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Editorials

THE MARCH OF AIDS THROUGH ASIA

In this issue of the *Journal*, Nelson and colleagues¹ describe a modest victory in what had been a losing battle in northern Thailand to control the most rapid epidemic of sexually transmitted human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection ever documented.² Studying large cohorts of randomly selected conscripts in the Royal Thai Army, they report a significant downturn in the prevalence of HIV infection, from a peak of about 13 percent to less than 7 percent, which is also reflected in national trends.³ Although the rate of infection remains serious, this encouraging sign reflects the effect of an enlightened effort in many sectors of society to control the epidemic in Thailand, whose unfortunate experience has presaged that of many neighboring countries.

A decade ago, some health officials believed Asia was immune to HIV and AIDS, safe behind a cultural — if not genetic — Maginot line. The region, along with North Africa and Oceania, was classified epidemiologically in a miscellaneous category known as "pattern III," meaning that few cases had occurred there. In reality, chance events had not yet introduced seed virus into the Asian population.

By the late 1980s, HIV type 1 (HIV-1) began invading one Asian country after another, exploiting traditional behavioral patterns and secular trends to spread widely. In 1995 alone, there were an estimated 2.5 million new infections in southeastern Asia (ranging from India through the Indonesian and Philippine archipelagoes), surpassing the combined incidence in sub-Saharan Africa (1.9 million) and the rest of the world (0.3 million).⁵

The beachhead for the AIDS pandemic in Asia was Thailand, where improved disease-control training and infrastructure^{6,7} produced exemplary systems of epidemiologic surveillance to record the arrival and dissemination of HIV-1. In Bangkok the prevalence among injection-drug users rose from 1 percent in late 1987 to over 30 percent eight months later.8 Beginning in 1989, routine semiannual province-level surveys tracked steady increases in rates of HIV infection. By mid-1993, the prevalence reached 35 percent among injection-drug users, 29 percent among female sex workers in brothels, 8 percent among male patients with sexually transmitted disease, 4 percent among military conscripts, and I percent among pregnant women.9 In 1993, six years after the epidemic exploded, roughly three quarters of a million Thais were infected, 10 about as many as in the United States, which has a population four times as large and an epidemic that has lasted twice as long.

Several other Asian nations are in various stages of this "pattern IV" sequence of explosive increase in HIV-1 infection among injection-drug users and female sex workers, who pass the virus to their male clients, who in turn infect their wives and thus newborns.^{8,11} As early as 1990, prevalence rates greater than 60 percent had been found among injectiondrug users in some sites in Myanmar (Burma), India, and China. By 1993, the rates among injection-drug users exceeded 30 percent in parts of Malaysia and Vietnam. Surveys of sex workers between 1992 and 1994–1995 showed rates rising from 40 percent to 51 percent in Bombay, India; from 9 percent to 38 percent in Vietnam; from 4 percent to 18 percent in Myanmar; and from 2 percent to 10 percent in Cambodia. In Thailand, Bombay, Myanmar, and Cambodia over 2 percent of pregnant women are now infected with HIV.

The principal determinant driving the Asian epidemics is a traditional double standard in sexual behavior.8,11 Substantial proportions of Asian men engage in sex with a relatively small population of female sex workers, whereas most women are abstinent before marriage and monogamous afterward. Because of their numerous encounters, sex workers quickly acquire HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases from infected clients, raising the statistical probability of exposure to HIV among uninfected clients. Mathematical modeling12 explains how an epidemic can be accelerated by such a small core group of sex workers, in comparison with larger proportions of women who participate in premarital and extramarital sex, as in the pattern II countries⁴ of sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean. In Asia, homosexual men represent a very small proportion of cases, in contrast with the pattern I countries of the Americas, Western Europe, and Australia, where they are the predominant group.

Some secular trends in Asia also contribute to the pandemic. Increasingly effective suppression of the narcotics trade that originates in the Golden Triangle, where Laos, Myanmar, and Thailand meet, has caused opiate refineries to move closer to the remote poppy fields to avoid detection. More and more, drug users inject the heroin that is now available along smuggling routes, instead of smoking opium. Widespread industrialization is attracting young men and women from rural areas to work in factory towns, delaying marriage and increasing the rate of premarital sex away from the normative influences of family and village. Economic liberalization in China, Vietnam, and Cambodia has revived an entrepreneurial capitalism in which commercial sex is flourishing, along with sexually transmitted diseases, after being suppressed for decades under communism.

An enigma in the Asian pandemic is that rapid

sexual transmission has not occurred in some places, confounding predictions, even though the virus has been there for several years and commercial sex is common — for example, in Bangladesh, Indonesia, and the Philippines. One contributing reason may be the high proportion of men in these Muslim and Catholic societies who are circumcised, a factor that has been shown elsewhere to reduce the rate of female-to-male transmission.¹³ In most Asian areas with rapid sexual spread of HIV-1, circumcision is rare.

One surprise was the discovery that two distinct strains of HIV-1 were circulating in segregated patterns in Thailand, where 75 percent of injectiondrug users had subtype B of the env gene, whereas over 90 percent of sexually infected persons had subtype E,14 invalidating a presumption that the former were the source of virus for the latter. In India, moreover, subtype C predominates. These findings might result from genetic founder effects, but preliminary data from Thailand also suggest biologic differences between HIV-1 subtypes in transmissibility and immune impairment. Some have postulated from in vitro work that subtypes E and C are transmitted with greater efficiency through heterosexual sex than other subtypes, thereby accounting for the rapid spread of the epidemic in Asia. 15 But there is as yet no epidemiologic evidence that such differences between strains would outweigh other factors contributing to rapid transmission, such as frequent sexual relations, the involvement of core groups, the presence of other sexually transmitted diseases, and the absence of circumcision. In fact, subtype B, which is predominant in the Americas and Europe, has caused serious epidemics of heterosexually transmitted infection in Honduras and elsewhere in the Caribbean.

Nelson et al.1 attribute the decline in the prevalence of HIV among young men in Thailand to the innovative "100 percent condom campaign" that encourages brothel owners and sex workers to insist that clients use condoms. But theirs was not a controlled study of this intervention; other potential influences on sexual behavior included efforts in the broadcast media, school curriculums, the workplace, and health centers to educate people about AIDS and build personal decision-making skills. By the mid-1990s, when large numbers of HIV-infected persons finally became ill, the men in the study may also have been affected by knowing sick or dying relatives or acquaintances. In contrast, in the early 1990s, when the epidemic was young, conscripts knew a lot about AIDS, but few knew anyone with the disease.16 Because of this, they may have been slow to acquire the perception of risk that is essential for behavior to change.

Two key elements underlie the reduction in risky sexual behavior achieved in Thailand. One is the rec-

ognition, after initial complacency and denial, 17 that AIDS threatens the nation and that studying the extent of the epidemic and publishing the information help marshal resources and target defenses against it. The other is the acknowledgment that prostitution cannot be eradicated and that it is necessary to work with those involved in an overt, nonjudgmental way to reduce the role of commercial sex in HIV transmission. With infection in China still limited mostly to injection-drug users, sex workers, and their sexual partners in rural border regions of Yunnan province, the next battleground of the pandemic will be the vast population of the Middle Kingdom. The wisdom 2500 years ago of Sun-tzu, the great Chinese military strategist, applies to the challenge presented by AIDS today:

If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles. If you know yourself but not the enemy, for every victory gained you will also suffer a defeat. If you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle.

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