



# THE OLYMPIC GAMES: ASIA RISING

—LONDON 2012 AND TOKYO 2020

## 奥运传播的政治棱镜：从伦敦到东京

Edited by J. A. MANGAN, Qing LUO, Sayuri GUTHRIE-SHIMIZU

主编：〔英〕J. A. 曼根 罗青 〔美〕格思里 - 清水小百合



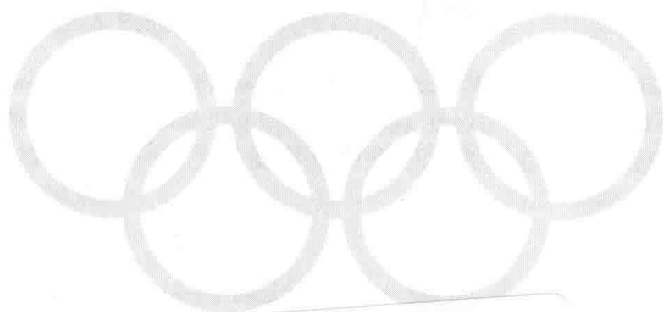
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## Preface

HU Zhengrong, *Professor, Vice President of the Communication University of China, China*

Several years ago, in the belief that education is the most important heritage of human-kind with the mission of steering media and communication, a professional aspiration of our Communication University of China (CUC), the visionary International League of Higher Education in Media and Communication, known as the MLeague, was founded here. Established through CUC's amicable ties with global peer institutions keen to share this common responsibility, MLeague has expanded to embrace twenty three countries across the globe and now involves sixty five universities. Based on MLeague's predominant resources, the Faculty of International Media, CUC, known as the ICUC was also founded. It is irrigating both global academia and industry creating a tide that hopefully will flow ever swiftly and strongly.

We are living in an era when communication and education in combination are influencing modern civilization in an increasingly profound way. Intertwined and mutually complementary, both are devoted to the transmission of culture and the creation of civilization with their influence reaching all levels of society. In an increasingly connected and integrated world, they are steadily assuming the duties of national and cultural identity construction and differential national competition. Now is a special moment, with convergence alongside segmentation, with globalization alongside localization, with challenges alongside opportunities, when media and education together both request and offer unprecedented opportunities for more intensive and productive international cooperation.

Few would dispute that the creation and dissemination of knowledge, the training of technical and academic staff and the offering of services to benefit the development of society are executed significantly by university institutions. It is no surprise that MLeague and ICUC has been founded in such circumstances, and initiated by my beloved CUC, the cradle of China's media talents and China's foremost media university with a distinguished reputation in, and an outstanding contribution to, the fields of culture and information communication. A major pragmatic CUC effort is the promotion of the internationalization of higher education on media and communication through MLeague and ICUC. Furthermore, it proposes international collaboration through the sharing of research and teaching resources and institutional influence by means of this strong combination worldwide. Already, in only four years, MLeague endeavours and accomplishments can be proclaimed and the names of brand projects announced such as the bi-annual MLeague International Symposium and the International Professor Workshop (IPW). National boundaries and East and the West are being bridged on an unprecedented scale.

The *ICUC International Series* is another fundamental academic achievement of

MLeague. It is one of the few book series published in the English language initiated by China, thus takes a significant lead in international media academia with its strong collaboration between Chinese and overseas scholars and with its pioneering interdisciplinary and forward looking research. With China poised to take a more dominant position in global economics and politics, a pressing need of contemporary academia on the one hand, requires domestic academia to consciously undertake the important responsibility of constructing and developing national culture and projecting national soft power, and on the other hand, there is a need for international peers to be aware of China's coming ascendancy: both needs to be achieved by means of academic exchange and cooperation. Therefore, the Series aims both to keep a foothold in China but to possess a global footstep, utilizing the rich resources of the MLeague and ICUC, thus bringing together a world wide global elite to discuss up-to-date research findings, to share exclusive ideas, to improve better understanding and to involve pluralistic voices in consideration of media and communication as an effective medium for promoting international progress. In short, the MLeague and ICUC roles are to carry on the "old" mission to educate but also to build a bridge in order to make possible a "new" connection for cutting-edge studies.

The *ICUC International Series* has been created on the firm foundation of CUC, MLeague and ICUC's impressively remarkable activities. It interacts fully and cooperates fully with distinguished professors and professionals invited through the IPWs, and has adopted an interdisciplinary ethos in order to engage with their advanced theoretical and empirical views in the form of edited books, reviews, translations and monographs. It is represented by a media and communication studies' advance guard involving a wide range of nationalities, while at the same time it has assembled valuable minds from the MLeague network knowledgeable about recent developments in the discipline and keen to disseminate this knowledge to the world. Furthermore, the MLeague and ICUC takes pains to select well-chosen studies to provide cognate and comparative as well as contextualized analyses covering integrative and cross-cultural themes in communication on China from a global perspective in the form of a newly launched high-standard academic journal.

In short, the MLeague and ICUC through its publications, is a united international conduit for the promising young researchers allowing them to seize opportunities to promote communication studies and communication practices in global academia and the media industry, while at the same time it offers established scholars the opportunity to build working networks and exchange peer reviewed knowledge on the widest front in media and communication areas.

The *ICUC International Series* is the substantive academic pioneer of a future, wide and deep cooperation between CUC, MLeague, ICUC and our international peers. By means of the effort and support of our committed partners, the Series, ICUC, and the MLeague, CUC will contribute to the construction of future exceptional and extraordinary education "skyscrapers". My thanks go to all the individuals and institutions involved in the Series project, who bring our efforts to the attention of a global audience, and who share in a notable international achievement. And a special acknowledgement is made to the members of the International Editorial Board. It is always a privilege and a pleasure to be associated with these eminent scholars and professionals.

Media influences the world, and education leads the media. International collaboration will light the way to progress.

# 总序

胡正荣 教授,博士生导师,中国传媒大学校长

教育是人类最重要的传承,能够引领传媒,影响世界。本着这样的信心与抱负,几年前,中国传媒大学决定发起现在被大家熟知的“传媒高等教育国际联盟”,并依托联盟成立中国传媒大学国际传媒教育学院——ICUC。通过我校与各国同行友好积极的推进,联盟发展迅速,成绩斐然,自成立至今已经延伸至23个国家和地区,已有65所国际知名院校成为了她的盟校。她正以前所未有的国际合作影响着全球传媒学术和产业界,也希望其未来能够掀起传媒高等教育界发展与革新的浪潮。

在当今时代,传媒与教育均对人类社会的发展产生了不可估量的影响。传播文化,缔造文明,传媒对社会的影响力和高等教育对传媒的引导力相互交织、相辅相成,已经渗透到社会组织与社会制度的核心层面。同时,置身于不断加快连结与融合的世界,各民族和文化认同及差异化竞争的责任也逐渐交予二者。可以说,这是一个关键的时刻,融合与细分共生,全球化与本土化共存,这为传媒与教育的发展带来了机遇和挑战,也号召更多深入的和实质性的国际合作。

越来越多的人认识到高等教育机构之于创造与传播知识、培养学术与技术人才及为社会发展提供有益服务的重要性。中国传媒大学作为“中国广播电视及传媒人才摇篮”和“信息传播领域知名学府”,为国家的传媒事业以及经济社会发展作出了重要贡献。我校希望通过发起传媒高等教育国际联盟和国际传媒教育学院,来进一步促进传媒高等教育的国际化,并联合世界各国一流传媒高等院校,利用各自的教学、科研与辐射能力,整合优势资源,构建合作平台。经过多方的支持和努力,联盟继续发展,成果丰硕,其开展的活动和项目,如一年两次的“传媒高等教育国际论坛”和“国际教授工作室”,已经成为了传媒高等教育界的知名品牌,其跨越国界,联通中西,具有重要的国际影响。

这套由中方发起、英文出版的“中西传媒研究书系”是联盟的又一项重要学术成果。它是传媒高等教育领域第一套由中外双方学者深度合作完成的,体现当今全球传媒研究领域的国际学术前沿,并涵盖新闻传播、传媒艺术与技术、新媒体等诸多新兴交叉学科的品牌书系,是一套传媒特色鲜明的跨学科研究成果。当今中国希望在世界经



济、政治和文化领域取得更多的成果,国内外学术界针对这种现状产生了强烈的研究需求。一方面,中国的学术机构需要自觉地承担起建设和发展本国特色文化和国家软实力的重要责任;另一方面,他国也需要通过学术交流和合作更加自如地面对和应对中国的崛起。因此,本书系充分调动传媒高等教育国际联盟和国际传媒教育学院的资源,以英文编写,立足中国,汇聚国际视野,探索传媒领域融合的、新兴的前沿和课题,传播与分享独特的观点和思想。作为一种有影响力的媒介,本书系囊括了多元化的声音,促进了不同文化间的深度了解。它构建了一座桥梁,肩负起教育的“旧责任”,也开启了传媒研究的“新天地”。

本书系围绕传媒研究及其与各学科的交叉前沿课题展开,系统化且升华了联盟开展的各项国际品牌项目,提供了丰富的论文、评论、译著及专著等书刊的出版:它以“国际教授工作室”作为平台和纽带,通过中西方专家和教授的深度交流与合作,推进传媒产业、学术和研究结合以及学科融合,多样化联合编辑和联络出版论文、评论、译著及专著等,囊括世界各国各地的最前沿最权威的传媒理论和实践观点及研究;它集结年度联盟国际学术委员会教授及专家智囊团,深度调研国际知名传媒高等教育机构,评估分析世界传媒高等教育和学科发展趋势;它系统收录年度联盟高等教育国际论坛会议论文和联盟内外高质量论文,并精选相关研究组刊,聚焦世界观点于中国传媒,囊括丰富的同源或比较研究及语境化课题,形成独树一帜的跨学科及跨文化的中国媒介与传播研究。“中西传媒研究书系”作为一个国际出版平台,为青年学者和研究员提供机会以对传媒学术和产业的发展作出贡献,也为资深专家和学者建构了一个专业的交流与合作的网络。

“中西传媒研究书系”是中国传媒大学与世界知名学府发展更广、更深交流和合作的先导。感谢我们的盟校和合作伙伴的帮助和支持,本书系、联盟、国际传媒教育学院以及中国传媒大学会继续努力为传媒和教育做出突出贡献。感谢所有参与本书系的个人和机构,没有他们的支持,本书系不会取得如此出色的学术成就。另外,特别感谢本书系的国际编委,能够和这些杰出的同行一起工作,我深感荣幸。

传媒影响世界,教育引领传媒。未来的合作将点亮新的进步之路。



# STATEMENT: Convergent Collation

## 重制版声明

J. A. Mangan

This CUC Press (ICUC) International Series publication *THE OLYMPIC GAMES* is an ambition realized and an intention fulfilled. The early collection *LONDON 2012*, of necessity, was an incomplete publication circumscribed by a required word limitation. No consideration of Tokyo 2020 as a consideration of continuity or change of East Asian political preoccupations was possible albeit originally intended. Due to the perceptive professional attitude and approach of the CUC Press this has been rectified. *THE OLYMPIC GAMES* is thus an evolved, advanced convergent collation. The CUC and CUC Press, of course, is closer to political realities in East Asia and thus arguably capable of informed judgement involving the region and significance of collation. For these reasons and the outstanding editorial appreciation and support I have received, the Press and ICUC has been a professional pleasure to work with. I wish every success to CUC, MLeague, ICUC and CUC Press in the future. It will be well deserved. Finally my personal thanks to Ren Tianwei for her exceptional editorial assistance and to Luo Qing for her immediate perspicacity as Editor-in-Chief.

本书——《奥运传播的政治棱镜：从伦敦到东京》，是由中国传媒大学出版社出版的“中西传媒研究书系”的第三部文集，是各位编辑努力合作共进的结果。本文集早期的版本——《伦敦2012：东亚政治和地缘政治棱镜》（“Special Issue: London 2012: Prism for East Asian Political Preoccupations”，《国际体育史》杂志特刊，2013），因受到字数限制等问题，并非是完整版；同时该版本也没有关注到东京2020年奥运会可能引起的东亚政治的延续及改变——本书才是首次对该问题进行了考量。中国传媒大学出版社拥有专业的态度和途径，也使得本书得以被重制和修正。因此，本书是升华的、高级的、更加凝聚于主题的重制版。中国传媒大学和传媒大学出版社无疑更接近东亚的政治现实，更有能力将有事实根据的判断和其重要性融入重制版。由于以上诸多原因，以及我得到的出色的编辑支持，让我非常高兴能够和传媒大学出版社和国际传媒教育学院合作。我希望，也相信中国传媒大学、传媒高等教育国际联盟、国际传媒教育学院和中国传媒大学出版社能在未来万事顺利。最后，我个人要感谢任天威出色的编辑协助以及罗青作为书系总主编的敏锐洞察力。

# FOREWORD: Cosmopolitan Global Maturity

## 引言：世界性在全球之成熟

William Kelly

*Yale University, USA*

2012 London Olympic Games were deeply significant to the East Asian nations as a liminal “betwixt-and-between” moment in the growing Asian presence in the Olympic movement. That is, the London Olympics were the aftermath to the 2008 Beijing Olympics and a prelude to the 2020 Tokyo Olympics. The London Olympics were, in effect, held on “neutral” ground on which the East Asian nations both flexed their solidarity as an emerging strong block within the international Olympic Movement and displayed their intense sibling rivalries. The studies in these volumes insightfully dissect key elements of East Asian participation in the London Olympics in the context of the geopolitics of the East Asian region and as a prospect for a new 21st-century history of the Olympic Games that will fully address the Asian role.

The range of topics and the depth of analysis across the many articles here are impressive, and I want to introduce them by noting a number of broad themes that run through and unite them. Indeed, one of the most fascinating themes in the articles is precisely the ever-present tensions during the London Olympic Games between the pan-regional solidarity of the East Asian nations, which collectively represented some of the most enthusiastic participation and the strongest performances among the athletes, and the intra-regional rivalries that were never far below the surface. As several of the articles detail, the demonstration and subsequent banning of South Korean soccer player Park Jong-woo, the lack of sanctions for the “Rising Sun” emblem on the Japanese gymnastics team uniforms, and the embarrassing mistake of displaying the South Korean national flag for the North Korean women’s soccer team—these and other incidents only exacerbated the spirited rivalries among East Asian nations on the playing fields themselves.

A second theme that lies behind many of these articles is the shape of the region. What is “Asia” and what is “East Asia” within it? These are definitional issues of obvious political potency. In FIFA football, for instance, the Asian Football Confederation (AFC) stretches from Beirut to Tokyo and Beijing to Sydney. That is, its membership extends from the Middle East to the Far East, including Southwest Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia. Even Australia, drawn by its rapidly increasing trade ties to China and Japan, left FIFA’s Pacific Confederation to join the AFC!

At this moment within the International Olympic Movement, such an expansive Asia plays less of a role than do the East Asian nations as a bloc: they are clearly the Asian leaders in the IOC. However, it is important to recognize that the Asian Games (most recently in

Inchon, South Korea in 2014) are now the world's second largest multi-sport mega-event after the Olympic Games themselves. Thus, simultaneously, we must track Asia's emergence as a 21<sup>st</sup>-century world center in politics, economics and sports and East Asia's emergence as the Asian vanguard into global sports—and perhaps, thirdly, China's emerging domination within East Asia. What is fascinating about the articles here is the range of views and forecasts that they present for these three unfolding scenarios.

As a third major theme, a number of these articles focus less on the regional geopolitics and more on the equally important matter of how competing in the 21<sup>st</sup>-century Olympic Games motivates interests and agendas domestically within each East Asian nation. Participating and hosting the Olympics have always had consequential reverberations within nations—for sports development, for metropolitan infrastructure, for media growth, for environmental policy, for citizen education, and for other domestic ambitions. And because sport—especially the Olympics—are widely regarded as potent soft power, national prestige and domestic politics often become entwined—sometimes explosively. Sport is centrally about open-ended competition and heated rivalries, and so it is much harder to engineer and orchestrate than other weapons of soft power (pop music, anime, film industries, etc. ). Sport is a stage, not a product list. When a nation puts its prestige on the starting line, it must accept the consequences of losing face when it loses the race!

Finally, the London Olympics were significant to the international Olympic movement in showing that East Asia has moved to the IOC head table in terms of participation, competition, audience, markets and corporate sponsorship even when an East Asian nation is *not* hosting the Games! Emerging from their first 100 years, the Olympic Games have largely grown out of their European infancy and their U. S. – Soviet Union-dominated adolescence. I'm not sure that one should then hope for an Asian adulthood in their second century. Even better, as the Asian nations are assuming leadership roles in the Olympic movement, we can expect the Games to display a cosmopolitan global maturity.

These companion volumes demonstrate two further lessons as well: that East Asian scholars are now contributing centrally to the world body of Olympic scholarship and that East Asian presses—here, CUC Press—have boldly taken up the imperative and the opportunity to publish some of the most important work. The editors and authors should be proud of their initiative and accomplishment.

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# PROLOGUE: Eurocentric Lens Removed: Wilsonian Re-ordered<sup>①</sup>

## 序章: 欧洲中心论的祛除——威尔逊主义再排序

J. A. Mangan

*The rise of the West to a position of dominance is one of the most important developments in world history in recent centuries. All writings about the world in recent times have had to take into account the rise of the West. However, from its zenith at the beginning of the twentieth century, Europe's hold over Asia was dramatically weakened. The twenty-first century is increasingly "The Asian Century". It is time to remove the Eurocentric lens through which much of recent world history has been viewed. The removal of this lens is the purpose of The Olympic Games. Will a new Wilsonian Moment now occur? Will the ambitious vision of Woodrow Wilson be realised at last in sport if not politics? Will the world experience a Neo-Wilsonian Moment in sport with the nations of the East celebrating the full fruits of full national equality, recognition and acceptance in a long delayed post-1919 harvest gleaned in recent global sports mega-events? Will future Olympic Games fully embrace the histories, values and traditions of both West and East? Will the Eurocentric lens remain in place?*

近几百年来,西方主宰地位的实现是世界历史上最重要的发展之一。所有关于近代世界的文献都必须考虑到西方的崛起。然而,自20世纪初——西方的鼎盛时期,欧洲对亚洲的控制力被极大削弱。21世纪愈加成为“亚洲的世纪”。是时候通过最近世界历史中发生的事件来祛除欧洲中心论这一说法了。实现这一步就是奥林匹克运动会的目标。新型威尔逊主义时刻会来临吗?伍德罗·威尔逊的宏伟蓝图会最终通过体育运动而非政治实现吗?东方各国正在庆祝他们在全球体育大赛中取得的大丰收以及由此获得的民族平等、认可与接受。此时此刻,全世界会与这些国家一起通过体育运动经历新威尔逊主义时刻吗?将来,奥运会会完全接受西方与东方的不同历史、价值观与传统吗?欧洲中心论主义会持续下去吗?

We live in a world that empires have made. Indeed, most of the modern world is a relic of empires: colonial and pre-colonial, African, Asian, European and American.<sup>1</sup>

... as empires come and empires go, at some stage the power of the United States will wane and another great power will rise up to fill the vacuum. This ambition, and an impatience to force events, has made Asia an unpredictable and dangerous place for all of us ...<sup>2</sup>

① This essay is an adapted and enlarged version of an early version that occurred in the *International Journal of History of Sport*.



... sport creates changes in nations that goes beyond the physical to the political. ... sport is not just a spectacle: it is a powerful political agent that generates internal and external pressures for change that are difficult to ignore ... sport matters politically ...<sup>3</sup>

... the Triple East Asian Olympic Games ... are the precursors of Asian mega-events to come: sooner rather than later. The momentum ... will increase year by year. The traction of the Asian engine grows increasingly more powerful and there should no doubts in Western minds that these events collectively are ascendant symbols of Asia Rising; differentially but emphatically across its nations—politically, economically and culturally ...<sup>4</sup>

(Sport) is not merely a political act but a ... political instrument.<sup>5</sup>

*Adaptation of the Von Clausewitz celebrated maxim.*

## European Origins and Influences

*Sport played globally, organised globally, commercialised globally, politicised globally and, last but not least, enjoyed globally—whatever the local variations, interpretations and nuances—has resulted in sport-obsessed global societies with common “play”, pleasures and purposes. It is an obsession that will only grow in the twenty-first century. And it all began in Europe.*<sup>6</sup>

*The rise of the West to a position of dominance is one of the most important developments in world history in recent centuries. Everyone writing about the world beyond Europe has had to take the rise of the West into account, consciously or unconsciously.*<sup>7</sup>

*Europeans foisted their singular qualities on the unwilling and unprepared majority of humanity, transforming the entire world in their own image and establishing a hierarchy of prestige defined by the success of imitation. In the world revolution of Westernisation, Western political ambition and competitiveness became universal. The victorious Westerners, their own ways and self-confidence boosted by their worldwide sway, left the rest of the world humiliated and in cultural limbo. Under the Western impact, traditional authorities and local customs had no future; they crumbled away. Meanwhile, the imported ways of the West remained superficial or even incomprehensible; they did not fit societies whose cultural sovereignty had been crushed.*<sup>8</sup>

## Asian Ascendancy and Assertion

*From its zenith at the beginning of the twentieth century, Europe's hold over Asia was dramatically weakened; by 1950, Europe was reduced to a peripheral presence in Asia, shored up only by the newest Western power, the USA, and increasingly depended on an informal empire made up of military bases, economic pressures and political coups. Europeans, and then Americans, found that they had underestimated the Asian ability to assimilate modern ideas, techniques and institutions—the “secrets” of Western power—and then to turn them against the West itself. They had failed to notice the intense desire for equality and dignity among people whom Europe's most influential thinkers, from Hegel and Marx to John Stuart Mill, had deemed unfit for self-rule—thinkers whose ideas, ironically, would in fact prove highly potent among these “subject peoples”.*<sup>9</sup>

... it is now clearer that the central event of the last century for the majority of the world's

population was the intellectual and political awakening of Asia and its emergence from the ruins of both Asian and European empires. To acknowledge this is to understand the world not only as it exists today, but also how it is continuing to be remade not so much in the image of the West as in accordance with the aspirations and longings of former subject peoples.<sup>10</sup>

## New World: Future Order or Disorder. The Wilsonian Moment Passé?

### A Historical Watershed

An aggressively nationalistic China rose swiftly, and the long revolt against the West that began in the late nineteenth century seemed to be approaching a historical watershed. Certainly, the dominance of the West already appeared just another, surprisingly short-lived phase in the long history of empires and civilisations.<sup>11</sup>

### A New World

This is a new world, but there is neither a new world order (to use a phrase that was fashionable in the early 1990s), nor is there a new world disorder (to use a phrase that has become more fashionable since). What makes this a particularly difficult and dangerous world is that, through globalisation, three zones are interconnected. A world divided into three needs a threefold security policy and a threefold mindset. Neither is easy to achieve.<sup>12</sup>

## Part One: Well Beyond the Wilsonian Moment—Modern Sport

“Once we remove the Eurocentric lens through which ... international history in general has most often been viewed, central events and experiences pertaining to non-European peoples come into focus ...”<sup>13</sup> The removal of this lens is the focus of *The Olympic Games: Prism for East Asian Politics and Geopolitics: London 2012 and Tokyo 2020*. It is necessary. This is the “The Asian Century”.<sup>14</sup> The shift away from the West as the focal point of modern history was one of the central features of the twentieth century<sup>15</sup>: this shift is accelerating in the twenty-first century. It is true of sport—the modern global obsession,<sup>16</sup> and especially true of East Asian sport.<sup>17</sup>

Attention is focused more and more, as it should be, on non-Western nations as increasingly influential participants in world affairs—including world sport: without any doubt now a political and geopolitical affair. One distinct advantage in East and West is release from an insular Western view of the world.

The balance of forces at work becomes more visible in global perspective. Although in our own culture we feel free, we are blind to the hidden factors of cultural conditioning that shape our actions. Only by looking at ourselves from the outside, ... can we see how deeply enmeshed we are in the network of hidden factors that constitute our cultural identity ... we become aware that our actions are determined by an almost infinite number of forces beyond the range of our consciousness.<sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless, paradoxically, in modern sport one standardised global manifestation of