



KALEIDOSCOPE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

FALL 2013 - VOLUME 5 - ISSUE 1



THE BOSTON COLLEGE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
& GLOBAL STUDIES JOURNAL



KALEIDOSCOPE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

Volume 5  Issue 1

Kaleidoscope International Journal, Boston College's undergraduate-run publication focusing on international affairs and cultures, intends to: serve as an unbiased medium for students to publish research and opinions on international affairs; share personal experiences in regards to the cultures of the globe with the Boston College community; and promote a global outlook at Boston College.

EDITORIAL STAFF

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Omeed Alerasool

MANAGING EDITOR

Madison Montgomery

SENIOR COPY EDITOR

Patrick Reynolds

SENIOR LAYOUT DESIGNER

Sacha Ramjit

COPY EDITORS

Sean Babar

Ray Bellis

Christine Donohue

Rebecca Gioioso

Garrett Lau

Willow Sommer

LAYOUT DESIGNERS

Mirabella Daguerre

Linda Yoonhye Kim

Yunqing Wang

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS

Omar Eloasily

Emily Liddy

ADVISORY BOARD

Nick Gozik, *Director of the Office of International Programs & Director of the McGillicuddy-Logue Center for Undergraduate Global Studies*

Timothy Karcz, *Assistant Director of the Center for Human Rights and International Justice*

Hiroshi Nakazato, *Professor of Political Science & Associate Director of International Studies*

Adrienne Nussbaum, *Director of the Office of International Students and Scholars*

Prasannan Parthasarathi, *Professor of History & Director of Graduate Studies*

Laura Rumbley, *Associate Director of the Center for International Higher Education*

SPECIAL THANKS

Mary Crane, *Thomas F. Rattigan Professor of English & Director of the Institute for the Liberal Arts*

Susan Dunn, *Administrative Assistant of the Center for Centers*

Monetta Edwards, *Program and Events Administrator of the Center for Centers*

Michelle Muccini, *Web Design and Communications Specialist of the Center for Centers*

Yasmin Nuñez, *Finance and Administration Manager of the Center for Centers*

This publication is funded by the Institute for the Liberal Arts (ILA).

Cover Photo: "26 Martyrs Memorial" by Mary Popeo

The information provided by our contributors is not independently verified by Kaleidoscope. The materials presented represent the personal opinions of individual authors and do not necessarily represent the views of Kaleidoscope or the Boston College community. Please direct any questions or comments to: kaleidoscope@bc.edu

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Welcome back to another volume of the Kaleidoscope International Journal! The Fall 2013 journal marks the fifth issue that I have had the pleasure to work on as Editor-in-Chief. This semester we welcome Madison Montgomery and Patrick Reynolds as our new Managing Editor and Senior Copy Editor, respectively, along with seven new members of our staff. I would specifically like to thank the new members of our Advisory Board for their valuable advice and support.

Featured in this issue is Mary Popeo's fascinating insight into the Christian community in the Japanese city of Nagasaki. Having spent time in Nagasaki pursuing her quest to understand Japan's Christian heritage, she took several great photos, including that on this issue's cover. Rounding off the culture section, Nicholas Volpe guides us through the failure of NFL Europe and the rise of the International Series, as he explains the past and present of American football in Europe and elsewhere. Ashley Dowd spent time in Argentina, exploring its dark history. In *Memorializing Argentine State Terrorism*, she explains how Argentina is promoting artistic and architectural expression as a means of remembering and understanding the period of military dictatorship known as the National Reorganization Process. The second article in the historical section recounts the various Soviet policies towards Central Asia and their residual effects on those societies and nations after the USSR collapsed. Our photo diaries this semester display three distinct and yet fantastic views from across the globe. Lastly, we end this issue with our current affairs section that focuses on the rising global power that is the People's Republic of China. Katherine Ross explains the extent of Chinese internet censorship in the context of a post-Tiananmen society. Afterwards, Sean Ahn debunks the myth of a Chinese real estate bubble ready to burst.

The entire Editorial Staff thanks you, our valued reader, for your continuing support. We hope you enjoy the Fall 2013 issue of the Kaleidoscope International Journal!

Omeed Alerasool
Editor-in-chief



TABLE OF CONTENTS

CULTURAL

Japan's Christian City Mary Popeo	9
The NFL's Strategy for Globalization Nicholas A. Volpe	14

HISTORICAL

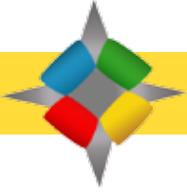
Memorializing Argentine State Terrorism Ashley Dowd	23
Soviet Legacy in Central Asia Chelsea Mickel	28

PHOTO DIARIES

Taiwan Angela Wang	35
Germany J.H. Daniel Lee	38
New Zealand Jessica Zuban	40

CURRENT AFFAIRS

The Great Firewall Katherine Ross	43
Chinese Real Estate “Bubble” Sean Ahn	48
Endnotes & References	52



JAPAN'S CHRISTIAN CITY:

EXPLORING NAGASAKI THROUGH PUBLIC HISTORY

BY MARY POPEO



Nagasaki's Christian community gathers for a procession to Urakami Cathedral on the anniversary of the atomic bombing.

“As the Japanese saying goes, ikari no Hiroshima, inori no Nagasaki: while Hiroshima rages, Nagasaki prays”

Nagasaki is a city largely overlooked by tourists and academics alike. A mere footnote in Lonely Planet's infallible Japanese travel guide, it is portrayed as the lesser of Japan's two bombed cities, unnecessary to see for those already visiting Hiroshima. Hiroshima and Nagasaki may share a similar bomb history, but as the Japanese saying goes, *ikari no Hiroshima, inori no Nagasaki*: while Hiroshima rages, Nagasaki prays. Unbeknownst to many, Nagasaki has one of the most unique historical traditions in Japan; a blend of Japanese culture and international imports, Nagasaki was the only point of entry for foreigners during the Tokugawa isolation. It served as an entrepôt for Jesuit missionaries in the 16th century and remains a center for Christian activity today. It is Nagasaki's distinctive history of diversity, suffering, and prayer that first piqued my curiosity last year and led me to visit.

Eager to assess the modern influence of

Nagasaki's Christian past, I set out to explore how the Christian legacy of the city manifests itself through public history. By spending a month in Nagasaki visiting museums, churches, and World War II commemorative sites, I hoped to discover whether Japanese people living in Nagasaki identified with this Christian history and cared to preserve or promote it. I began with the 26 Martyrs Museum, where director Fr. Renzo de Luca, S.J. generously offered me access to his museum, library, and staff.

My first week in Nagasaki went according to plan. I visited various museums with exhibits pertaining to Christian history, such as the Nagasaki National Museum and, of course, the 26 Martyrs Museum. To experience active parish life, I attended Mass at Urakami Cathedral and at Nakamachi Church. Additionally, I explored World War II-related sites, such as the Atomic Bomb Museum and its accompanying Peace Park. I visited Nyokodo, the one-room hermitage



True to their name, kakure Christian churches are often tucked away in remote, mountainous areas.

of Takashi Nagai, a survivor of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki, and heard speeches by bomb survivors at the Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims.

Spending time at these sites provided me with a greater historical background of this city. However, I became most interested in the opinions of those who accompanied me to these places. As I grew increasingly confident in my language skills, I made friends in the city who were happy to show me around. In my conversations with college students and with professors, I gained insight into the general population's relationship to Nagasaki's Christian history. With these dialogues as a new source of information, I realized it would have been difficult to gauge people's attitudes through public history alone.

Although I enjoyed these conversations at first and was grateful for the company, I soon learned I had a different conception of Japanese spirituality than my Japanese companions. Taking into consideration the unfathomable faith of the

kakure – or hidden – Christian martyrs and the unquestionable influence of Chinese Buddhism, I believed the Japanese to be reverent, balanced, and in touch with nature. Of the Christians in particular, I expected a small yet thriving community that was determined to preserve Christian traditions, was knowledgeable of theology, and was passionately committed to religious formation.

What I found instead was that the Japanese were fairly apathetic towards, not only Christianity, but organized religion in general. The consensus among my new friends seemed to be that religion was unimportant and that most people living in Nagasaki would not peg themselves as religious or pious. Even the Christians that I encountered took a fairly neutral stance as well. Through the Nagasaki Junshin Catholic University, I met a junior named Izumi Miyazaki. I soon began to spend time with her Catholic family. While the Miyazakis were incredibly welcoming and hospitable, many of their beliefs left me curious. For example, Mrs.

Miyazaki did not rebuke Izumi for skipping Mass, reasoning that Izumi's school and job commitments should come first. Additionally, Izumi deemed the differences between Catholics and Protestants unimportant, even discounting the contrast in Marian veneration. After I asked what religion meant to her, Izumi replied that she only turned to religion in times of suffering. Having expected a strictly devout Christian community, I wondered at the extent of Japan's secularization.

Puzzled by my discussions with Nagasaki-dwellers, I often talked with Fr. De Luca about Japanese spirituality. He reminded me that many Japanese have every reason to be suspicious of organized religion. During World War II, the Japanese government used Shinto emperor worship to exploit the people. Fighting in the name of divine emperor Hirohito, millions of Japanese died in battle. Ultimately, religious conviction ended only with the devastation of the atomic bombs and unconditional surrender at the hands of foreign powers.

However, Fr. De Luca also expressed regret over the condition of spiritual education in Japan. Unlike in the United States, Japan has few forums for introducing spirituality or for facilitating religious discussion. The primary education curriculum in Nagasaki teaches little about the 26 Martyrs or Christian persecution. Furthermore, most Japanese universities focus solely on preparation for the work force, leaving no room for religion classes. Because of this absence of spiritual conversation, Fr. De Luca found it difficult to convey the importance of preserving Christian history, especially in his campaign to declare the Nagasaki Church Group a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Searching for answers, I investigated the 26 Martyrs Library, soon exhausting its English volumes. Reading many works, mostly by foreign authors, I learned of Japan's high suicide rate and the disintegration of family life. I read that Japan's honorable *bushido* code had been replaced by materialism and opportunism. Authors argued that, while the Japanese were



Outside the 26 Martyrs Museum, this memorial honors Christians killed during Japan's period of Christian persecution.

polite, so too were they cold, mechanical, and disdainful of foreigners.

Yearning for a change in scenery, I went to dinner with a professor from the Nagasaki University of Foreign Studies. This professor, who soon became a close friend, suggested that I take a few days to visit Goto, an island chain off the coast of Nagasaki. He explained that the islands were home to countless *kakure* (Hidden Christian) churches. In a spontaneous leap of faith, I boarded the ferry to Goto only a few days later.

My experience in Goto was arguably the most formative part of my stay in Nagasaki. I gained insights into *kakure* history that astounded and amazed me. Through a strange twist of fate, I ended up staying in a convent with nine Japanese Catholic nuns. After hearing about my interest in Japanese Christianity, a Sister Tashita graciously offered to give me a tour of the churches of the island; we saw a total of sixteen in the span of two days.

With each church we visited, my appreciation for *kakure* history grew. As an American Christian, I have never felt marginalized or oppressed. Although I had heard of the Hidden Christians, I never grasped the reality of their suffering and devotion. One church had a museum containing *fumie*, or images of Mary or Jesus. During the time of the *kakure*, the government required suspected Christians to trample on a *fumie*, or else be killed. Those who complied lived in great anguish, believing themselves damned without access to priests or the sacraments. Also on display were the pearly *awabi* shells, that represented Mary for *kakure* who had no altars or statues to worship. These Christians had an intense devotion to Mary and picked only the most beautiful shells for her.

“While most Japanese do not belong to a particular faith, they all belong to the religion of ‘Japaneseness’”



Since it was dangerous for the kakure to keep statues of Mary, they used these awabi shells to represent her.

After my time in Goto, I returned to Nagasaki rejuvenated and armed with a new outlook. I realized that my personal experience with the Japanese contrasted many of the things I had previously read. Though a large portion of the people of Nagasaki may not define themselves as spiritual, I have never seen more evidence of God. Having come as an outsider, I was taken in by the Japanese in Nagasaki and cared for by complete strangers. What I found, person to person, was warmth, concern for others, and an individuality that none of my books had touched on. Although most of my Japanese friends were non-Christian, they were certainly men and women for others. One night, my Japanese roommate drove me an hour to visit two natural *onsen* – hot springs – and proceeded to pay for my ticket, my dinner, and several gifts. In another instance, a woman I met at the Nagasaki Junshin Catholic University worked tirelessly to find an English-speaking doctor when I got sick, emailing me every day to check in and make sure I was getting the care I

needed. If God is love, then I cannot doubt that I found Him in Nagasaki.

In my last week, I also came to value the Japanese people's religious tolerance, which I originally mistook for apathy. It is the practical habit of the Japanese to adopt only the pieces of religious traditions that benefit the collective. This results in a wonderful blend of traditions; Catholic families like the Miyazakis welcome Buddhist and Shinto festivals each year. At lunch with Izumi after my return from Goto, I asked what Catholicism meant to her. She replied that she was proud to be Catholic, and that leading a Catholic life made her a better person. At that moment, I realized that I had been asking the wrong questions. Striving to understand the amorphous Japanese psyche, I had disregarded the personal opinions of the individuals I met.

Although they may deny it, I have come to believe that the Japanese do have spirituality, one that is communal and abstract. Japanese author Ama Toshimaro calls it "natural religion." Unlike institutionalized religions, natural religion is experienced subconsciously through participation in rituals and culture. While most Japanese do not belong to a particular faith, they all belong to the religion of "Japaneseness," a blend of religious traditions that best serve the needs of the Japanese people. The principles of Japanese religion are not exotic: an understanding of our reliance on others and a willingness to put others above ourselves.

On August 9th, the anniversary of the atomic bombing, I attended several events, including an evening procession with the Catholic community. Torches in hand, we silently walked from the bomb hypocenter to Urakami Cathedral, a place of great importance for the Nagasaki Christians. When the ban on Christianity was finally lifted after centuries of persecution, the Hidden Christians marked their new freedom by building Urakami. At the time, it

was the largest Catholic church in East Asia and served as a beacon of hope for the future. Years later, it was completely destroyed by the atomic bomb, which killed two thirds of the Catholics in

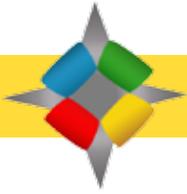


Illustrating the devastating blow dealt to Nagasaki's Christian population, these rosaries were warped by the heat of the atomic bomb.

the area. Sadly, today the *kakure* population is nearly extinct, dwindling each year.

Drawing upon Nagasaki's rich cultural history, American Christians could learn so much from this vulnerable yet especially legitimate community. Pope John Paul II said of Nagasaki, "In this holy place, people of all walks of life gave proof that love is stronger than death." Echoes of this proof can be found all throughout Nagasaki's history, from the *kakure*, to the bomb victims, to those working for peace today. A story of true, tested faith, Nagasaki's history has the potential to inspire people of all beliefs and creeds.

*Mary Popeo is an International Studies major,
Class of 2014*



THE NFL'S STRATEGY FOR GLOBALIZATION

BY NICHOLAS A. VOLPE



The New York Giants practice before their 2007 game at Wembley Stadium, which was the first NFL game played in Europe.

“It’s the most complicated team sport on the planet... If we can create an understanding, that will make a huge difference.”

The National Football League currently stands as the most popular and lucrative professional sports organization in America. During the 2011-2012 season, the NFL’s revenue grew by \$500 million, reaching an estimated \$9.5 billion. This number puts the NFL nearly two billion dollars ahead of its closest competitor, Major League Baseball.¹ Yet, those in charge of the league do not seem satisfied with domination over the American market. The National Football League’s worldwide presence is, overall, quite limited. NFL commissioner Roger Goodell and his team are making it a top priority to change this. They feel that so-called “American football” has the potential for further growth outside of the United States. Since 2007, the NFL has hosted one regular-season game in London each year as part of its International Series. Goodell sees this

as an effective means of furthering European interest in the sport as he attempts to increase the NFL’s popularity and marketability in the region. This represents a progression in the strategy of the league for internationalization after the failure of NFL Europe. In his own words, “Each year, the different barometers indicate that our popularity continues to rise... I think the next step will be multiple games [in Europe]. And if that is successful then I think the idea of a franchise here is realistic.”²

The NFL International Series does not represent the first foray of the league into international territory. From 1995 to 2007, NFL Europe attempted at globalizing the game, while serving as a developmental league for the NFL’s primary teams. At the time of its disbanding in 2007, the league consisted of six teams. Five

of them were based in Germany, and one was located in Amsterdam.³ The league was wrought with instability. During its time of operation, teams would frequently relocate or disband altogether. The failure of NFL Europe serves as an important case study in light of the current goals of the league for expansion. Questions of how and why the past project was so unsuccessful are vital in determining future success for American football abroad. The league was undoubtedly a financial failure. By its final year of operation, NFL Europe was losing somewhere in the neighborhood of \$30 million a season.⁴ Even in Germany, where the league was by far the most popular, games received little television exposure. Actual attendance was also mediocre at best. Attendance figures rarely exceeded 20,000 spectators.⁵ While the people that went reportedly seemed to enjoy the more relaxed “party” atmosphere of the games, relative to soccer, there still was not a large enough fan base to support the league.

Several factors contribute to the lack of support for NFL Europe. On the surface, the core idea of the league seemed to destine it for failure. The purpose of NFL Europe was to serve as a developmental league. Bringing this type of organization to a region without a history of the actual sport being played seems quite puzzling. Developmental leagues for other American professional sports struggle even within our own borders. Most people would be hard-pressed to name even one NBA D-League team. The case of Minor League Baseball is very much the same. The stadium of the local minor league team in my region, the New Britain Rock Cats, was a frequent site for elementary school birthday party outings. Other than that, there

was never much of a fan base. It is hard to rally behind a team of less-than stellar players, even in a sport that you know and love. Therefore, it is no surprise that there was not a huge amount of support for NFL Europe.

Another essential difference lies in the fact that the NBA and MLB developmental leagues are actually necessary. Since playing baseball in college prior to joining a professional team is infrequent, a developmental league is valuable for the MLB – contrary to football, where virtually all professional players have successful college careers before being drafted by the NFL. In the case of the NBA, teams maintain small rosters of only 13 active players, so having an affiliate team adds depth. NFL teams, however, are already allowed incredibly deep rosters of 53 players, as well as additional

practice squad players.⁶ The farm system aspect of NFL Europe never really panned out. The league hardly produced any notable players. The biggest names to come out of NFL Europe were quarterbacks Kurt Warner and Jake Delhomme, but those are only two noteworthy players to emerge in more than a decade. Therefore, it is no surprise that the NFL was willing to pull the plug on the league. The owners were pouring money into the organization and seeing little to no results.

NFL Europe was largely an exercise in experimentation for the National Football League. In fact, the attitudes of the league toward the project seem to represent this fact. NFL Europe was essentially treated as a testing ground. For example, “when the NFL’s powerful competition committee wanted to sample a potential rule change, to see how it affected the game in application instead of theory, it could

“NFL commissioner Roger Goodell and his team are making it a top priority to change this. They feel that so-called ‘American football’ has the potential for further growth outside of the United States”

tinker with those changes by enacting them in NFL Europa first.”⁷ This was often praised as one of the positive aspects of the league. While it was beneficial in some ways, it also sent the wrong message. In order to get another country (let alone an entire continent) interested in a sport that is utterly foreign to them, it makes much more sense to introduce them to competition at the highest level. By using NFL Europe in order to test out possible rule changes for the “real” NFL, the league was essentially acknowledging the inferiority of the overseas organization. Add this to the fact that the league was comprised of the players that were not seen as possible contributors to the American teams, and one starts to understand why NFL Europe was not a permanent solution to the NFL’s attempts at globalization.

The market for actual NFL games abroad was first tested in 2005, when the league held its first regular season game outside of the U.S. in Mexico City. The game was a huge success, drawing the largest crowd an NFL game had ever seen. A total of 103,467 were in attendance at this international event.⁸ The annual games in London represented the next step, and they have since been surprisingly successful. The games have averaged an attendance of over 80,000 spectators at London’s Wembley Stadium. These numbers are significant, as the average attendance at an NFL game in the U.S. is about 66,000.⁹ Television numbers in Europe have also increased tremendously since the NFL began hosting games at Wembley. Super Bowl ratings have increased 74% since 2006, and viewership of Sunday games has risen 154% over the same period.¹⁰ The NFL plans to ride this success and further their growth by hosting multiple games in London. Starting with the 2013 season, two regular season games will be played in Europe each year. The Jacksonville Jaguars are scheduled to play one home game at Wembley for the next



NFL Europa Logo

four seasons, perhaps in an effort to position them for relocation to London.

The overall success of the International Series is yet to be seen. Up to this point, everything seems to be going well. The outcome of the multiple-games-per-season strategy will likely be the determining factor. In the words of Lou Imbriano, who served as the New England Patriots’ Chief Marketing Officer, as well as Chief Operating Officer of the New England Revolution, “One game is easy...everyone can stop for that one time of year. In the next year or two you’ll see them playing two games. That will really be the test.”¹¹ If the NFL is able to sell a substantial number of tickets to both of the Wembley games over the next few seasons, then the option of having a franchise in London will more than likely be pursued. According to Chris Parsons, the Vice President of International Business for the NFL, the current fan base in London would have to be doubled before considering having a team based in the city.¹²

It is possible that the international growth of the NFL will be limited, however. The process of introducing a sport to a region where there is no substantial history or culture

of playing the game is difficult no matter what. In the case of American football, things are particularly problematic. Football is one of the most rules-based, strategic sports in the world. There are literally thousands of rules in the NFL, the majority of which most American fans would be unable to name. Each team plays a different style of both offense and defense based on its roster and coaching staff. The outcomes of games are heavily based on play calling, which again, varies dramatically between teams. A greater understanding of the game absolutely needs to be brought to Europe if the NFL wants to become a fixture in the region.

During the first International Series game held in London, the NFL committed a portion of the the game to educating fans on the sport. Segments shown during TV timeouts explained some of the finer points and rules of the game.¹³ It is interesting that the NFL went about educating the fans in this fashion. It seems almost as if it were an afterthought. An understanding of the game, even if only basic, should logically come before one actually purchases tickets and gets to the stadium. Few people want to watch a sporting matchup they cannot understand or with which they cannot identify. In between the 2007 and 2008 International Series games, it seems as though the NFL realized how much it might benefit them if Europeans clearly understood what was going on. Their solution was an online-based, interactive seminar called Coach Stilo.¹⁴ This activity can still be found on the NFL's website today, but it is far from perfect. It makes a large effort to be comical, to the point that one cannot help but think that it is overdone. It involves Coach Stilo belittling the "rookie" (the viewer) by whipping the ball at him as he walks into his office, and just talking down to him in general. It also inexplicably starts with an activity in kicking a field goal. There is no preface to this at all, leaving the viewer unsure

of why they are kicking an object through two yellow posts. It is clear that this was chosen as a starting point because many European fans are said to identify with the kicking and punting aspects of the game due to their familiarity with rugby and soccer.

Many advocate a more grassroots approach for the spread of American football abroad. Such a method would increase both the popularity and understanding of the game in many ways. Jack Bechta of the National Football Post says that most of the European NFL fans that he has met while attending the International Series games became fans in one of three ways. They picked up the game either by attending college in America, living or working in the United States, or by watching the NFL on European television with American friends. NFL Europe served to increase exposure to a degree, but according to Bechta, "several fans told me they would go just to see the cheerleaders, do the wave and watch the kicks."¹⁵

Bechta's findings match up with my experiences studying abroad at Venice International University. The only foreign classmate I found who was an NFL fan picked up the game during the time he spent living in New Jersey. He then brought his passion for the game home with him when he moved back to Japan and played for his private high school's American football team. He continues to follow the New York Jets, and purchases the NFL's Gamepass so that he can tune in to the online game streams every Sunday. The NFL should embrace and help foster such occurrences. Bechta proposes that the NFL make an effort to educate international students living in the U.S. by selling books on the basics of football in college bookstores, and developing (hopefully more straightforward) instructional webpages on their website.¹⁶ This strategy seems as though it would be successful. Since American football is so engrained in our

society, having people experience it first in the United States would make them more likely to enjoy it and sustain their enthusiasm and interest when they return home.

It is remarkable how many aspects of American culture are associated with the sport of football. It is deeply rooted in the Thanksgiving tradition, as millions of families tune in to watch the games following dinner. Sundays in America have become a day more focused on the NFL than on any sort of religious observance. Kevin Quirk, in his discussion of "Sports Glut USA," points out the saturation of American culture with sports. Much of his discussion is centered on the growth of the NFL and its commercial marketability. The emergence of ESPN eventually led to an explosion of sports programming, and in turn NFL ratings soared. This caused the Super Bowl to become "more of a national holiday than a mere football game." Then, Monday Night Football eventually came into the mix and proved that sports could occupy primetime television. Now, "the tardy rates at work and school on Tuesday morning stand among many enduring symbols of this entrenched ritual."¹⁷ The diction Quirk uses is telling. Football truly is imbedded within American society and culture. Videos such as "Terry Tate Office Linebacker" and ESPN's "This is SportsCenter" commercials demonstrate the deep connection between American football and society. The line between celebrity and NFL star is also increasingly blurred. Players such as Chad "Ochocinco" Johnson and Terrell Owens are as famous for their off-field antics and reality TV-show stunts as they are for their playing abilities. Therefore, the NFL represents much more than just a sporting organization.

Replicating such a cultural crossover

"The furthering of the grassroots expansion of the NFL would aid in the effort to engrain the sport in European culture"

between the sport and society in general is certainly difficult to accomplish overseas. This is why the NFL would benefit by converting foreigners visiting the U.S. into devout football fans. Still, steps can be taken toward developing a support system for American football overseas. A stronger presence of ESPN programming in Europe would be beneficial. A channel called "ESPN America" airs in the U.K. and its lineup includes American football highlights. Further expanding the availability of this station within Britain, as well as the rest of Europe, would help saturate the television market with American football. One of the common European criticisms of the sport is that it is too slow-paced and involves too much inactivity and stoppage time. Showing more highlight reels and top plays would help to condense the material and get Europeans focused on the most exciting aspects of the game, all while increasing exposure.

The furthering of the grassroots expansion of the NFL would aid in the effort to engrain the sport in European culture as well. Currently, the NFL puts on clinics for about 100,000 children around the world each year in order to teach them the sport of American football.¹⁸ If this number were increased, perhaps it would lead to the development of interest in European youth leagues. As it stands, European schoolchildren choose soccer across the board as the sport to play in their leisure time. If interest in American football can be fostered among the European youth, then this might be an effective means of disseminating the sport throughout the continent. NFL Commissioner Roger Goodell recognizes the importance of this, saying, "That is one of our challenges, how do we promote a sport that is not played by the youth in each of

those markets? But I think that is where media and bringing our game to those markets meets those challenges.”¹⁹ One of the biggest issues with the development of American football in the European market is that there is no real system for players to partake in the sport. There is no set path that a kid interested in the sport can follow from youth leagues, to junior high, all the way through high school and college. The creation of such a system in the area, while difficult, would be instrumental in the sport taking hold. The only way to start the process is to continue getting people interested from the ground up, preferably by focusing on the youth.

One country where American football is surprisingly taking hold is India. The Elite Football League of India represents one of these grassroots efforts to introduce a system of American football abroad. While not funded by the NFL directly, the league has managed to raise \$8.5 million, and continues to expand. Investors include former NFL players who believe that there is much potential for the game to take hold in the region. The case in India echoes the expansion of the NFL into Europe. The biggest challenge has been getting people to understand the sport. Many of those interested in the league, similarly, picked up their interest from time spent in the United States. Take the case of Amit Paranjape, who studied in Wisconsin and then lived in Dallas for twelve years. Paranjape is a huge fan of both the Packers and the Cowboys, but when he tuned into the Elite Football League’s games on television, he was sorely disappointed at the low level of competition. While the league certainly will not serve as a replacement for the NFL, what it does do is create a system where people can cultivate their interest in American football. People love the game so much, in fact, that numerous players took a pay cut, leaving desirable day jobs in order to play for the league. Indian sports columnist Venkat Ananth wants

the NFL to undertake efforts in India similar to the European International Series. “You can’t impose a sport on the Indian audience. You have to build it up. Bring your stars here, play one of those games like they do in England. Otherwise, there is no point.”²⁰

A system of progression for developing players is particularly important for American football relative to other major sports. This is because of the equipment barrier. Football equipment is both extremely expensive and difficult to find. One can barely find a ball outside of the United States, let alone shoulder pads, helmets, girdles and cleats. Football is not a sport that you can just casually decide to get up and play. Pickup games exist, but they are severely bastardized versions of the sport. Since American football requires separate squads for offense and defense, and specific playing techniques depending on position, there is no such thing as a meaningful pickup game. A soccer game between friends with just a ball and two makeshift goals is much closer to the real sport than a two-hand touch football game with one lineman on each team and blitz counts of “five Mississippi”. Even serious American football players in the U.S. usually do not own their own equipment, so athletes are dependent on a league or team to provide pads and helmets. The development of additional clinics, camps, school teams, and leagues abroad would hopefully help to overcome this equipment barrier.

Due to the equipment barrier and the strict rules that regulate American football, the game cannot be adapted significantly to meet the needs of players in some regions. Technique can be modified to a certain degree. Different plays can be developed, players can choose whether to use a power or finesse style, but everything must work within a certain framework. For this reason, American football cannot experience a true process of “tropicalization” like soccer.

Soccer in South America was played “by the poor who enriched it while they appropriated it... this foreign sport became Brazilian, fertilized by the creative energies of the people discovering it.”²¹ With its more open field and continuous style of play, soccer allows for greater variation in style than American football. It would prove interesting to see how certain techniques can be modified to meet the strengths of European players, while still fitting within the structured set of regulations that American football maintains. Perhaps special teams can play a larger role, with rugby and soccer players contributing their kicking and punting skills. Since rugby is similar to American football in many ways, these players could also bring new ideas and strategies for running and passing the ball. Although it seems that overall the game would remain the same since there are such strict playing guidelines.

Interestingly enough, rugby could be quite influential in terms of safety. While American football has a reputation for being violent, it is not too far off from rugby, which is also an extremely rough sport. Rugby has far fewer serious injuries, however. An important factor in this is that rugby players wear substantially less protective equipment. While it seems counterintuitive, the use of helmets and pads can actually add to the risk of injury. Essentially, the equipment becomes a sort of weapon. Matters of player safety, at this point, are a primarily domestic issue for the NFL rather than an international one. As more and more research is done on brain trauma associated with the sport of American football, changes may need to be implemented in the game. Whatever these changes may be, they will be implemented



Members of the Mumbai Gladiators team complete an off-season workout in preparation for the Elite Football League of India season.

abroad as well. Perhaps international factors can be part of the solution in terms of player safety. If the crossover between rugby and American football increases, then there may be an innovative middle ground in terms of protective gear. Players could wear enough equipment to feel protected in the short run (as opposed to the bareness of rugby), without having to be subjected to the lifelong consequences that can result from the excessive amount of equipment currently used in the NFL.

A huge portion of the American population grows up in a culture of football. I personally was brought up with elements of the game surrounding me on many levels. My friends and I played the EA Sports Madden videogames each year, we watched NFL highlight reels on SportsCenter before school, and we participated in youth league football. All of these things helped foster an appreciation for, and an understanding of, the game of American football. While it is unrealistic to expect similar cases to start popping up in Europe right away, a movement geared toward expanding the

sport with a grassroots approach would likely be effective. Developing a system for European players to get involved would also be vitally important if the NFL wants to become a fixture in the region. Europeans are currently extremely underrepresented in the NFL, and even when NFL Europe existed, there were a limited number of players from European countries. Fan interest in a sport is definitely limited if people cannot relate to the games that are being played. There are strong ties between sport and nationalism, so Europeans have to feel actively engaged in the sport of football, rather than being force-fed an American game.

The general consensus within the NFL is that Europe is the next frontier. The owners and top decision makers feel as though they are close to tapping out the American market, which the NFL clearly dominates. In the eyes of the league, there is going to be a time when expansion to Europe is necessary if they want to continue growth. It is more a question of how to go about conducting the expansion, than if it should be carried out at all. The failed case of NFL Europe helped to increase European exposure to the sport, even if only marginally. The new strategy of playing regular NFL games abroad represents a positive progression, and sends a better message to European audiences. In many ways, the NFL's current strategy for globalization seems more promising. The hosting of regular NFL games overseas allows foreign populations to experience the most intensely competitive American football. Even if the European fans do not understand all the intricacies of American football, it is quite easy to distinguish between amateur and professional levels of competition. It would then stand to reason that hosting the best gridiron matchups possible abroad would lead to more interest and success than the

watered down NFL Europe games produced.

The simple fact is that if the NFL has an opportunity to make money abroad, it will pursue it in order to pursue greater profits. The commercialization of modern professional sport means that the NFL will do whatever is necessary to continue increasing its profits. The success that they have seen in the international market thus far indicates that they can be profitable outside of the U.S. If their strategy of playing two international games per year is successful, then the NFL is making it quite clear that they are seriously considering bringing a franchise to London. However, whether this will be the best strategy is unclear. The logistics of the situation would be difficult: scheduling games, arranging flights, and luring free agents to an international team would all prove challenging.

“The general consensus within the NFL is that Europe is the next frontier.”

To be successful, the NFL is going to need an exceptionally inclusionary approach toward globalization. Games that are not so heavily regulated by rules like soccer and basketball are undoubtedly easier to transplant across nations. However, that is not to say that American football cannot be successful abroad. The NFL has to tread carefully, taking one step at a time. Doing so will ensure that they do not get ahead of themselves and set themselves up for failure again, as was the case with NFL Europe. In the words of Senior Vice President of Sales, Marketing, and International Affairs Mark Waller, “It’s the most complicated team sport on the planet... If we can create an understanding, that will make a huge difference.”

Nicholas A. Volpe is an International Studies and English double major, Class of 2014



MEMORIALIZING ARGENTINE STATE TERRORISM

BY ASHLEY DOWD



Memorial tile marking a former detention center

“It is not as important how the sites are commemorated, but simply that they are commemorated, and done so without government interference.”

Despite the important legal findings that held the Argentine military responsible for gross violations of human rights, subsequent presidential amnesties weakened the discussion of military accountability. This has only contributed to the silence and impunity surrounding the National Reorganization Process military dictatorship in Argentina, which was in power from 1976 to 1983. Recent efforts to prevent repetition of the past include the construction of monuments, memorial spaces, and murals. During the military dictatorship, the government was responsible for gross violations of human rights that claimed the lives of over 20,000 Argentinians, many of whom were tortured and murdered. *Los Desaparecidos* (“the disappeared”) was the name given to the numerous individuals—notably social workers, professors, students, and political activists—who were secretly kidnapped, detained, tortured, and often killed during the Process. The

effort to honor and preserve the memory of the individuals and families affected by those events has advanced the post-conflict commitment of *Nunca Más* (“never again”).

This article explores the effort in Argentina to memorialize the past through the use of art, particularly sculptures, murals, and memory spaces. I interviewed four individuals who worked at clandestine centers that have since been converted into learning and memorial sites. Most of these individuals were historians or workers previously in the realm of human rights advocacy. In order to gain a local perspective of the memorialization process and its difficulties, I also interviewed a dozen psychology students at the Universidad de Buenos Aires and individuals whose family members disappeared during the internal turmoil of the period.

Internationally, this period of violence and oppression is often referred to as the Dirty War, but state terrorism is a more accurate term.

Referring to the Process as a Dirty War has led to the *Teoría de los dos Demonios* (“Theory of the Two Demons”) that morally equates the violence of a small group of subversives, the *Montoneros*, with the illegal and inhumane actions carried out by the government against society as a whole. According to Ivan, a tour guide at the *Parque de Memoria* (Memory Park), “the government was responsible for killing its own people, and citizens were forced to rise up and defend themselves.”¹ While groups of vigilantes existed and fought the military, the majority of the *desaparecidos* were non-violent social workers, professors, and students. “This was not a war. This was not a civil war. In a war you at least are able to bury your dead. You are at least told that someone *died*,” explained Roberto Ungaro, nephew of Horacio Ungaro, a *desaparecido* of *Noche de los Lapices* (“the Night of the Pencils”).² For many families who suffered the loss of loved ones during the dictatorship, there is no closure. Bodies are still missing and, while most are presumed dead, the families will never know how they died or who is responsible.

A large monument in the park’s center hosts the names of the victims. It is composed of four stone walls in the shape of a jagged cut, symbolizing the wound that was created by the violence of the military regime. To date, there are over 9,000 names on the wall in alphabetical and chronological order beginning in 1969 and ending in 1983. The list begins prior to 1976—the official starting year of the deadly National Reorganization Process—because of the violent policies under then-President María Estela Martínez. There is still a list of over a hundred names to be added to the walls as funds are granted for expansion. Memory Park is the first memorial in the country dedicated to the *desaparecidos* and all the other victims of state terrorism. The artists whose works are displayed

in the park give recognition to the victims and their families who have suffered. These artists are helping to slowly uncover the past and piece together a shattered society.



Aizenberg’s sculpture, *Sin Título*

Roberto Aizenberg, a prominent Argentinian artist, designed a sculpture known as the *Sin Título* (“Unnamed”), located in the park, commemorating victims of the military regime. After his death, a sketch of three human figures was found among his possessions. The shapes of the bodies are simple outlines, but their identities could be interpreted as his children that disappeared during the period of state terrorism. The ambiguity of the figures allows for a universal representation of any *desaparecido*. The Rio de Plata River can be seen through the figures, a haunting composition that portrays the figures as translucent bodies that

are now at one with the sea, their permanent resting place. While the bodies appear empty, the souls still remain. The essence of a person as well as his or her ideals are captured in the solid heads of three figures.³ With the help of this composition, the memory of those lost will remain long after their deaths. In reality, there is no way of knowing exactly what Aizenberg intended. *Sin Título* allows visitors the chance to explore their own interpretations and give character to the three figures whose identities have been forcibly taken from them.

Nicholas Guagnini designed *30,000*, a monument of twenty-five rectangular prisms vertically arranged on a grid to form a cube. The prisms contain a painting of a photograph from the 1970s. The subject of the photograph is Guagnini's father, who disappeared along with the artist's uncles during the state terrorism.⁴ At the time, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo carried black and white photos in demonstrations calling for the return of their loved ones. Guagnini's grandmother adopted this practice and carried the photo of her missing son for years. In order to clearly see the face, one must stand at a specific angle. Even a slight movement from this spot can distort the image until it disappears entirely into the river landscape.

A belief exists that former clandestine centers should be used to remember and respect all the *desaparecidos*. Formal recognition of memorial space throughout Argentina is the first step in an effort to move forward. The documentation of testimonies, however, is of equal importance. Buildings will not last forever, it is the memory that endures. Maria, a former professor and tour guide at the Olimpo clandestine center, recalled the instance she understood the importance of sharing Argentina's cruel past.

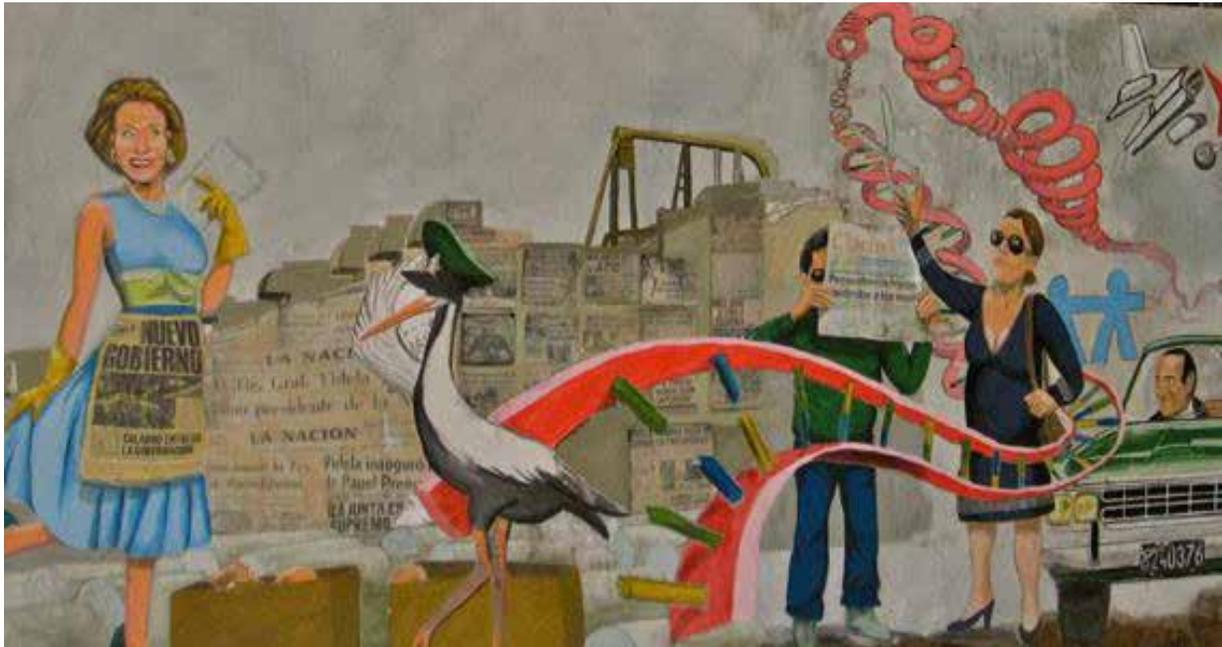


Guagnini's monument, 30,000

“A journalist came to interview me. I suddenly became so aware and reflective of what we were doing. We had heard so many testimonies, listened to so many voices of people who were kept here, read so many stories, and we have the task to make their memory known to others. I was very humbled.”

Before the plaques and information centers had been established in Olimpo, Maria recalled,

“when we gave tours all we had was our voice and our voice had to represent what so many people had lived. That was our responsibility and duty.”⁵



The Olimpo clandestine center

For others, the conversation is too simple. It is impossible to fully grasp the concept of what happened in the recent past, because clear answers are not always available. Mariela, a psychology student at the Universidad de Buenos Aires recalled the exasperation and eventual numbness the dictatorship left upon her family.

“Only once did I ask my mom about the *desaparecidos*. She briefly explained to me how my cousin was taken but I do not remember the details. We never spoke about it again. I think it is difficult. They tried for a long time to find this cousin and no one helped them, so now they are stuck in silence. They do not talk about it anymore and they have tried to move on. It is like the secret of the family.”⁶

The past cannot be forgotten, yet life marches forward. Many former clandestine centers have been transformed into schools, police stations, and work buildings, but for those like Mariela and her family, a simple plaque will suffice. “People can go into these places and then go on with their lives, but for just a moment they will reflect on what happened there.”⁷ For others, it is not as important *how* the sites are commemorated, but simply that they *are* commemorated, and done so without government interference. Álvaro, a psychology student at the Universidad de Buenos Aires, agreed that if these places of memory are used for the purpose of knowledge and understanding, then something beneficial can be gained. Álvaro believes the current Kirchner administration, however, is using these places for its own political gain. It is perfectly acceptable and even essential to put buildings aside and erect monuments, as they teach the younger generations.

“But the way the government used these places will only extend the misery and hate from the period of the dictatorship. They use the same language and same terms as the military. We do not need to carry on with that. Argentinians need a different way of thinking.”⁸

I observed the Kirchner propaganda excessively displayed at memorial sites such as ESMA. Álvaro explained that the current government uses these past conflicts to hide the current problems in Argentina. Many of the people who disappeared during the dictatorship were merely social workers trying to fix problems that continue to exist today.

Argentine society suffered terribly under the National Reorganization Process. While the State Terrorism officially ended in

1983, the remnants of the hostility and anxiety still linger. There is no certainty as to how to overcome this past. The only hope is to confront it and look to the future. Art has flourished in Argentina. It has given society a voice that was once silenced, allowing the fragile memory that permeates Argentine history to strengthen. Lessons of the past are no longer being written exclusively in the terms of the perpetrators. The focus of history now illuminates the dignity of the victims, and denounces the atrocities that cannot be afforded again.

*Ashley Dowd is an Political Science major,
Class of 2014*



Truth and justice for the desaparecidos



SOVIET LEGACY IN CENTRAL ASIA

BY CHELSEA MICKEL



The Registan in Samarqand, Uzbekistan, a city known for its location in the heart of the Silk Road.

“The abrupt concept of independence caused an identity crisis amongst much of the indigenous population.”

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 forced the Central Asian Republics to create lawful governments, militias, and liberated national identities virtually overnight. Decades of economic exploitation and cultural oppression initiated a panic in the minds of political leaders when suddenly faced with their newfound freedom. These leaders became fearful of a mass anarchy that may have ensued as the façade of communist equality and prosperity dissolved.

The inveterate corruption of their leaders was revealed to the Central Asian populations by Mikhail Gorbachev’s reforming policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*. The people, now disillusioned, turned to find new means of ensuring their livelihoods and breeding a sense of purpose. In the various republics, different societal groups tended to fill these voids.

The USSR warped certain remnants of pre-existing cultural influences through its efforts to constrain nationalist sentiments. These effects pervaded society following the removal of Russian forces, and were perpetuated by the ineffectiveness of the new pseudo-democratic governments. Thus, means for developing a truly liberal democracy were hindered.¹ The culture that emerged was transformed by the struggle for identity and community into kinship networks of clan elites, radical Islamism, and conservatism. As a result, the general public felt intimately in tune with the consistency of a strong authoritarian government.

Unfortunately, these authoritarian regimes provided the roots for many of the problematic radical groups that have formed under their leadership. The politicians needed an enemy to unite the public against in order

to distract citizens from the reality of their own ineffectiveness. This same initiative led the governments to oppress the citizens in a way that encouraged them to identify with and join extremist organizations. The abruptness of independence caused an identity crisis amongst much of the indigenous populations. During Soviet rule, any cognizance of their original identification was stripped and repainted with a veneer of ethno-nationalism glossily orchestrated to best perpetuate the political interests of Moscow.

Divide and Rule

The Central Asian steppe has been host to many civilizations. Thus, Central Asia developed into a region with many layers of people co-existing. Interaction was minimal, however, mainly because it was not geographically feasible. The Pamir Mountains and various deserts disallowed vast communication networks, thereby ruling out the possibility of forging a uniform identity.

When the Soviets assumed control of Central Asia, they exploited the region's resources, both natural and human. By creating a destructive cotton monoculture (known as "white gold"), the Soviet Union forced the Central Asian republics to abandon their production of grains and other food crops.² Thus, Central Asia became dependent on the Soviets for their grain supply. Moscow, being aware of its dominant position over the republics, was able to set the prices of most products, securing an economic monopoly for Soviet trade.

The Soviet Union appealed to the indigenous population through socialist ideals of economic equality in contrast to the imperialist relationships Western empires had established with their colonies. The hypocrisy of

this "ideal" lay in the fact that the Soviet Union was acting precisely as an imperialist nation. The Soviets were manipulating the region by taking its raw resources and creating products that they would sell back to their subjects as the sole supplier. The Soviets sought to present the image that communism would lead to the fruition of ethnic harmony and economic development.³ Communism instead incentivized black markets for people to buy and sell goods on the side. Black markets became the only way that Central Asian citizens could receive goods that the government failed to supply. This corrupt system has remained in many of the authoritarian republics today as a lasting remnant of the Communist era.

"The Soviet Union appealed to the indigenous population through socialist ideals of economic equality"

Ironically, the breakup of the Soviet Union revealed the kind of abject poverty that its policies were supposed to have removed, further calling into question the motives of Soviet governance.⁴ The Soviet fear for the spread of pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism had led them to

create new identities for the citizens of Central Asia. This policy was instituted in such a way that would restrict the possibility of uprising, dislocate any feeling of brotherly sentiment, and fabricate the cultural arts that Moscow believed were necessary to establish a Soviet identity in the region.

Moscow believed that in giving each nation a distinct homeland, ethnic conflict would subside. Thus, attention would be drawn to the "correct" type of struggle: disparity between social classes.⁵ Through ethnogenesis, the Soviet Union sought to create various ethnicities with which the Central Asian population could identify. Experts of various fields were called in, from ethnographers to historians, to create not only countries, but also languages, histories, folklores, and literatures. In sum, a puppet



Figure 1: Central Asia in 1922

cultural identity was set in place in order to proceed with the socialist mission of “equality”, which necessitated that everyone had a place, knew their place, and blended in with the community.⁶ This is still seen in today’s clan networks, in which a child excelling academically is viewed unfavorably, as it brings attention to a single individual and disrupts the cohesion of the unit.

Soviet planners instituted these policies in a way that actually tore apart existing ethnic groups and forged smaller ones that best suited the Soviets’ political interests. This strategy revealed the underlying reason for the re-assignment of identities to be the elimination of the threat of a strong and united Central Asia. The regional understanding of nationalism became increasingly politicized. Compulsory schooling and propaganda were used to institute this model of homogenization. Furthermore, languages were altered for certain groups of people in order to justify them as a distinct ethnic group.⁷ This ethnogenesis led to the formation of societal groups that were hollow and fragile. Thus, upon independence from the Soviet Union the citizens of the region were left without clear identities. An effect of this is seen



Figure 2: Modern Central Asia

by the changing of alphabets, which limited the new generations’ access to texts of those before them.⁸ Another damaging effect was the creation of autonomous regions, such as Karakalpakstan. At the same time, some regions of one republic were appended as exclaves to another for the purpose of isolating and weakening these societies. Once the Soviet Union collapsed, these constructed communities had no true source of identity and turned to the vestige of collectivization.

Rise of the Clan Networks

In order to institute cotton production effectively, the Soviets created and ran collective farms, or *kolkhoz*, that had to meet established quotas to ensure maximum productivity. In this process, environmentally damaging irrigation techniques were instituted, which has led to both the drying of the Aral Sea in Uzbekistan and increased desertification across the region. More specifically, the soil became salinized from overuse, which killed crops and contaminated fresh drinking water.⁹ When collectives were first established, they were met with mass frustration by many nomadic tribes that were forced into a sedentary lifestyle. In protest,

many nomads slaughtered their entire herds.¹⁰ This dramatic and forced transformation of lifestyle led to a pandemic starvation that nearly eliminated many tribal populations. Despite these negative effects, Central Asians came to depend on the institution of collectivization for their primary means of identity, seeing as it was the only establishment that remained constant and stable after independence. The *kolkhoz*, to this day, remains an expression of rural solidarity, and has become an entrenched actor in the economic sector.¹¹



One of the famous Aral Sea shipwrecks that now clutter the landscape due to the desertification of the sea from damaging irrigation techniques used in kolkhoz farming.

In the division of the ethnic groups in Turkestan, Joseph Stalin strategically dismembered the Ferghana Valley, which was the cultural epicenter of Central Asia. The now isolated Pamir localities were forced to look inward, creating a sense of clannish identity. Soviet policies tended to reinforce this sense of a divided and scattered society, which collectivization institutionalized through the break up of traditional valley loyalties.¹² Through the *kolkhoz*, clan kinship networks formed in these sequestered communities that were, or

acted as, extended families. Urban divisions, or *mahallas*, were formed and eventually became the focal point of their residents' livelihoods. Elite leaders were elected and a structure was instituted in order to fulfill the needs of the people. After the Soviets left Central Asia and the republics gained their independence, governments could not provide dependable healthcare, stable wages, or various goods. Class conflict transformed into a struggle between clan networks.¹³ Being a member of a kinship group signified a sense of security and stability, and ensured citizens had an established identity. Clan networks became more desirable as they reached beyond both national and regional politics. Politicians adapted to balance the power of clan elites in order to maintain legitimacy and stability in their regime. In this way, an individual's political voice came to rely entirely upon clan identification.¹⁴

In addition, clans established complete control over the social lives of their citizens, having the final say on a range of issues, such as marriage, education, and elections. Clans allowed traditionalism and conservatism to flourish. For example, education of children was not valued because they were needed to work in the fields. Women especially found it more profitable to work part time in agriculture and sell hand made goods through the black market.¹⁵ Nepotism and bribery became widespread and are today the accepted methods by which a clan can insert their youth into universities



A young girl in traditional Tajik dress

or political positions.¹⁶ There was no incentive for children to work hard in school due to the lack of value placed on grades and on learning in general. The system bred rewards for loyalty and patronage, rather than innovation and creativity.¹⁷

A Strict Traditionalism

Within the clan, each member was designated a particular role that was usually based on that clan's perceived notion of Islam. Women were often designated as second-class citizens. As *kalin*, or daughters-in-law, they were treated very poorly, often doing a majority of the hard labor in the fields and in the household. Marriage was almost always arranged and was often conducted between first cousins in an effort to strengthen clan bonds.¹⁸ In direct opposition to the ideals of the Islamic community, the Bolsheviks believed that women would only be able to realize their full potential by enlisting in the workforce.¹⁹ Thus, following the fall of the communist regime, many women stopped working, renouncing former Soviet ideals. Women who continued to work were frequently harassed or treated with suspicion by their husbands.²⁰ The men, who were unaccustomed to the idea of an independent woman, often feared that their wives were carrying out affairs while at work.

One of the most significant themes to result from Soviet policies was radical Islamism, which was initially spurred by religious repression during communist times. Authoritarian leaders used Islam both as a tool to legitimize oppressive rule and as a scapegoat for economic and social problems. Moscow feared Islam could be a unifying force against Soviet

communism. Thus, they instituted an official state-approved Islam with appointed clergy.²¹ Since Islam was under state control, citizens began to feel that their only means of expression and identity were being taken from them. In its place, unofficial forms of Islam began to take root within the smaller clans, further strengthening their bonds.²² Radicalization became extremely rampant in the prison system. Typically, men would enter prison well aware that they would likely never leave, so they often turned to religion as their only source of hope. Radical Islamist groups such as Hizb-u-Tahrir and the Islamic Renaissance Party used this to their advantage. These parties also targeted migratory laborers who, upon returning from abroad, faced bleak prospects of employment. They often turned to radical organizations as an outlet for their anger and frustration.

Only the most strict and conservative Islamic groups directly opposed the Soviet regime, considering it actually encouraged the same ideals of education, employment, and redistribution of wealth as Islam.²³ The United States saw Islamism as an antidote to socialism and thus hoped to use these groups to defeat the Soviets, as was done in Afghanistan. The main issue with this was that, as stated above, only the most radical groups opposed the regime. Thus, the U.S. sent support to the same radical organizations that now directly threaten regional security.²⁴

“The policies of collectivization and religious repression during the Soviet regime helped accentuate the power of the clan, and enabled the future rise of radical organizations.”

Moving Beyond the Soviet Era

The policies of collectivization and religious repression during the Soviet regime helped accentuate the power of the clan, and enabled the future rise of radical organizations. In the interest of their own political and

economic profit, the Soviets left Central Asia crippled through nepotism, corruption, and the manufacture of fake identities. Following the collapse of the USSR, the locals' needs for consistency and stability induced them to turn to clan networks to fill the voids that the newly independent, authoritarian regimes created. Unfortunately, these closed communities, through their control over all aspects of life, cut members off from many modern ideas and inhibited any concept of individualism.

Most of the Central Asian nations are now ruled by repressive authoritarian regimes while the relevance of kinship networks, radical Islamism, and the traditionalism of the countries continue to inhibit any progress. If these nations truly want to become economically stable and independent, the regimes must be willing to change their propensity towards corruption and provide necessary goods to their populations. Without a dependable government to ensure and provide for their livelihoods, citizens will

continue to turn towards radical organizations and clan networks for employment, pay, and household goods. In addition, if the prevalence of repression in *mahallas* continues to be overlooked, the nation's citizens will sink deeper into poverty and ignorance from the poor quality of education and the lack of appreciation or reward for intelligence and ingenuity. The continuous repression of individuality and creativity will stunt hopes for development of a real national identity. The Soviet era policies of collectivism and religious repression have led the Central Asian nations to settle into the disconnected and dependent republics that exist today.

*Chelsea Mickel is a Political Science major,
Class of 2015*



Cotton kolkhoz, or collective farming, is done by hand. Children are often pulled out of school during harvest season to work in the fields.



PHOTO DIARIES

TAIWAN

BY ANGELA WANG, CSOM '16



One of many Buddhist temples scattered around the old city of Tainan

Usually when people think of Taiwan, they picture famous landmarks, such as the iconic Taipei 101 skyscraper. After spending three months in Taiwan, however, I found that some of my most memorable experiences took place during my travels to the less modernized and less crowded areas around the beautiful island. These pictures are just a few of many that will always remind me of the places, people, cuisines, religions, and languages that I encountered on my journey. Here is a taste of what one would miss if under the impression that the sprawling northern city of Taipei is all that Taiwan has to offer.



Top: The crisp, cool air deep in the forest of Alishan is a refreshing break from the heat, humidity, and noise of Taipei.



Left: Lu Rou Fan is possibly the most delicious and typical Taiwanese food.



Top Left: Sunrise at Sun Moon Lake is remarkably serene, with the calm waters not yet disturbed by human activity.

Top Right: Taiwan takes on the feel of a tropical island at Sun Moon Lake, just after the sun has set.

Bottom: The famously beautiful view of the sunrise from the top of Alishan Mountain





GERMANY

By J.H. DANIEL LEE, A&S '14

My experience abroad in Bavaria provided me with a new international perspective and understanding of the world. Munich and the state of Bavaria are distinctly different from the German capital city of Berlin. Southern Germany values its independent culture, and the state of Bavaria is considered a “free state” within the Federal Republic of Germany. While multiculturalism is recognized as the color of Berlin, Munich values its local culture more than anything. At the same time, Bavarians are well educated and internationally aware. This is perhaps best demonstrated by their welcoming attitude and proud introduction of their special culture to visitors.



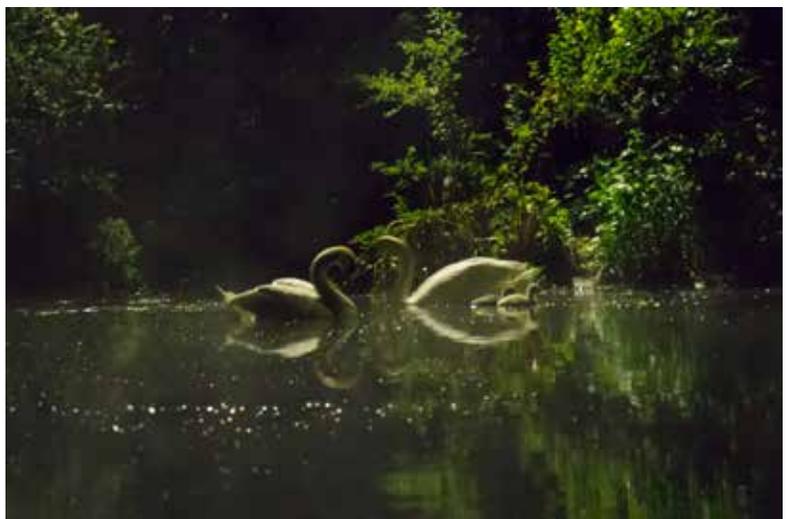


Left Top: Protesters gather in Marienplatz, under the slogan “München ist bunt” (Munich is colorful), to protest against racism.

Left Bottom: The beautiful sunset of Dresden, in the Free State of Saxony

Top: During the Frühlingsfest in Munich, these humorous men, originally from the south of Bavaria, visited to celebrate a wedding.

Right: Midnight serenity by the Altmühl river near the small city of Eichstätt





NEW ZEALAND

BY JESSICA ZUBAN, A&S '15



Overlooking the Red Crater in Tongariro Alpine Crossing, in the North Island

New Zealand is the size of Colorado, and there are more sheep than people. The “highways” are single-laned and kiwis (New Zealanders) consider a line of five cars to be traffic. In only one hour you can go from surfing along the beach to ice climbing on mountainous peaks. In my time here, I’ve white-water kayaked, skied steep slopes, stepped into hobbit holes, and rock climbed in Narnia. No other place in the world is as beautifully diverse and exciting as New Zealand.



Champagne Pool in Waimangu Volcanic Valley at Wai-O-Tapu Geothermal Wonderland in the North Island

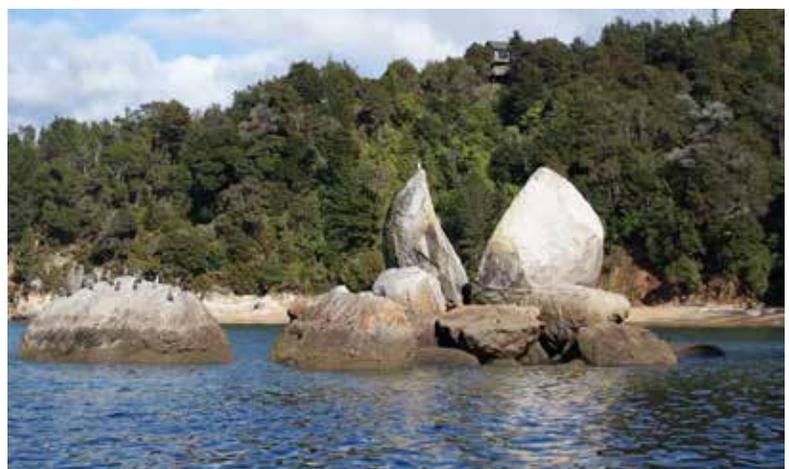


Above: Bilbo Baggins hobbit hole in Hobbiton, Matamata in the North Island



Above: Bouldering in Castle Hill in the South Island (filming site of The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe)

Right: Water taxi ride along the Coastal Track to Split Apple Rock, Abel Tasman National Park in the South Island





THE GREAT FIREWALL

POST-TIANANMEN ONLINE CENSORSHIP AND DISSENT

BY KATHERINE ROSS



China not only has the world's largest number of internet users, but also the world's largest market for internet cafes.

“The Chinese have found a new platform for dissent that leaves them less vulnerable to violent repression.”

While the phrase “Tiananmen Square Massacre” has become a buzzword in the West for the Chinese government’s perpetual violation of its citizens’ human rights, it has a far more complex connotation in China. Canadian journalist Jan Wong says of the immediate aftermath of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre: “Although it had been years since I had been a Maoist, I still harbored some small hope for China. Now even that was gone.”¹ According to Asian Studies scholar Belinda Kong, “The term ‘Tiananmen Square Massacre’ has firmly entered into the ‘political vocabulary of the later twentieth century.’”² Today it is impossible to talk about the incident, let alone search Baidu (the Chinese equivalent of Google) for Tiananmen Square-related terms, such as “six four”, “23”, “candle”, and “never forget.”³ Therefore, the true legacy of the 1989 Tiananmen

Square Massacre in China is hard to assess. The lack of demonstrations that “approach the 1989 movement in number of participants, the duration of the protests, or the number of cities in which demonstrations occurred simultaneously”⁴ might indicate indifference, an inability to discuss sensitive events, or simple ignorance in modern-day China.

If the Chinese government succeeds in the erasure of Tiananmen Square from China’s shared historical narrative then the underlying causes behind the protests may be lost forever. The significance of such a loss cannot be understated. Accounts such as that of a young factory technician “whose right ear was torn off and right arm crushed”⁵ by a tank at Tiananmen Square will become insignificant. In the collective Chinese consciousness, it will be forgotten that he feared leaving his home for six

months following the massacre. He is a “living contradiction to the government’s Big Lie”⁶ that no tanks had crushed students that day.

The death of Hu Yaobang, a disgraced ex-government official and high-ranking CCP member, provided the impetus for the 1989 protests. Jan Wong expresses bewilderment at the fuss over Hu’s death, describing him as “a political has-been” and “party hack.”⁷ Hu had been purged two years earlier as Deng Xiaoping’s heir-apparent after failing to contain the 1986 student demonstrations. Although Jan Wong contends that the relationship between protestors and the media was symbiotic, the New York Times’ obituary is dated months before Tiananmen Square, and could not have been written as a result of the event. Hu Yaobang is described as being “the exception” in a nation where caution is often over-valued. When asked which of Mao Zedong’s thoughts were applicable

in China’s efforts to modernize its economy, he purportedly said, “I think, none.”⁸

In January of 1987, Hu resigned. The official party line was that he had done so after recognizing his mistakes on major issues of political principle, such as his “tolerance for dissidents.”⁹ Rather than being dismissed for his failure to contain protests, Hu was forced to resign. Within two years, the Chinese government was able to twist the political narrative of Hu Yaobang so that his fall from grace was the result of an ugly combination of ambition and incompetence. The smearing of Hu’s name in 1989 gave students a reason to stage protests in Beijing, calling for his name to be cleared and his reputation restored.¹⁰

There are two conditions encouraging individuals to actively participate in demonstrations: if the state is unlikely to respond to a protest with repressive violence

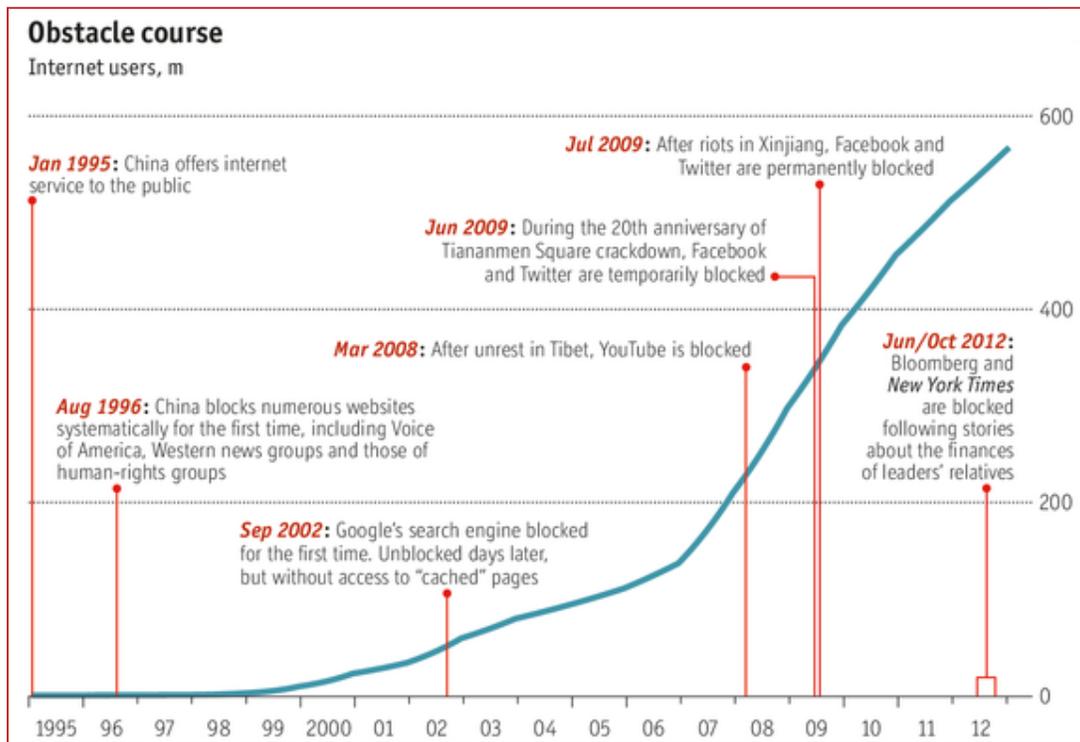


Figure 1: Timeline of online censorship in China

and if there are enough other participants in the protest that, should the state choose to act, the likelihood of any particular individual becoming a victim is reduced.¹¹ In 1989, mild government action in response to demonstrations in 1978 and 1986 led students to wrongly believe that their government would not send the army to slaughter unarmed protestors in the streets.

Today, the possibility still remains of the Chinese government erasing the bloody events of June 4, 1989 from the collective consciousness of the Chinese people. Yet whether China still has such a tight grip on the voices of its populace remains to be seen in light of recent technological advances.

For example, in spite of the supposedly strict censorship of material pertaining to Tiananmen Square, some users of the Twitter-like Sina Weibo were able to upload photos evocative of the event on its 23rd anniversary.¹² A few months ago, Chinese internet users petitioned the U.S. White House to “investigate and deport” a suspect in the case of a poisoned university student in China in 1994.¹³ On May 3rd, 2013, Chinese government censors blocked searches and posts about the case. When “online furor grew, the floodgates were opened.”¹⁴ By May 7th, *Global Times*, a state-run newspaper, wrote that Chinese citizens should not use the White House as a “foreign petition-office”, and suggested that the case would no longer be covered up. This is not the first time Beijing reneged on its decision to censor sensitive material. When censors disabled the ‘comment’ function on local microblogs in the spring of last year, restrictions were removed after only three days.¹⁵ This suggests that the Chinese have found a new platform for dissent that leaves them less

“Perhaps China’s vibrant internet community is the legacy of the Tiananmen Square Massacre, and protest demonstrations have taken on a uniquely Chinese form.”

vulnerable to violent repression. They are now able to protest out of the government’s reach via the online community.

Perhaps China’s vibrant internet community is the legacy of the Tiananmen Square Massacre, and protest demonstrations have taken on a uniquely Chinese form. Instead of gathering in the streets to shame the government into adopting more progressive policies, their objections are channeled online. Is it possible that the influence Chinese internet users have thus been able to exercise is solely the consequence of an increasingly smaller world?

Chinese authors who choose to write about Tiananmen Square are keenly aware that, given official censorship of June 4th, their audience is not primarily composed of readers in the PRC, but of Chinese and non-Chinese audiences around the world.¹⁶ Ren Bumei, the former student activist, concluded that “15 years without self-reflection, 15 years of callous indifference, 15 years of



Riot police on streets of Urumqi, China to deal with ethnic Uighur protestors in 2009; as a direct consequence, the government blocked off all internet access in the region until the following year.

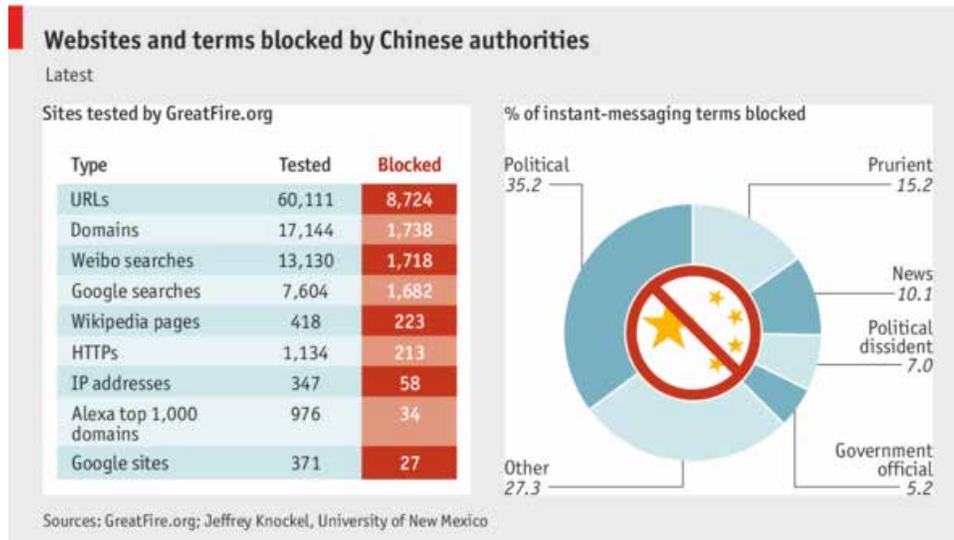


Figure 2: Websites and terms blocked by Chinese authorities

speechless rage or rageless speech...shows that June 4 [1989] was not really a turning point for [China].”¹⁷

Wang Hui, a former participant in the Beijing protests and one of the last students to leave Tiananmen Square on June 4th, supports this supposition in his paper about the event. His paper has never been published in the mainland, but circulates widely on the internet and in translations abroad. In his insight on the 1989 massacre and its impact on modern



Tiananmen Square

China, he states that “the populace’s cry for democracy arose from a desire not for political deposition but for socioeconomic equality... for a guaranteeing [of] social justice and the democratization of economic life.”¹⁸ Hui’s paper continues to give life to the memory of Tiananmen, making us aware that the Chinese people must be conscious of the tragedies of the past. The crux of his argument was that the protests at Tiananmen Square were peaceful and democratic, and that they represent the moment the possibility for true socialism in China died.

Although Tiananmen seems to be of less interest to most youth today, it is typical to find Chinese youth under attack in the Chinese media for being “reliant and rebellious, cynical and pragmatic, self-centered and equality-obsessed.”¹⁹ It is also worth noting that Chinese youth “can lay claim to having a [long] tradition of revolutionary credentials.”²⁰ This could be one explanation for the attempts by the state-controlled media to discredit their actions, preemptively. The specificity of the censored



*“Protecting China’s Innocents from Smut,
Violence, and the Dalai Lama”*

Tiananmen Square-related terms such as “six four”, “23”, “candle” and “never forget” would imply that Chinese internet users are already familiar with the details of Tiananmen.²¹

During the first “spontaneous, anti-government protest in Chinese Communist history”,²² the Chinese people indirectly expressed their anger at the reign of Mao and the Gang of Four. The Monument to the People’s Heroes in Tiananmen Square was covered with poems attacking both Empress Wu Zetian, a seventh-century Tang dynasty empress, and the first Chinese emperor, who executed scholars and used corvée labor to build the Great Wall of China. These poems used the Tang empress and Qin emperor as surrogates for Chairman and Madame Mao, implementing a very Chinese technique of dissent: using the past to attack the present.²³ This practice was used again during the protests in 1989, when crowds in front of the Central Committee headquarters called for the Empress Dowager Ci Xi, infamous for controlling politics

from behind the scenes, to abdicate.²⁴ This was actually a thinly veiled demand for Deng Xiaoping to step down from office. This method of dissent has continued in Chinese microblogs in spite of the “Great Firewall.” Until recently, it was impossible to even type the name of the President or any of the high-ranking government officials’ surnames into the search engine. Thus, when a politically controversial event occurs, micro-bloggers make use of puns and alternative spellings to get around government censors in order to critically discuss the issue at hand.

According to the Chinese government’s own estimates of June 1989, “demonstrations occurred in each of China’s twenty-nine provinces and in eighty-four of its cities. Over two million students from over six hundred institutions of higher learning nationwide participated.”²⁵ Ren Bumei said that, in regards to the massacre that followed, “all my writing has been influenced by this tragedy – to a greater or lesser extent, there is nothing that does not originate from that seething spring and that blood-soaked dawn.”²⁶ To say that the impact of Tiananmen Square can be reduced to a death toll of 3,000, or that it was a blight on China’s path to modernization, would be a mistake. Whether consciously or not, the Chinese people have continued the legacy of Tiananmen Square by expressing dissent even under oppression, and perhaps today they are more aware of what that means than they were in 1989.

“Whether consciously or not, the Chinese people have continued the legacy of Tiananmen Square by expressing dissent even under oppression.”

Katherine Ross is a Political Science and Economics double major, Class of 2015



CHINESE REAL ESTATE “BUBBLE”

BY SEAN AHN



China's rapid development has led to massive construction projects across the country.

“What appears to be frenzied real estate speculation... is simply natural growth in a developing economy.”

It is a monstrous threat looming over the world economy, a real estate bubble ready to burst. It will be a financial shock sending economic tremors throughout the global economy. For almost a decade, these images have gradually permeated the minds of economists around the world, as real estate prices in China have soared higher and higher. What is interesting about these images and predictions is that homebuyers in China, middle-class and savvy as they may be, totally dismiss much of the world's warnings and keep on buying. Are the masses caught up in what world-renowned economist John Maynard Keynes would call animal spirits? Is there an irrational expectation of endless wealth resulting in a frenzy of real estate speculation? Or are the “conventional” economic models, designed to explain Western

market behavior and capitalist financial systems, not fully capturing the Chinese phenomenon, and thus rendering the very notion of a Chinese real estate bubble irrelevant?

Origins and Causes

In the mid-2000s, the Chinese stock market plummeted, as the key index, a major indicator of the overall performance of the market, fell by more than 50%.¹ It was apparent that China's outdated financial sector could not (and some argue, still cannot) provide alternative investment venues for people with money in their hands. There is simply the bank or the real estate market. The government-owned banking system offers fixed interest rates below the inflation level, in order to offer cheap finance to the massive government-owned

industrial sector. This may be good for the industrial sector, but it is bad for the individual depositor who hopes for high interest rates on his monetary accounts. Since the bank interest rate is below the annual inflation rate, which in China could be as high as 10% in a given year, any money deposit is depreciating, or losing value, rapidly. Thus, the collapse of the stock market forced people with savings to turn to buying real estate, which unlike a bank deposit will, at the very least, keep up with inflation. As a result, land and property prices doubled in those early years of the Chinese real estate boom, as a massive amount of money was reallocated to real estate. A second wave of price explosion (doubling or tripling, depending on location) started in early 2009, when the government put forth a 4 trillion Yuan (\$635 billion) stimulus package in response to the global financial crisis. The stimulus mandated new lending and authorized new infrastructure projects (i.e. the world's most extensive bullet train network).² In economics terminology, this increase in government spending had a multiplying effect on output and income, which rippled through the economy and kept it red-hot. Eventually, the economic equilibrium moved to an even higher level of output and income. Simply put, the stimulus was a government overreaction that resulted in a frenzy of real estate buying. This frenzy has not exactly ended, but has rather been kept at bay by government restrictions on home ownership. Another round of frenzied purchases occurred in early 2013, when new leadership promised wage increases for the general work force.

“As government decisions and faulty financial mechanisms were pushing money towards real estate, a 300 million strong Chinese middle class, the size of the entire U.S. population, was simultaneously emerging.”

A Deeper Look at Market Forces

While on the surface the Chinese phenomenon may have eerie similarities to the pre-2008 U.S. situation, with financial sector dysfunction and consumer over-optimism, there are significant underlying economic and social factors that make the Chinese situation rather different. As government decisions and faulty financial mechanisms were pushing money towards real estate, a 300 million strong Chinese middle class, the size of the entire U.S. population, was simultaneously emerging. The

Chinese economy has been growing at an average of 8% a year over the past 3 decades. With such dizzying economic growth comes a hunger for consumption, and the number one goal of any Chinese family is to own a home. In addition, quick and massive rural-to-urban migration has generated a waitlist of eager real estate buyers.³ In other words, much of what appears

to be frenzied real estate speculation (in the context of advanced economies) is simply natural growth in a developing economy. This



U.S. dollar and Chinese renminbi notes

difference is important because natural growth has a sustainable foundation, while speculation is destined to collapse. To further clarify, we must take a closer look at the numbers.

By the Numbers

According to the 2012 IMF Global Stability Report, the house price to income ratio for Shanghai was 15.9 and 22.3 for Beijing, which is almost triple and quadruple the ratios for L.A. and New York, respectively (Figure 1).⁴ Such numbers in a developed world economy would surely suggest the market is over-priced, but since China is an emerging economy growing at an unprecedented pace, long-term commodities, such as real estate, are managed in anticipation of future values. The economic growth rate in China for the past 30 years has been roughly 8% a year (15% in some regions). Wage increases between 1998-2010 were 13.8% (12.3% for 2011, 14% for 2012). Simply put, the high ratios for a unique case like China do not necessarily mean the market is overpriced.^{5 6}

A concept to further consider is that real estate in China may naturally be worth more because of different cultural sentiments and consumer preferences. In China, home ownership is not only the center of the Chinese dream, but also the foundation of a family’s sense of security. In fact, the prerequisite for most marriages in China is that the groom (sometimes with the bride’s help) must purchase a home. People avoid renting at any cost, which leads to the next question.

Is There A Bubble?

After all is said and done, the crucial question is whether the Chinese homeowner has the ability to pay back the loans he has taken

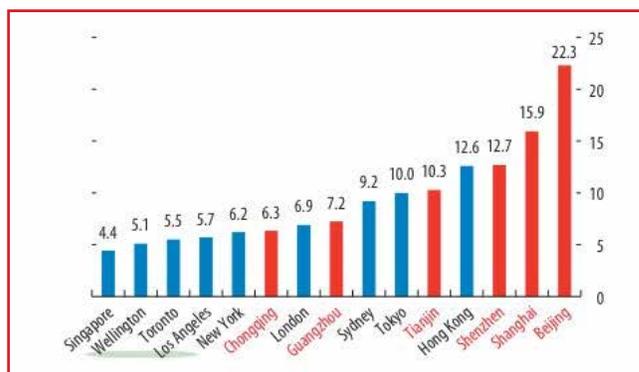


Figure 1: Ratio of House Price to Annual Household Income for Selected Cities, 2011

out. Again, the situation in China is remarkably different from that of the U.S. before the 2008 meltdown. Firstly, Chinese banks have a stringent standard for loan applicants, and, depending on which category a borrower falls into, require a 30-50% down payment for a mortgage. Secondly, the ability of the buyer to pay back the mortgage is a key difference, though tough to measure quantitatively. Besides a high saving tendency, the Chinese household can also rely on a reservoir of extended family and friends who offer no-interest loans (grounded in personal trust and family relationships) and flat-out grants. This unique difference in the Chinese social structure, compared to most of the Western world, affects real economic outcomes and must be given its place in analysis models. An astounding 50% of the homes bought in China were paid in full with cash at the time of purchase.⁷ Finally, as a last shield against financial collapse, the central banks have the backing of a determined government with the world’s largest foreign currency reserve in U.S. dollars.

The World Bank has concluded that real estate price increases are supportable thanks to the rapid urbanization and income gains in



People's Bank of China

China.⁸ Nevertheless, this does not mean the Chinese market is healthy. As previously stated, the government-controlled banking system is dysfunctional. It provides fixed rates below the inflation rate that are geared towards providing cheap loans to state-owned industries. In the long term, the Chinese financial sector needs to be reformed to provide more transparency and investment products for money holders. Right now, the most effective action to take would be allowing interest rates to be more reflective of market forces. Setting loose interest rates would weaken real money demand, pulling money out of the real estate sector and back into banks, dramatically deflating real estate prices. The trade-off is that the massive, state-owned industrial firms would then have to fend for themselves in the broader market.

While on the surface the Chinese real estate boom has certain characteristics of a housing bubble, there are some crucial differences in the Chinese case that escape the conventional definition. Many key indicators

are designed to interpret market and financial behaviors of a Western, capitalist society. China is neither Western nor a complete system of free market capitalism. Considering the relative sustainability of China's real estate market, a more likely scenario is a gradual deflation, as the government curbs inflationary pressures and GDP catches up over time, rather than a catastrophic collapse.

*Sean Ahn is an Economics major,
Class of 2014*



ENDNOTES & REFERENCES

The NFL's Strategy for Globalization

By Nicholas A. Volpe

1. "Sports Chart of the Day: NFL Revenue is Nearly 25% More Than MLB," Last Modified October 9, 2012, <http://www.businessinsider.com/sports-chart-of-the-day-nfl-revenue-still-dwarfs-other-major-sports-2012-10>.
2. "Roger Goodell supports Euro expansion," Last Modified October 29, 2012, <http://sports.espn.go.com/nfl/news/story?id=5741331>
3. "NFL Europa to cease operations," Last Modified June 29, 2007, <http://web.archive.org/web/20070703064828/www.nfl.com/news/story/10240829>
4. Ibid.
5. Carlson, Mike. "NFL Europe struggles with German issue," Last Modified April 26, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/25/sports/25iht-NFLE.html>
6. Abari, Tonya, "NFL Rules for Squad Size," http://www.ehow.com/facts_4794004_nfl-rules-squad-size.html
7. Pasquarelli, Len. "NFL Europa failed to produce players, profits," Last Modified June 29, 2007, http://sports.espn.go.com/nfl/columns/story?columnist=pasquarelli_len&id=2920635
8. "NFL commissioner says Super Bowl may someday be held in London," Last Modified October 15, 2007, <http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/wire?section=nfl&id=3065083>.
9. Jane, Spencer. "Is The Annual NFL International Series Working in London?" Last Modified May 21, 2012, <http://cippinonsports.com/2012/05/21/is-the-annual-nfl-international-series-working-in-london/>
10. Dosh, Kristi, "NFL tries home-team approach in Europe," Last Modified January 20, 2012, http://espn.go.com/blog/playbook/dollars/post/_/id/262/nfl-tries-home-team-approach-in-europe-2
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Altman, Alex. "NFL Brings a Different Football to Europe," Last Modified October 29, 2007, <http://www.time.com/time/business/article/0,8599,1677240,00.html>
14. Futterman, Matthew. "Football Tries a New Play to Score Overseas," Last Modified October 9, 2008, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB122350239608216819.html>
15. Behta, Jack. "How NFL Can Expand Abroad," Last Modified October 25, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/10/25/how-nfl-can-expand-abroad-london_n_2016085.html
16. Ibid.
17. Quirk, Kevin. *Not Now, Honey, I'm Watching the Game* (Fireside Books, 2007), 17-21.
18. Futterman, Matthew. "Football Tries a New Play to Score Overseas."

19. "Roger Goodell supports Euro expansion" ESPN.
20. Bajaj, Vikas, and Ken Belson. "Pro Football Makes a Play for India," Last Modified December 4, 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/05/sports/football/pro-football-makes-a-play-for-india.html>
21. Galeano, Eduardo. *Soccer in Sun and Shadow* (Verso, 2003), 30-33.

Image 1: http://www.whoateallthepies.tv/miscellaneous/3933/the_snapshot_ny.html

Image 2: <http://americanfootball.wikia.com>

Image 3: <http://www.nytimes.com>

Memorializing Argentine State Terrorism

By Ashley Dowd

1. Núria and Roberto. Personal Interview. 26 June 2012.
2. Roberto U. Personal Interview. 9 July 2012.
3. Núria and Roberto. Personal Interview. 26 June 2012.
4. Roberto U. Personal Interview. 9 July 2012.
5. María. Personal Interview. 7 July 2012.
6. Mariela. Personal Interview 2 July 2012.
7. Ibid.
8. Álvaro. Personal Interview. 12 July 2012.

Soviet Legacy in Central Asia

By Chelsea Mickel

1. "Tajikistan: On the Road to Failure." International Crisis Group: Working to Prevent Conflict Worldwide. International Crisis Group, 12 Feb. 2009. Web. 26 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.crisisgroup.org>> 16
2. Critchlow, James. *Nationalism in Uzbekistan: A Soviet Republic's Road to Sovereignty*. Boulder: Westview, 1991. Print. 62
3. Khalid, Adeb. *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia*. Berkeley: University of California, 2007. Print. 88
4. Ibid., 95.
5. Ibid., 94.
6. Roy, Olivier. *The New Central Asia: Geopolitics and the Birth of Nations*. London [u.a.: Tauris, 2007. Print. 61
7. Ibid., 74.
8. Ibid., 61.
9. Critchlow, James. *Nationalism in Uzbekistan: A Soviet Republic's Road to Sovereignty*. Boulder: Westview, 1991. Print. 62
10. Khalid, Adeb. *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia*. Berkeley: University of California, 2007. Print. 76
11. Roy, Olivier. *The New Central Asia: Geopolitics and the Birth of Nations*. London [u.a.: Tauris, 2007. Print. 185
12. Johnson, Robert. *Oil, Islam and Conflict: Central Asia since 1945*. London: Reaktion, 2007. Print. 81
13. Khalid, Adeb. *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia*. Berkeley: University of California, 2007. Print. 79
14. Ibid., 87.
15. Lubin, Nancy, and Murray Feshbach. "Who Gets Hired for What?" Labour and Nationality in Soviet Central Asia. London: Macmillan [usw., 1984. Print. 172
16. Ibid., 163.
17. Johnson, Robert. *Oil, Islam and Conflict: Central Asia since 1945*. London: Reaktion, 2007. Print. 33
18. Massell, Gregory J. "Moslim Women as a Surrogate Proletariat: Soviet Perceptions of Female Inferiority." *The Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia, 1919-1929*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1974. Print.
19. Khalid, Adeb. *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia*. Berkeley: University of California, 2007. Print. 73
20. Massell, Gregory J. "Moslim Women as a Surrogate Proletariat: Soviet Perceptions of Female Inferiority." *The Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia, 1919-1929*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1974. Print.

21. Johnson, Robert. *Oil, Islam and Conflict: Central Asia since 1945*. London: Reaktion, 2007. Print. 63
22. Khalid, Adeb. *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia*. Berkeley: University of California, 2007. Print. 105-7
23. Ibid., 17.
24. Ibid.

Image 1: <http://www.mirutadelaseda.com>

Figure 1: Wikipedia adaptation from Edward Allworth (1967)

Figure 2: <http://writersteppe.files.wordpress.com>

Image 2: http://24.media.tumblr.com/tumblr_mbltm4BUAK1rs45nwo1_500.jpg

Image 3: <http://media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/236x/15/f2/67/15f267a02160e30b3764c034686f0aff.jpg>

Image 4: http://news.bbc.co.uk/media/images/47311000/jpg/_47311183_kazakh-cotton13.jpg

The Great Firewall: Freedom of Speech on the Internet in China

By Katherine Ross

1. Wong, Jan. *Red China Blues* (New York: Anchor Books, 1996), 259.
2. Kong, Belinda. "Conclusion: The Square Comes Full Circle" in *Tiananmen Fictions outside the Square* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012), 237.
3. Moskvitch, Katia. "China bans Tiananmen Square-related web search terms", BBC News, June 4, 2012.
4. Mason, T. David and J. Clements, "Tiananmen Square Thirteen Years After: The Prospects for Civil Unrest in China" in *Asian Affairs* 29. 3 (Taylor & Francis, Ltd., 2002): 159.
5. Wong, 257.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 225.
8. Kristof, Nicholas D. "Hu Yaobang, Ex-Party Chief in China, Dies at 73", *The New York Times*, April 16, 1989.
9. Ibid.
10. Mason, 164.
11. Ibid., 163.
12. Moskvitch.
13. "Who you gonna call?" *The Economist*, May 8, 2013.
14. Ibid.
15. Moskvitch, Katia. "Cracks in the Wall: Will China's Great Firewall backfire?", BBC News, May 1, 2012.
16. Kong, 241.
17. Ibid., 238.
18. Ibid., 245.
19. Rosen, 360.
20. Ibid.
21. Moskvitch, Katia. "China bans".
22. Ibid., 167.
23. Ibid., 168.
24. Ibid., 226.
25. Mason, 164.
26. Kong, 238.

Image 1: *The New York Times*, 20 Dec. 2012.

Figure 1: *The Economist*, 6 Apr. 2013.

Image 2: BBC News. "In photos: Xinjiang Protests". 2009.

Figure 2: *The Economist*, 6 Apr. 2013.

Image 3: article.wn.com

Image 4: *The Economist*, 25 July 2009.

Chinese Real Estate “Bubble”

By Sean Ahn

1. Chenard, Marty. “China Stock Market Crash Update: The Real Story ...”. Marketoracle.co.uk. May 30, 2007.
2. Barboza, David. “China Unveils Sweeping Plan for Economy”. The New York Times. November 9, 2008.
3. “China: Degree of urbanization from 2002 to 2012”. statista.com. 5-3-2013.
4. “Global Financial Stability Report, April, 2012: The Quest for Lasting Stability”. International Monetary Fund. 52.
5. Orlik, Tom. “Rising Wages Pose Dilemma for China.” The Wall Street Journal Online Edition. May 17, 2013, 8:01 p.m. ET
6. Li, et al. “The End of Cheap Chinese Labor.” Journal of Economic Perspectives—Volume 26, Number 4, 59.
7. Powell, Bill. “China’s Property: Bubble, Bubble, Toil and Trouble”. Time Magazine. Mar. 22, 2010
8. “China Quarterly Update - November 2009”. World Bank. www-wds.worldbank.org.

Image 1: Bahe, Jonathan. <http://www.di.net>

Image 2: <http://blogs.rftdata.co.uk/beyond-brics/files/2012/09/renminbi-dollar.jpg>

Figure 1: International Monetary Fund. “Global Financial Stability Report, April, 2012: The Quest for Lasting Stability”.

Image 3: <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/4283203.jpg>

Guidelines for Kaleidoscope Submissions

1. Any topic relating to international affairs, cultures, and history, as well as personal cultural experiences, is acceptable. Any graduate and undergraduate student may submit to Kaleidoscope, although Boston College students are preferred.
2. Papers should be submitted in Microsoft Word format. Single-spaced, size 12 font, and submissions should not exceed 10 pages. At least three relevant photos, with captions and sources, are required.
3. Photo diaries and other creative submissions are encouraged. Photo diaries should include at least 5 photos with captions and a brief description of the photo set.
4. Please submit, along with your submission, your name, school, department, year, and contact information.
5. Any and all material that is not your own must be cited, including photos and images, using Chicago Citation Style.
6. Submissions should be emailed to bc.kaleidoscope@gmail.com with the word "Submission" included in the subject line.

