them opportunities for personal development they remember twenty or more years later with immense satisfaction. Students felt they profited from classes and even more from the close friendships they formed, from the multinational character of the student body, and from the special activities and trips being at CAC made possible. As one man who attended CAC in the early Palace Years put it, "The whole experience was overwhelmingly positive. What stands out, I suppose, was the loving camaraderie among the students." In an atmosphere in which grades and competition were somewhat de-emphasized, many students evidently flourished and are grateful for the experience to this day.

For CAC students during most of the Palace Years, school trips were memorable occasions. The Red Sea, Sinai, Alexandria, Luxor, and Jerusalem loom large in many photo albums and yearbooks from this period, as do school organized field trips to various historic points around Cairo. Organized activities included serving on the *Pharaoh* (yearbook) staff, working on the *Cairoglyph* (school newspaper), the Photography Club, the Dramatics and Speech Club, the Stamp Club, and the Pre-teen Club, the latter of which had its own dance. The school year was filled with numerous social activities including six major dances, highlighted by the Junior-Senior Prom. Track, field, and basketball were the most popular sports.

Just as CAC in the Palace Years Period had some built in advantages -- small classes, an international student body of generally capable students -- it had some inherent weaknesses as well. In addition to being too small to offer the full range and depth of courses all its students needed, there were other problems related mainly to the school's location. Some of these were relatively trivial, such as the smell of the nearby Camel Corps, sand storms, and heat untempered by air conditioning. There was also the failure to publish yearbooks in 1964, 1965, and 1966. Other problems were more substantial.

Going to CAC in the 1950s and 1960s was not the same as going to an American school in the United States in a number of ways. Politically, in the US, such issues as race, the "bomb" and various questions involving the cold war between the US and the USSR were discussed in American classrooms and sometimes spilled over into more overt political activity, especially during the height of the civil rights movement and the anti-war movement, when many millions of Americans, including many high school students and teachers, demonstrated on behalf of their beliefs. How, if at all, did these political conundrums affect CAC? It seems the civil rights movement was discussed in classes with no difficulty, and, with such a diverse student body, race problems did not develop. Other issues, such as those related to nuclear war, were also discussed in classes with no unusual controversy. The same cannot be said for the searing question of the participation of the United States in the war in Vietnam. Commenting on the effect of the war on CAC, the Headmaster of the period, Mr. Henry Kyllingstad, stated in a letter in 1986 that dissension over US policy caused some concern:

There was much discussion but no demonstrations. We had organized a debate club, which was running smoothly under the direction of the English teacher, Edna Selvig. Embassy people on the School Board tried to force us to accept a United States Information Service officer as coach. We felt the intrusion quite unwelcome and unnecessary in view of our international enrollment. When the topic of our first

debate was announced: “*Resolved that the United States should get out of Vietnam,*” the Board President – whose daughter was president of the club – said, “You will not debate that topic!” I asked if the Board had less faith in American democracy than the kids and I had. They were adamant, so we dissolved the club. Debate, needless to say, continued in the classes and on the playground, and I think we lost considerable stature in the eyes of foreign patrons.

Regardless of its merits, the issue appears to have died with the decision of the Board of Directors. Conflicts between the Board of Directors and the school itself over issues such as this were not unheard of in the United States at that time, and CAC is not unique in this regard. This statement represents only one person’s recollection of the events and mood at the time, but it does suggest CAC may have been different from those schools in that the conflict took place in a legal and public relations vacuum with students and administrators unable to appeal the decision of the Board to a court and unable (or unwilling) to raise the issue in the press.

The ability of students at CAC to debate sensitive issues is not the only troublesome question in the school’s history. One perennial problem has been the relationship of the school to Egypt. Unlike its ten years on Road 7, during the Palace Years Egyptians were not permitted to attend the school and, although there were courses in Arabic and an emphasis on the area in social studies classes, CAC was somewhat divorced from Egypt. This was alleviated, considerably for some, because such a high percentage of the students’ families belonged to local sporting clubs, particularly the Maadi Club. There, Americans, Yugoslavs, Canadians, British, Japanese, and other students could meet and be friends with Egyptians. This was important in a number of ways. For example, one former student compared the period of the 1960s (her years) with the 1970s in these terms:

I’ve met recently some kids who went to CAC later, in the 70s, and to them it was just another school, a school without an indoor basketball court, without a science lab, without school jackets. They missed the whole point. Or maybe it was just the times. When Kennedy was shot the Egyptians came to us, crying. Our grief was their grief. There were also some bad times, but each time, be it good or bad, was a time to experience to the full, even the burning of the Embassy library (in 1965). To us, the Camel Corps was a part of our lives as much as the alabaster bathroom and “*les fenetres,*” which never kept out the dust during Khamsin.

Perhaps this CAC graduate is correct: “Maybe it was just the times”, but the CAC constituent community began to demand more and better facilities for the school in the 1960s. In part, this was due to enrollment pressures, as the student population at the Palace neared 450 in the mid 1960s. In fact, a move was anticipated in 1963, when the parent-elected Board of Directors purchased approximately twelve acres of land in Digla for a new campus. At that time, Digla was little more than a patch of desert on the other side of the railroad tracks from Maadi, but land was available there and it was zoned by the Government for a school. The head of the Board of Directors at the time, John McDonald of USAID (the successor to the Point Four Program), considered this purchase and the subsequent development of the Digla campus one of the highlights of his career. Board of Directors members felt the new campus should be able to accommodate around 800 students, almost double what enrollment was at the time. Funds to purchase the land from the Government of Egypt came from a USAID grant of roughly 116,000 Egyptian Pounds. The Ford Foundation provided funds to enable CAC to hire consultants to assist in architectural and educational planning. With this

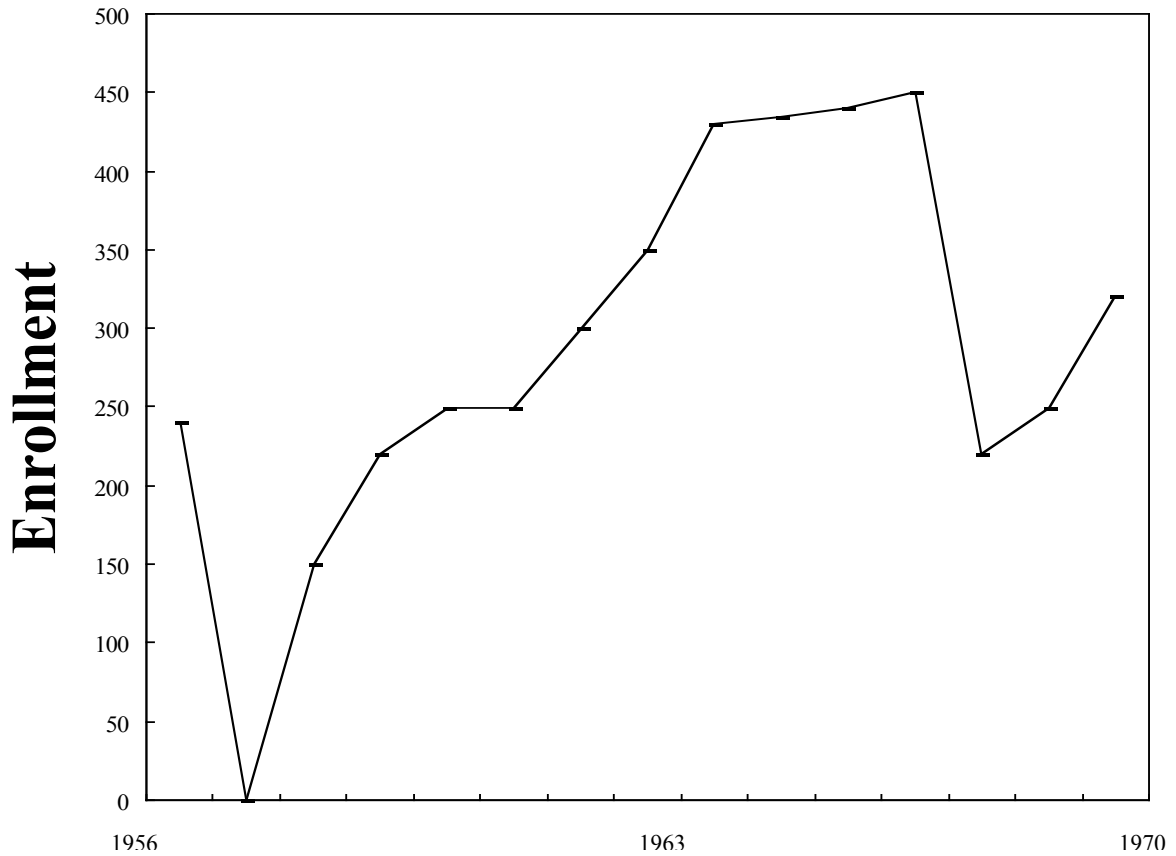
grant, the school hired the firm of Engelhardt, Engelhardt and Leggett as educational consultants and Perkins and Will (Chicago) as consulting architects. In 1965, these firms sent the required personnel to Egypt where they conferred with the school administration, then headed by Floyd Travis, CAC's first "Superintendent." They also met with the Board of Directors, under the chairmanship of Calvin McCormick of USAID, and with the local architects, the firm of Shawky and Zeitoun.

Plans were drawn up, an Egyptian construction firm, El Komy and Company, was selected and, after the building permit was finally approved in 1966, the first stage of construction began, financed in major part by a grant of nearly 120,000 L.E. from P.L. 480 funds available through USAID, which also provided the school with roughly \$150,000 to enable it to purchase needed materials and services from the United States. The Pan American Oil Company (later AMOCO and now British Petroleum) gave a large grant for the purchase of laboratory equipment and other school furnishings. The acquisition of land in Digla made it possible to transfer some elementary classes to the new campus in 1966, even before the new facilities were ready. Under the principalship of Corrine Radwan, the elementary school was housed in "temporary" pre-fabricated structures (which survived for over ten years!) out of the way of the major construction site. This may have relieved some problems of crowding but it also changed for a while much of the family atmosphere of CAC, in which children of all ages shared facilities and older pupils were available to help younger ones.

When ground was broken for the Digla campus in September 1966, the future of CAC looked promising. A new campus and a growing student body were anticipated and no clouds were on the horizon. When the school opened a year later, there were no high school classes and only 36 pupils enrolled in Kindergarten through the eighth grade. What brought about the change, of course, was the June War of 1967, in which Israel defeated Egypt, Jordan, and Syria in a short and devastating war. Diplomatic relations between Egypt and the United States were severed and a new era began for CAC.

One important transformation brought about by the 1967 War was in the method of selecting the Board of Directors, who are collectively responsible for the overall direction of the school. In 1967, the shock of the war heightened concern for continuity among the school's leaders. When the war broke out, virtually all Americans, including most of the Board of Directors, were evacuated and many of them never returned. After the war, the Board was changed from being a large, 15-member, community-elected group to a 7-member, self-perpetuating one. The newly reconstituted Board consisted of representatives of the major American organizations in Egypt about which some degree of continuity could be predicted. Thus, the major American oil company in Egypt, AMOCO, along with the US government (at that time represented by the US Interests Section of the Spanish Embassy), NAMRU-3, and the American University in Cairo became the principal constituting institutions of CAC.

# Palace Years



The 1967/68 school year was one of the most traumatic and uncertain in the school's history. In 1956/57, the school had been closed for five months due to the Suez War, and when it reopened, Egyptian-American relations were still intact and Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt's President, was grateful to the US for help in securing the withdrawal of foreign forces from Egypt. No such gratitude marked Egypt's attitude toward the United States following the June War of 1967. In fact, American support for Israel before, during, and after the war made the US a special target for potential Egyptian animosity. CAC took an especially low profile and the school grew slowly during the year. In February 1968, the high school was reopened and by May enrollment reached 168, down 62% from the high of the previous year.

During the next few years, construction of the new campus proceeded, albeit slowly, and enrollment peaked at 311 in the 1969/70 school year, the last of the Palace Years. In 1970, 62% of the student body was composed of Americans, but most of them were in the elementary grades. Of the 47 students who were graduated from CAC between 1968 and 1970, only 38% were Americans. During this same period, most of the faculty were Egyptian or third-country nationals. In fact, as CAC ended its Palace Years, it was sustained by an American administration and Board of Directors, an Egyptian clerical and business staff, and a faculty consisting primarily of Egyptians, local-hires (English and American), plus a few overseas-hire Americans. The future was uncertain, dependent upon issues over which the school had no control.

As if to underline this vulnerability, in the spring of 1970 an Israeli bomb, which never exploded, landed on the land of Digla belonging to CAC. The new campus was located near an Egyptian military camp, and this had presumably been the target of the bomb. Bombs did land on the Army camp and they did explode, but the only damage at CAC was two broken windows. No one was injured but the event reminded people that the War of Attrition between Egypt and Israel could produce civilian casualties. That an Israeli bomb could land with impunity on American property in Egypt also served as a poignant reminder that the American presence in the country had diminished and its future, and hence that of CAC, was neither clear nor secure in 1970, as the Palace Years ended and the Digla Years began.

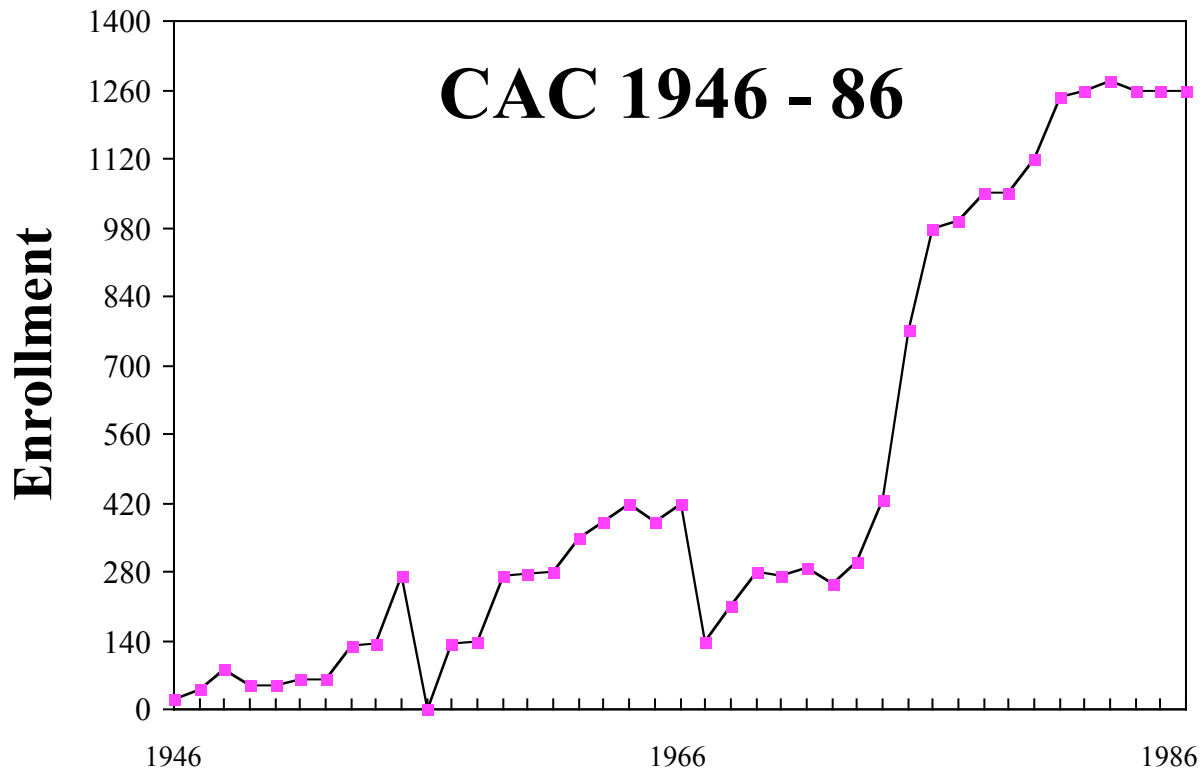
## THE DIGLA YEARS: 1970 to the present

As CAC entered a new phase of its life, its previous twenty-five years had given it a distinctive identity. It was a school with an American administration, curriculum and Board of Directors, but it served an international clientele. Its links with its host country were sustained mainly by Egyptians on the faculty and staff and by social contacts with Egyptians through such institutions as the Maadi Club. No Egyptians attended CAC at that time and the Egyptian Ministry of Education did not supervise the curriculum.

CAC had related to Egypt architecturally. Having classes at the Palace, complete with royal palms, alabaster bathrooms, and mashrabiyya windows in the library, served as a constant reminder for all those connected with the school that they were part of Egypt, not merely temporarily residing in Egypt. As beautiful as it may have been, however, the Palace and its attendant grounds did not constitute an adequate facility for a growing school, and a decision had to be taken either to curtail enrollment or to move. The Board of Directors elected to move, an option made easier because the government of Egypt was willing to sell a large tract of land in Digla to CAC, and because the money could be raised to purchase it and plan for its use.

The move to Digla afforded an opportunity for CAC to have, for the first time, a campus built to be used as a school rather than as a dwelling. It would also enable CAC to grow substantially, as the new plot of land was approximately four times the size of the grounds of the Palace. Additionally, the move to Digla was an opportunity to construct modern buildings that would be appropriate for Egypt, reflect Egyptian architectural traditions, and respect Egyptian values. CAC's Egyptian architect, Salah Zeitoun, was given this task and the style he established with the first few buildings has been honored by being copied to one degree or another ever since.

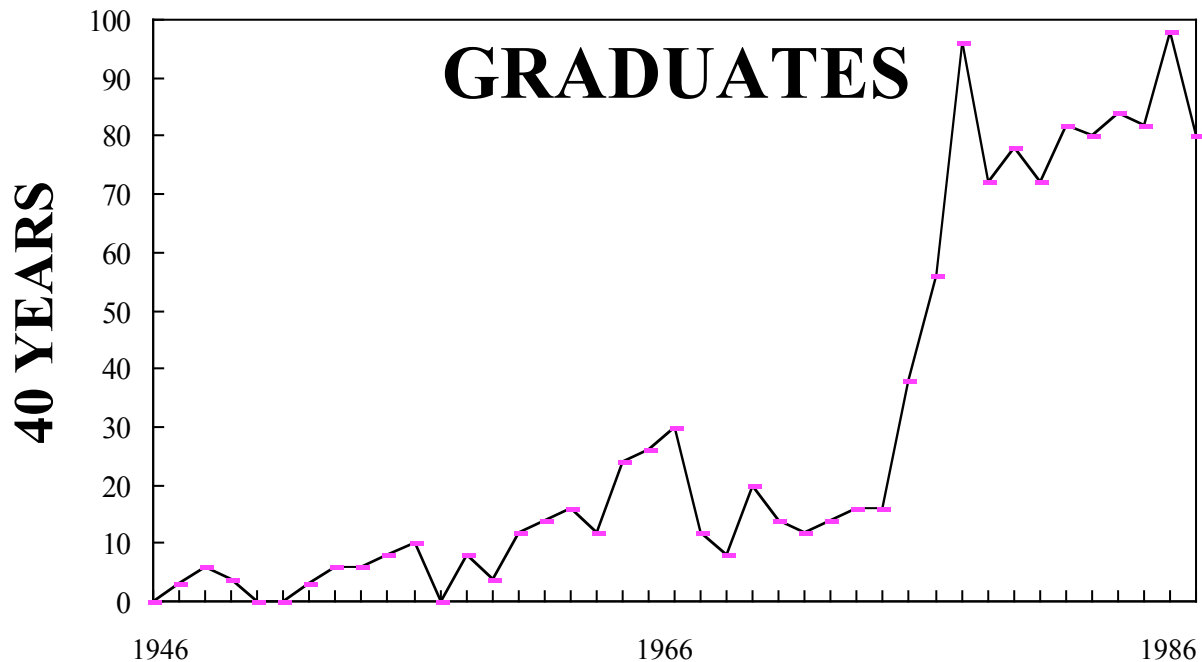
Domed roofs, open patios adjacent to ground-level classrooms, trees to help shade buildings and people, and open-air screened pavilions in which meetings could be held and students could eat lunch were some of the major features of the plan for the new campus. As electricity was expensive and unreliable, and air conditioning was not practical at that time, the campus plan tried to take advantage of prevailing breezes. Mr. Zeitoun also tried at the same time to take maximum advantage of natural lighting. The prevailing breeze was from the north, so the original plan called for all classrooms to be open to that direction, with covered patios to provide needed shade but to admit light to enter the rooms during the frequent power failures. It did not prove possible to have everything face north, but the concept of covered patios was retained. Classrooms, all of which were built on the northern edge of the property, were clustered around a high-ceilinged, domed atrium, and trees were planted to provide additional shade. In place of an auditorium, a screened-in area was cordoned off and served as a student lunchroom, general meeting area, and, in the early years, as a place in which to have graduation exercises.



One of the major concerns of the school’s planners was space for sports and a play area for younger children. Accordingly, approximately half of the campus was set aside for that purpose. To provide a modicum of privacy, and in keeping with Egyptian custom, the campus was enclosed by a decorative stone wall and the edge of the property was planted with trees and shrubs.

One of the most distinctive aspects of CAC’s campus is the result of the choice of building material made by the original architects. It was decided to make maximum use of materials available in Egypt. One such item was a particular type of decorative red brick, made from the rich soil of Egypt, soil that had taken thousands of years to develop. It was attractive, served as good insulation, was readily available and distinctively Egyptian, and has continued to be used on at least part of all major buildings constructed at CAC since the campus opened in 1970.

One issue of concern to CAC’s leaders when they planned the move to Digla, and for almost every year since that time, was the ideal or potential size of the school. The outside consultants, Engelhardt, Engelhardt, and Leggett, recommended an initial capacity of about 550, with 800 as the eventual full enrollment for CAC. As early as 1965, the Board of Directors felt that at some point in the school’s history, it might have to accommodate more than 800 students. After the June War, plans for the original capacity were somewhat toned down, but the Board and administration did try to adhere to the concept of providing space for about 550 students when the new campus opened.



The original entrance to the school was on the north edge of the campus near the intersection of Roads 213 and 253. The entire complex consisted of fifteen buildings (see map: CAC in 1970) and featured a large area set aside for sports such as soccer, track and field, and basketball. It also had small, wooden, prefabricated buildings devoted to art, science labs, French, and mathematics. These were supposed to be temporary, but it was not until the early 1980s that the last of them was torn down and replaced by a more durable and suitable structure.

The student body in CAC's first year in Digla consisted of about 300 students, 56% from the United States with the remainder from approximately thirty different countries. No Egyptians attended the school. The senior class of 1971 had thirteen members, and tuition, at \$1040, was about three times what it had been in 1955, when the school moved to the Palace. In the intervening years, the student body had grown by 20%, the faculty had increased by one-third, tuition had increased by 300%, the size of the campus had quadrupled, and the number of nationalities served by the school had expanded six-fold.

Egypt in 1970 was a country shorn of its political anchor, as Gamal Abdel Nasser, who had dominated Egypt for eighteen years, died in September of that year. He was followed in the presidency by a fellow Free Officer, the relatively obscure Mohamed Anwar El-Sadat, a man whom hardly anyone took seriously at first. Before the school year was over, Sadat had purged the government of many of its most left-leaning, pro-Nasserite members, and, with his domestic base somewhat more secure, continued on the course Nasser had set of trying to regain the land, and honor, lost to Israel in 1967. Although Sadat was interested in improving relations with the United States and actually expelled thousands of Soviet "advisors" in 1972, the size of the American community in Egypt shrank, and CAC entered a brief period when Americans constituted less than half the student body. The school was a basically well-run institution offering a good quality education to its students regardless of nationality. It also functioned as something of a center of activity for much of the expatriate community, and picnics, meetings, and sports events were often

held on the campus. It was almost as much of a club as a school, and the sleepy little village of Maadi seemed relatively unchanged from the 1950s.

Three years after moving to Digla, CAC had about 350 students rattling around in fifteen buildings on nearly twelve acres of grounds. The community served by the school was such that everyone knew everyone else, and parents had easy access to teachers, board members, and administrators. The man who had been Superintendent when the move to Digla was made, James (Rudy) Cope, had moved on to a similar job on the “circuit” of American schools abroad. A new Superintendent, Jack McLeod, was hired to take his place, and CAC seemed headed for a year only marginally different from the one before.

The 1973/74 academic year began as most other years did, with large numbers of students arriving after the school year was scheduled to start and having to be integrated into available classes. The predictable commotion created by this annual, educationally disruptive event had barely begun to settle down when Egypt and the entire world was shaken out of its complacency by the outbreak of a major war involving Egypt, Israel and Syria.

At the time of the burning of Cairo in 1952 the Cairo American School had to close for about a week. The Suez War of 1956 was even more traumatic: most foreigners were evacuated from the country, and the school was closed for several months. By contrast, during the October War of 1973, few foreigners left Egypt and CAC only missed a few days of classes, although the war itself lasted about three weeks.

There was no doubt regarding who started this particular Middle East War. Egypt and Syria, in a coordinated and well-planned and executed effort, had attacked Israel on two fronts, taking virtually everyone by surprise. Egyptian troops did especially well. In a matter of hours, they had crossed the Suez Canal on Saturday, October the 6th, which also happened to be Yom Kippur, the most important religious holiday of the year for Jews. Behind a shield of Russian-built missiles, Cairo seemed relatively safe, and after a few days a decision was made to continue with classes, but not on the Digla campus. Remembering the time in 1970, when an Israeli bomb had fallen (harmlessly) on the school's property, it was decided that teachers would hold classes in their homes for those students who could attend. Attendance was spotty at first, but soon virtually the entire student body was coming to class regularly. Ironically, regardless of their political preferences, most Americans in Egypt at that time rooted for the success of Soviet missiles, as they kept Cairo safe from American-built bombers. CAC, like Egypt itself, returned to a relatively normal pre-war life, but with nightly blackouts and days marred by the frequent din of air-raid sirens, a sound people soon learned to live with comfortably.

Even before combat stopped in November of 1973, American diplomacy in the Middle East had changed from a quietist to an activist phase. With the war's end, the American presence in Egypt changed little at first, but the portents for the future were challenging. For CAC, this meant that a new and unsettling era was about to begin. The immediate consequence of the war was a small shrinkage of the student body, but it soon became clear, as President Sadat began to move Egypt further from the Soviet orbit and closer to the Americans, that CAC was on the verge of a period of significant and sudden growth. Ideally, it was a time for the school to have stable leadership, but such was not to be the case for at least another year. The chairman of the Board of Directors at the time was Christopher Thoren, President of the American University in Cairo. In December, his

tragic death from cancer deprived CAC of experience at that level. Added to this, and at about the same time as Thoren's death, the new Superintendent, Jack McLeod, announced his resignation, effective at the end of the school year, in order to take up a similar post in Lebanon. The new head of the Board of Directors, Captain Henry Sparks of NAMRU 3, named a search committee to look for a new Superintendent. The man eventually selected, Joseph Kennedy, was chosen largely because of his successful experience of building an American-style campus in an overseas setting. Kennedy also provided the school with continuity at the top, as he remained in his post for the next six years. Captain Sparks was promoted to Admiral and left Egypt to assume overall command of the US Navy's medical operations. His replacement as Chairman was Earl (Tim) Sullivan, a professor of Political Science at the American University in Cairo. Sullivan continued to serve as Chairman for another five years and remained on the Board until 1984. Thus, during CAC's period of major growth, while most everything else changed, CAC's leadership remained constant.

The first task Kennedy faced was planning for a new high school building, to be financed in part with money provided by a grant of approximately one million US dollars from the American Schools and Hospitals Abroad division of USAID. An American architect named William Metcalf teamed up with CAC's Egyptian architect, Salah Zeitoun, to design the building. The shortage of critical materials, trouble with the local contractor, and the slowness of traditional construction technology meant, however, that the urgently-needed building was not available for occupancy until 1978. Compounding the problems associated with the high school building was another major construction project undertaken at roughly the same time. In response to insistent pressure from powerful elements in the CAC community, the Board of Directors had decided to build a swimming pool capable of being used for both recreation and competitive swimming and diving. As appreciated as it may be by succeeding generations of CAC people, this attempt to improve the campus, along with the high school project, absorbed much of CAC's administrative energy and financial resources for several years. It was not until 1978 that either facility was available for use. In the meantime, enrollment tripled and space had to be found for the more than 1000 students who were enrolled in CAC by the time the new high school building opened.

The campus as it existed in the early 1970s was built to accommodate about 550 students. By 1975, however, nearly 800 were in attendance and not all could be handled by crowding them into classrooms on campus. Some students went to school in villas rented in the Digla community, but others found themselves a few miles away in a villa on the Corniche with a view of the Nile. Few parents were pleased with these circumstances, or with the increases in tuition which also characterized this period, but most were quite supportive of the school and its leaders. A parents' association had existed in the early years of the school but had not been re-created following the 1967 war. Now, a new one was formed in order to provide a formal avenue of communication between the administration and trustees on the one hand and the faculty and parents on the other. Another issue for some members of the CAC Community was the self-perpetuating composition of the Board of Directors. Many others were deeply concerned about the quality of the educational program. The issue that galvanized the community, however, was a plan put forward in the 1977/78 school year to raise tuition and fees substantially in order to finance an ambitious construction program. In the past, most of the parents who sent children to CAC had the tuition paid in whole or major part by the employer of one of the parents. That pattern still held, but a growing number of parents were now self-financed and thus more sensitive to cost. Others, particularly some USAID contractors, found they could not pass off the increases in tuition or fees to their employers and they demanded some kind of relief.

While some parents were concerned about their ability to pay for their children's education for the few years they would be in Egypt, the Board of Directors was trying to plan and provide for the long-term needs of the school. Ironically, after waiting nearly four years for the high school building to be completed, when that date finally arrived the school had already admitted so many students that CAC was at its capacity even with the new building. For a variety of reasons, curtailing enrollment was virtually impossible and substantial further growth was therefore expected in the immediate future.

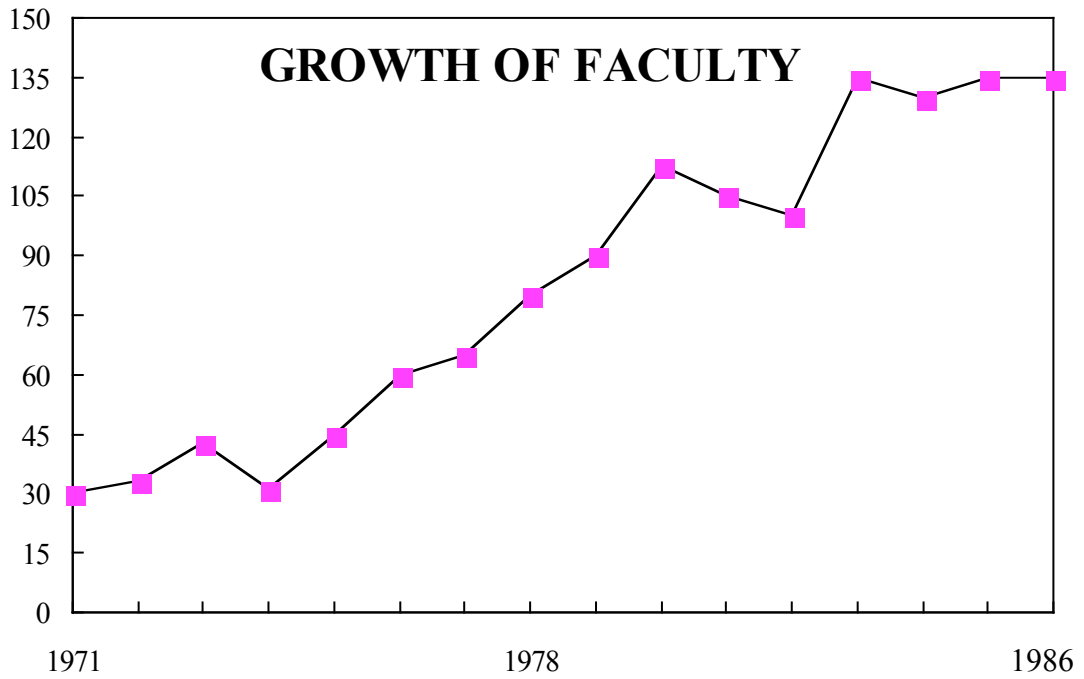
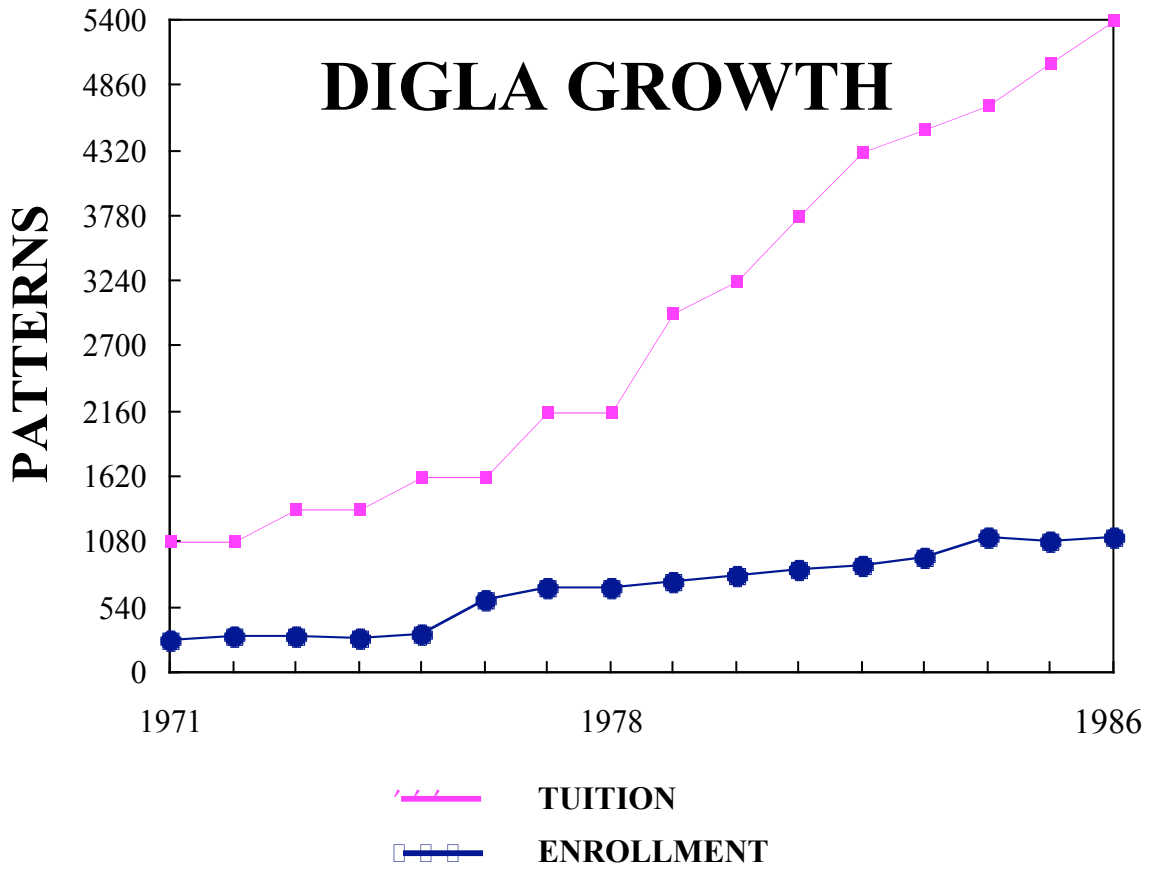
The school was now faced with the need to provide additional facilities quickly while attempting to improve the quality of the program. Achieving both quantitative and qualitative growth simultaneously is difficult under the best of circumstances. Those circumstances were not present in Cairo in the late 1970s. The initial hope, based on the report of a professional consultant, was to build a multi-story classroom building with an underground theater in the "old tent area" in the northwest corner of the campus. (This area was so named because it was where many theatrical performances and school assemblies were held in a temporary tent, before a proper theater was finally constructed in the early 1980s).

Unwilling and unable to wait another four years for adequate classrooms, the school considered employing a "fast-track" construction technology in order to save time. While this method would have given the school excellent classrooms and a theater quickly, the cost was high: over \$3,000,000 to be financed initially by borrowing, to be repaid by raising the registration fee from \$500 to \$2200. To say that the community was upset would be to understate the intensity of the emotions involved. Hundreds of people attended an open meeting of the Board of Directors in order to hear arguments for and against the proposal. Although the initial vote on the Board of Directors was unanimous in favor of the plan, some of its members were not comfortable with the decision and worked to have it reconsidered. As it turned out, the American Ambassador to Egypt, Hermann Eilts, was also concerned about the cost of the new program and about negative repercussions stemming from the public controversy, and he made his views known to the Board. Eventually, the proposal was reconsidered as a result of Embassy and community reactions and, by a vote of four to three, the costly plan was rejected by the Board.

This left the school in need of a new plan, less expensive than the first but still able to accommodate the expected growth in a timely fashion. The result, initially worked out by Joe Kennedy and CAC's Business Manager, Wahib Girgis, can be seen by looking at the CAC campus today.

The key to the problem was to provide low cost but good quality classrooms, as needed to accommodate the expected growth in the student body. Rather than design and construct a complicated, modern, and expensive structure to provide for classrooms and a new theater, CAC began to replace the old pre-fabs along the south wall of the campus with a string of three-story classroom buildings. Designed largely by Joe Kennedy and constructed by an Egyptian contractor working under Wahib Girgis's supervision, the first "pod" of sixteen classrooms was ready in about one year. What now looks like one building is actually a series of three pods, constructed separately and at relatively low cost, between 1980 and 1983. This gave the school the ability to absorb new students and time to plan adequately for additional facilities. For example, by using roughly the same technology and Egyptian materials employed in the construction of the new

classroom pods, CAC also put up a new industrial arts building in 1982, a new fine arts building in 1983, and an additional elementary classroom building, constructed in what was still known at the time as the old tent area, in 1984. A theater, however, was felt to require a more sophisticated approach, and foreign architects and contractors were employed to build it. After some delays, the theater was completed during the 1981/82 academic year. Finally, fulfilling a dream of several years, CAC built a modern gymnasium in the area between the pool and the fine arts building. The completion of the gym in 1985 marked the end of a long period – over a decade – during which CAC was never without a major construction project on campus. At least that is what the school’s leaders and constituents thought when it was finished.



By any standard of measurement, the 1985/86 academic year was traumatic. The year opened auspiciously enough, under the leadership of a new Superintendent, Larry Crouch, who had replaced Dr. Gunter Brandt in that office. In most respects, the fall of 1985 started out to be much like any other fall. In November, celebrations were held to mark the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the school and to inaugurate the new gymnasium. This was a decades-long dream and also marked what most people thought was the completion of the campus. It was a happy time.

A few days later, however, on November 2, 1985, an EgyptAir flight from Athens to Cairo was hijacked by terrorists. Normally such an event would not affect the school directly. On board the plane, however, was a CAC special education teacher, Jackie Pflug. Extremely anti-American and anti-Israeli, the hijackers – apparently associated with a small group of Palestinian dissidents – wanted to damage Egypt because of its treaty with Israel. At the same time, this hijacking enabled them to strike a blow at Israel, which had occupied Arab land, and the United States, which supported both Israel and Egypt; the specific targets of their ire were the American and Israeli passengers on the plane. Although shot in the head at point blank range, Mrs. Pflug survived, only to discover she was permanently disabled. A year later she wrote:

[I had begun] to get some of my health back. But my analytical and thinking skills had left me. I didn't know what anything meant. I'd look at a watch, and it would say 8 o'clock, and I didn't know what 8 o'clock meant. It is still very difficult for me to read and decode words.... I suddenly realized what I had been dealing with for so many years as a special education teacher. Now the tables were turned, and I was a learning-disabled student.

That same academic year also witnessed the hijacking of the Achille Lauro, the capture by the US of an EgyptAir jet containing the ship's hijackers, and the attendant mood of increased anti-Americanism in Egypt. Adding to that atmosphere was the Israeli attack on the PLO headquarters in Tunisia, which was given verbal support by President Ronald Reagan. In short, by the time of the Security Police riots in February 1986, American and other foreign residents of Egypt had reason to feel a bit nervous and insecure. An Egyptian security force known as *Al Amn Al-Markazy* rioted in protest over the extension of their conscription and the Army was called in to restore order. During the Police Riots, a major shoot-out between police deserters and the Egyptian Army took place in the desert behind CAC. Most of the students and faculty were trapped on campus for several hours during the melee. No one at the school was hurt, but the experience gave irresistible impetus to a desire to somehow attempt to make CAC more secure. The result was the construction, over the summer of 1986, of a tasteful but high stone wall around the campus. Thus, as CAC began its 42<sup>nd</sup> year, it did so behind a guarded and unmarked barricade, quite different in form and symbolism from the garden gate which marked the entrance to the school when it first opened in a rented villa on Road 7. In 1986, however, CAC was not entirely cut off from the population of its host country. Over the years, enrollment patterns at the school had changed considerably, and, by then, approximately 10% of the student body consisted of Egyptians. These and other contacts with Egypt and Egyptians, through events as diverse as the 24 Hour Marathon and Egypt Day, help form organic links between the school and the country, and will, hopefully, help sustain a healthy and creative relationship between CAC and Egypt in the future.

Another change, equally symbolic, was the appointment of Barbara Johnson as the new Superintendent to replace Larry Crouch, who resigned suddenly as the 1986/87 school year started. Mrs. Johnson, an American-born Liberian national, had been a teacher at CAC for several years and was also the mother of four CAC graduates. Prior to her selection as Superintendent, she had served the school in numerous administrative capacities in the High School, including counselor, Assistant Principal, and Principal. As a social studies teacher she had been committed to helping students develop an awareness of their own culture as well as that of others. CAC is a school with American roots, a dedication to excellence, and a strong international dimension. Now, the same could be said of its Superintendent, but these were not the only factors which made her selection as Superintendent popular. She also represented a sense of continuity and an awareness of CAC's past.

The patterns of the 1985/86 academic year were a good representation of the coming era. Overall enrollment was 1292 (with 80 high school seniors) on a campus that was designed to accommodate up to 1400 students. Slow growth was expected over the next few years. From the previous year, the percentage of Egyptian students had jumped to 9%, the American student percentage had dropped slightly to 57%, and other countries accounted for 34% of the enrollment. There were 136 faculty members of whom 79% were American. Enrollment trends that emerged were: an incremental rise and the leveling off of the percentage of Egyptian students; a corresponding small decrease in the percentage of students from third world countries; and an overall high school population growth outpacing that of Grades K-8.

The 1986 riot, together with the reduction of oil company personnel in the region due to a drastic drop in the price of crude oil, contributed to a short period of total enrollment declines that hit a low of 1061 students in 1987/1988. From this point, enrollment began to steadily rise toward full capacity by 1992/1993. The percentage of American students dropped temporarily to a low of 52% in 1986-1987 and then climbed back to a level of 59%. Between 1992/1993, as a result of the 1<sup>st</sup> Gulf War following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, student enrollment at CAC increased by over 100 students.

Other developments between 1985-1995 include: major growth in spending to upgrade information technology in both the classroom and work environments; the library migrated to industry-standard library automation system, Dynix, from previous in-house programming; enhancement of special education services; adoption of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program in 1993; introduction of middle school curricular trips (now called PRIME: Primary Resources in the Middle East); a new K-12 curriculum coordination process and establishment of full-time professional position of Curriculum Coordinator; establishment of a new professional position for Community Relations; conversion from a half-day to a full-day Kindergarten; construction of a four-story elementary and administration building; construction of a new all-weather track; and extensive renovation and expansion of high school offices, science labs, and classrooms. With the recently completed construction, the new optimal enrollment of the school was targeted at 1450 students.

In October of 1992 an earthquake measuring 5.9 on the Richter scale occurred shortly after school was dismissed and resulted in minor structural damage on campus and no injuries. Cairo continues to recover from the structural damage that affected a wide array of historical buildings and sites.

Preliminary work began on major renovations to the theater, a new arts classroom building, upgrading the playing fields and networking the campus. Under the guidance of Superintendent David Chojnacki, members of the CAC community developed the mission statement for the school's first strategic plan. The plan focused on nine strategies addressing a range of areas including technology, community relations, curriculum, service programs, and other managerial aspects of the school.

Beginning in 1996, Dr. Robert Hetzel led the school toward significant curricular development. Under his guidance across a period of four years, the school developed K-12 standards in each of the curricular areas as well as grade-level and course specific benchmarks that were descriptive of the standards and common assessments used to measure student progress. During this time period, the backbone of the technology network was laid on campus and a comprehensive technology plan was implemented as mandated by the strategic plan. As a result CAC established itself as a worldwide leader in the domain of technology use both in terms of staff competency and student program. Under Dr. Hetzel's guidance in systems management, the school shifted toward a professional learning community based on collegiality and collaboration. This era was ushered in by the return of the faculty production of *The Wizard of Oz*, involving five faculty members who were in the first production eighteen years earlier. They included Director Debbi Fintak, Scarecrow Bob Givich, Wicked Witch Pat Zimmerman, and Munchkins Kay Samahy and Ashnadelle Mortagy.

Beginning in 1998 a Summer Enrichment Program comprising academic programs and extended sports camps was introduced, serving 100 students. It has become a regular feature of CAC summers, growing to over 1200 participants in 2005.

During the academic year 2000-2001, the school underwent an accreditation review process from Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools – through which CAC had been accredited since December 1980 – and was granted a renewed accreditation until May 2008, at which time the school will again undergo the accreditation review process.

In the late 1990s the Board began to discuss the possibility of establishing a new campus at an alternative site outside of Maadi. This issue continued to be investigated and discussed across numerous years until May of 2005 when the Board voted definitively to devote resources to create a state of the art facility on the current site.

During the academic year 2001-2002, student enrollment reached its peak at 1440 students. Early into this academic year, the Sept. 11<sup>th</sup> attacks on US soil resulted in the closure of the school for two days and exposed differences of perspective within the CAC community that needed to be resolved before the reopening of the school. The faculty/staff used the two days without students to prepare and facilitate a reopening that was reassuring to students upon their return. In subsequent years, the repercussions of this shocking event were felt as organizations and families examined with increased caution the idea of work and life overseas. Security and economic impacts were felt around the globe and the CAC community was no exception as enrollment dropped in 2002-2003 and again in 2003-2004. In 2004-2005 the enrollment began to rebound and climb to pre-September 11<sup>th</sup> levels.

At the end of 2002, Superintendent Will Stacey departed after one-and-a-half years and the Board appointed High School Principal Drew Alexander as Acting Interim Superintendent for the remainder of the 2002-2003 academic year, extending through 2003-2004. During this time, the library was upgraded; a new elementary gymnasium was built, planning for a major theater upgrade was begun; a three-year pilot Pre-Kindergarten program was started; and a “Week Without Walls” program was established in the High School, forging stronger links between the classroom and the wider world and providing students varied opportunities for service learning, adventure/outward bound experiences, and curricular and cultural experiences.

World events included the US Coalition forces entering Iraq. School enrollment once again declined dramatically, to 1257 students the following year. Additionally, the school lost three students, a teacher, and a faculty couple’s newborn child in tragic events that deeply touched the entire community. Through these difficult times, Mr. Alexander provided sensitive leadership that allowed the community to begin healing. A memorial garden designed and created by faculty member and CAC parent Heba Farouk was unveiled near the end of the academic year on the same site as the memorial to faculty member Wilbur Smith. Students, parents and community members continue to gather in this tranquil setting for moments of quiet reflection. In an effort to maximize effectiveness and efficiency the Board renamed itself, changing from The Board of Directors to The Board of Trustees, reflecting an understanding that the Board is entrusted with the well being of the school. Additionally through policy changes, the Board removed structures that would define Board membership as self-perpetuating.

Beginning in July 2004, Monica Greeley assumed leadership of CAC with a strong focus on the concepts of global citizenship and sustainability, and an eye to school-wide program coherence. The planned theater upgrade was completed. The first stage of a major renovation to the High School building was completed and stage two of the renovation process began. The Pre-Kindergarten program was officially made part of the academic program at CAC. As a result of the Board’s decision to remain on this campus, a master plan is being developed with the intent of providing a unified, state-of-the-art facility.

It is tempting to think of a school as a collection of buildings. For those who think this way, CAC’s campus is impressive and constitutes one measure of its excellence as well as a mark of how much it has changed since its early days on Road 7. It is also useful to think of an institution such as this from a statistical perspective, and to weigh change in the composition and size of the faculty, administration, and student body. These factors are significant, but a school such as CAC is more than the sum of its campus plus the patterns of its historical development summed up in a few charts, graphs, and an appended explanatory text.

Schools are people, individual stories that do not always mesh well. There is about this particular school, however, a special magic that has left a mark on those who have been part of it. Perhaps more than anything, CAC is the sum of the memories, both good and bad, of those individuals. Elation, learning, trauma, pain, joy, discovery, good times, fear, trips, heat, friends lost and found, flies, first love, going away, career development, sandstorms, subjects people learned to love or hate, thinking of people we will never see again, growth. Memories like these, and more, constitute the real history of this school. Because CAC is a community, not merely an educational institution, its story includes the recollections of parents, sponsors, and others whose experiences complement those of the students, teachers, administrators and staff so integral to the school’s

development. Only a small portion of that story could be touched upon here, but perhaps enough has been relayed to enable readers to understand why CAC is regarded with such strong emotions by so many people.

Authors:

Tim Sullivan (CAC History 1945-1986)

Peter Duckett and Bob Givich (CAC History 1986-present)

## A Note on Sources

by Tim Sullivan (History 1945-1986)

Writing a history of Cairo American College has been an unusually challenging task for a variety of reasons. One was the paucity of sources upon which precise observations or even valid generalizations could be made. In the aftermath of the June War of 1967, most of the school's basic records, except for student transcripts, were apparently destroyed. In the atmosphere of fear and uncertainty, documents were transferred to the American Embassy for safekeeping and became the accidental victim of a systemic effort to destroy that which did not seem worth transferring to Washington. It must be admitted, however, that the school's recordkeeping was not designed to facilitate research into its history, and papers which would have been interesting to a later-day chronicler, such as old copies of the budget, were simply not kept for more than a few years. Many important holes exist in the story of the institution. Hopefully, these will be filled in the future, in part because readers will come across something in this text which they know or suspect to be incorrect. Readers who have this experience are encouraged to contact the school via e-mail, [support@cacegypt.org](mailto:support@cacegypt.org).

Due to the unavailability of alumni records, I was not able to conduct a scientific survey of students. However, some students, mainly from the Palace Years period were identified and several responded to queries about their days at CAC. Many CAC faculty from that period were also interviewed and Henry Kyllingstad, who served as Headmaster (1958-66) for over half of the Palace Years, wrote a long letter responding to several questions. Also, Nadia Niazi Mostafa, who had been a student in the early years and who later joined the CAC faculty, commented at length on the first draft of the sections of the manuscript which dealt with the 1945-70 period. In addition, I culled school records and tried to absorb what I could from CAC Yearbooks. For the Villa Years, much the same method was used, but with far more holes in the story, as there is only one Yearbook from that era; the surviving records are quite sparse, and few alumni were available for interviewing.

By contrast with the 1945-70 period, information on the Digla years was more available, with school records more complete and several people familiar with CAC eager to talk about the school. Some faculty and administrators have worked at CAC for several years and they were especially helpful. At this time I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the following people who shared memories with me and without whom this history could not have been written: Dorothy Nour, Sandra Gamal, Nadia El-Kholy, Wahib Girgis, Barbara Johnson, Lila Farid, Irene Bishay, Corrine Radwan, M. G. (Jimmy) Soliman, and Nadia Niazi Mostafa. For part of the period (1974-84), I served on the Board of Directors and for five years was its chairman (1974-79). This gave me a wealth of unpublished (and some unpublishable!) data on the school, but it also may make part of my retelling of events during that time of questionable objectivity. All I can say in my own defense is that I have tried to tell the truth. Readers who lived through the same period will have to judge the degree to which I have succeeded, and they are especially enjoined to use the address mentioned above to provide the school's future historians with information to correct my mistaken impressions.

Having been a small part of CAC's history and having been a resident of Egypt since 1973 has given me and my family a great many memories not only of the years since 1973 but, via the reminiscences of those who were here even earlier, of the preceding time as well. Blessed, or cursed, with a number of sometimes-conflicting memories, I tried to piece together the threads of events as

best as I could. For example, one of the first stories I remember hearing was about the time an Israeli bomb landed on the CAC campus during the War of Attrition. When I began to do research for this history, however, few people could remember the event very clearly, and some were not sure whether the bomb landed on the campus or nearby. In 1973, most people were convinced it had landed on the grounds, and the “memory,” faulty or accurate, was cited by those who did not want the campus to be used during the October War. Memory plays tricks on all of us and it is hard now to tell what really happened in some cases. In this study, when confronted by conflicting evidence, I have tried to stick to what appears to me to have been the version which has the most evidence in its favor, but no claim is made to infallibility.

Readers looking for tales of scandals or “dirt” about CAC and its personnel will have to seek it elsewhere. For example, not everyone who left CAC did so voluntarily, but no good would be served by going into the details of any of those events in writing this history unless the termination was somehow essential to the overall story. The purpose of this work is to provide a general outline of the school’s past to show how it came to be the kind of institution it is today. One practical use for such a story will be to educate new and prospective administrators and faculty members, new students, their parents, and the Board of Trustees. As the Board grapples with problems associated with budgets, personnel, curriculum, and overall policies, it will help to know a little bit about how the school came to be in its present position and how their predecessors dealt with problems in the past. Perhaps CAC may at least occasionally avoid repeating some of its past errors. Finally, general readers may simply want to know how and why a school such as CAC came to exist. The story is interesting in and of itself, as a part of the history of American education, and as part of the life of the foreign and diplomatic community in Egypt, a community of which Cairo American College has come to be an integral part.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CHIEF ADMINISTRATOR</u>	<u>BOARD CHAIR</u>	<u>AFFILIATION</u>	<u># on Board</u>
45-46				
46-47	Margaret Willis			
47-48	Reetha E. Breeze			
48-49	Reetha E. Breeze			
49-50	Reetha E. Breeze	Gordon Laud	Atlantic Refining	
50-51	Reetha E. Breeze			
51-52	Mr. C.M. Breining			
52-53	Mr. C.M. Breining			
53-54	Mr. C.M. Breining			
54-55	Lewis Feesler	Owen D. Fender	Socony Vacuum Co.	10
55-56	Lewis Feesler	Owen D. Fender	Socony Vacuum Co.	12
56-57	Mrs. Robert Carr			
57-58	Mrs. Robert Carr			
58-59	Henry Kyllingstad	John Goodridge	City Bank	14
59-60	Henry Kyllingstad	John Goodridge	City Bank	15
60-61	Henry Kyllingstad	John Goodridge	City Bank	11
61-62	Henry Kyllingstad	John Foley	US Embassy	15
62-63	Henry Kyllingstad	Richard Citekunst	NAMRU-3	15
63-64	Henry Kyllingstad	John Mc Donald, Jr.	USAID	15
64-65	Henry Kyllingstad	John Mc Donald, Jr.	USAID	15
65-66	Henry Kyllingstad	John Mc Donald, Jr.	USAID	14
66-67	Floyd Travis	Calvin McCormick	USAID	15
67-68	Floyd Travis	James W. Vanderbeek	GUPCO	9
68-69	Floyd Travis	James W. Vanderbeek	Pan Am. Oil	6
69-70	James R. Cope	Charles Walton	Pan Am. Oil	
70-71	James R. Cope	Charles Walton	Pan Am. Oil	8
71-72	James R. Cope	Charles Walton	Pan Am. Oil	7
72-73	James R. Cope	Marshall W. Wiley	USIS	7
73-74	Jack McLeod	Henry Sparks	NAMRU-3	7
74-75	Joseph Kennedy	Earl Sullivan	AUC	8
75-76	Joseph Kennedy	Earl Sullivan	AUC	
76-77	Joseph Kennedy	Earl Sullivan	AUC	7
77-78	Joseph Kennedy	Earl Sullivan	AUC	6
78-79	Joseph Kennedy	Earl Sullivan	AUC	11
79-80	Joseph Kennedy	T. Bucci/Wess Tribbl	NAMRU 3; USAID	9
80-81	Gunther Brandt	Robert Holmes	AMOCO	11
81-82	Gunther Brandt	Robert Holmes	AMOCO	11
82-83	Gunther Brandt	John Bentley	Kamel Law Office	11
83-84	Gunther Brandt	John Bentley	Kamel Law Office	11
84-85	Gunther Brandt	John Bentley	Kamel Law Office	10
85-86	Larry Crouch	John Bentley	Kamel Law Office	11
86-87	Barbara Johnson	John Bentley	Kamel Law Office	11
87-88	Barbara Johnson	John Bentley		
88-89	Barbara Johnson	John Bentley		
89-90	Barbara Johnson	Michael Kilpatrick		
90-91	Barbara Johnson	Michael Kilpatrick		
91-92	Guy Lott	Michael Kilpatrick		
92-93	David Chojnacki			
93-94	David Chojnacki	Michael Short		
93-94	David Chojnacki	James Glynn	AUC	
94-95	David Chojnacki	James Glynn	AUC	
95-96	David Chojnacki	James Glynn	AUC	

**File:** ADMINISTRATORS  
**Report:** CAC ADMINISTRATORS

Page 2

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CHIEF ADMINISTRATOR</u>	<u>BOARD CHAIR</u>	<u>AFFILIATION</u>	<u># on Board</u>
96-97	Robert Hetzel	James Glynn	AUC	
97-98	Robert Hetzel	Randall Parks		
98-99	Robert Hetzel	Randall Parks		
99-00	Robert Hetzel	Randall Parks		
00-01	Robert Hetzel	Randall Parks		
01-02	William Stacey	Randall Parks		
02-03	William Stacey/Drew Alexander	Barbara Grubb		
03-04	Drew Alexander	Mark Wooster	NAMRU	
04-05	Monica Greeley	Rick Tutwiler	AUC	
05-06	Monica Greeley	Peter Kaestner	US Embassy	

File: CACDATAFILE

Report: FACULTY

Year	Tuition US\$	Enrollment	Faculty	Student/Faculty Ratio	%USA	%Egyptian	%Other
45/46		50					
46/47		77	8	10			
47/48		94					
48/49		64	6	11			
49/50		61					
50/51		67					
51/52	287	74					
52/53	345	100					
53/54	345	117					
54/55	345	162	17	10	76		
55/56	345	250	19	13			
56/57	342						
57/58	356	165					
58/59	356	185	26	7	62	7	31
59/60	356	252	23	11	52	13	35
60/61	356	257	24	11			
61/62	322	288	18	16			
62/63		361	22	16			
63/64		435					
64/65		442					
65/66		432					
66/67	600	446	45	10	47	28	25
67/68	750	168	29	8			
68/69	750	262	21	12	43	33	24
69/70	805	311	23	14	35	30	35
70/71	1040	308	28	11	46		
71/72	1040	337	28	12	53	32	15
72/73	1271	382	37	10	70	24	6
73/74	1271	343	32	11			
74/75	1600	463	44	11			
75/76	1600	778	54	14	66	22	12
76/77	2100	952	65	15	75	14	11
77/78	2100	1016	81	13			
78/79	2900	1062	92	12			
79/80	3250	1060	112	9	81	6	13
80/81	3800	1121	111	10			
81/82	4250	1244	109	11			
82/83	4450	1291	136	9			
83/84	4675	1325	133	10			

<b>Year</b>	<b>Tuition US\$</b>	<b>Enrollment</b>	<b>Faculty</b>	<b>Student/Faculty Ratio</b>	<b>%USA</b>	<b>%Egyptian</b>	<b>%Other</b>
84/85	4960	1293	137	9	75	9	12
85/86	5360	1292	136	10	79	9	16
86/87	5630						
87/88	5910		118				
88/89	6150		110				
89/90	6150		143				
90/91	6830	1314	165	8	80	9	11
91/92	7170	1297	171	8			
92/93	7530	1404	171	8	84	9	7
93/94	7950	1385	173	8			
94/95	8400	1361	165	8			
95/96	8850	1311	168	8			
96/97	9120	1290	175	7			
97/98	9370	1396	164	9			
98/99	10030	1408	174	8			
99/00	10430	1350	172	8			
00/01	10430	1370	172	8			
2001/02	11560	1416	165	8			
2002/03	11960	1315	163	8			
2003/04	12260	1259	156	8			
2004/05	12260	1202	155	8			
2005/06	12450	1331	156	9			

File: CACDATAFILE  
 Report: STUDENTS

Year	Enrollment	% USA	% Egyptian	% Other	Seniors	% USA	% Egyptian	% Other
45/46	50							
46/47	77	71			2	0	50	50
47/48	94				4	100	0	0
48/49	64				1	100	0	0
49/50	61	68.8			0			
50/51	67				0			
51/52	74				1	0	100	0
52/53	100	75			2	50	50	0
53/54	117	82	11	7	5			
54/55	162	91.9	5.6	2.5	7	86	14	0
55/56	250				12	92	8	0
56/57								
57/58	165		0		7	14	0	86
58/59	185		0		4	50	0	50
59/60	252	66	0	34	10	40	0	60
60/61	257	76.7	0	23.3	13	62	0	38
61/62	288		0		15	60	0	40
62/63	361	68	0.2	31.8	11	55	0	45
63/64	435		0		24		0	
64/65	442		0		26		0	
65/66	432	71.2	0	28.8	26		0	
66/67	446	75.1	0	24.9	13	54	0	46
67/68	168	48.8	0	51.2	10	20	0	80
68/69	262	58	0	42	20	40	0	60
69/70	311	62	0	38	17	55	0	45
70/71	308	56.3	0	43.7	13		0	
71/72	337	51	0	49	16		0	
72/73	382	47.4	0	52.6	18		0	
73/74	343	44.3	0	55.7	17		0	
74/75	463	51.6	0.4	48	37			
75/76	778	55.2	2.3	42.5	47			
76/77	952	55.5			96	40	13	47
77/78	1016	54	3	43	72	70	6	24
78/79	1062	52.2	3.3	44.5	92	78	49	8
79/80	1060	54.9	4	41.1	72	62	10	28
80/81	1121	53.8	4.4	41.8	82	53	15	32
81/82	1244	56.7	4.6	38.7	80	42.5	15	42.5
82/83	1291	59.4	4.8	35.8	84	69	8	23
83/84	1325	62.8	5.4	31.8	84	56	12	32

<b>Year</b>	<b>Enrollment</b>	<b>% USA</b>	<b>% Egyptian</b>	<b>% Other</b>	<b>Seniors</b>	<b>% USA</b>	<b>% Egyptian</b>	<b>% Other</b>
84/85	1293	63.1	6.1	30.8	97	55	7	38
85/86	1292	57.1	9.4	33.5	80	58	10	32
86/87					88			
87/88					85			
88/89					83			
89/90					79			
90/91	1314	52.3	15.9	31.8	135			
91/92	1297	57.2	14.9	27.9	100			
92/93	1404	59.0	14.3	26.7	102	50.5	23.8	25.7
93/94	1385	59.1	14.3	26.6	118	47	25.2	27.8
94/95	1361	58.8	13.3	27.9	106	52.7	20.5	26.8
95/96	1311	57.4	12.8	29.8	116	54.5	16	29.5
96/97	1290	55	13.5	31.5	98	46.5	16.2	37.3
97/98	1396	53	13	34	115	46.6	16.4	37
98/99	1408	55	13	32	122	40.2	21.3	38.5
99/00	1350	54	14	32	120	42.5	29.1	37.7
00/01	1370	53	13	34	110	52.3	19.8	27.9
2001/02	1416	54	14	32	117	50	18.3	31.7
2002/03	1315	52	15	33	117	50.8	27.1	22.1
2003/04	1259	51	17	32	122	48	24.4	27.6
2004/05	1202	48	17	35	113	41.6	27.4	31
2005/06	1331	48.7	14.2	37.1	136	46.3	24.3	29.4

**File: CACDATAFILE**  
**Report: OVERVIEW**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Tuition US\$</b>	<b>Enrollment</b>	<b>% USA</b>	<b>Faculty</b>	<b>Seniors</b>	<b>% USA</b>	<b>% Egyptian</b>	<b>% Other</b>
45/46		50						
46/47		77	71	8	2	0	50	50
47/48		94			4	100	0	0
48/49		64		6	1	100	0	0
49/50		61	68.8		0			
50/51		67			0			
51/52	287	74			1	0	100	0
52/53	345	100	75		2	50	50	0
53/54	345	117	82		5			
54/55	345	162	91.9	17	7	86	14	0
55/56	345	250		19	12	92	8	0
56/57	342							
57/58	356	165			7	14	0	86
58/59	356	185		26	4	50	0	50
59/60	356	252	66	23	10	40	0	60
60/61	356	257	76.7	24	13	62	0	38
61/62	322	288		18	15	60	0	40
62/63		361	68	22	11	55	0	45
63/64		435			24		0	
64/65		442			26		0	
65/66		432	71.2		26		0	
66/67	600	446	75.1	45	13	54	0	46
67/68	750	168	48.8	29	10	20	0	80
68/69	750	262	58	21	20	40	0	60
69/70	805	311	62	23	17	55	0	45
70/71	1040	308	56.3	28	13		0	
71/72	1040	337	51	28	16		0	
72/73	1271	382	47.4	37	18		0	
73/74	1271	343	44.3	32	17		0	
74/75	1600	463	51.6	44	37			
75/76	1600	778	55.2	54	47			
76/77	2100	952	55.5	65	96	40	13	47
77/78	2100	1016	54	81	72	70	6	24
78/79	2900	1062	52.2	92	92	78	49	8
79/80	3250	1060	54.9	112	72	62	10	28
80/81	3800	1121	53.8	111	82	53	15	32
81/82	4250	1244	56.7	109	80	42.5	15	42.5
82/83	4450	1291	59.4	136	84	69	8	23
83/84	4675	1325	62.8	133	84	56	12	32

<b>Year</b>	<b>Tuition US\$</b>	<b>Enrollment</b>	<b>% USA</b>	<b>Faculty</b>	<b>Seniors</b>	<b>% USA</b>	<b>% Egyptian</b>	<b>% Other</b>
84/85	4960	1293	63.1	137	97	55	7	38
85/86	5360	1292	57.1	136	80	58	10	32
86/87	5630				88			
87/88	5910			118	85			
88/89	6150			110	83			
89/90	6150			143	79			
90/91	6830	1314	52.3	165	135			
91/92	7170	1297	57.2	171	100			
92/93	7530	1404	59.0	171	102	50.5	23.8	25.7
93/94	7950	1385	59.1	173	118	47	25.2	27.8
94/95	8400	1361	58.8	165	106	52.7	20.5	26.8
95/96	8850	1311	57.4	168	116	54.5	16	29.5
96/97	9120	1290	55	175	98	46.5	16.2	37.3
97/98	9370	1396	53	164	115	46.6	16.4	37
98/99	10030	1408	55	174	122	40.2	21.3	38.5
99/00	10430	1350	54	172	120	42.5	29.1	37.7
00/01	10430	1370	53	172	110	52.3	19.8	27.9
2001/02	11560	1416	54	165	117	50	18.3	31.7
2002/03	11960	1315	52	163	117	50.8	27.1	22.1
2003/04	12260	1259	51	156	122	48	24.4	27.6
2004/05	12260	1202	48	155	113	41.6	27.4	31
2005/06	12450	1331	48.7	156	136	46.3	24.3	29.4