

# GLOBAL LEADERSHIP VISIONS

OP-ED essays  
McDonnell Academy Scholars  
2008 – 2009



Washington University in St. Louis

# A COLLECTION OF OP-ED ESSAYS FROM McDONNELL ACADEMY SCHOLARS

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» A core mission of the McDonnell International Scholars Academy is to develop future global leaders. We pursue this by recruiting outstanding graduates of partner institutions from around the world for PhD or professional degree programs at Washington University. But it is more than academic talent that we seek. We also seek McDonnell Academy Scholars who have an interest in broader societal issues, and once they are here, we provide them with opportunities to develop their leadership skills. These opportunities include experiencing the cultural and political life of America, learning about other societies, and meeting major figures from business, government, academia, and the nonprofit sector.

## GLOBAL LEADERSHIP VISIONS SERIES

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In addition to fostering leaders at the individual level, the Academy seeks to create a leadership *network*. This requires bringing Academy Scholars together on a regular basis to participate in cultural and social events and to work in group settings. These activities lead to lifelong friendships, but they also produce deeper understanding of the perspectives of others, including those with whom one may disagree. Our hope is that Scholars' friendships and understandings will serve them well as they pursue their individual careers and participate in the Academy network in the decades ahead.

In an effort to create this network, as well as to develop leadership and communication skills, all McDonnell Scholars participate in special activities. These include the "Global Leadership Visions" series in their second year in the Academy. This involves Scholars' giving short public presentations on topics of their choosing. The topic might grow out of Scholars' own research, or it may have to do with an issue that concerns them more generally as global citizens. Each of their presentations is followed by questions from the audience made up of Scholars, Academy Ambassadors, members of the Advisory Committee and the Washington University and St. Louis community. The Scholars then follow up by writing the op-ed pieces that appear in this booklet.

These oral and written presentations showcase the considerable talent of the Scholars and prove to be good settings for honing their communication skills. The presentations also provide a forum

where some unexpected differences of opinion surfaces. As I listened to the presentations, I sometimes got the impression that members of the audience were surprised – if not shocked by what the Scholars said, but that is precisely the point. It challenged us all to move, at least for a few minutes, beyond our accepted wisdom. I hope it proved to be as fascinating and as much of a learning experience for Scholars as it was for myself and others.

We invite you to take a few minutes to read the following op-ed pieces that grew out of this process. You will find reflections on regional political issues, critiques of the U.S., calls to action for dealing with environmental problems, and a host of other fascinating thoughts. It will be interesting and inspiring for all of us to drop in again on these Scholars in a decade or two to see what they are saying and doing about the issues they raise here. Much of the world's future will depend on how they and their generation deal with them.

**James V. Wertsch, Director**

McDonnell International Scholars Academy

# POLITICS & ECONOMY



**A Simple Economic View on the Subprime Mortgage Crisis** Tsz-Nga (Russell) Wong

**The Entrepreneur Behind the Entrepreneurs** Qiang Li

**To Attack or Not to Attack, This is the Question** Moshe Barak

**The Chinese Paradox: High Corruption, High Growth** Xiaohao Yu

## A SIMPLE ECONOMIC VIEW ON THE SUBPRIME MORTGAGE CRISIS

Economic analysis is all about supply and demand. Subprime mortgages exist because someone prefers to pay for them and someone finds it profitable to sell them. After all, mortgage underwriters were willing to offer low interest rates, which dropped even further when housing prices rose and the opportunity seemed too good to pass up.

### Why were underwriters so willing to lend to the borrowers who are not able to afford the mortgage? They did so because they could transfer the default risk through securitization.

Securitization is an arrangement through which security holders can lend their funds to a pool of borrowers. Potential home buyers who have limited funds can borrow from mortgage underwriters as subprime borrowers. Subprime borrowers have less down-payment requirements and lower interest rates in the beginning, which can be extended or even cut if housing prices keep rising. Mortgage underwriters cash in immediately by reselling mortgages they hold to investment banks. Investment banks then pool many mortgage contracts together into securities and sell them to other institutional investors or the general public.

Thanks to securitization the holders of mortgage securities have little reason to worry about borrowers' defaulting on their mortgage. In fact, they do not even know who the borrowers are.

By pooling a sufficiently large number of mortgage contracts together, the holders of securities believed they had a sound idea of what sort of defaults were possible. They could do this because of the law of large numbers, which works for any kind of insurance. From this perspective, the overall net return on the securities is almost assured, and even if a particular mortgage goes into default, it would be possible to sell the collateralized house. With house prices going up, the security holder could even gain if borrowers default, and that is precisely why lenders are willing to refinance the borrower at a lower interest rate when house prices are on the upswing.

So what is wrong with this logic? It worked well as long as housing prices were rising, but even the most astute use of the law of large numbers fails to eliminate the risk that housing prices could go down. In particular, the law of the large number only works well for individual risk but not risk to the market as a whole. Think about auto insurance. A company like GEICO can accept the risk of individual drivers because individual car accidents are almost completely independent events. But this is less obviously the case when insuring against a bad harvest since droughts or tornados often affect all the fields in a region.

This latter case is the more appropriate analog to securitization as insurance against mortgage default. In other words, the risk of default is not totally covered.

The most common reason for borrowers to default on a mortgage is that they no longer can obtain affordable mortgage terms from the lender by refinancing when housing prices collapse. The price of my house is not independent of that of my neighbor's, and the result is that defaults can sweep through an area like tornado. If a house price goes down so much that the value of the collateralized house is less than the principal borrowed, which is known as being "underwater" or having a negative asset, the borrower may be forced to sell and even be forced to declare bankruptcy. The lender suffers loss as well since collateralized houses sell for less. To cover their loss, lenders are no longer willing to offer favorable terms to other solvent borrowers, or they may simply refuse to lend in general. And this causes housing prices to slump further, since there are more borrowers forced to sell their houses while fewer people can obtain mortgages to buy into the market. This vicious cycle results in a crisis. In short, the subprime mortgage market works only if housing prices increase forever.

This presents just the tip of the iceberg. There are many factors that have contributed to the economic crisis that emerged in 2008, including the failure of the rating agencies, predatory lending practices, and the failure of mortgage underwriters to recognize moral hazard.



All this is not to say that the scope of the crisis indicates the inevitable failure of capitalism. On the contrary, by studying the crisis we can recognize the potential flaws of capitalism and

help design more sophisticated regulatory policies. The capitalist system will survive and become stronger if—but only if—it can learn from its errors and evolve into something stronger.

→ **Tsz-Nga (Russell) Wong** is in the McDonnell International Scholars Academy and a PhD student in Economics in the Graduate School of Arts & Sciences at Washington University in St. Louis. He received his Bachelor of Social Science, Economics in 2005 and his Master of Philosophy, Economics degree in 2007 from the Chinese University of Hong Kong – Hong Kong.

## THE ENTREPRENEUR BEHIND THE ENTREPRENEURS

Venture Capital (VC) can be thought of as the entrepreneur behind entrepreneurs, and it has played a key role to the development of start-up businesses. In recent years, the VC industry in China has grown very fast along with the booming economy, and it will benefit a lot of small businesses as they create value and contribute to the economy.

Consider a typical story about VC and entrepreneurship. Alibaba, an e-commerce company in China that is the biggest business-to-business platform in the world, started in 1999 with \$80 million in venture capital from Softbank. Alibaba acquired Yahoo! China in 2005 and then went public in Hong Kong in 2007. At that time, with 36 million registered users, Alibaba made an Initial Public Offering (IPO) and received \$20 billion. Softbank made revenue of \$5.6 billion from its \$80 million investment, reaping a 70-fold return. This provides some insight into how important venture capital is in helping start-up businesses to succeed and how much return it can provide. Almost every successful company has venture capital behind it; Sequoia was behind Google, Benchmark behind eBay, and Accel behind Facebook.

**VC firms take into account business cycles and establish criteria to screen target industries and companies.**

They raise money from institutional and individual investors, invest in portfolio companies, and, hopefully, exit with high returns through IPOs, trade sales, and so forth. In the US, more than half of VC efforts focus on the information technology (IT) industry. Other favored industries are in the healthcare, retail, and service sectors.

In terms of the criteria that VC firms use to assess target companies, three factors are paramount: the strength of the leadership team, the business model, and the potential market. The core team in a target company should have expertise in its domain, especially technical strength and a rich knowledge of the market opportunity, and it is best if this team has a history of collaboration and success. The business model concerns how the business plans to make money. It does not have to be complicated, but it must be unique and show how the business can be profitable. And there must be a large enough market and the company has to have the potential to occupy a significant market share if venture capital is to have a chance of achieving a high return through an IPO or merger and acquisition efforts.

The venture capital industry in China is relatively new, but recently it has been growing fast. It traces its origins to the 1980s in Zhongguancun (Z-Park) in Beijing, which is called the Silicon Valley of China. Since then most VC activity has been in three cities: Beijing, Shanghai, and Shenzhen. In the strong economy of recent years, this industry has exploded. The number of deals made in 2008



is double that of 2001, and the amount of funds invested has increased about seven times during the same period. IT is still the most favored industry for VC firms, but their second biggest investment has been in traditional industries, where China has upgraded its output drastically and has fulfilled its big potential to create revenue.

There are several critical issues facing venture capital firms in China, two of which are paramount. First, raising funds is a concern. Unlike the US, where most capital is raised from institutional funds such as pensions, endowments, and so on, China has limited resources for VC. The second concern is exiting options. Normally VC firms help entrepreneurs go public or sell their stake when they wish to exit. Due to limitations in the Chinese stock market, however, many VC backed companies can only go public overseas, which is less feasible and involves higher transaction costs.

China has recognized these problems and made an effort to encourage the industry. The strong economy is the foundation for confidence, both for VC firms and entrepreneurs. Limitations in raising funds are being addressed gradually as people

understand VC better and are able to provide more capital seeking a high return. Increasingly, there are favorable policies that stimulate technology innovation and industry upgrades, so VC will find plenty of promising businesses with huge potential markets. In addition, the government has decided to start a new stock market similar to the NASDAQ. Decreased barriers in obtaining VC will definitely benefit many start-ups, allowing them to offer their stock in the stock market, and this will give VC firms a new exiting option, thereby solving liquidity problems.

In summary, venture capital is a major accelerator that allows new business to grow. It contributes greatly to technology innovation and economic growth. With the expectation of a continuing strong economy, China will become increasingly attractive for venture capital, and this industry will continue its trajectory toward a brilliant future.

→ **Qiang Li** was the Brown Shoe Company Corporate Fellow in the McDonnell International Scholars Academy, and received his MBA in 2008 from Olin Business School at Washington University in St. Louis. He received his Bachelor of Electronics and Bachelor of Economics in 2001 from Peking University – Beijing. He is currently a Financial Analyst at Brown Shoe Company in St. Louis, Missouri.

## TO ATTACK OR NOT TO ATTACK, THIS IS THE QUESTION!

Some people are saying, “Time is running out,” when it comes to Iran. If Israel wants to launch an attack against the Iranian nuclear program, it must do so before the first Iranian bomb becomes operational. Otherwise, nuclear fallout could risk all civilians near the manufacturing site.

The possibility that we will wake up one morning to the news that such an attack has happened is indeed frightening, and hence I wish to take a moment to reflect on it. What are the possible motives behind the Iranian nuclear program? What is the state of deterrence between Iran and Israel? And what is the level of rationality of the Iranian regime?

In my view, it is far from clear what Israel can do to deter Iran from launching a nuclear attack if it were to have nuclear weapons. Effective deterrence consists of the ability of one side to absorb a nuclear attack and respond with a proportionate counter attack. While Israel has a nuclear capability, its small geographical size makes its weapons quite vulnerable to a nuclear attack. However, this disadvantage could be offset if Israel had the appropriate capabilities to respond, primarily in the form of submarines that can launch nuclear missiles. To build such a capability, Israel would need the assistance of the western world in the form of funding and technology.

An additional factor in the deterrence equilibrium is the strategic alliance with powerful and assertive governments like the US. America’s presence in the Middle-East prevents offensive military

actions by various governments. Should Iran launch a nuclear attack against Israel, it would be exposed to retaliation from the US even if Israel did not survive the attack.

Of course an underlying assumption of the deterrence equilibrium is that decisions by the Iranian regime are rational. While it is hard to predict Iran’s actions, we can infer something from its history. The Iran-Iraq war is a good example of the compromises that Iran has been willing to make in order to end a war. An even better example, which sheds some light on the current Iranian regime’s logic, is the 2006 conflict between Israel and the Hezbollah. During this conflict, Israel destroyed some of Hezbollah’s most strategic assets (i.e., its long distance missiles). Although Iran continued its massive assistance to the Hezbollah during the conflict, it decided not to engage Israel directly. This pattern of behavior indicates that Iran is reluctant to escalate a conflict that could put its own territory and strategic assets at risk.

Given all this, one can ask why Iran is interested in developing its nuclear program. Is this for defensive or offensive purposes? Despite some of the extremely aggressive rhetoric Iran’s leaders use, I believe, they are not planning to use nuclear weapons against Israel. Instead, they seem to be convinced that their terror campaigns against Israel will lead them to their ultimate goal of eliminating Israel from the Middle-East.



The traumatic experience of the Iran-Iraq war, the presence of the US in Iraq, and the existence of Israeli nuclear weapons all have led them to take a defensive posture in developing their nuclear weapons program. Thus, the Iranian nuclear program, I believe, is not offensive in nature.

**My conclusion is that attacking Iran’s nuclear weapons program would be a strategic mistake. Since this program is defensive rather than offensive, the benefits of such an attack to Israel would be less than avoiding such an attack.**

To enhance its deterrence of a potential attack by Iran, Israel should obtain financial and technological assistance from its allies and build a submarine launched missile force. While subscribing to this deterrence equilibrium, Israel also needs to continue its effort against Iran’s active support of terror.

In order to do this, Israel also should keep the option of engaging in military conflict with Iran without escalating the conflict into a nuclear one.

The validity of my conclusion rests on some important assumptions. First, I am assuming that the knowledge of nuclear weapons or weapons themselves do not get into the hands of terrorist groups. Israel must insist that Iran and other Islamic nuclear powers are responsible for the consequences of nuclear weapons getting into terrorists’ hands and would have to react to any terrorist attack as if it were launched by Iran itself. In such a case, the deterrence equilibrium would still be valid. Second, I am assuming that the Islamic Iranian leadership is not irrational. I believe this to be the case, but if it is not at some point in the future, we are facing an entirely different scenario.

→ **Moshe Barak** was in the McDonnell International Scholars Academy, and received his MBA in 2008 from Olin Business School at Washington University in St. Louis. He received his Bachelor of Arts in Computer Science in 2007 from Technion ~ Israel Institute of Technology – Haifa, Israel. He is currently serving as Lean Six Sigma Consultant at BJC Healthcare in St. Louis, Missouri.

## A CHINESE PARADOX: HIGH CORRUPTION, HIGH GROWTH

“For the past several years, wealthy Chinese officials, businessmen, bookies and gangsters have been cutting a golden path to the casinos of Las Vegas, losing vast sums of money, much of it not theirs. Their exploits combine capitalist-style excesses of the rich and famous with post-Communist sleaze, and Vegas’s glitter with China’s ancient fascination with gaming, while reflecting China’s mind-boggling corruption and its record-breaking economic growth.”

At first glance, most readers would find it hard to believe that this passage from *The Washington Post* on March 26, 2002 is talking about mainland China. However, like other former socialist economies that have undergone massive transformation, China has experienced unprecedented levels of corruption. Yet this corruption, which has continued to grow, seems to have not hampered China’s economic strides over the past two decades at all. Annual growth rates of China’s economy have averaged 8 to 9 percent during this period, the highest in the world.

**If corruption can hinder economic development as asserted by most economists, how does China maintain its record economic growth in the face of massive, widespread corruption?**

Two main possibilities come to mind when trying to account for this paradox: a) the most destructive forms of corruption in China have not affected the economy at the national level, and b)

the most productive sectors of the economy have not been seriously affected.

Discussions of corruption at the national level often invoke either the kleptocracy model or the bilateral monopoly model. In the kleptocracy model, state officials expand their personal wealth at the expense of the population. This is common in many African states. In the bilateral monopoly model, the ruler and other state official share the spoils with a few private interests.

An example of the latter is the arrangement between Boris Yeltsin’s political cronies and the economic oligarchs during his presidency in Russia in the 1990s. In the end, Yeltsin himself came to depend on economic oligarchs for his electoral fortunes. This rendered his government vulnerable to the group’s demands for economic and political concessions.

In China, the top leadership at the national level has remained relatively clean and devoted to national development. The children of Deng Xiaoping, the man who instituted China’s reform program, and those of party leader Zhao Ziyang were tarnished in the first period of reform in China, and this was a main complaint of the Tiananmen protesters. But the leaders themselves remained clean and willing to ban family members from doing business, unlike the case for Yeltsin in Russia or Suharto in Indonesia.

The difference between the Chinese case and that of others may be attributed to Chinese Confucianism, communism, nationalism, or

some combination of these. Confucianism has long instilled an ethos of rule by moral mandate. The communist ethic has reinforced discipline, and unlike Russia, the top leadership has not depended on the exchange of official favors for political survival. At the same time, the country’s top communist leadership has been at its core a group of nationalists devoted to the nation’s modernization and revival.

A second major way to explain the seeming paradox of high corruption, high growth in China is that China has avoided serious corruption in its most productive sector – the non-state economy.

A competitive model characterizes the dominant patterns of Chinese corruption in non-state economy sector. In the competitive model, non-state enterprises only desire to acquire advantage over other rivals in economic terms rather than to grab political power. In addition, the predictable delivery of services by corrupt state officials ensures a stable, if less than optimal, business environment under this model of corruption. The Chinese word “Guanxi” (“personal connection”) not only represents respect for social relations but also for reciprocity. Reciprocity means that services are still performed after payoffs are offered or made.

Despite China’s high economic growth, corruption remains a top concern of the general public and government, but mainly because it has long been viewed as a cause of polarization of Chinese society.



A large portion of the Chinese population is comprised of farmers and State Owned Enterprise (SOE) workers whose incomes have not increased at the same speed

as the Chinese economy, and they have witnessed many episodes of corruption and enrichment of local officials and managers of SOEs. This is one of the most important reasons for the many episodes of local unrest during recent years.

With the development of Chinese society, the general public is longing for equity and justice more than ever. In this context, delivering on the economic development front is no longer a sufficient basis for the legitimacy of the Chinese government. This is the reason it is determined to fight against corruption even though China has been able to maintain such an impressive rate of economic growth. This is a battle China cannot afford to lose!

→ **Xiaohao Yu** was in the McDonnell International Scholars Academy and received his LLM in 2008 from the School of Law at Washington University in St. Louis. He received his Bachelor of Law in 2007 from Fudan University – Shanghai, China. He is currently pursuing his JD at the School of Law at Washington University in St. Louis.

# ART & ARCHITECTURE



New Trends in the Art Market: The International Art Fair in Asia Hye Young Kim

Chaotic Harmony: Chinese Contemporary Landmark Architecture Kun Cao

## NEW TRENDS IN THE ART MARKET: THE INTERNATIONAL ART FAIR IN ASIA

What is an international art fair? It's an open art market for domestic and international artists, art dealers, curators, collectors and the public. Today there are three especially famous international art fairs: Art Chicago in May, Art Basel in Switzerland in June, and FIAC in Paris in October. There are many such fairs in the US and Europe, but in Asia they are new, "hot" events. In 2008, these events in Asia were very successful, both in terms of attendance (250,000 visitors) and sales of \$150 million.

Why has Asia become an important new site for international arts fairs? The biggest reason is that the Asian art market has been growing so rapidly. The art auction market has grown from \$130 million in 2000 to \$2 billion in 2006 in China, and the Korea art auction market has increased from \$9 million in 2000 to \$180 million in 2006. According to the international art market research company, Art Price, the top sales at art auctions in 2007 were in the US, England, and France, in that order. In 2007 China moved into third place because the domestic demand was growing so rapidly and rising star artists were increasingly commanding sky-high prices. Cai QuoGang and Zhang Xiaogang are the most famous Chinese artists in China and in the world today. A set of 14 gunpowder drawings by Cai QuoGang sold at Christie's in Hong Kong in 2008 for \$9.5 million, setting an auction record for contemporary Chinese art. Also, at Sotheby's Hong Kong in 2009, Zhang Xiaogang's untitled figure painting was sold for \$5.5 million.

Asia's international art fairs have quickly succeeded in attracting the public's interest, which is amazing because this art market was not active and the very notion of an art fair was unfamiliar to the public until recently. Art fairs started to open the door of this market to a public that did not have easy access or enough information about it before. Many Asian countries have focused on developing their economies, and the public has started to think of their quality of life, and one result is that they value artwork for reasons of personal appreciation and financial investment.

### In this context international art fairs provide a good chance for the public to satisfy their interest and demands.

A wide range of items produced by artists ranging from young beginners to well-established masters are now available all in one place, and people can compare prices easily and openly without being intimidated by artists and art dealers. Exciting art festivals have also begun to spring up in Asia. These provide programs to entertain the public and to stimulate artists, programs such as special exhibitions to introduce domestic and foreign artists to audiences, guest country events to exchange art and culture with others, artist discovery initiatives to encourage young artists, academic programs for art majors, and forums and artist presentations to give the public a chance to meet artists.

South Korea, China, Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, India, and the United Arab Emirates are now exhibiting their own special trends. KIAF 2008 (the Korea International Art Fair) has come to be widely viewed as one of the most impressive art fair destinations. Two hundred eighteen leading galleries from 20 countries brought 6,000 artworks to the event. Ki Soo Kwon, a young Korean pop artist, and Ki Bong Lee, a well established Korean artist, attracted art collectors and the general public by combining traditional Asian paintings with contemporary art. In his works, Ki Soo Kwon criticizes media stereotypes that efface human individuality in contemporary society through using "Dongguri," a simple character from black ink drawings. Ki Bong Lee harnesses fog as an important motif that introduces an element of fantasy and transforms objects through an Oriental sensibility.

In Art Dubai, the first Art Fair of the Middle East, Roy Debanjan and Durriya Kazi received great attention for their critical political voices. Roy Debanjan has created a series of works featuring Gandhi as the "Father of the Nation," an icon of a free India, employing symbols of materialism, technical advancement, and spirituality. And Durriya Kazi presented "Witness," which consists of two life-size figures made of clay placed on the ground, as her response to the war in Iraq and Afghanistan and to victims of violence and conflict everywhere.



As they have undergone their rapid growth, international art fairs in Asia have evolved as a marketplace, but they have also served as a forum where people

interested in art can learn about it and how to purchase it. In particular, they have learned a few simple steps for any art buyer. These include, first, deciding on purpose and budget. Is the principal reason for buying an artwork appreciation or investment? How much can I afford to buy it? The next step is to collect information about artists and artwork. It is easy to go to the website of art fairs to find information and opinions about artists who might be of interest. The final step is to go to the fair and choose the artwork that catches your eye. The most important thing is to develop your eye to recognize good artwork for reasons of appreciation and investment and to believe in your choice from your mind and heart.

→ **Hye Young Kim** was an Etta Steinberg Fellow in the McDonnell International Scholars Academy, and received her Master of Fine Arts in 2008 from Sam Fox School of Design & Visual Arts at Washington University in St. Louis. She received her Bachelors of Fine Arts from Korea University – Seoul, Korea in 2007. She is currently an Artist Assistant for Lou Cabeen in Seattle, Washington.

## CHAOTIC HARMONY

### CHINESE CONTEMPORARY LANDMARK ARCHITECTURE

The current construction boom in contemporary architecture in Beijing represents one of the chaotic phenomena of today's China. Citizens remain proud of their 5000-year-old heritage, but they are also overwhelmed by materialistic luxury from the economic boom. This has given rise to a polarized situation. Some people want to transform their architecture drastically to keep pace with the economy, but others are fighting to connect history to the present in a way where traditions can evolve along with expanding technology. Theories of modern Chinese architecture have mainly grown out of this debate.

The National Center for Performing Arts is one of the latest landmarks of the city. It is located deep in the heart of Beijing. It is also one of the most controversial buildings in recent years, a product of the ongoing struggle between the voice of the new and that of the old. In fact several hundred famous architects signed a letter calling on authorities to rescind plans to build the structure before it got underway. This case provides a good illustration of the conflict of views in today's China.

As a key national project, this structure has been planned for 50 years, and its budget of 38.4 billion USD is more than enough for all primary education infrastructure construction needed in two or three western provinces in China. In addition to the construction budget, the cost of operating and maintaining the building is huge. The power required for air conditioning alone costs 14,000 USD per day. There was a huge debate over this massive budget, and the fatal collapse of

a terminal at Charles de Gaulle Airport in Paris built by the French architect for the project, Paul Andreu, introduced further difficulties. Above all, however, it was the location of the building, which stands on 5000 years of national pride, that caused the problems.

Andreu's National Center for Performing Arts has been dubbed as the "alien egg" and the "giant turd" by people in China. In fact, they often generate symbolic nicknames for famous landmark buildings: "bird's nest" for the National Olympic Stadium, "water cube" for the National Swimming Stadium, and "dragon" for the new Beijing airport. The "egg," however, is perhaps the most criticized structure because of people's tendency to resist any changes in the historical sites, especially in Tiananmen Square. "Egg" definitely does not sound as noble as "dragon," perhaps because it points to just the beginning of life.

As already noted, the most sensitive aspect of the National Center for Performing Arts is its location. Anyone who has ever been to Beijing is likely to have a strong impression of the Center as part of this historical city. After a very long history of imperialist government, Beijing strongly reflects the centralized system at whose center it is situated. And at the very center of Beijing is the Forbidden City, the Chinese imperial palace from the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) to the end of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912). Now the location of the Palace Museum, this location served for almost five centuries as the home of the Emperor and his household, as well as the ceremonial and political



center of Chinese government. At the south end of the Forbidden City is Tiananmen, a famous monument in Beijing. First built during the Ming Dynasty in 1420 as the front entrance to the Forbidden City, it is often referred to as a national symbol. Tiananmen is located along the northern edge of a massive square which also has great cultural significance, having been the site of several key events in Chinese history. Tiananmen Square is the largest urban square in the world. The site of the National Center for Performing Arts is immediately to the west of Tiananmen Square and Great Hall of the People, and near the Forbidden City. Hence one can imagine that any new building in this site would create considerable controversy.

From the outset, public opinion has largely argued that the Center is not in line with nearby buildings. However, I believe, one can find harmony along a dimension of time. Tiananmen Square was built in the Ming Dynasty, the Grand Hall of People was built 50 years ago, and now the National Center has emerged. They vary so greatly in time and functionality that we shouldn't simply pursue some imitation of form. As noted by professor Wu Huanjia from Tsinghua University, harmony is more than simplistic repetition in form or style; variety in unity is also another kind of harmony.

This reminds me the Buddhist pagodas which were inspired by a site far from China hundreds of years ago. They have now merged into being a part of this emperor city and have become part of Beijing's native culture.

For now, it's hard to reach a clear conclusion of the pros and cons of the building, and it might take time to be resolved in history. However, public debate is one form of the social contest of architecture, and understanding this is helpful and necessary for a positive evolution in urban development.

As the architect Andreu said, "I expect quite a number of people in China will say they don't like [the Center]. But a creation is bound to be something that disturbs. If it is just a reproduction, it is handicraft. My purpose is to do something original. I can only hope that it disturbs in a positive way . . . But after that, even all that, I have done a modern building, because I think the situation today in China is a modern situation. Your people do not look back, they have a history, they know about their history and are proud of it, but they live and look ahead."

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# SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY



## NEW TECHNOLOGIES IN THE SERVICE OF PUBLIC VOICE

We are in the midst of a great change.

Only those who are aware of it can be a part of it. I am referring to the rising power of individuals to influence their world – influencing governments that set the rules we obey and companies that build the products we rely upon in our day-to-day lives.

How do you influence these entities? It is clear that governments and companies are affected by complex and sometimes hidden forces. But one clear voice they are very attentive to is the voice of public opinion. I am sure that many will claim that this voice does not have the needed leverage to really force change. I am nevertheless sure that it is one of the strongest forces out there.

History and even recent events support my claim. Look how much influence the public voice against the Vietnam War had on the US government. Look how terrified the Iranian regime was in 2009 when facing a growing public voice against it. And we hear a lot about companies going the extra mile to measure and influence public opinion against them. Indeed, governments and companies know how powerful the public voice is.

Given all this, the question is: How do you become a part of that voice? Over the past century public opinion was largely controlled by the old media, namely TV, radio, and newspapers. These channels were, and still are, controlled and run by a small group of powerful people. Controlling these channels brings great power: power to broadcast

opinions to the masses, to influence the day's agenda, and to organize and coordinate events. As an outcome of this structure, "simple" men or women did not have real power to influence the content of these media channels. They were excluded from the discussion.

This chain of power is nevertheless changing. New technologies empower and allow individuals to sound their voices far and wide. Specifically, I am referring to the development and growth of the internet platform in recent years. Web sites like Facebook and Twitter, which were built to connect people around the world, now enable a better, more efficient way for people to raise their voices, to coordinate and organize. Building a web site to organize a movement is another option.

I am sure that most of you are aware or at least have heard about these technologies. But for those who are not that familiar with the internet, let me briefly outline these web sites and how they bring new opportunities to individuals to have their voice heard. Both Facebook and Twitter are web sites that allow anyone to connect with other people. By doing so, one can get updates about the people one decides to connect with. Whenever you write an update about your personal life or about anything else you want, all the people you are connected with get these updates.

This simple concept is actually a great thing. It allows people to engage in discussions with large groups of others in a very easy, low cost way. This simplicity did not exist before.



If for example, someone wants to organize a demonstration, he can now use his connections to spread information and very easily get the word out to a large number of people. This tool was widely used by the Iranian people demonstrating against the government in 2009. The demonstrations were often organized through these online web sites, bypassing the restrictions the government imposed on the more traditional media channels.

There are other ways to harness the internet to influence public opinion. Creating a web site for a certain cause is one of these ways. A recent well known example is the web site that served President Barack Obama's campaign for the US presidency. This web site presented many ways for people to participate in the campaign. It became a platform to organize volunteers and to get donations and it strengthened the public voice for Obama's campaign.

Those new tools and technologies are accessible to everyone. I am claiming that they present a new era in individuals' power to influence and voice their opinions. Public opinion and public voice can be much more easily expressed, and thus individuals can promote change more easily

than in earlier times. We already see the signs of this new era: large scale demonstrations against a powerful region such as the ones in Iran and China might have not been possible before. Large movements against big corporations are nowadays very common. Look behind the scene and many times you will see new technologies allowing the coordination and the spread of content.

**It is important to understand this change in order to be able to harvest its fruits. We all have more power these days to make a change.**

The key is to know how to participate in the new channels that are available. Will we see companies and government change more rapidly to meet public expectation as a result of this new world? I believe so. But we will have to let time judge as they adapt rapidly with countermeasures.

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# CULTURE & SOCIETY



**From Worship to Disillusionment:**

**The Changing Attitude of Chinese Youth Toward Western Media** Zijian Guo

**Journey to the West: The Pirated Version** Tobe Peng

**How Early is Early? The Starting Point of Early Childhood Care & Education** Ni Luh Putu Maitra Agastya

**The Sichuan Earthquake of 2008 and the Development of Social Work in China** Minchao Jin

**Smoke Free!** Ekrem Mehmet Morali

## FROM WORSHIP TO DISILLUSIONMENT: THE CHANGING ATTITUDE OF CHINESE YOUTH TOWARD WESTERN MEDIA

When China opened its doors to the world in the late 1970s, Western media was very much admired by Chinese young people and regarded as objective and unbiased. One of the major demands of the university students at Tiananmen Square in 1989 was freedom of the press. They called on the Chinese government to let the media play an oversight role in the political life of their society.

China's youth continued calling on government media for much of the next decade to learn from the West how to be more transparent and less rigid. However, this enthusiasm dropped off noticeably in 2008. In the wake of Western media coverage of unrest in Tibet that year, an anti-CNN website was established by a group of college students in China. This website has gained great popularity, and hundreds of thousands of people showed support for its views. Jokes emerged among College students about the need to "Be honest, not CNN." How could such a dramatic turnaround occur?

Consider the context in which this occurred in recent years.

Although censorship of the Internet and other media still exists, the Chinese people have made tremendous progress in their access to Western press. This has occurred in large part thanks to the Internet. CNN, BBC, and other major Western media are no longer taboo and all have set up offices in China. The source of anger among Chinese youth in 2008 was the seemingly deliberate distortion by Western media of the facts about unrest in Tibet.

In their view, media coverage was motivated by a desire to disrupt the Beijing Olympics.

As evidence for this, Chinese Internet users pointed out that the actions of the Nepalese police were incorrectly labeled as a crackdown conducted by the Chinese police. And they point to editing of photos that appeared to be aimed at covering up the provocative actions of rioters. To make things worse, insulting and racist, anti-Chinese language was used on a CNN program, a development that aroused even stronger feelings of confrontation.

The videos at issue have been uploaded to YouTube and can be viewed by everyone in China, resulting in disillusionment, anger, and even hatred. All this has given rise to the question: Why should the Western media resort to such despicable and mean tricks against the Chinese people? What was the intention behind this?

Another factor to take into consideration when considering recent developments is the growth of the economy. Their new economic power has made Chinese people demand more respect from the Western media. Though still undeveloped in many areas, China has every reason to be proud of what it has achieved in such a short time. With basic food, shelter and other needs now met, the Chinese people are aiming higher, and freedom of access to unbiased information is one among many new demands. Their improved economic status in the world has made people more confident to say "No" to those they see as trying to disgrace them. They are prepared to speak up and demand that they be treated fairly.



The emerging distrust of Western media among young people in China is something that cannot be ignored. In the short term, it will lead to a rising narrow-minded nationalism. This has already surfaced in demands for punishment or at least restrictions of those Western media spreading rumors. And some have even called for sanctions against items from unfriendly Western countries. If these issues are not addressed properly, they run the risk of costing a great deal, or even evolving into a crisis in the longer run. Unfortunately, the behavior of the Western media just plays into the hands of Chinese hardliners who try to stir up narrow nationalism and resist the process of further opening up.

How should we respond to this crisis? The answer is a process of gradual learning, which requires time, patience, and effective communication from both sides. It can be seen that the Chinese government has been willing to learn and become more sophisticated in handling foreign media after the Tibetan unrest. Instead of being barred, foreign journalists were invited on a tour of Xinjiang's capital after the unrest there in 2009.

The Chinese authorities are trying to understand and respect the freedoms of speech and the press, which is a universally accepted value in the Western world.

**For its part, the Western media must remember that the West and China are at different stages of development. It will take time for freedom of speech and the press to manifest itself, and this will require further development of social and economic foundations.**

More haste, less speed. Arrogance and sensationalist reports by the Western media will only elicit more ill feelings and criticism. Indeed, effective communication is based on trust and respect from both sides.

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## JOURNEY TO THE WEST: THE PIRATED VERSION

A monk, plus a monkey, a pig, and an ogre, went to India, recorded every leaf of the Buddhist scriptures there and brought all of them back to China. Someone hearing this might be tempted to ask, “Why weren’t the Indians furious over what this gang of four did to their intellectual treasure (especially, given that this was quite a weird cohort!)?” But, anyone as knowledgeable as you would probably dismiss this as ignorant or provocative.

In reality, a pilgrimage of this sort was carried out by Xuan Zang in the seventh century during the Tang Dynasty, and it was recounted in a famous Chinese novel in the seventeenth century. More importantly, it has become the most monumental bridge linking India and China over the past millennia, a nexus that fundamentally nurtured and reshaped Chinese culture. Thanks to our generous and good-tempered Indian friends – and to the absence of copyright laws at the time, this process of cultural sharing and transformation was possible.

People’s boiling point over this issue is lower nowadays. It is now impossible to find *One Hundred Years of Solitude* in mainland China’s bookstores because the author, Nobel laureate Gabriel García Márquez, heard about the millions of copies of unauthorized Chinese language copies of his book in 1988 and became so furious that he withheld publishing rights forever in my country. You can also find professors, touring bands, and film company representatives just back from

China with a keen sense of justice, berating China’s lack of respect for intellectual property. They have seen their textbooks copied, their CDs copied, and their high budget movie DVDs sold for under a dollar.

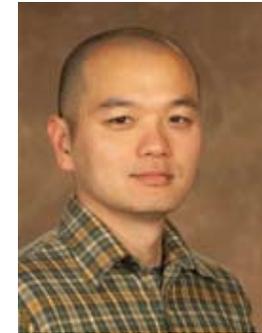
People who wish to defend their interests that have been infringed upon by such practices are out-and-out right. I don’t dispute that. But I do wish to question the notion that piracy is an unmitigated and incorrigible evil, especially when it comes to a highly authoritarian country like China. In this connection, consider, for example, that in 1999 Gao Xingjian, an exiled Chinese writer inspired by unauthorized translations of Beckett in the 1970s, won the Nobel Prize in literature. And in 2002, Yu Hua, a Chinese writer who was deeply inspired by pirated translations of Márquez in the 1980s, won the James Joyce Foundation Award. They belong to the generation of the 1950s and 1960s who were nourished by pirated literature and other texts in the humanities that were once banned. Without these resources, we would be still speaking and writing in the highly controlled style of Mao Zedong and would not even know what copyright means.

In 2006, Jia Zhangke, a Chinese filmmaker who had once performed as a singer for cheap art films circulated in the Beijing underground scene, won the Golden Lion award in Venice. He belongs to the 1970s generation.

Without the artistic nourishment provided by pirated art films that could never have been imported or distributed at the time in China, we would have been culturally cut off and would have suffocated in junk blockbusters or eulogies to the Party.

During those years the West shipped thousands of tons of CDs to be recycled as trash, and in order to ensure they could not be sold or played illegally, these CDs had a hole punched in them or a gash sawed through their edge before they entered the country. In fact, however, we became experts in playing the intact tracks of these CDs, and the result was that we became known as the “Hole Punch Generation.” Without access to these recordings, kids from my generation would have grown up never hearing a note of Stravinsky or Schoenberg, or of Miles Davis or Chuck Berry. Today, the latter two are among the first names in my life that I associated with St. Louis, which later became the destiny of my own journey to the West.

**For Chinese people, the journey to the West has always been hard. With ancestors penned in by the Great Wall and youth penned in by the Great Firewall, the only way to escape was to become a monk or a pirate.**



Thanks to the Party, we are living in a country with paramount harmony but no Wikipedia or YouTube. I guess today’s version of the gang of four who went on their

Western trek so many centuries ago would be an eMule, a BT, and Napster led by an illuminated young man. I’m not advocating piracy. I’m just relaying some facts about these recent generations in China. Copyright or copyleft, we always have to fight for a journey to the West.

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## HOW EARLY IS EARLY? THE STARTING POINT OF EARLY CHILDHOOD CARE AND EDUCATION

When I graduated from college, I worked as a kindergarten teacher in Jakarta for a few years. I learned more than I had expected from that experience and became an advocate of the “golden years” concept of how deeply human development is shaped by the first five years of life. As acceptance of the notion of “early childhood education” grows, I have noticed that policies and programs have focused more heavily on the pre-kindergarten experience. Is it true that policies and programs are most effective if they focus on the preschool period rather than even earlier in life?

Some answers can be found in research in the US on Head Start, a federally-funded preschool program for low-income families. A few years ago, studies indicated modest results from this program. Several factors lay behind the results, including the quality of the teachers, level of funding, and even the form of evaluation itself. What is of interest for me, however, is that the program has focused on the development of children who are already four or five years old. The program’s impact stems from providing a learning environment (both in school as well as in the family) that helps children in the years immediately before starting school. What this does not appreciate is that children’s development does not start when they are four years old; instead, it begins early in pregnancy and continues in the first years of life before children enter preschool.

In fact, a great deal of research supports the idea that infant development can affect an individual’s



life, and much of this indicates the crucial impact of factors on fetal development. Based on these findings, the Obama administration is concentrating on

funding for programs that start during pregnancy and continue through the first years of children’s lives. There is a new emphasis on making sure that mothers-to-be are healthy and knowledgeable and that even in infancy children are developing well and are hence more prepared to enter pre-kindergarten. This seems to be an important step in the evolution of policy, and I hope it foretells a more balanced picture of funding and interest for providing building blocks for children’s development.

Where is my homeland of Indonesia headed when it comes to these trends? Has the government accepted the importance of early childhood care and education leading up to pre-kindergarten? In the 1990s, programs such as the Integrated Service Post were developed. In this program, community based health centers provide vitamins and healthy food for pregnant and lactating mothers and their infants and toddlers. The program had a limited education component. Even before we have been able to conduct exhaustive scientific research, the program has been accepted as relatively successful.

For example, the program lent a hand to the high national immunization rate and sharp decline in child mortality.

Unfortunately, over the last few years the government has not displayed much interest in continuing these types of programs. In previous presidential campaigns in Indonesia, all the candidates seemed to be chanting the “free basic education for all” mantra without paying any attention to early childhood education.

The current government has just proposed its largest budget for education, and it mostly focuses on funding for the school system. In particular, over the past few years, government funding has been redirected towards achieving universal access to primary education. This is a part of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) championed by the United Nations. Declared nine years ago, eight goals (some of which are ending extreme poverty, achieving universal primary education, and gender equality) were set by UN members to be achieved by developing countries by 2015.

I take it as a given that policy makers everywhere have the best interest of children at heart, but I have seen programs work quite differently, depending on the directions they pursue to achieve that goal. Government leaders in Indonesia need to take a step back and consider the powerful influence of early childhood care on education and lifelong development. If they did so, they would give more attention to development in prenatal, infancy and early childhood periods. Knowing that prenatal care and support during

the very earliest years of life can have significant impact on shaping children’s future, funding and program organization should also start early, beginning with pregnancy, to make sure infants and toddlers are born and raised in a healthy way. Although legislations have been put in place to regulate kindergarten level education as a part of the formal education system, none have been enacted to integrate services between ministries to link early childhood education and care with the formal education system to develop a comprehensive policy. A more holistic approach in education is also needed.

**It is crucial that children from the very earliest stages of development are being prepared so that they are physically and emotionally ready to go to school.**

This must be done before focusing resources solely on the number of children in schools and jeopardizing the quality of human capital that will affect the future of the nation.

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## THE SICHUAN EARTHQUAKE OF 2008 AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL WORK IN CHINA

Many analysts take the Sichuan earthquake of 2008 as a turning point for the history of social work in China. The term “social work” came to be widely known after this natural disaster, and social workers came to be recognized and praised as a positive force for earthquake relief by the public. This still leaves several questions unanswered, however.

First, do volunteers count as social workers? Immediately after the earthquake, thousands of volunteers came to Sichuan and worked with professional social workers in non-profit organizations (NPOs). These volunteers often were a point of confusion for local people and were lumped together with social workers in the same category. We do not want to deny the importance of volunteers, but in the case of the Sichuan earthquake, their presence resulted in reducing the appreciation of social workers because they did not have the same professional skills.

In what sense are professional social workers really professional? To be sure, they engage in disaster prevention and intervention as in the cases of the Katrina hurricane and the tsunami in Asia, and they have always been at the forefront of providing professional skills in community rebuilding and mental health intervention. In the Sichuan earthquake, social workers did this, but at least in some cases, they did not do it well, resulting in confusion and even conflict over the appropriate treatment to be provided. For example, one refugee reported that a social worker told him

to feel free to cry and express his sorrow, while another told him not cry and keep his feelings to himself. Such cases aggravate the mistrust of social workers. In addition, a social worker friend told me that there was some discrimination against her and her colleagues from psychiatrists because social work was not yet recognized as a bona fide profession. So on the one hand, there is a bright future for social work in China, given the many problems emerging with the country's growth, problems that will require the intervention of professionals. On the other hand, a great deal of effort and recognition are still to come.

**Social work education has already started up in China. There are nearly 300 social work programs in the country, an increase of more than 200% since 2000.**

Among these programs, several can be found at the nation's most prestigious universities such as Peking University and Fudan University. The question is whether all these programs provide high quality education. Maybe not. For starters, many lack faculty members with a social work background, and this raises questions about how students are supposed to obtain good professional skills training.

What kind of social work does China need? Social work is an area of professional expertise based on Western assumptions about economic, political and cultural contexts. In an age of globalization, this expertise has been introduced into the Third World. It appears to work well in Africa because Western systems of market economy and privatization, along with their social structure, have been transplanted there and many African countries have moved toward Western models.

What about China? It is a country that has opened the door to the world and has a market economy. However, social structure has not undergone much change, especially in the inland provinces, where social workers are needed the most. The Chinese social system is built around families and connected by kin and geographic relationships. Family and hometown provide people with a security net, providing not only economic safety, but also emotional protection. Hence the tasks confronting social work may differ from those found elsewhere, and the profession may need to be adjusted to meet the needs of Chinese culture as it works with family and community.

The 2008 earthquake provides some good examples of what I have in mind. It turned out that the appropriate focus of rescue and assistance may not be the individual in isolation. Even with the loss of a family in such cases, Chinese individuals still had many connections with neighbors and other friends and may have preferred speaking with them rather than with social workers to find relief



from their plight. In such cases social workers may need to be more patient, and they may need to start with a careful assessment of the social status of clients and a respect for their

wishes. By following such procedures, social work and social workers may be accepted more readily by the public in China. In addition, social work education needs to be aware of culture differences, and they need to be reflected not only in textbooks but practical training of students.

As an applied social science social work in China has a good future, but in order for it to thrive it will need to make great efforts to adapt to its particular cultural setting. And conversely, good policy, along with the right media and public context needs to be created to help it grow.

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## SMOKE FREE!

In many countries, to say someone smokes “like a Turk” is a common way to describe a heavy smoker. Sun-cured Turkish tobacco is a component in nearly all cigarette brands – and is particularly identified with the Camel brand of R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., which for nearly 100 years has heavily advertised it as “a blend of choice Turkish and American tobaccos.” The signature camel image on the pack was meant to suggest exotic Turkishness, never mind the Egyptian pyramid in the background.

Within Turkey, the identification with smoking is just as strong: At 40 percent, it has one of the highest rates of smoking in the world. The government of Turkey, however, is out to change this.

### The resulting controversy over smoking in Turkey raises interesting questions about how to effectively bring about radical social change.

On July 19, a new nationwide smoking ban, with the slogan “smoke-free airspace”, went into effect. It prohibits smoking in all public indoor spaces, including public transportation, offices, shops, bars, and restaurants; it even limits smoking outdoors. Individuals violating the ban can be fined 69 Turkish liras (around \$45); owners of establishments that fail to enforce the ban can



be fined in a range of several hundred to several thousand dollars per instance. The government insists these are necessary measures, since more than 100,000

deaths a year are said to be smoking-related. The law will also bring Turkey more into line with laws currently in effect in the European Union (EU), which Turkey seeks to join. The rate of smoking in the EU is about 30 percent.

In few EU countries, however, is smoking such a part of the national fabric. In Turkey, tobacco is more than a national symbol, more than a national export, more than a habit. It is an integral part of a way of life. There are more than 150,000 small coffee and tea houses where men young and old congregate to chat, smoke, play backgammon, and sip coffee, tea, or the national alcoholic beverage, raki.

While the government enjoys a certain amount of public support for its smoking ban, it has also plainly offended many smokers. Examples are abundant. In the Turkish press, a 60 year-old man was quoted as saying, “I can give up anything else in my life, but not smoking.” For legions of retired and unemployed men, the ban in effect deprives them of one of their principal social pleasures.

In the first month after the ban, many of them stopped going to their now smoke-free cafes. More than 1,000 coffeehouses closed down as a result, claiming their customers refuse to spend their time there if that means getting up every 10 minutes to go outside for a cigarette.

The old advertising slogan, “I’d walk a mile for a Camel,” has developed a modern Turkish version: “I’d stay home for one.”

Café owners, some of whom have already gone bankrupt, protested in the streets of Ankara. Others tried to circumvent the law by, for example, removing the roof of a café – thus converting it to “outdoor space” – or running double hoses outside with a cigarette attached to the end. (Neither of these ruses worked.) Individual smokers have told the media they will continue smoking wherever they like, ban or no ban—a situation which puts the proprietors of businesses in a tough position: either become an anti-smoking cop against their own customers, or run the risk of paying a huge fine. This also can be dangerous. Just three weeks into the ban, a coffeehouse owner who tried to enforce the ban as directed was shot dead by one of his patrons.

The government remains intransigent, and recently hired 4,500 inspectors to enforce the law.

Meanwhile, grassroots protest threatens to take more political form. At a recent demonstration by coffeehouse owners, a banner read, “When cigarettes go out, the light bulb will follow.”

The light bulb is the symbol of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP). It’s much too early to know if such threats have any weight, but it’s worth noting in a country where 60 percent of men smoke, and where a smoking ban adds both psychological stress and economic woe to a people already suffering under the global economic downturn.

What can be done, then, to bring about a life-saving change in social habits without incurring major problems?

### It is clear that there is no way to satisfy both smokers and anti-smokers. Any solution should serve the public need for a healthier society, while not insulting smokers or putting people out of business.

A ban should be just one part of a continuing national war against smoking, with realistic goals and adequate, steady funding. Support programs for quitters should be expanded and heavily promoted. Educational programs for children and adults are needed nationwide. The economic consequences for small businesses in a country like Turkey should be anticipated and mitigated as part of the government’s plan.

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Much remains to be seen. Will the protests flare up into large-scale political opposition – or gradually die down into insignificance? Will the law result in reduced smoking rates and better health, or will smokers and businesses find ways around the ban, such as bribing inspectors?

One thing is for sure: Tobacco is not just a Turkish problem. Many countries have already enacted laws to ban smoking, and others are considering them. One country on the verge of enacting a ban comparable to Turkey's is Iraq, where, according to the World Health Organization, more than 41% of Iraqi men and almost seven percent of Iraqi women are smokers. It could be that in Iraq, before long, a smoking ban adds to the already acute stress of a war-shattered, economically devastated people.

If so, the Iraqis may be in an excellent position to judge whether it is wise, or even feasible, for a nation to quit smoking “cold turkey.”

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# McDonnell International Scholars Academy



Ankara	Middle East Technical University
Bangkok	Chulalongkorn University
Beijing	China Agricultural University
	Peking University
	Tsinghua University
Budapest	Budapest University of Technology and Economics
Campinas	State University of Campinas
Haifa	Technion-Israel Institute of Technology
Herzliya	Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya
Hong Kong	Chinese University of Hong Kong
	University of Hong Kong
Istanbul	Boğaziçi University
Jakarta	University of Indonesia
Mumbai	Indian Institute of Technology Bombay
	Tata Institute of Social Sciences
New Delhi	Jawaharlal Nehru University
Santiago	University of Chile
Seoul	Korea University
	Seoul National University
	Yonsei University
Shanghai	Fudan University
Singapore	National University of Singapore
Taipei	National Taiwan University
Tokyo	University of Tokyo
Utrecht	Utrecht University