

OLYMPIC STUDIES READER

A Multidisciplinary and
Multicultural Research Guide 《

奥林匹克研究读本
——综合学科和多元文化研究指南

BEIJING SPORT UNIVERSITY
BEIJING, CHINA

北京体育大学——中国，北京
加玛费尔蒙大学——巴西，里约热内卢

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加玛费尔蒙大学——巴西，里约热内卢

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这本《奥林匹克研究读本》在国际奥委会尤其是其信息管理部和奥林匹克研究中心的大力支持下，由北京体育大学和加玛费尔豪大学合作完成了。本书纸质、CD和其他媒体形式的出版和发行均为免费。同时也提供免费的网络下载。除商业目的外，允许复印该书或其中论文，但请务必著名作者和原始出处。版权所有。封面图片属国际奥委会收藏品。

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PREFACE BY
THE PRESIDENT
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
OLYMPIC COMMITTEE
JACQUES ROGGE

Since the IOC was created at the Sorbonne University in Paris in 1894, the academic world has always played a part in the life of the Olympic Movement.

Universities have often partnered the Organising Committees for the Olympic Games (OCOGs) by offering numerous volunteers from among their students, helping to train the OCOG staff and offering the use of their sports facilities. They have thus played an important role in the success enjoyed by the Games. Many universities have also worked with the National Olympic Committees (NOCs), which are responsible for supporting the Olympic education programmes at all levels of education in their respective countries.

University researchers likewise offer valuable assistance in studies on the development of the Olympic Movement. Thanks to their knowledge, especially in the human and social sciences, they remind us of the origins of Olympism and the Olympic Games, and thereby enrich the studies and analyses of the key issues affecting the Olympic Movement.

For some years now, the multi-disciplinary richness of Olympic studies has been strongly enhanced by work on multiculturalism. This offers essential information on the universality of the Olympic Movement and its values, particularly respect for others and different cultures.

国际奥委会主席雅
克·罗格博士为《奥
林匹克研究读本》
所作前言

自从1894年国际奥委会在巴黎索邦神学院建立以来，学术界一直在奥林匹克运动中扮演着极为重要的角色。

高校一直是各届奥运会组委会（OCOGs）亲密的合作伙伴，不但提供了大量的志愿者，还负责组委会工作人员的培训工作，并为比赛提供体育器材和场馆，以帮助组委会更好地完成奥运会的组织任务。因此，高校为各届赛会的成功做出了极大的贡献。与此同时，许多高校还与其所在国家或地区奥委会（NOCs）通力合作，支持并协助其完成该国或地区各个水平的奥林匹克教育计划。

同样的，高校的学者和研究人员在奥林匹克运动研究方面也取得了巨大的成就。正是得益于他们的渊博学识，尤其是在人文和社会科学方面的研究，使得奥林匹克主义和奥运会的起源等时刻

在我们脑海中保持鲜活，并由此充实和丰富了对影响奥林匹克运动发展之各种因素的研究分析。

这些年，多元文化主义的相关研究极大地推动了奥林匹克运动研究多学科性的发展。这一动态为奥林匹克运动普世性及其价值提供了重要的信息，尤其是在尊重不同文化方面。

巴西加玛费尔豪大学和北京体育大学合作编辑出版的这本《奥林匹克研究读本》，由拉马丁·达科斯塔教授和任海教授合编，并得到了国际奥委会奥林匹克研究中心的大力支持。众所周知，奥林匹克运动研究的贡献都颇有价值，此书就是一个很好的例子，我为此感到非常高兴。

我希望这一多学科和多元文化研究指南的第一卷能够向全世界的读者们提供更多更好的关于奥林匹克现象之复杂性和丰富性的知识，并由此来鼓励更多的研究人员和学生投入到或是继续执著于奥林匹克运动研究领域的工作。

国际奥委会主席 雅克·罗格

This is why I am delighted that the University Gama Filho in Brazil and the Beijing Sports University in China, under the coordination of Professors Lamartine Dacosta and Ren Hai and with the support of the IOC Olympic Studies Centre, have taken the initiative of publishing the “Olympic Studies Reader”, which is an excellent example of the valuable contribution made by Olympic studies.

I hope that the first volume of this multidisciplinary and multicultural research guide will provide all its readers with a better knowledge of the complexity and richness of the Olympic phenomenon, and will encourage many other researchers and students to work or continue working in the field of Olympic studies.



INTRODUCTION

THE IOC OLYMPIC STUDIES CENTRE AND THE OLYMPIC STUDIES NETWORK

WELCOME TO MULTICULTURAL AND MULTIDISCIPLINARY CONTRIBUTIONS

PHILIPPE BLANCHARD

Director of the IOC Information Management Department

NURIA PUIG

Head of Universities Relations
Olympic Studies Centre

For the last 26 years, the Olympic Studies Centre (OSC) of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has facilitated contact between the academic world and the IOC.

The OSC's name reminds us, as highlighted by Norbert Müller in his paper, of Pierre de Coubertin and his desire to create a Centre d'Etudes Olympiques in order to ensure a repository for his educational efforts.

Its creation was, however, many decades after the death of the founder of the Modern Olympic Games, and its first activities were very limited compared with the educational expectations Coubertin gave to the Olympic Movement.

During the first few years, the OSC focused its activities on providing an information service based on the written and audiovisual patrimony of the IOC. This was mainly aimed at the IOC administration and Olympic Movement representatives, but it was progressively opened to researchers, journalists and the general public.

国际奥委会奥林匹克 研究中心和奥林匹 克研究网络

邀您分享多元文化和多学科研究的丰硕成果

菲利普·布朗夏尔

国际奥委会信息管理部主任

努利亚·普伊格

奥林匹克研究中心大学联络部主任

在过去的26年中，国际奥委会奥林匹克研究中心（OSC）在学术界和国际奥委会之间搭建起了有效的联系桥梁。

正如诺伯特·穆勒教授所言，奥林匹克研究中心这一名称使得我们想起了皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦以及他要建立一个奥林匹克研究中心以确保为他的奥林匹克教育事业提供一个智囊库的这一设想。

然而，该中心却是在现代奥林匹克运动的创始人顾拜旦去世后许多年才得以建立，其早期的活动与顾拜旦寄以奥林匹克运动的教育期望也相去甚远。

在最初的几年，奥林匹克研究中心的活动主要是提供关于国际

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— 奥林匹克研究读本

奥委会文字和影音资料的信息服务。主要服务对象是国际奥委会的管理者及奥林匹克运动各方面的代表，但随着历史的发展，该机构逐渐向研究者、记者和公众开放。

从此以后，奥林匹克研究中心发生了巨大的变化：其收藏量呈几何倍数增长；设施也有所更新（1994年，奥林匹克研究中心迁至奥林匹克博物馆，很显然，这掀开了该中心的崭新篇章）；应用了新媒体（欢迎数字时代的到来！）；研究团队蓬勃发展且日益专业化；整个组织都受到了当今信息化社会和知识经济时代的影响。

这一发展变化始终伴随着与学术界定期的交流和合作，以促进了高校奥林匹克研究领域的发展。

国际奥委会奥林匹克研究中心的任务和活动

奥林匹克研究中心存在的依据是奥林匹克主义的基本原则以及《奥林匹克宪章》对国际奥委会职能的陈述，尤其是下列部分：

— 鼓励和支持将体育与文化、教育联系起来的积极行动；以及

Since then, the OSC has evolved enormously: the collections have grown exponentially; the facilities have changed (the transfer to the Olympic Museum premises in 1994 clearly marked a new chapter in the life of the OSC); new media have appeared (welcome to the digital age!); the team has grown and become specialised; and the whole organisation has been influenced by today's information and knowledge management needs.

This evolution has always been accompanied by regular contact and collaboration with academics, aimed at promoting the field of Olympic Studies within universities.

MISSION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE IOC OLYMPIC STUDIES CENTRE

The OSC has its “raison d'être” within the fundamental principles of Olympism and the IOC's roles stated in Olympic Charter, in particular the following ones:

- to encourage and support initiatives blending sport with culture and education; and
- to encourage and support the activities of the International Olympic Academy (“IOA”) and other institutions which dedicate themselves to Olympic education.

In line with this role, the centre, situated at the Olympic Museum site in Lausanne, Switzerland, bases its activities around two main axes: to preserve and disseminate the written and audiovisual patrimony of the IOC and to encourage research, teaching and publications connected with Olympism.

The Centre's area of activities, under the responsibility of the Information Management Department, complements at IOC level the work done by other departments in the field of education and culture such as the Commission for Culture and Olympic Education, the Department for International Cooperation and Development and the educational service of the Olympic Museum.

The OSC is composed of five complementary sections: the Historical Archives, the IOC Library, the Images Archives, the Information Centre and the University Relations section.

- The Historical Archives are responsible for safeguarding and providing access to more than 1,000 linear metres of patrimonial written documents, bearing witness to the history of the IOC from its foundation to 1987. Among the main collections are: the files of all IOC Presidents and decision-making bodies, the Olympic Games, and the IOC's relations with the Olympic Movement. The Historical Archives section offers archives research, selection and submission of appropriate documents and special support for publications or exhibitions. Access to this unique collection is regulated by the IOC Archives Access Rules.
- The IOC Library manages a unique collection of publications (more than 23,000 monographs, a selection of 420 journals and electronic resources) related to the IOC and the Olympic Movement, the ancient and modern Olympic Games, Olympic sports and all sport sciences. This collection includes the official publications of the Olympic Movement, such as the Olympic Charter and Olympic Review, the candidate city files, and the official Games Reports. Furthermore, the Library provides free access to the collections, on-line catalogue and electronic resources, and national and international loan management.
- The Images Archives have the responsibility of acquiring, restoring, preserving, documenting and giving access to all audiovisual patrimony related to the Olympic Games and the activities of the Olympic Movement. The collection today contains more than 610,000 photographs, 35,000 hours of film, and 3,500 hours of audio documents from 1896 to 2006. The Images Archives also provide a research service and access within the framework of academic work, publications, exhibitions or documentary films.
- The Information Centre provides factual information on the history of the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games, and serves the IOC administration, Olympic family, academics and the general public. This section also acts as the point of entry for all research requests or for academics interested in visiting the OSC.
- The University Relations section acts as a link between the academic community and the IOC. This relationship has a twofold purpose: to respond to requests from universities (information, support for academic activities, research proposals, etc.) and to answer to the needs

– 鼓励和支持国际奥林匹克学院（IOA）和其他致力于奥林匹克教育的学术机构的活动。

根据这一角色定位，位于瑞士洛桑奥林匹克博物馆的奥林匹克研究中心将其活动建立在两个基点上：一是国际奥委会文字以及影音资料的保护和传播；其次是鼓励与奥林匹克主义相关的研究、教学和出版发行活动。

奥林匹克研究中心主要是由国际奥委会信息管理部负责的，其活动主要是在国际奥委会层面上，在教育和文化等领域对其他诸如文化和教育委员会、国际合作发展部以及奥林匹克博物馆的教育服务等机构及其活动进行补充。

奥林匹克研究中心由5个部门构成：历史档案馆、国际奥委会图书馆、影像资料馆、信息中心和大学联络部。

- 历史档案馆。
- 国际奥委会图书馆。
- 影像资料馆。
- 信息中心。
- 大学联络部。

每年，奥林匹克研究中心要回复一千多个进行深入研究的需求和大约8000个借用文献或者发送文章的需求。此外，每年还要欢迎

300多名前来利用国际奥委会相关资料的研究者。影音资料（每年超过2万7千幅照片和450小时的影像资料）也非常值得一提。

更多关于奥林匹克研究中心服务和资料的信息请参见其官方网站（<http://www.olympic.org/studies>）。

与学术界合作以促进奥林匹克运动研究

- 研究理事会

通过于1997年成立的研究理事会，奥林匹克研究中心加强了与高校的合作。这对奥林匹克研究来说是非常重要的，因为国际奥委会认识到了与大学及其代表合作的重要性。

研究理事会的主要作用是向奥林匹克研究中心提供与世界范围内奥林匹克主义的研究、文献和传播有关的议题；选出每年的科研资助计划的获奖者；对奥林匹克研究中心的国际学术联系提供建议。

该理事会的成员都是在奥林匹克运动研究领域范围内享有盛誉的学者，由国际奥委会主席选出，他同时也兼任该理事会主席。

of the IOC administration which may be covered by the academic world (research, articles, etc.). The section is also responsible for the annual Postgraduate Research Grant Programme, created in 1999 thanks to the contribution of the Research Council.

Every year, the OSC responds to more than 1,000 requests for in-depth research and around 8,000 requests concerning the loan of monographs or sending of articles. Furthermore, each year the Centre welcomes over 300 researchers wanting to consult the IOC collections. The distribution of the audiovisual collections (more than 27,000 photos and 450 hours of films annually) is also worth mentioning at this point.

Further information about the OSC's services and collections can be found on the OSC web site (<http://www.olympic.org/studies>).

COLLABORATION WITH ACADEMICS AND PROMOTION OF OLYMPIC STUDIES

- The Research Council

The OSC specially strengthened its collaboration with the university community with the creation of a Research Council in 1997. This was an important moment for Olympic Studies, as at the highest level the IOC recognised its need to work with universities and their representatives.

The main functions of the Research Council were to provide recommendations to the OSC on issues related to research, documentation and the dissemination of Olympism worldwide; to select the annual research grant holders; and to advise on the OSC's international academic relationships.

The Council's members, all academics known world-wide for the quality of their research on the Olympic Movement, were chosen by the IOC President, who chaired the Council.

According to the Research Council statutes, part of the membership is regularly replaced in order to guarantee both continuity and fresh impetus. Thanks to this renewal, the Centre has benefited since 1997 from the valuable advice and support of 18 academic members: 4 from Ger-

many, 3 from the USA, 3 from France, 2 from Great Britain and 1 from Belgium, Brazil, China, Greece, Japan and Spain. The Council, which has now become the Selection Committee, will continue with this renewal strategy, seeking to combine within a small group both multidisciplinary expertise and cultural background diversity.

- The Postgraduate Research Grant Programme

One of the important contributions of the Research Council to the field of the Olympic studies is the Postgraduate Research Grant Programme. Launched by the OSC in 1998 (the first grant recipients visited the Centre in 1999), the programme seeks to encourage young researchers to undertake high quality research related to Olympism, the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games from a human and social sciences angle.

As highlighted by Susan Brownell, one of the Council's members, the grant programme serves as a link between the IOC and the universities of the world by reaching out to the next generation of top intellectuals, who are now graduate students or young professors in the humanities and social sciences. We hope that, as teachers, these young scholars will be the future multipliers of the Olympic ideals, and as researchers, they will be an important source of the future creativity and vitality of the Olympic Movement.

The application files submitted for the grant programme provide an interesting picture of the origin of the applicants and their Olympic-related research topics. This picture might be of interest in the analysis of the multicultural and multidisciplinary aspects of Olympic studies.

In nine editions, we have received and analysed the application files of 297 candidates from 57 countries (27.8% of all the National Olympic Committees). An analysis by continent shows the following:

- Europe is the best represented continent, with 132 applicants (44.5% of the total) from 29 countries. The countries which feature the most often are France (29 files), Greece (15), Germany (12), Great Britain (11) and Romania (10).
- America is represented by 76 candidates (25.6% of the total) from 8 countries. The majority of these young researchers are from the USA (30), Canada (21) and Brazil (13).

根据研究理事会的规程，为了保证连续性和新鲜血液，成员会进行更新。正因为如此，从1997年开始就受益于其18位成员颇有价值的建议和支持，其中4位来自德国，美国和法国各3位，2位来自英国，比利时、巴西、中国、希腊、日本和西班牙各一位。理事会现在更名为遴选委员会，在继续实施这一新的策略，努力在这一小型组织内纳入多学科和不同文化背景的学者。

奥林匹克研究中心研究理事会做出的重要贡献之一就是研究生科研资助计划。该计划由奥林匹克研究中心于1998年启动（第一批获奖者于1999年来到了该中心），旨在鼓励青年学者从人文与社会科学角度进行与奥林匹克主义、奥林匹克运动和奥运会有关的高水平学术研究。

在过去的9届评选中，我们收到了来自57个国家（占有国家和地区奥委会总数的27.8%）的297份申请。基于大洲分布的统计如下：

- 欧洲是申请人最多的大洲，有来自29个国家的132份申请，占总数的44.5%。申请人最多的国家依次是法国（29份）、希腊（15份）、德国（12份）、英国（11份）和罗马尼亚（10份）。

- 美洲有来自8个国家的76份申请，占总数的25.6%。主要来自美国（32份）、加拿大（21份）和巴西（13份）。

- 接下来的是亚洲，共有来自10个国家的56份申请，占总数的18.8%。其中，中国的申请者最多，共有35份申请。

- 非洲有来自8个国家的20个申请，占总数的6.7%，主要来自喀麦隆、刚果、肯尼亚和尼日利亚等国家。

- 大洋洲有13份申请（占总数的4.4%），其中澳大利亚10份和新西兰的3份。

图1为申请者所在大洲的地理分布图。

图1: 申请者地理分布图（1999-2008）

获奖者的分布也呈现出相似情况。从1999年开始，我们对42位申请者提供了资助，其中18名来自欧洲（42.8%）、12名来自美洲（18.5%）、8名来自亚洲（19%）、3名来自大洋洲（7.1%）、1名来自非洲（2.3%）。图2是获奖者的地理分布图。

- Asia follows with 56 candidates (18.8% of the total) from 10 countries. In that region of the world, China is the best represented, with 35 application files.

- Africa has had 20 candidates (6.7% of the total) from 8 countries. Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya and Nigeria are the countries with the highest representation.

- Oceania is represented by 13 candidates (4.4% of the total) from Australia (10 files) and New Zealand (3 files).

Chart 1: illustrates the geographical distribution of application files (1999-2008)

Chart 2: illustrates the geographical distribution of grant holders (1999-2008)

Chart 3: illustrates the breakdown of disciplines of grant topics (1999-2008) (Please, see Charts at the end of this chapter)

An analysis of the grant holders' origins reveals similar figures. Since 1999, we have awarded grants to 42 candidates: 18 from Europe (42.8%), 12 from America (28.5%), 8 from Asia (19%), 3 from Oceania (7.1%) and 1 from Africa (2.3%).

An analysis of the origin of the candidates and grant holders shows that, despite the regular efforts made in the dissemination of the grant programme, we still have a long way to go for the programme to reach and encourage the young researchers around the world interested in Olympic Studies. The applications we have received from the academic community in Africa can be considered as anecdotal, and the situation is similar in the case of Central & South America, with the only exception being Brazil. We also lack candidates from regions of Asia other than the East, until now mainly represented by China thanks to the boost of the Games of the XXIX Olympiad in Beijing.

Concerning the disciplines of the human and social sciences present in the application files, analysis of the grant holders' research topics shows us the following:

- History is the highest represented discipline, with grants for 18 research projects (42.8% of the total). This predominance is logical, as until 2007 the grants only covered researchers needing to consult the OSC's

collections, which mainly attracted historians. However, during the last two years, history-related applications have diminished proportionally.

- Urban and architecture follows History with six grants (14.2% of total). Clearly related with analysis of the Olympic Games legacy, this discipline has almost always been present in the applications and among most of the grant holders selected.
- Sociology is the third most represented discipline, with four grants (9.5% of total). It is followed by Economics (three grants), Arts, Communication and Sports Management (two grants each) and Cultural Studies, Law, Religious Studies, Philosophy and Political Sciences (one grant each).

Taking the evolution of the applications into consideration, we think that in the future the research projects submitted will be increasingly diversified in terms of the disciplines involved. This tendency is already being reinforced by some of the changes introduced to the grant programme last year, such as the identification of priority fields of research and the possibility of grants for research projects to be undertaken outside the OSC.

- The Olympic studies network - Working together for Olympism

Besides the Postgraduate Research Grant Programme and the OSC's activities in Lausanne, the centre maintains regular contact with other Olympic Studies Centres, researchers involved in Olympic Studies and a continuously renewed generation of professors and students interested in Olympic-related matters. This constitutes an unofficial but dynamic network of almost a thousand contacts.

The IOC OSC is connected with 31 other OSCs, all of which are university-based institutions. These centres, located in 18 countries from all the continents with the exception of Africa, cover with their expertise a wide range of disciplines and also in-depth knowledge of specific editions of the Games. The OSCs have a key role within the network as they ensure regular contact with professors and students, and act as centres of reference.

The scholars involved in Olympic Studies are also regarded as important contributors to the network. They regularly carry out Olympic-related

图2：获奖者地理分布图
(1999-2008)

对申请人和获奖者的地理分布分析显示，虽然我们已经一直在努力，鼓励全世界青年学者投身于奥林匹克研究中来，但我们仍然有很长的路要走。来自非洲的申请相对非常薄弱，相同的情况出现在中美洲和除巴西之外的南美洲。我们也缺少来自除了东亚以外的其它亚洲区域的申请。到目前为止，来自中国的大部分申请主要得益于北京第29届奥运会的成功申办。

人文和社会科学方面的申请主要集中在这样一些研究领域：

- 历史学。
 - 城市和建筑。
 - 社会学是第三个最具代表性的学科，其后是经济、艺术、传媒和体育管理、文化研究、法律、宗教研究、哲学和政治学。
- 图3显示了获奖者研究主题所在学科分布状况。

图3：获奖者研究主题的学科分布 (1999-2008)

除了研究生科研资助计划和奥林匹克研究中心在洛桑的活动，该中心还与其他奥林匹克研究中心及其研究人员、一批又一批对奥林匹克相关事物有着浓厚兴趣的教授和学生进行日常的联系。这形成了非官方的但充满着生机的研究网络。

几年前，奥林匹克研究中心确立了奥林匹克专业分类，这有助于我们将学术研究与国际奥委会的组织和机构结合起来。分类情况如下所示：

- 艺术和文化
- 申办过程
- 经济学
- 环境问题
- 道德伦理
- 赛事管理
- 性别
- 历史
- 国际关系
- 法律问题
- 营销
- 大众传媒
- 医学
- 奥林匹克运动
- 奥林匹克运动项目
- 奥林匹克主义/奥林匹克运动的精神和价值
- 安全问题
- 社会问题
- 体育管理

research, publish the results of their research, present papers on Olympic matters at conferences and teach at the universities. The OSC maintains contacts with more than 115 scholars who cover all the continents, 25 countries and a great variety of the human and social sciences disciplines.

Some years ago, the OSC set up an Olympic expertise classification which assists us to link the work of the academics to the IOC's organisation and functional structure. This classification includes the following topics:

- Arts and culture
- Bid process
- Economy
- Environment
- Ethics
- Games management
- Gender
- History
- International Relations
- Law
- Marketing
- Media
- Medicine
- Olympic Movement
- Olympic sports
- Olympism / Spirit and values of the Olympic Movement
- Security
- Society
- Sports management
- Technology
- Urbanism & architecture

Finally, the OSC is constantly approached by new professors and students interested in the Olympic phenomenon. These new contacts also strengthen the network as they bring new interests, experiences and cultures.

All these contacts enable us to support academic activities promoting Olympism within universities and to collaborate with scholars willing to contribute to the IOC's mission and projects.

All these valuable contacts strengthen our belief in the importance of promoting multicultural and multidisciplinary intellectual reflection on the evolution of the Olympic Movement and encouraging a constructive exchange between academics and the IOC and Olympic Movement representatives.

We are convinced that the Olympic Studies Reader will be an excellent tool for both objectives. In this sense, we wish to warmly thank its editors, Lamartine Da Costa, Ren Hai, Ana Maria Miragaya and Niu Jing, and all the contributors for the excellent work they have done.

We hope that this publication will be a source of inspiration for the Olympic Movement representatives and for many new researchers willing to study in depth the Olympic phenomenon and to contribute to strengthening the Olympic values.

On our side, we undertake to continue promoting the bridge between academics and the IOC.

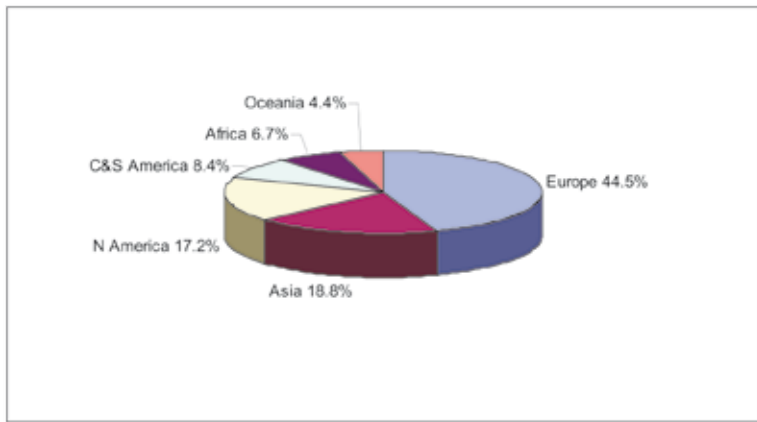


Chart 1: Geographical Distribution of Application Files (1999-2008)

图1: 申请者地理分布图 (1999-2008)

- 技术问题
- 城市和建筑

奥林匹克研究中心坚持不懈地与对奥林匹克现象有兴趣的年轻教授和学生进行着接触。这些联系也带来了新的兴趣、经历和文化,从而加强了奥林匹克研究网络。

所有的这些联系都使得我们得以支持在大学进行的促进奥林匹克主义的学术活动,并加强与学者们的合作,以求为国际奥委会的任务和规划有所贡献。

我们相信,这本《奥林匹克研究读本》对学术界和国际奥委会双方来说都会是一个很好的工具。在这个意义上,我们要真诚地感谢其编者拉马丁·达科斯塔教授、任海教授、安娜·妮拉加娅博士和牛静博士以及所有对这一出色工作做出贡献的作者们。

我们希望该书的出版能够为奥林匹克运动各方的代表和有志于对奥林匹克现象进行深度研究的诸多新研究者们提供启迪,为强化奥林匹克的价值做出贡献。

就我们而言,也必将会继续促进学术界与国际奥委会的密切合作。

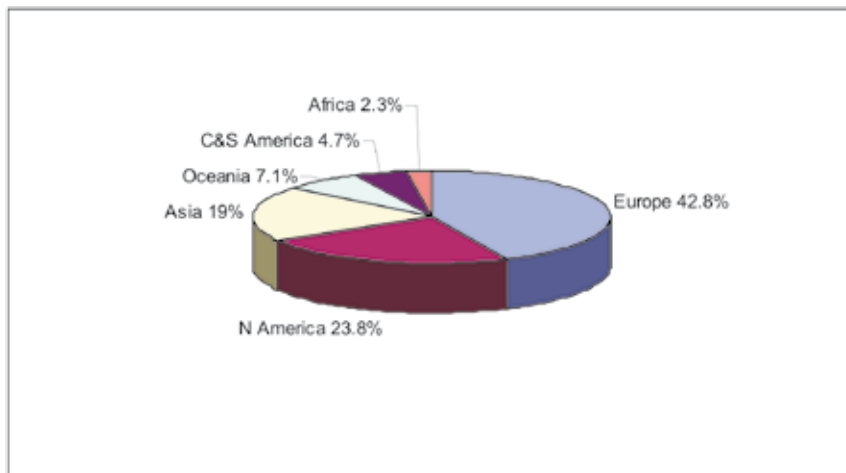


Chart 2: Geographical Distribution of Grant Holders (1999-2008)

图2：获奖者地理分布图（1999-2008）

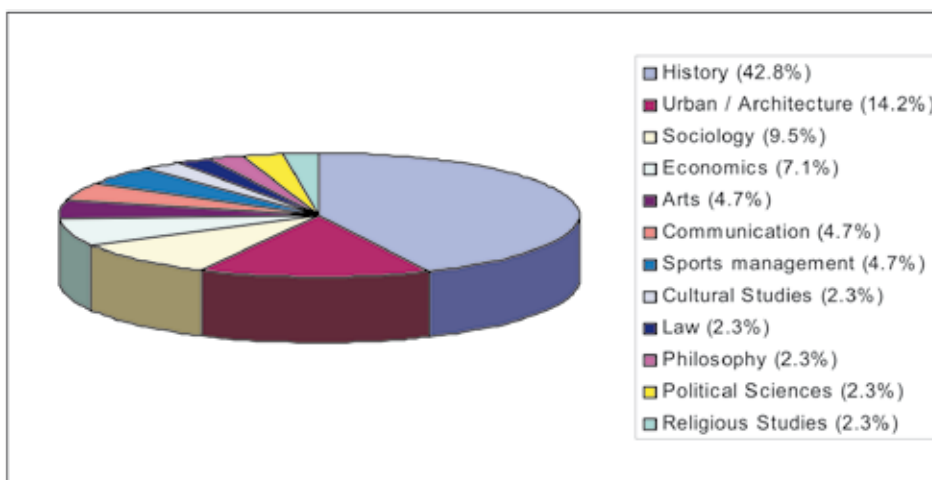


Chart 3: Breakdown of disciplines of grant topics (1999-2008)

图3：获奖者研究主题的学科分布（1999-2008）

SETTING THE STAGE FOR MULTICULTURALISM, VALUES AND PLURALISM IN OLYMPIC STUDIES RESEARCH

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In 1983, during a Session of the International Olympic Academy – IOA, held in Ancient Olympia, Greece, a group of non-European participants rejected the universal validity of Olympism as they presented the argument that Olympism was based on principles from Western societies. The fact was reported by Wojciech Liponsky (1987), Polish scholar, who additionally raised this question: “what kind of values, now so essential for Olympism, should be kept and should be limited or eliminated if any in order to respect non-Western societies?”

This paper aims at providing answers to Liponsky’s claim taking into account not only developments from Olympic Studies in the last two decades but also advances in academic knowledge in the interplay between values and culture. In this concern, we shall meet a main proposal of this Olympic Studies Reader: to provide a stage for future research on multicultural topics.

The first step is to examine Liponsky’s argument according to key initiatives in the area of Olympic Studies in terms of approaches to build knowledge. That is the case of the “First International Conference on the Olympics and East / West and South / North Cultural Exchange in the World System” (Seoul, 1987), organized by Kang Shin-pyo (Korea), John MacAloon (USA) and Roberto DaMatta (Brazil). This event was privileged with the participation of “some 50 distinguished anthropologists, sociologists, communication specialists, philosophers and historians representing the five continents to discuss...comparative historical, regional and national experiences...for understanding them in very different cultural contexts...at the same time, international sport will offer a common point of reference

为奥林匹克运动研究中的多元文化主义、价值体系和多元主义创造条件

拉马丁·达科斯塔 安娜·妮拉加娅
加玛费尔豪大学奥林匹克运动研究团队，里约热内卢，巴西

在1983年国际奥林匹克学院（IOA）举行的一次会议上，一些不是来自欧洲的与会者认为奥林匹克主义是建立在西方社会的准则之上的。波兰学者沃伊塞克·里旁斯基（1987）也持这种观点，并提出了这样的问题：“如果尊重非西方社会，那么我们应该保留、限制或者消除哪些对奥林匹克主义来说非常重要的价值观？”

考虑到奥林匹克研究在近20年的发展以及价值观与文化体系之间互动理论的进展，本文的目的就是试图回答里旁斯基所提出的问题。这正是这本《奥林匹克研究读本》的主要目的之一——给未来跨文化研究议题提供一个理想的平台。

从建立知识的方法来说，第一步就是要根据奥林匹克运动研究的主要动力来检验里旁斯基提出的问题。首先要提到的是由姜信朴（韩国）、约翰·麦克阿隆（美国）和罗伯特·达马塔（巴西）等组织的第一

届奥林匹克国际大会暨东西南北文化交流大会。“来自五大洲的大约50位著名人类学家、社会学家、交流专家、哲学家和历史学家参加了会议，讨论了……在不同的文化背景下理解……不同的历史、宗教和国家的实践……同时，国际体育成为了讨论文化交流的重要平台……”（姜信朴，2007）

姜信朴等学者研究跨文化联系——这一议题既需要奥林匹克运动的相关知识，也澄清了里旁斯基等提出的这类问题——时所面临的挑战，赋予了奥林匹克运动研究以新鲜的血液，带动了新的学术兴趣。这种研究动力的另一个例子就是“千禧年国际体育研讨会”（魁北克城，1990），其主题之一是文化及其与体育运动——尤其是奥林匹克运动——联系的不同方式（兰德里，1991）。

魁北克城的这次会议，一方面包括三年前参加首尔那次会议的相关人类学家，另一方面，则是研究奥运会的跨文化意义包括诸如媒体、庆典和奥林匹克仪式、种族隔离、性别歧视和价值观等的学者。约翰·麦克阿隆（1991）的报告赋予了将文化相对论作为当代奥林匹克运动跨文化联系的理论支持这一观点以崭新的意义，标志着研讨会的开始。而这一观念认为，价值体系和传统不能直接从一种文化完全传递到另一种文化。这意味着要在奥林匹克大环境中尊重不同的文化，保持它们之间的平等。麦克阿隆积极

and contrast for discussions of conceptual and theoretical approaches to intercultural relations...” (Kang, 2007).

The challenge Kang and his associates faced gave Olympic Studies a new enthusiasm when they researched intercultural relations, a theme which needed knowledge from Olympic sport and which should clarify questions such as the ones asked by Liponsky and others. This initiative can be verified as one examines the papers given at the “International Symposium Sport...The Third Millennium” (Quebec City, 1990), in which one of the main highlights was directed to culture and its different ways to relate to sport, in particular, Olympic sport (Landry, 1991).

Quebec City hosted a meeting which had the participation of anthropologists remaining from the group gathered in Seoul three years before (1987) and other specialists who did research on the intercultural meanings of the Olympic Games, including areas such as media, ceremonies and Olympic rituals, racial segregation, gender discrimination, values, etc. Unsurprisingly, John MacAloon (1991) opened the Symposium and renovated the proposal of cultural relativism as theoretical support to the contemporary intercultural relations of Olympic sport. As such, this conception indicated that values and traditions could not be totally transferred from one culture to the next. In the Olympic sphere, this means respect to the differences, keeping equality. MacAloon also defended the thesis that the exercise of politics was intrinsic to what he called Olympic Interculturalism.

In terms of new intercultural approaches, one of the most important contributions of Quebec 1990 was the lecture by Miquel de Moragas (1991), specialist in communications from Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Spain). In his speech, he analyzed the interpretation of values and counter-values of the Olympic Games given by various national television networks when broadcasting the Games. Moragas demonstrated that there was reduced comprehension from the part of the television commentators about the values of Olympism, proclaimed at that time as having universal meanings.

The repercussions of the academic events of Seoul and Quebec City were still heard during the 1990s and at the beginning of the 2000s, according to a report by DaCosta (2002) in an overview about the leading approaches of Olympic Studies. Furthermore, in that period, another

group of researchers devoted to Olympic Education and to the cross-cultural values also focused on intercultural exchanges. This tendency of studies and research proved to be particularly meaningful because it also included authors who had come from non-European countries and whose mother tongue was not English, conversely to what had been happening up to then, as most authors were from European countries and their choice of language was English.

In this context, Hai Ren (1997), from China, typifies the emphasis on cross-cultural values of Olympic Education when he makes recommendations about the future of the Olympic Movement:

Moreover, the Olympic Games, as an international phenomenon, may stir up a variety of conflicts due to the fact of their diversified participants with different social and cultural backgrounds. To avoid this, the Olympic Movement has to have the certain fundamentals shared by all participants, an accepted standard of behaviors for everyone, and a general guideline for its development. The fundamentals, standard and guidelines could not be anything else but the cultural and educational values for a harmonious development of human beings and world peace. These values are vital to all human beings as well as widely accepted by all nations; therefore, they are suitable to be the foundation of the Olympic Movement.

On her turn, Marta Gomes (2002), from Brazil, supports the idea of multiculturalism as she analyzes Olympic Education:

The debate on culture and identity is becoming so sophisticated that Olympic Education cannot fail to follow it. Although nowadays there are many globalizing institutions and movements, there is a counter-movement to save identities. When fighting for the respect to disparities, we may run the risk of helping the construction of identities that do not communicate among themselves. There-

拥护这一观点，认为政治活动是奥林匹克跨文化主义的固有部分。

提到跨文化交流，1990年魁北克城会议的重要贡献之一就是Miquel de Moragas (1991)的报告，他是西班牙巴塞罗那自治大学文化交流方面的专家。在他的演讲中，他分析了不同电视台在转播奥运会时对奥运会价值和反价值的解读。他认为，电视评论员对所谓具有普遍意义的奥林匹克主义的理解实际上是在倒退。

达科斯塔(2002)关于奥林匹克运动研究的综述认为，首尔和魁北克这些学术活动的影响一直延续到上个世界90年代和本世纪初。而且，在那个时期，另一组致力于奥林匹克教育和跨文化价值体系的研究者也将焦点集中在跨文化交流方面。这一研究趋势是具有积极意义的，因为它也包括了那些来自非欧洲国家的及其母语不是英语的学者，这就有可能与那些来自欧洲国家、母语是英语的人产生不同的看法。

在这样的背景下，中国学者任海在对奥林匹克运动的未来提出建议时，强调了奥林匹克教育的跨文化价值：

奥运会，作为一个国际现象，因为其参与者来自不同的社会和文化背景，所以可能会激起各种各样的矛盾和冲突。为了避免这些，奥林匹克运动必须具备一些让所有参与者一起分享的基本法则、一个大家公认

的对所有人适用的行为标准、一个发展的轮廓。这些基本法则、行为标准和发展轮廓只能是那些为人类和世界和平的和谐发展有作用的文化和教育价值。这些价值观对所有的人类来说都是重要的，并且被所有的国家所认可，因此适合作为奥林匹克运动的基础。

巴西学者马塔·戈麦斯在分析奥林匹克教育的时候也支持多元文化主义的观点：

关于文化和认同的讨论正在变得热门，所以奥林匹克教育不能忽视它。虽然当今有很多全球性的机构和活动，也有很多相反的活动来强调不同文化的认同。当为了尊重不同文化而战斗时，我们帮助建立的那种认同可能面临缺乏内部交流的危险。因此，多元文化教育，除了保持和尊重不同文化之外，还应该增加对这种差异的评价，并将其作为审美价值以及其他看待和经历生活和世界的纬度和方法等的基础。

对主流意识形态形成有益补充的另一个例子是在1987年的首尔会议上，来自巴西的学者内斯·阿布鲁认为，奥林匹克价值的普遍有效性始自关于奥林匹克教育的辩论：

这一对立统一的中心，是关于奥林匹克主义寻求全球一致认可的这一成长和发展过

fore, the multicultural education, besides fighting for the preservation of and the respect to differences, should also reinforce the valuation of the differences as an opening of esthetic values, as well as other legitimate ways of being and of looking at life and at the world.

Another example of production which adds to the mainstream initiated in Seoul-1987 is the production of Neise Abreu (2002) from Brazil, who discusses the validity of the adoption of universal values starting from the controversies of Olympic Education:

At the center of this context of consensus and conflict, modern debates on Olympism grow and develop looking for unanimous world acceptance. The definition of Olympism is not as controversial as it is voiced. Actually, its challenge is the coexistence between the values and codes of Olympism towards each specific local culture. These cultures are inserted in their autonomy and particular concepts and, when these proclaimed universal values of Olympism are confronted to each singular code of culture, a voice can be felt in the emptiness. Of course, the generalization adopted by the official definition can not be avoided once it faces the need of broad inclusion in following Coubertin's traditions.

Taking these examples into consideration, it is essential to point out a synthesis made by Susan Brownell (1995), an American Olympic scholar who has deep professional relations with the Chinese culture and whose vision of the Olympic themes anticipates and serves as bases for the overlapping of the tradition of Olympic anthropology with Olympism focused on values:

Thus, the study of the spread of the Olympic Movement can contribute to the debates on the tension between cultural diversity and the world monoculture, tradition and modernity, local and global organizations.

INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGES OR MULTICULTURALISM?

When the focus is on the development of the social sciences in general, it is important to observe a renewed interest in values at the end of the 1990s. Either by coincidence or by convergence of social research mainstreams, new concepts about similarities and differences between cultures facing a technologically globalized world have come up. This interpretation had its origin in the research developed by Nestor Canclini (2004), Mexican sociologist who investigates the transfer of music, arts, films and other socio cultural manifestations between cultures by means of comparisons within today's globalization process.

To Canclini (Ibid.: 13-26), today's problem in an intercultural and globalized world is not related to the differences but to the inequalities. These can be reduced when either common sense or symbolic values (Ibid.: 33) of understanding or connection between culturally differentiated groups are adopted. In other words, the intercultural option implies that one can clearly spot what stands out or what is different in relationships of conflict whereas the multicultural option accepts heterogeneity. Therefore, the epistemological problem of the interchange between cultures does not lie only in the definitions but, above all, in the environment and context where relationships take place.

Canclini's theory has consistency and content to explain the insufficiency of interculturalism in the Seoul version of 1987 if we consider sport not only as a common sense of connection between distinct cultures but also as a carrier of values that serve their own purposes and traditions of the Olympic Movement and of Olympism. In other words, the initial generalization of Kang and colleagues was based on Olympic sport, and, above all, it focused on behavioral reactions between different peoples and not on the values that inform such reactions. It is then possible to say that there was a dominating anthropological bias in initial Olympic interculturalism, which was later compensated by the sociological and educational vision of values which were to be further developed.

According to Canclini (2004: 97 – 101), the superposition or even competition between anthropological and sociological approaches is common in interculturalism studies. However, today this confrontation tends to emphasize multiculturalism because it accepts heterogeneity

程的讨论。奥林匹克主义的定义并不是那么存在争议。实际上，其面临的挑战是面对某一特定文化时，奥林匹克主义价值和其代码之间的共存。每种文化都有其特定的自治和观念，所以当奥林匹克主义所宣称的普世观念与其碰撞的时候，我们自然就能听到撞击的声音。当然，如果如顾拜旦所言的要包括更广阔的范围时，还是需要官方定义所采用的普遍性。

考虑到这些例子，就非常有必要指出美国学者苏珊·布朗奈尔（1995）这位对中国文化有着很深造诣的学者所提出的综合法，而她关于奥林匹克议题的观点是将奥林匹克人类学传统和奥林匹克主义所提倡的价值结合起来看：

因此，对于奥林匹克运动传播的研究能够对不同文化和世界单一文化之间、传统和现代之间、当地和全球化之间张力的讨论有所贡献。

跨文化交流还是多元文化主义？

如果把焦点集中在社会科学的总体发展上，那么值得注意的一个现象就是在上个世纪90年代，社科领域对价值体系重新产生了兴趣。无论是从社科研究主流的一致还是集中

来说，面对全球化的文化异同点的新概念早已经出现了。对其进行解读的是墨西哥社会学家内斯特·坎克里尼（2004），其研究对比了当今全球化进程中，不同文化间音乐、艺术、电影和其他社会文化景观的迁移。

坎克里尼（同上，13-26）认为，当今跨文化和全球化世界的主要问题是没顾及到不同，但却涉及到了不平等。当不同文化集团间的相互理解或联系增强时，这种情况可能会得到缓解。换言之，跨文化选择意味着人们能够清楚在冲突中什么是杰出的、什么是不同的，而多元文化则承认这种异质。因此，文化间的认识论的问题不仅仅存在在定义中，也首先存在在发生关系的环境和背景中。

如果我们将体育看作是不同文化的联系，而且是服务于自身目的和奥林匹克运动、奥林匹克主义传统价值体系的传递者，那么坎克里尼的研究就能解释1987年首尔会议跨文化主义研究的不足之处。换言之，姜信朴他们所建立的普遍性是建立在奥林匹克运动的基础之上的，其焦点首先是在不同人的行为上而不是导致这些行为的价值体系上。因此，最初的奥林匹克跨文化主义上可能存在着某些人类学偏见，但后来随着这些价值体系社会学和教育学方面的深入发展而得到了修正。

坎克里尼认为，人类学和社会学方法的结合或者竞争在跨文化研究中是非常普遍的。然而，二者现在都

and the means of connection between differentiated groups. This last tendency, which has become dominant, implies in privileging the universalism (i.e. free of context) of the means of relationship in opposition to relativism (i.e. all points of view are equally valid), accepted by the intercultural option.

However, Canclini (Ibid.: 16) warns us that the adoption of universalism does not happen only because it is a concept that can solve the difficulties which are typical of relativism in intercultural approaches. Indeed, the adoption of universalism is either a strategic justification or an ethical option when one has to face problems of confrontation between cultures. This conclusion takes us naturally to the historical origins of Olympism and to the problems that come out of the adoption of universal values which are proclaimed for all.

OLYMPIC UNIVERSALITY

Historically speaking, the intention of universality has been one of the primordial characteristics of both the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games as far as they have been grounded on the presupposed philosophical principles of Olympism. The restorer of the Olympic Games, Pierre de Coubertin, developed, after 1894, a renewed doctrine based on the Ancient Olympic Games. He had also suggested orientations towards a social pedagogy, which supposedly could be adapted to any ethnic group or culture (DaCosta, 2006). In this sense, one of the main historians of Coubertin's life, Yves Pierre Boulongne (1994, p. 22), divulges in one of his writings that the Olympic Congresses from 1897 to 1914 "defined the doctrine and promoted Olympism as a universal value".

Nevertheless, the cultural relations established within the Olympic Movement have come to some international understanding that has implicit meanings. This international understanding has not promoted any explicit discussion about the universal acceptance of the values of Olympism as they are related to the particular values of each culture. In other words, sports activities are taught and experienced in different ways in each society, according to the interpretations of each specific local culture.

The Coubertinian expression “All games, all nations” is representative of the Olympic ideology as it is displayed in several texts, including one from 1911, in which Coubertin precisely depicted a multicultural trait for the first time:

The fundamental rule of Modern Olympic Games is linked with two expressions: all games, all nations. It is not from the International Olympic Committee the power to change it. I would add to this explanation that a nation is necessarily an independent State and that there is a sport geography that can sometimes differentiate from the political geography.

The universal claim of the Olympic idea has been significantly kept up to the present day under several rationales of the IOC, including the option that it should be incorporated into the Olympic Charter. For instance, the Principles of the Olympic Charter clearly proclaim several values such as the one of the second principle, which refers to the definition of Olympism as a movement which “seeks to create a way of life based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles” (p.8, 1997 edition). The seventh principle also demonstrates an assumption of universal values: “The activity of the Olympic Movement symbolized by five interlaced rings is universal and permanent. It covers the five continents. It reaches its peak with the bringing together of athletes of the world at the great sports festival, the Olympic Games” (p. 9. Ibid.).

Moving out from Coubertin’s lifetime to contemporary Olympic Movement, it is symptomatic that in many sessions promoted by the International Olympic Academy – IOA (Greece), there have been declared and explicit preoccupations with multiculturalism related to Olympism. Besides the 1983 controversy here previously reported, again in the 33rd IOA Main Session - 1993, some representatives from the African continent questioned the fact that modern Olympism only values the practice of sports that are characteristic of the European continent. In the same session, a discussion emerged about the viability to commend universal human values of sport practice upon societies still full of racial, social and political conflicts (Abreu, 2002).

正在日益强调多元文化主义，因为它越来越承认了不同集团间的不同和联系。这一趋势已经变成了主流，暗示着跨文化观点已经日益接受了与相对主义（例如所有的观点都一样有效的观点）截然不同的普遍主义（比如说，对背景没什么要求）。

然而，坎克里尼警告我们，普遍主义并没有完全被采纳，因为在跨文化领域，它只是一个能够解决典型相对主义所遇困难的概念。实际上，当人们必须要面对文化对抗的问题时，采用普遍主义是一个战略上的正当理由，或者是伦理方法。这一结论自然将我们带到了奥林匹克主义的历史源头上，也将我们带到了号称为了所有的普遍主义价值体系所引发的问题上。

奥林匹克普遍性

从历史上看，只要它们以预先假定的奥林匹克主义的哲学原则为基础，那么旨在做到普世性就是奥林匹克运动和奥运会一开始的特点之一。奥运会的复兴者皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦在1894年之后发展了一个全新的建立在古代奥运会基础上的教义。他认为其方向应该是全社会的教育学，这一指向被假定可以适应于任何种族或者文化（达科斯塔，2006）。在这个意义上，研究顾拜旦生平的主要历史学家之一伊夫·皮埃尔·布伦认为，1897年到1914年的奥林匹克大会“定义了教

义，并将奥林匹克主义提升为了一种普世性的价值体系”。

然而，奥林匹克运动中的文化联系还是在国际范围内导致了一些具有隐含意义的理解。这些理解并没有促进人们对奥林匹克主义价值的普遍接受，因为它们总与某一特殊的文化价值相联系。换言之，不同社会的人们根据其文化的特定解读而以不同的方式教授和实践着体育运动。

顾拜旦“所有的体育运动，所有的国家”的表述，就是奥林匹克思想体系的代表，它在很多文章中都出现过，包括1911年，顾拜旦第一次精确地描述了多元文化的轨迹：

现代奥运会的基本原则有两条：所有的体育运动、所有的国家。这并不依靠国际奥委会的权力变化来改变。我要加一点说明，那就是国家必须是独立的国家，当然也还存在着一个与政治地理不同的体育地理的问题。

在国际奥委会诸如使其成为《奥林匹克宪章》的一部分等的努力之下，奥林匹克思想宣称的普世性原则使其至今都能够保持令人瞩目的高水平。比如，《奥林匹克宪章》的原则清楚地表明了某些价值体系，比如奥林匹克主义是“创造一种以奋斗为乐、发挥良好榜样的教育作用并尊重基本公德原则为基础的生活方式”（p8，1997年版本）。第七条也表明了其普遍价值，“

Moreover, the increasingly growth of heterogeneous societies (from the intensification of migrations, ethnic interactions, globalized intercultural relations, and movements in favor of Human Rights) guides approaches that can not stem from traditional cultural concepts and traditional cultural relativism concepts. Facing these realities, the problematic of culture concepts becomes indispensable and it might be considered a collective elaboration, in continuous transformation.

TOWARDS THE PLURALITY OF VALUES

Within this scenario, how are Olympic values going to be brought into discussion? How are proclaimed universal values going to be attached to cultural diversity? These questions belong to the longtime and multidisciplinary debate between universalism and relativism, which in terms of Olympic Movement and Olympism, has historical fundamentals connected to Coubertin himself. This particular explanation is found in a review made by Ana Miragaya (2007), from Brazil, another researcher of values-led approaches to Olympic Movement, in the theme of Sport for All in its pioneer formulations in the early 20th century:

When Sport for All was proposed by Coubertin, it could have had the sense of universalism, as there seemed to be very little reference to diversity. One may infer then that the expression ‘sport for all’ aimed in the beginning to universalism without universals, another expression denoting qualitative identity and resemblance among individuals (...). An additional answer usually found among researchers of human rights lies in the necessary agreement involving a diversity of cultural interplays. In this case, “universal” understanding is cognitive and an agreed outcome and not necessarily based in Olympic and Coubertin’s traditions. This option for mutual understanding is more a philosophical problem and sometimes a political proposal than an anthropological contention related to cultural relativism.

Apart from Olympic sport interests, the conclusive remark from Miragaya has many correspondences with recent philosophical assumptions on the theme of cultural pluralism. For instance, John Kekes (1994), a philosopher from the State University of New York, is assertive when declaring that “there is no single, authoritative standard for resolving values conflicts”. Thus far, values issues must be submitted to an agreement involving a diversity of cultural understanding. Alternatively, in Olympic grounds, “universal” value according to Kekes’s view should be an agreed value and not necessarily an outcome of Olympic and Coubertin’s traditions.

Moreover, the focus on philosophy is presumably the basis for dealing with current uncertainties due to diversity of values. The argument for the search of a philosophical justification of pluralism is also depicted by Kekes (1993), to whom any value can be ultimately justified; as yet pluralism avoids a chaotic relativism according to which all values are in the end arbitrary. His central claim is that pluralism is a preferable alternative to relativism as far as the resolution of conflicts involving values diversity demands plural approaches not selection.

Kekes’s thesis has supportive meaning to the Olympic Movement and Olympism facing the so-called Olympic values, which have a positive and complementary sense among other social and cultural values. Here lies an answer to the initial claim of respecting non-Western societies’ values in Olympic affairs: the realization that one cannot exclude the realization of another. Unfortunately, as pointed out by DaCosta (1998), the actions towards a new pluricultural Olympism are still incipient among Olympic scholars.

Therefore, it is recommendable that Olympic pluralism should encompass Olympic values and other values brought from diverse sources in order to give rise to a common and synergetic development. The Olympic Studies Reader was planned to provide a stage for mutual commitments and agreements about plural and shared values.

奥林匹克运动的象征是五个连环，奥林匹克运动是全球性的、持续的。其最高层次的活动是使全世界运动员在奥林匹克运动会这一盛大的体育节日上相聚一堂。”（p8，同上）

从顾拜旦时代至今，国际奥林匹克学院（IOA）许多研讨会的主题，都宣称或明确地聚焦在与奥林匹克主义有关的多元文化主义上。除了1983年的论战，在国际奥林匹克学院1993年的第33次会议上，一些来自非洲的代表就质疑现代奥林匹克主义只重视那些源自欧洲的体育运动实践。也是在这次会议上，与会者也就在这个仍然存在着种族、社会和政治冲突的社会中大肆鼓吹体育运动实践的普世价值等问题进行了讨论（Abreu, 2002）。

而且，社会多样性的增加（移民、种族冲突、全球化跨文化交流和人权运动等程度的日益激烈）使得我们不能只从传统文化观念和文化相对主义中寻求行动指南。现实既然如此，我们就必须改变文化概念中存在的问题，而且这种改变必须通过集体努力来持续进行。

价值体系的多元化趋势

在奥林匹克主义中，奥林匹克价值体系如何被讨论呢？被宣扬的普世价值如何能与多样性的文化挂钩？就奥林匹克运动和奥林匹克主义方面而言，这些问题需要对与顾拜旦本人有着历

史渊源的普世主义和相对主义进行长期的、多学科的讨论。另一位研究奥林匹克运动中价值导向的巴西学者安娜·妮拉加娅（2007），在回顾20世纪初大众体育的先驱地位时，专门进行了解释：

顾拜旦所提倡的大众体育存在着普遍性，而较少地考虑多样性。人们可以参考这样的表述，即大众体育的最初目的就是预示着普世主义而不是指出个体间平等认同和相似性的单纯的广泛性（……）人权研究者有另一个答案，即人权存在于必然包括文化多样性及其相互作用的契约中。在这个方面，“全体”的理解是认知和同意的产物，而没有必要建立在奥林匹克和顾拜旦的传统上。这种互相理解的方法更像哲学问题，有时也像是政治的建议而不是与文化相对主义有关的人类学争论。

除了同样作为奥林匹克运动研究的热门外，妮拉加娅的总结性评论也与晚近的关于文化多元主义的哲学假设存在着一致。比如，纽约州立大学的哲学家约翰·凯克斯（1994）就自信地宣称，“没有单一的、权威的标准来解决价值冲突”。因此，价值议题必须服从于文化的多样性。凯克斯还认为，在奥林匹克方面，“全体”价值应该是一个被公认的价值，而没有必要是来自奥林匹克或者顾拜旦的传统的。

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更者，由于文化的多样性，所以哲学大概是解决当今许多不确定问题的基础。凯克斯（1993）关于多元主义的哲学公正性的研究认为，任何价值最终都能被证明是有道理的，而多元主义避免了混乱的相对主义，后者认为所有价值在最终可能都是专横而随意的。他认为，由于矛盾的解决涉及到价值的多样性需求，因此多元主义是解决相对主义的合适办法。

所谓的奥林匹克价值体系在其他社会和文化价值中有着积极的和互补的作用，面对这一问题时，凯克斯的文章有力地支持了奥林匹克运动和奥林匹克主义，在奥林匹克事务中，最早出现了尊重非西方社会价值体系的声音：一个的实现不能以另一个的不实现为代价。然而，正如达科斯塔（1998）所指出的，奥林匹克运动的研究学者对新的多元奥林匹克主义的研究说，尚处于萌芽阶段。

因此，为了促进奥林匹克运动的发展，我们建议，奥林匹克多元主义应该围绕于奥林匹克价值体系和其他来自多方面的价值。这本《奥林匹克研究读本》就是旨在为学者们提供这样一个平台，以促进彼此间关于多元价值的交流和认同。

多元文化主义

MULTICULTURALISM

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC MOVEMENT SINCE THE 1980S AND THE ISSUES IT FACES

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INTRODUCTION

In order to discuss the development of the Olympic Movement, we should first discuss the changes and the development of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) because it is the leader and the heart that guides the development of the Olympic Movement. Further, in order to discuss the Olympic Movement since the 1980s, we should in fact explore the directions in which Juan Antonio Samaranch and his successor Jacques Rogge have led the Olympic Movement.

It has been 104 years since the birth of Olympic Movement. The IOC has had eight presidents, among whom there were three who served for twenty or more years: Pierre de Coubertin of France, Avery Brundage of the U.S., and Samaranch of Spain. These three persons were each in their own way distinct representatives of the times in which they lived. Coubertin was an outstanding educator, thinker, and physical educator. For him, sport was actually an educational method. Thus, I consider Coubertin to have been first an educator, second a thinker, and lastly a physical educator. If the ancient Olympic Games are a precious legacy that the civilization of ancient Greece has left to humankind, then Coubertin was the person who stubbornly put forward this precious heritage

80年代以来国际奥林匹克运动的发展和当前面临的问题

何振梁

前言

要讨论奥林匹克运动的发展，首先应讨论国际奥林匹克委员会的变化与发展，因为它是奥林匹克运动的领导核心，主导着国际奥林匹克运动的发展。而讨论80年代以来的国际奥林匹克运动，实际上就是探讨萨马兰奇及其继任者罗格将奥林匹克运动带向哪个方向。

国际奥林匹克运动会诞生以来迄今已120年。先后有8位主席，其中任职20年及20年以上的有3位，即法国的顾拜旦、美国的布伦戴奇和西班牙的萨马兰奇。这三个人都是他们各自所处时代的鲜明代表。顾拜旦是一位杰出的教育家、思想家、体育家。体育对他说来，实际上是一个教育的手段。所以我认为，顾拜旦首先是教育家、思想家，其次才是体育家。如果说奥运会是古希腊文明为人类留下的一份珍贵的遗产，那么顾拜旦就是把这份珍贵的遗产执着地推荐给现代社会的，并百折不挠地使它成为一个活生生的现实的人。中国对顾拜旦思想的研究相当广泛而且深入，但可惜的是，由于我们对顾拜旦的研究常常是通过翻译的文字来进行的，而不是通过原文，致使对他的一些原来很深刻的思想内涵的理解受翻译的影响，有时不尽准确。

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— 奥林匹克研究读本

布伦戴奇主持国际奥委会的时代是充满对抗的冷战时代。布伦戴奇是一位强势主席。在一个充满矛盾与对抗的时代，没有一位强势主席，国际奥委会要生存和发展下去也不容易。应该说布伦戴奇成功地使国际奥委会及其领导的奥林匹克运动发展和壮大起来。他同时也是一位有严重争议的人物，特别是在中国问题的处理上，他不是用奥林匹克运动所主张的互相尊重、友好相处、促进人民之间友谊的原则来处理，而是相反。由于他个人的政治观点和政治性格，使得这个问题更加复杂化。目前中国对布伦戴奇的研究似乎还很不够，特别是缺乏对他进行客观而全面的研究。对这么长期领导奥林匹克运动的主席进行研究，恐怕是中国奥林匹克研究方面需要弥补的一个不足。

萨马兰奇是1980年当选的，他接任主席的时候，国际奥委会面对着大量问题，频频发生的政治抵制、拮据的经济状况、日益严重的兴奋剂问题及奥运组织内部的种种矛盾。而在他卸任时，交给后继者的是处于最兴旺鼎盛时期的国际奥委会。我有幸在1981年当选为国际奥委会委员，1985年进入执委会，先后三次当选为执委和副主席，基本上与萨马兰奇任职时期属于同一时期，所以对萨马兰奇对国际奥林匹克运动发展做出的无可比拟的贡献有亲身体会，对80年代以来国际奥委会的发展状况有更多的认识。我今天只想概括地讲一讲这一时期奥林匹克运动取得的主要进步与成就及问题和不足。

for modern society and who, despite adversity, never yielded in making it into living reality. In China, our study of Coubertin's thought is rather extensive and profound, but it is a pity that since research on Coubertin is always through translations and not original texts, the comprehension of some of the implications of his original profound thoughts is influenced by the translation, and it is sometimes not completely accurate.

The period during which Brundage presided over the IOC was the era rife with Cold War oppositions. Brundage was a forceful president. In an era full of conflict and rivalry, it would not have been easy for the IOC to survive and develop without a strong president. It should be said that Brundage successfully developed and strengthened the IOC and the Olympic Movement that it led. At the same time, he was also a very controversial figure, especially in his handling of the China problem. He did not deal with the problem according to the principles of mutual respect, friendly relationships, and the promotion of friendship between peoples advocated by the Olympic Movement, but rather the opposite. His personal political views and personality made the problem more complicated. Currently, there is not enough research on Brundage in China, and in particular, objective and well-rounded research is lacking. Research on a president who led the Olympic Movement for such a long time is a gap in Olympic research that needs to be filled.

Samaranch was elected president in 1980. At the time that he took over as president, the IOC faced multiple problems: repeated political boycotts, constricted finances, an ever-increasing doping problem, and various internal conflicts within the Olympic organization. However, when he resigned from his post, the IOC that he handed over to his successor was the most prosperous ever. I was fortunate to be co-opted as an IOC member in 1981, to enter the Executive Board in 1985, and to be elected three times as a vice-president. Essentially, I belonged to the same era presided over by Samaranch, and so I had personal experience of his unparalleled contribution to the development of the Olympic

Movement, and I have had an even greater acquaintance with the development of the IOC since the 1980s. Here I only want to outline the main progress and achievements of the Olympic Movement in this era as well as its shortcomings.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT SINCE THE 1980s

First, the Olympic Movement developed quickly and became an international sporting event that is open, in step with the developments of the times, and with an influence surpassing the realm of sport.

The Olympic Movement as more universal and representative

Coubertin had put a great deal of effort into advocating universalism. But in his era, most areas of the world were colonies or semi-colonies. Thus, in fact universalism was only extended to a minority of countries. After World War II, as the colonized and semi-colonized countries one-by-one achieved national independence, the Olympic Movement rapidly spread to all corners of the world. In 2008, the number of national Olympic committees on the five continents reached 205.

With respect to the sport events, there are 28 sports in the summer Olympic Games and seven sports in the Winter Games. The IOC also recognizes 29 international sport federations (IFs), and when the other recognized sport organizations are added in, the number of sport organizations recognized by the IOC reaches 48.

A look at the participants in the Olympic Games – the athletes – shows that past editions of the Games were strictly limited to amateur athletes. In 1980, the Olympic Congress decided to abolish the amateur rule. The IOC actively advocated that the highest-level athletes should all take part in the Olympic Games. Today - except for a few sports such as

一、80年代以来奥林匹克运动取得的成就

一) 奥林匹克运动得到迅速发展, 成为开放的、与时代发展相适应的、影响超越体育范畴的国际体育运动

1. 奥林匹克运动更具普遍性、代表性

顾拜旦曾经大力提倡普遍性。但在他所处的时代, 世界大部分地区处于殖民地、半殖民地状态, 所谓普遍性实际上只惠及到少数国家。二战后, 随着殖民地、半殖民地国家先后取得民族独立, 奥林匹克运动迅速扩展到世界各个角落。2008年分布在五大洲的国家和地区奥委会达到205个。

从运动项目来看, 奥运会比赛项目包括28个夏季奥运会项目和7个冬季项目。国际奥委会还承认另外29个单项国际体育组织, 再加上其他各类与体育有关的组织, 为国际奥委会承认的国际体育组织达到48个。

从奥运会的参加者——运动员来看, 过去的奥运会严格限于接纳业余运动员。1980年, 奥林匹克大会决定取消业余规定。国际奥委会积极主张最高水平的运动员都来参加奥运会。现在除个别项目, 如足球限制在23岁以上的运动员不能超过3名, 网球大部分顶级选手还不愿意参加奥运会等以外, 绝大部分的体育项目都有最高水平运动员来参加奥运会。

从参加程度来看，国际奥委会利用其商业开发的收入，建立了团结基金，为发展中国家培养运动员，并且为没有获得参赛资格的国家提供参赛的可能。如，每个国家可派6名运动员加2名官员，由国际奥委会提供经费来参加奥运会。20世纪90年代，国际奥委会修改了章程，把参加奥运会作为各国和地区奥委会的一个本职责任，这样使得所有国家和地区奥委会都必须来参加每一届的奥运会。

于是，从地理分布、奥运会项目及参与程度等各方面，奥林匹克运动在实现普遍性方面都取得积极的进展。当然，地理分布区的广泛、运动项目的多样，及参加者的普遍，还不足以体现真正意义上的普遍性。还需要在思想观念、组织结构、文化价值等方面都有所体现，才是真正的普遍性。要做到这点，应该说国际奥委会还任重道远。

2. 克服了冷战带来的分歧及造成的伤痕，使奥林匹克运动成为东南西北互相沟通、交流的桥梁

长期的冷战格局给奥林匹克运动带来分歧、留下伤痕，使奥运会历来争执不断。80年代以前出现了最著名的几次政治性的抵制事件。对于中国来说，与奥运相关的政治性的事件最初出现在1952年，致使我们未能从一开始就参加赫尔辛基奥运会；1956年匈牙利事件引起的瑞士、荷兰、西班牙等国家抵制墨尔本奥运会。中国也由于国际奥委会未解决台湾问题，退出了墨尔本奥运会；1972年慕尼黑奥运会发生了“黑九月事件”

football, which is limited to no more than three athletes over the age of 23, and tennis in which most of the top athletes still do not want to take part in the Olympic Games - the highest-level athletes in the vast majority of sports take part in the Olympic Games.

A look at the level of participation shows that the IOC utilized the development of commercial revenues to set up the Solidarity Fund in order to train athletes in developing nations, and to provide a chance for countries who have not qualified to participate in the competitions. For example, the IOC provides funds to enable each country to send six athletes and two officials to the Olympic Games. In the 1990s, the IOC revised the Olympic Charter and made participation in the Olympic Games into a basic responsibility of the Olympic committee of each country and territory, which meant that they must attend each edition of the Olympic Games.

Therefore, with respect to geographical dispersion, the Olympic sports, the level of participation, and other aspects, the Olympic Movement has made active progress in realizing universalism. Of course, the broad scale of geographical dispersion, the variety of sports events, and universal participation are still not sufficient to realize the true significance of universalism. There will only be true universalism when universalism is manifested in ways of thought, institutional organization, cultural values, and other aspects. It should be said that the IOC has a long and hard way to go to achieve this.

Overcome the prejudices and scars created by the Cold War and make the Olympic Games into a bridge for mutual exchange between North and South, East and West

The prejudices and scars left over from the longstanding Cold War oppositions have, in the past, led to constant disputes in the Olympic Games. In the 1980s several of the most well-known political boycotts emerged. With respect to China, the first political incident related to the Olympic

Games took place in 1952, with the result that we could not take part in the start of the Helsinki Olympic Games; in 1956 the Hungarian uprising resulted in a boycott of the Melbourne Olympic Games by Switzerland, the Netherlands, Spain, and other countries. Because the IOC was unable to resolve the Taiwan problem, China also withdrew from the Melbourne Olympic Games; in 1972 the “Black September” incident occurred at the Munich Olympic Games; in 1976 over 20 African countries collectively boycotted the Montreal Olympic Games in protest over New Zealand’s sports exchanges with South Africa, which maintained a policy of racial apartheid. After the 1980s, Samaranch took over as president of the IOC. Two fifths of the national and territorial Olympic committees of the 147 countries and territories did not take part in the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. This boycott was initiated by the United States in order to protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In 1984 the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries in turn boycotted the Los Angeles Olympic Games with the excuse that their safety could not be guaranteed; in Korea in 1988, Cuba and other countries refused to participate in the Seoul Olympic Games; in 1992 when the Olympic Games were held in Barcelona, the Yugoslavian problem had emerged and it had been sanctioned by the United Nations. Multilateral mediation enabled the Yugoslavian athletes to participate in the Olympic Games as individual athletes, and this edition of the Olympic Games was the first that could be counted as having no true political boycotts.

After the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, the IOC held a special meeting to discuss the problem of how to handle boycotts. There were different opinions at the meeting but the ultimate decision was to disregard past events and concentrate on how to avoid the occurrence of this kind of event in the future. Therefore, the IOC revised the Olympic Charter and added one article stating that the Olympic Committees of all recognized countries and territories must fulfill their responsibility to take part in the Olympic Games. From this time on the IOC replaced protests with negotiation as the method for solving problems.

； 1976年有20多个非洲国家因抗议新西兰与推行种族隔离政策的南非进行体育交流，而集体抵制了蒙特利尔奥运会。80年代以后，萨马兰奇接任国际奥委会主席。1980年莫斯科奥运会，147个国家和地区奥委会中有2/5的国家和地区奥委会没有参加莫斯科奥运会。这一场抵制是美国发起的，目的是抗议苏联入侵阿富汗。1984年苏联、东欧国家又反过来以安全没有保障为理由，抵制了洛杉矶奥运会；1988年朝鲜、古巴等国家拒绝参加汉城奥运会；1992年在巴塞罗那举行奥运会时，南斯拉夫问题出现，受到联合国的制裁，经过多方斡旋，南斯拉夫的运动员得以以个人的名义参加奥运会，这届奥运会开始才算是真正的没有政治抵制的奥运会。

在1988年汉城奥运会以后，国际奥委会专门召开了会议来讨论如何对待抵制的问题。会上有不同意见，但最终决定，过去的事情不再管，着眼于防范未来出现类似事件。于是国际奥委会修改了《奥林匹克宪章》，增加了一条，所有被承认的国家和地区奥委会，参加奥运会是其必须履行的职责。从那以后国际奥委会学会了用协商而不是对抗的方式来解决问题。

3. 国际奥委会积极参与推动社会发展和社会进步的活动

1) 促进妇女参与体育

妇女问题是奥林匹克运动中中长期未得到妥善处理的一个问题。大家知道，顾拜旦尽管是一位杰出的教育家，但他并不

赞成妇女参加奥运会。妇女的参加呈现出十分曲折的状况。《奥林匹克宪章》规定的首要原则就是没有任何歧视，反对基于意识形态的、政治的、宗教的、性别的、种族的任何歧视。国际奥委会1996年正式规定，到2000年以前，要求自己及各个国际单项组织和各国奥委会，在其领导层里要有10%的女性。2005年前，这个比例要达到20%。现在2005年已经过去，尽管仍然有相当大比例的国家地区奥委会还没有达到此要求，国际单项组织同样如此，但应该承认，由于国际奥委会的倡导，妇女参加管理，已引起更为广泛的关注。就奥运会而言，增加了不少女子项目。1988年参加汉城奥运会的女运动员的比例仅有21.5%，到了1992年达到了28.8%，到2000年达到一个38%，2004年为40%强。1992年奥运会时，20%的代表团没有女运动员，2000年时只有0.5%的代表团没有女运动员。可以说，在奥运会参赛方面，妇女参加的问题已基本解决，现在的问题是在行政管理方面，妇女参与的程度仍然大大落后于男子。

2) 强化了环境保护

在环境方面，国际奥委会也采取了鲜明的态度，把环境的保护和改善作为奥林匹克运动的一个重要问题来对待。

1972年，本来应该由美国的丹佛来举办冬季奥运会，但是在环境保护主义者压力之下，丹佛放弃了举办权；1994年温哥华因同样的原因退出申办第13届冬季奥运会；1981年日本名古屋申办1988年

THE IOC ACTIVELY PARTICIPATES IN ACTIVITIES TO PROMOTE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS

1) Promote women's participation in sport

Women's issues are a problem which has not been handled well since the very beginning of the Olympic Movement. Everyone knows that although Coubertin was an outstanding educator, he did not support women's participation in the Olympic Games. Women's participation followed an extremely twisted path.

A fundamental principle in the Olympic Charter is that there shall be no discrimination of any kind, and it opposes all discrimination based on ideology, politics, religion, gender, and race. In 1996, the IOC issued an official regulation requiring that before 2000, ten percent of the leadership stratum of the IOC itself, the International Sport Federations, and the national Olympic Committees should be women. Before 2005, this ratio should achieve 20%. Now, 2005 has already passed, and although a rather large proportion of the Olympic Committees of countries and territories have not yet reached the requirement, nor have the international federations, it should be acknowledged that because of the IOC's advocacy, the participation of women in leadership has attracted widespread attention. The Olympic Games, for example, added quite a few women's events. At the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games the proportion of women athletes was only 21.5%. In 1992 it reached 28.8% and in 2000 it reached 38%. In 2004 they were 40% strong. At the time of the 1992 Olympic Games, 20% of the delegations did not have female athletes, but in 2000 only 5% of the delegations did not have any female athletes. It can be said that the problem of women's participation in Olympic sports has already been essentially solved, and the problem now is that in administration and management women's level is still far behind that of men.

2) Strengthen environmental protection

The IOC also adopted a clear position on the environment and identified the protection and improvement of the environment as an important issue for the Olympic Movement to address.

Denver originally should have hosted the Winter Games in 1972, but it gave up the host rights under pressure from environmentalists. In 1994 Vancouver withdrew its bid for the 13th Winter Games for similar reasons. In 1981 when Nagoya, Japan, bid for the 1988 Olympic Games, the strong opposition of environmentalists was one reason it was defeated by Seoul. This series of events forced the IOC to realize the importance of the relationship between sport and the environment. The IOC could no longer ignore environmental issues and the protests of environmentalists. On the contrary, the IOC should actively engage in its own efforts on behalf of environmental protection and improvement. In 1995 the IOC convened the first World Congress on Sport and the Environment, and afterwards it established the Commission on Sport and the Environment, and included environmental protection and improvement as an essential condition for Olympic bid and host cities. As it is well-known, the Olympic Movement originally had three main elements or dimensions: sport, culture and education. Recently, the IOC has proposed that culture and education be the second dimension and that environment become the third dimension of the Olympic Movement.

3) Promote the Olympic Truce

The IOC has done a great deal of work to promote the Olympic Truce.

In 1991, the UN Security Council passed a resolution of sanction against Yugoslavia and issued a prohibition against exchange between the nations of the world and Yugoslavia, including a prohibition against sports exchanges. The Security Council did not seek the opinions of

奥运会时，败于汉城的原因之一就是环境保护主义者的强烈反对。这一系列事件的发生，使国际奥委会认识到体育与环境关系至为重要，不应忽视环境问题，不能只是被动地在环境保护主义者的抗议下做出一些反应，而应主动地为环境保护和改善做出自己的努力。1995年国际奥委会召开了第一次全世界的体育与环境大会，之后成立了体育与环境委员会，将环境保护与改善列为申办和举办奥运会城市的必备条件。大家知道奥林匹克运动原有两大要素或者维度，一是体育，一是文化和教育。现在国际奥委会明确提出，环境应该成为奥林匹克运动的第三个维度。

3) 推行了奥林匹克休战

在推动奥林匹克休战方面，国际奥委会也做了大量的工作。

1991年联合国安理会决议要制裁南斯拉夫，宣布禁止世界各国与南斯拉夫交往，包括体育交往。但是，联合国安理会做出这个决议时没有征求体育组织方面的意见，从而使得使国际奥委会对马上要举行的1992年巴塞罗那奥运会十分为难。经过斡旋，南斯拉夫运动员得以以个人身份参赛。此后，国际奥委会觉得必须与联合国建立某种对话渠道。萨马兰奇积极主张国际奥委会要为世界和平做些实事并要求联合国通过休战决议。当时萨马兰奇的主张并没有得到多数委员的支持，大家觉得这不是体育组织能办的事。萨马兰奇坚持此议，通过与184个国家和地区奥委会个别会谈，征求意见，使他们签署了一份倡议书，

呼吁各国恢复古代奥运会的传统——奥林匹克休战。萨马兰奇与联合国秘书长布特洛斯·布特洛斯-加里会晤，获得其支持。经过有关各方共同努力，1993年联合国大会一致决议，在奥运会期间遵守奥林匹克休战。现已形成传统，即在每次冬季或夏季奥运会前一年，都由东道国带头，联合其他国家提出联合提案，要求联合国大会通过一项奥林匹克休战决议。尽管这是没有约束性的决议，1994年波黑战争期间以及1998年海湾战争及伊拉克冲突期间，休战决议均获遵守。2007年的联合国大会上，中国作为东道主也联合了众多国家通过奥林匹克神圣休战决议。国际奥委会还建立了奥林匹克休战中心，并设立了奥林匹克休战基金，应该说，这也是国际奥委会为世界和平事业做出的具体贡献。

4) 实施了人道主义援助

人道主义援助是国际奥委会对世界和平事业的又一贡献。在遭到战火或自然灾害破坏的地区，常常会得到国际奥委会在体育方面的援助。如前南斯拉夫的萨拉热窝，在国际奥委会的援助下重建了被战争破坏的体育设施。东南亚海啸给这一地区造成了很大的破坏，国际奥委会对此做出及时反应，捐赠了一笔数量可观的款项。

5) 加强与其他国际机构和媒体的互动联系

在过去的二十多年中，国际奥委会正在成为一个更开放的组织。

sport organizations in putting forth this resolution. It immediately caused extreme embarrassment to the IOC in holding the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games. After mediation, Yugoslavia's athletes were allowed to take part as individuals. Afterwards, the IOC decided that it must establish channels of dialogue with the UN. Samaranch actively advocated that the IOC should do something practical for world peace and asked the UN to pass a resolution on the Olympic Truce. At the time Samaranch's position was actually not supported by the majority of IOC members, who thought this was not something that a sports organization could do. Samaranch persisted and by meeting with 184 national Olympic committees to seek their opinions, he got them to sign a proposal calling for each country to revive an ancient Olympic tradition – the Olympic Truce. Samaranch gained the support of Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the General Secretary of the UN. Through the joint efforts of the parties involved, in 1993 the UN General Assembly unanimously resolved that the Olympic Truce should be observed during the Olympic Games. Now it has become a tradition that in the year before the Winter or Summer Olympic Games the host country should take the lead to unite the other nations in putting forth a joint proposal requesting the UN General Assembly to pass a resolution on the Olympic Truce. Although this is a non-binding resolution, in 1994 during the war between Bosnia and Herzegovina and in 1998 during the Gulf War conflict with Iraq, the Olympic Truce was uniformly observed. At the 2007 UN General Assembly, China as the host of the next Olympic Games also united the multitude of nations to pass a resolution on the sacred Olympic Truce. The IOC established an Olympic Truce Center and an Olympic Truce Foundation. It can be said that this is a concrete contribution that the IOC has made toward world peace.

4) Provide humanitarian aid

Humanitarian aid is another of the IOC's contributions toward world peace. Areas suffering from the ravages of war or natural disaster often

receive sports-related assistance from the IOC. For example, Sarajevo, in the former Yugoslavia, rebuilt the sports facilities damaged by the war with the aid of the IOC. When the tsunami in Southeast Asia did great damage to the region, the IOC promptly reacted by donating an impressive sum of money.

5) Strengthen interconnections with other international organizations and media

In the past 20-plus years, the IOC has become a more open organization.

First of all, this is evident in its relationship with the UN. Some civil organizations and non-governmental organizations have an advisory status with the UN, such as the International Red Cross, which has an A-level advisory status. Should the IOC adopt this status? After discussion, the IOC felt that it should certainly maintain good relations with the IOC, but that it should pursue its own policy of independence from political systems. And so it would be best not to accept this A-level advisory status, but instead to maintain a constructive relationship of equal cooperation. Up until now the two have indeed maintained a good relationship. At the fifty-year anniversary of the General Assembly of the UN, Samaranch was invited to give a speech to the assembly, which was something that had never before happened in IOC history. The relationship between the IOC and UNESCO also became closer, and it established a collaborative relationship with the World Health Organization in fighting doping, protecting the health of athletes, and so on. It also established a good relationship with the International Red Cross with respect to humanitarian aid.

Second, it is evident in the relationship with the media. In the past, the IOC ignored the media, but now it has established a good relationship with them, especially because of the crisis initiated within the IOC by the scandal exposed during Salt Lake City's Olympic bid

首先表现在与联合国的关系上。一些民间组织、非政府组织，在联合国具有咨询地位。如国际红十字会，就具有联合国的甲级咨询地位。国际奥委会要不要获取这种地位？经过讨论，国际奥委会认为与联合国一定要保持良好的合作关系，但奉行自己提出的独立于政府系统的宗旨，所以还是不接受这个甲级咨询地位为好，而是保持一个良好的平等合作关系。两者之间的这种关系到现在为止确实保持得很好。联合国50周年大会时，萨马兰奇应邀在联合国大会全会发表了演说，这也是国际奥委会历史上所从来没有过的事。国际奥委会与联合国教科文组织的关系更为密切，与世界卫生组织在反兴奋剂、保护运动员健康等方面也建立了很好的合作关系，在人道援助方面与国际红十字会也建立了良好的关系。

其次表现在与媒体的关系上。过去，国际奥委会对媒体是比较忽视的，而现在它与媒体建立了十分良好的联系，特别是1998年由于盐湖城申办冬奥会期间发生的丑闻被披露，引起国际奥委会的危机。这次危机解决以后，一个重要的进展就是国际奥委会加强了与媒体的沟通，增强国际奥委会各方面的透明度，这包括公布财政的收支情况、审计状况等，媒体可以全程跟踪，并且建立了日常的新闻发布制度。

6) 提高了体育的公信度

体育历来有三大问题，即兴奋剂、暴力和腐败，这也是危害体育健康发展的三大毒瘤。特别是兴奋剂问题，使体育比

赛变成了金钱的比赛、化学的比赛、科技的比赛，完全违反了体育的本意。兴奋剂主要是发生在体育内部的问题。暴力问题，除了比赛场上发生的暴力外，场外发生的暴力多与社会有关。腐败问题，主要是发生在领导层和管理层。1988年汉城奥运会时，出现了本·约翰逊的兴奋剂丑闻。国际奥委会下决心要向全世界表明自己向兴奋剂开战的鲜明态度，所以坚决取消了本·约翰逊的成绩，收回他的金牌。尽管兴奋剂问题还远没有根除，这一毒瘤还以更隐蔽的形式在继续发展和蔓延，但国际奥委会高举反对兴奋剂的旗帜，成为国际体育运动中反对兴奋剂的旗手。在国际奥委会的推动下，成立了国家反兴奋剂局(WADA)，不仅与民间团体，而且与政府机构合作，不断加强反兴奋剂的力度，从源头上遏制体育运动中的兴奋剂的发展势头。

对于腐败，国际奥委会暴露出的最大问题是1998年底曝光的盐湖城冬奥会申办丑闻，申办过程中出现以不正当的手段拉票。丑闻被揭发后引发了国际奥委会的一场地震。国际奥委会采取了一系列的改革措施，度过了这一危机，但也付出了惨重的代价。1999年国际奥委会在处理这次危机的过程中，开除了6名委员，警告了9名，另有4名辞职，还有1名因去世不予追究，被处分的有20人之多，占当时国际奥委会委员总数的17.5%。盐湖城法院经过两年几次审理该案，最后奇怪的是，盐湖城奥申委有不端行为的两位主要负责人被宣布无罪，并得到几百万美元的赔偿，肇事者居然无罪，于理不通。

in 1998. After the crisis was resolved, important progress was made in the strengthening of communication with media and the increase of the transparency of various areas of the IOC, including making public the financial revenues and expenses, audits, and so on, with the media able to track the entire course. It also established a system of frequent press conferences.

6) Enhance the public credibility of sport

There have always been three serious problems in sport, namely doping, violence, and corruption. They are also three cancers that do harm to the healthy development of sport. Doping, in particular, turns sports contests into a financial contest, a chemical contest, and a science contest, completely violating the original meaning of sport. Doping is mainly a problem that occurs inside of sport. Excluding violence that occurs on the sports field, violence that occurs outside the sports field is linked with society. Corruption mostly occurs in the leadership and management strata. At the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, when the Ben Johnson doping scandal erupted, the IOC made a decision to express a clear-cut attitude on doping to the whole world, and so it decisively erased his performance from the books and took back his gold medal. Although doping is still far from being eradicated, and this cancer is still continuing to develop and spread in hidden forms, the IOC raised high the banner of anti-doping and became the standard bearer in the fight against doping in international sports. At the urging of the IOC, the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) was established, which cooperates not only with civil groups, but also with governmental institutions in continuously strengthening the fight against doping in order to check the momentum of doping in sports at its source.

With respect to corruption, the biggest problem revealed in the IOC was the scandal exposed at the end of 1998 in the bidding for the Salt Lake City Winter Olympic Games, in the course of which improper

methods of gaining votes had emerged. The exposure of the scandal touched off an earthquake within the IOC. The IOC adopted a series of reform measures and passed through this crisis, but it also paid a heavy price. In the course of dealing with this crisis in 1999, the IOC expelled six members, warned nine, another four resigned, one was not investigated because he passed away, and more than twenty were punished – altogether 17.5% of the total membership of the IOC at that time. After two years in a Salt Lake City court and multiple hearings, the surprising result was that the two main people on the Salt Lake City bid committee responsible for the misconduct were declared innocent, and not only that, they received a several million-dollar compensation. That the offenders were unexpectedly found innocent made no sense.

From then on, the IOC established the Ethics Commission to handle this kind of problem, formulated a code of sport ethics, and adopted a policy of zero tolerance toward corruption. The IOC has firmly carried out the zero tolerance policy.

The evidence shows that in the past twenty years the IOC has transformed itself into an open organization in step with the world: it is no longer a private club. This is the top achievement of the IOC in the past twenty-odd years.

Second, conflicts inside the Olympic Movement were overcome and its unity strengthened.

In the beginning the Olympic Movement was not at all united. In its formative years these problems were not prominent. From the 1950s to the 1970s, the opinions of the national Olympic committees were not considered and their rights not respected because the presidents of that time lacked a democratic style. Therefore, beginning in the mid-1960s, initiated by Italy, the NOCs established their own organization, which in the beginning was called the Standing Committee of the National Olympic Committees, and later the Association of National Olympic

从那以后，国际奥委会建立了道德委员会，来处理这类问题，并且制定了体育道德法典，对腐败采取零容忍政策。对于零容忍的政策，国际奥委会是坚决执行的。

事实表明，国际奥委会在这20来年中，将自己变为一个开放的，与世界共进的机构，而不再仅仅是一个私人俱乐部，这是国际奥委会20多年来的第一个成绩。

（二）克服了奥林匹克运动内部的矛盾，加强了团结

奥林匹克运动开始时内部并不那么团结。初创期间，这个问题并不突出。20世纪50年代到70年代初期间，由于当时的主席缺乏民主作风，各国奥委会的意见不被采纳，权益得不到尊重，所以从60年代中期开始，由意大利发起，各国奥委会成立了自己的组织，开始叫各国奥委会常设大会，后叫各国奥委会总会。1972年基拉宁接任主席后矛盾有所缓和，但是仍然没有完全处理好。1980年，萨马兰奇当选国际奥委会主席后，双方进一步协商，特别是在经济上，国际奥委会利用自己的商业开发所得，加大了资助各国奥委会的力度。1999年之后，又在《奥林匹克宪章》中规定，国际奥委会的委员中要有15名各国奥委会的领导人。这样，国际奥委会从经济上、权力分配上、组织机构上都给予国家和地区奥委会以照顾，现在国际奥委会与各国奥委会总的关系很好。

与国际单项体育联合会的关系也存在同样的问题。国际奥委会名义上是管理奥

奥林匹克运动的，但是如果那些主要的国际单项组织不来参加，不与你合作，你这个奥运会的影响就要大大削弱。所以，80年代以来国际奥委会采取了许多有力措施，来调整其对1967年成立的国际单项组织总会的关系。国际奥委会和国际单项体育组织的关系协调得比较好。现在《奥林匹克宪章》规定，国际奥委会中须有15个具有国际单项组织负责人身份的委员。

总之，奥林匹克运动的团结从来都是国际奥委会最担心的问题，萨马兰奇离任时，在离任演说里讲到：我们的奥林匹克运动是团结的，但是这个团结是脆弱的，随时都有可能发生新的问题。

在政府系统方面，联合国教科文组织在70年代后也曾想成立一个叫政府间体育组织委员会，来主导国际体育的活动。但是最后也没有撼动国际奥委会的主导权，最后，联合国教科文组织和国际奥委会之间达成了某种谅解，各有分工，就是学校体育主要由联合国教科文组织管理，竞技体育和群众体育则主要由国际奥委会来管。原来对抗的局面被化解了，大家相安无事。

从综合性运动会的角度来说，奥林匹克运动会也受到过威胁。其中之一由于是美苏之间相互抵制在对方国家举办的奥运会，1984年后由美国人特纳发起，花大量的钱来组织的友好运动会，以弥补双方运动员失去的大赛机会。后来这个友好运动会从双边逐步扩大，引起了国际奥委会的警惕。最后也是通过各国奥委会的办法使得友好运动会无法威胁到奥运会。后来由于经费不足，友好运动会已经夭折了。

Committees (ANOC). After Killanin succeeded to the presidency in 1972, the conflict calmed a bit, but it was still not fully dealt with. After Samaranch became president in 1980, both sides engaged in further negotiations, especially with respect to finances, and the IOC utilized its own commercial development to increase the financial support given to the NOCs. After 1999, it was stipulated in the Olympic Charter that among the IOC members there would be fifteen who were the leaders of NOCs. In this way attention was given to finances, the distribution of power, and institutional organization, and now the relationship between the IOC and ANOC is very good.

A similar problem existed with the international federations. In name the IOC manages the Olympic Movement, but if those important IFs did not participate and cooperate, it would greatly weaken the influence of the Olympic Games. Therefore, since the 1980s, the IOC has adopted many effective measures to adjust its relationship with the General Association of International Federations (GAISF), which was established in 1967. The relationship between the IOC and GAISF has been coordinated rather well. Now the Olympic Charter stipulates that the IOC must include fifteen members who are responsible within the IFs.

In sum, the solidarity of the Olympic Movement has always been a problem of greatest concern to the IOC. When Samaranch left his post, in his farewell speech he said: "Our Olympic Movement is united, but this unity is weak. New problems could arise at any time".

In the governmental system, in the late 1970s, UNESCO had established an Intergovernmental Sports Commission to lead international sports activities. However, ultimately it was not able to shake the IOC's dominance, and finally the two of them reached an understanding in which each had its own division of labor, that is, the management of school sport was emphasized by UNESCO, while the management of competitive sport and Sport for All was emphasized by the IOC. The original opposition dissolved and now they live in peace with each other.

The Olympic Movement was also threatened from the angle of multi-sport games. One of them was due to the mutual boycotts between America and the Soviet Union when their rival hosted the Olympic Games. After 1984 the American Ted Turner initiated and spent a huge sum of money on organizing the Goodwill Games in order to make up for the opportunities to take part in major competitions lost by the athletes on both sides. Later the Goodwill Games were expanded beyond the two sides, which alarmed the IOC. Ultimately through the use of the national Olympic committees, it was ensured that the Goodwill Games had no way to threaten the IOC's Olympic Games. Since then, due to insufficient financing, the Goodwill Games have come to an untimely end.

Through this series of actions, the IOC became an organization in a class by itself occupying the most influential position in world sports. This position had been increasingly consolidated, so that at the 1994 Olympic Congress, the IOC could proudly proclaim that this Congress was the Centennial Congress, and also the Unity Congress. The IOC has established a good foundation for unity.

Third, the combination of sport with culture and education has been promoted.

Coubertin placed importance on culture and education, but the relevant concepts were gradually dissipated by the presidents who succeeded him. Samaranch once again pointed out that the essence of the Olympic Movement is the blending of sport with culture and education, and on many occasions he emphasized that the difference between the Olympic Movement and other sports is that the Olympic Movement is the blending of sport with culture and education. In 1993 he built a modern Olympic Museum. The IOC also strengthened the Commission on Culture and Olympic Education. To date it has been nearly 20 years that the IOC has held five world forums with world sport, culture and education as the content and main theme. Each time the theme was different, but all had relevant content: two sport and art contests and one

通过这一系列的做法，国际奥委会成为世界体育中具有最高影响地位的组织，这个地位越来越巩固，所以在1994年的国际奥林匹克大会上，国际奥委会可以很自豪的宣布这届大会是百年大会，又是团结大会，国际奥委会为团结打下了很好的基础。

(三) 推动了体育与文化及教育的结合

顾拜旦很重视文化和教育，但是后来继任的主席们在这方面的观念逐步淡化。萨马兰奇重新提出，奥林匹克运动的实质是体育与文化 and 教育相结合，并且多次强调，奥林匹克运动不同于其他体育运动的地方就在于体育与文化 and 教育的结合。1993年，国际奥委会还建立了一个现代化的奥林匹克博物馆。国际奥委会还加强了文化和奥林匹克教育委员会到现在为止，近20年了，国际奥委会举办了5次以世界体育文化和教育为内容、主题的论坛，各次的主题不同，但基本都是这方面的内容；此外，还有两次体育与美术的大奖赛和一次体育与文学的大奖赛；还有一次今年正在举办的体育摄影的大奖赛。国际奥委会还大力加强了与希腊政府和希腊奥委会的合作，支持国际奥林匹克学院的活动。从1993年起，国际奥委会的“奥林匹克学院委员会”被赋予更广泛的责任，扩大为“国际奥林匹克学院奥林匹克教育委员会”，以推动在世界范围内的奥林匹克教育。1999年起这个委员会与文化委员会合并。此外，国际奥委会内部的行政机构过去是没有一个管理文化和教育

的专门机构，现在管理文化和教育的部门除了有国际合作和发展部外，还有奥林匹克研究中心及信息管理部，也都在文化和奥林匹克教育方面提供支持。

(四)推动商业开发，为奥运发展奠定了雄厚的财力基础

1981年基拉宁在奥林匹克大会的致词中说，“回忆起我在1972年接任主席的时候，国际奥委会是靠借贷来工作。莫斯科奥运会之后，国际奥委会已成为一个资金充足的组织……”但实际上国际奥委会那时候还并不富裕。萨马兰奇担任主席以后，大力发挥奥林匹克品牌的作用，扩大了国际奥委会的财政来源。现在国际奥委会的财政来源主要来自4个方面。以悉尼2000年奥运会为例，45%来自电视转播收入，18%来自赞助商TOP计划，16%来自本国赞助，19%来自门票收入，2%来自特许证收入。电视收入一直是主要的，几乎占一半。仅美国NBC一家跟国际奥委会签定的2004、2006、2008年共两次夏季奥运会、一次冬季奥运会的一揽子转播合同，支付的转播费就高达23亿美元。这是非常高的收入，国际奥委会最初将电视收入的60%给东道主，40%给国际奥委会，再将这40%分配给其他国际单项体育组织和各国奥委会。国际奥委会从TOP计划获得的比例更少一点，10%的样子。但是后来看到这个收入很大，申办奥运会的城市又很多，这种需求关系的变化使国际奥委会提高了价码，现在反过来，国际奥委会51%，东道主拿49% 国际奥委会从所有这些收入中，只保留了7%左

右。1981年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1982年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1983年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1984年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1985年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1986年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1987年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1988年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1989年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1990年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1991年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1992年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1993年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1994年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1995年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1996年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1997年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1998年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。1999年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2000年，在悉尼举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2001年，在悉尼举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2002年，在悉尼举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2003年，在悉尼举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2004年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2005年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2006年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2007年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2008年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2009年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2010年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2011年，在雅典举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2012年，在伦敦举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2013年，在伦敦举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2014年，在伦敦举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2015年，在伦敦举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2016年，在里约热内卢举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2017年，在里约热内卢举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2018年，在平昌举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2019年，在平昌举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2020年，在东京举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2021年，在东京举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2022年，在东京举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2023年，在东京举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2024年，在巴黎举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2025年，在巴黎举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2026年，在米兰举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2027年，在米兰举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2028年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2029年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2030年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2031年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2032年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2033年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2034年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2035年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2036年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2037年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2038年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2039年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2040年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2041年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2042年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2043年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2044年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2045年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2046年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2047年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2048年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2049年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。2050年，在洛杉矶举行的第一届世界体育和文学竞赛会，这是奥林匹克运动会以来第一次在奥运会之外举行的。

Fourth, commercial development was promoted in order to lay a solid financial foundation for the development of the Olympic movement.

In 1981 Killanin said in his address to the Olympic Congress: “I remember that when I took over as president in 1972, the IOC was run on borrowed funds. After the Moscow Olympic Games, the IOC had become an organization with sufficient funds...” However, at that time in reality the IOC was by no means wealthy. After Samaranch became president, he devoted a great deal of effort to realizing the potential of the Olympic brand, and greatly expanded the IOC’s sources of revenue. Now there are four main sources of revenue for the IOC. Taking the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games as an example, 45% of the revenue comes from television broadcast revenues; 18% comes from the TOP sponsorship program, 16% comes from domestic sponsors, 19% comes from admission tickets, and 2% comes from product licensing. Television revenue is consistently the main source, occupying almost half of the total. The American NBC alone signed a package deal with the IOC for

broadcast rights costing US\$2.3 billion for two Summer Games and two Winter Games in 2004, 2006, and 2008. This is extremely high revenue; initially the IOC gave 60% of the revenue to the host and kept 40% for itself, of which 40% was distributed to the international federations and national Olympic committees. The proportion that the IOC received from the TOP program was a bit smaller, around 10%, but after it saw the change in demand so that the amount of revenue was large and many cities were bidding to host the Olympic Games, it raised the price. Now, by contrast, the IOC gets 51% and the host 49%. The IOC only retains around 7% of all of these revenues, and the rest is distributed to the IFs and NOCs. In 2001, for example, the television revenue given to the IFs was US\$160 million, of which the IAAF received the most, about 17 million, and the others were divided into A, B, C, D, and E categories based on their television ratings and the situation of the participants. Category B categories such as basketball, volleyball, and so on, received over US\$8 million, Category C over \$5 million, Category D over \$4 million, Category E over \$3 million. The IFs only receive a share of the television revenues, but the NOCs receive shares from the commercial sponsors in addition to the television revenues; the amount received by each country is completely different, and here the distribution is extremely irrational. The U.S.'s share is 20% of the amount given to the Olympic committees of over 200 countries and territories. This issue has provoked unending discussions. In the past it was so because the majority of the sponsors came from the U.S, but why should the U.S. receive so much now that the U.S. only occupies about half of the 11 sponsors and the others come from Europe, South Korea, and Japan, and now there is also our Chinese Lenovo Corporation? The outcry has become louder and louder. However, it is because of the achievements of this commercial development that the sport associations of some countries rely on their share of the Olympic profits for their development. So do the NOCs; each athlete who participates in the Olympic Games receives a subsidy. Each NOC receives annual funding for administration, and in fact many NOCs rely on the Solidarity Fund for their operations. The

右, 其余分配给各单项体育组织和各国奥委会。以2001年为例, 给各国单项组织的电视收入是1.6亿美金, 其中, 国际田联拿最大头, 1700多万美金, 其他组织按照其电视收视率和参加者的情况分成A、B、C、D、E几类。B类像篮球、排球等组织800多万美金, C类500多万美金, D类400多万美金, E类300多万美金。单项体育组织只从电视收入分成, 而各国奥委会是从电视收入加上赞助商收入两个方面来分成。各国获得的比例完全不一样, 这里面的分配是非常不合理的, 单是美国就拿到分配给200多个国家地区奥委会总额的20%, 这个问题不断引起大家的议论, 过去说是因为赞助商大部分来自美国, 现在美国在11家赞助商中只占一半左右, 其他的来自欧洲、韩国、日本, 现在还有我们中国的联想公司, 为什么美国还要拿那么多啊? 这个呼声越来越强烈。但是作为成就来讲, 确实是由于商业开发, 使得有些国家单项体育组织依靠奥运收益的分成来发展。各国奥委会也是如此, 每一个参加奥运会的运动员都有补助。每个国家奥委会每年都可获得行政经费, 很多国家奥委会实际上就是靠着团结基金在运转。国际奥委会还靠这笔钱帮助发展中国家培养运动员。4年为一期, 以2000-2004年为例, 用于各国奥委会的有2亿多美元, 用于单项体育组织是1.6亿美元。

从以上几个方面可以看出, 奥林匹克运动由于它所倡导的奥林匹克精神和理念, 也由于体育这个世界共同语言本身的魅力, 加上现代通讯手段的迅速发展, 其影响远远超出了体育领域。

二、奥林匹克运动存在的问题

前面讲的是成就，下面简单讲一下存在的问题。

(一) 团结问题

奥林匹克运动的团结仍然是国际奥委会必须谨慎应对的一个问题。组成奥林匹克运动的各方由利益和出发点的不同，随时都有可能发生纠纷和摩擦。现在国际奥委会采取怀柔政策，通过调节各方面的政治利益、经济利益，把大家联接在一起。即使如此，人们仍然可以看到，国际足联仍然坚持23岁以上的运动员在每个奥林匹克队里面不能超过3人，这说明它要把最高水平留给自己的世界杯。网球到目前为止，顶尖运动员参加奥运会的并不太多。冰球尽管邀请美、加顶级运动联盟派他们的运动员来，但是并不是所有的顶尖运动员都愿意来参加奥运会的比赛。高水平运动俱乐部以及职业运动员行会性质组织与该项目国际组织之间的矛盾也都会反映到奥林匹克运动中。

(二) 组织的法律基础

尽管国际奥委会在瑞士获得了国际组织的地位，尽管国际奥委会的宪章规定，有关奥林匹克运动的一切权利归国际奥委会，但当年促使各国奥委会另立常设大会、各国际单项组织成立总会的因素仍然存在。现在已经有人在问，为什么

IOC relies on this money to help the developing nations train athletes. In a four-year period, with 2000-2004 as an example, over US\$200 million was spent on the NOCs and 160 million on the IFs.

From the above factors, we can see that the influence of the Olympic Movement has far surpassed the realm of sports because of the Olympic spirit and ideals that it advocates, because of the intrinsic appeal of sports, because of this shared global language, and because of the rapid development of modern means of communication.

ISSUES IN THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT

The above was about the contributions. Now, let's talk briefly about the issues that exist.

First, there is the issue of solidarity.

The solidarity of the Olympic Movement is still an issue that needs to be carefully dealt with by the IOC. Because the different aspects that make up the Olympic Movement have different interests and starting points, disputes and friction can occur at any time. Currently the IOC adopts a policy of conciliation to link everyone together through adjusting the various political and economic interests. Nevertheless, people can still see that FIFA has persisted in not allowing more than three athletes over the age of 23 on any one Olympic team, which shows that it wants to reserve the highest levels for its own World Cup. To this point the number of top tennis athletes taking part in the Olympic Games is not very large. Although ice hockey invites the American and Canadian federations of top athletes to send their athletes, not all top athletes want to compete in the Olympic Games. The conflicts between the high-level clubs and professional players' unions and the international federations of these sports are all reflected in the Olympic Movement.

Second, there is the issue of the legal foundation of the organization.

Although the IOC attained the status of an international organization in Switzerland, and although the IOC's charter stipulates that all authority over the Olympic Movement belongs to the IOC, the factors that in past years led the NOCs to establish a separate standing committee and the IFs to establish an association still exist. There are people today who are already asking why the Olympic Games, which have global political and economic influence, should be determined by the IOC, an organization consisting of one hundred self-selected members? Why not be determined by a worldwide sport meeting elected in accordance with democratic principles? What is the legal basis for the fact that all issues connected with the sports games should be determined by the IOC?

It is worth remembering that Coubertin, who came from France, set up the system of selecting IOC members precisely at the time when France raised a pointed question after failing in three consecutive bids to host the Olympic Games over more than ten years: Why are the hosting rights of the Olympic Games decided by such a committee of several dozen self-selected members? What right do they have to decide on affairs that touch upon the interests of so many people? This is to ask, what is the legal basis for the policy decisions of the IOC? I am afraid that this question demands investigation.

I feel that the IOC's system of co-opting members indeed has its advantages, and it has brought about 100 years of independent development of the IOC. However, now the situation has changed, and the IOC itself has also changed. Starting in 1994, and especially after the reforms in 1999, inside the IOC there are individual members who dedicate their own beliefs, ideas, and vocations to the Olympic Movement; there are also representatives of groups who come from the NOCs, IFs, and athletes. Now even the oath that the members take has become a problem; originally, it stated that members would

具有世界政治、经济影响的奥运会要由自行遴选的成员组成的百把人的国际奥委会来决定，而不是由按照民主原则选出来的世界性体育会议来决定？与运动会有关的一切问题都由国际奥委会决定，其法律基础是什么？

值得注意的是，是来自法国的顾拜旦确立了国际奥委会委员的遴选制度，恰恰也是法国在十多年来连续第三次申办奥运会失败之后尖锐的提出一个问题：为什么奥运会的举办权是由这么几十个自我遴选出来的委员会决定的？他们有什么权利决定涉及到这么多人利益的事情？这就提出一个问题，即国际奥委会决策的法律基础是什么？恐怕这个问题是需要研究的。

我感到，国际奥委会委员的遴选制度确实有它的好处，带来了100多年来国际奥委会的独立发展。但是现在情况变化了，国际奥委会本身也变了。从1994年开始尤其是从1999年改革以来，国际奥委会里既有以自己的信念、理念，乐意为奥林匹克运动献身的个人身份的委员，又有来自国家奥委会、国际单项体育组织和运动员群体的代表。现在连委员宣誓的誓言都成了问题，原来说委员们不接受其他任何影响，只维护奥林匹克利益。现在既然有的委员代表一定的组织、机构和群体，就必然要代表各自的利益。这样的委员个人制和代表制混合的组织原则能维持多久？这些涉及到组织结构的问题已经引起了人们的思索与探讨，甚至是质疑。

(三) 指导思想的问题

事实上这个问题较上述两个问题更为紧迫，国际奥委会面临的是向何处去的问题。是成为经营体育秀的企业，还是通过体育传播奥林匹克精神、理念和价值观的社会教育运动。

商业开发给奥林匹克运动带来巨大的经济收入，国际奥委会因此建立奥林匹克基金。这个基金可确保即使奥林匹克运动会一至两届没有收入，国际奥委会仍可照样运转。这样的考虑完全是必要和明智的。而且世界各国从上述奥运会的商业开发中都获益颇多。但是如果把商业开发放在高于一切的地位就值得商榷了。说得再直白一点，你是将奥运会作为一个手段，来推动、传播全部奥林匹克的价值观为你的主要职责？还是将奥运会视为目的，将它变为单纯的商业来源，变为一种产业？这是国际奥委会所面临的问题。这就出现了一个矛盾，要传播奥林匹克理想就必然要涉及到奥林匹克的标识。而国际奥委会商业开发部门要考虑保护商业利益，使赞助商们享有专用权。这样往往使普及奥林匹克知识和奥林匹克教育的活动受到了限制。这就存在一个潜在的问题，即国际奥委会到底朝哪里去？是作为一个社会运动的推动者，传播奥林匹克理想和价值观，还是把自己完全变成一个组织经营奥林匹克体育演出的机构？这不能不引起人们的关注。

(四) 奥运会的规模

奥运会的规模是近二、三十年来人们一

not accept any outside influence and would uphold the interests of Olympism. Now that there are members who represent definite organizations, institutions and groups, it is inevitable that they will represent their respective interests. How long can the organizational principle of this mixed structure of individual members and representative members be maintained? These questions, which touch upon the organizational structure, have already provoked reflection and inquiry, and even doubts.

Third, there is the issue of guiding ideology.

In fact, this issue is more pressing than the above two issues. The issue that the IOC is facing is where it should go. Will it be a corporation that runs a sport show, or a social and educational movement that uses sports to disseminate the Olympic spirit, ideas, and values?

Commercial development has brought the Olympic Movement huge financial revenues, for which reason the IOC established the Olympic Foundation. This foundation can guarantee that even if there are two installments of Olympic Games with no revenues, the IOC will still be able to operate as usual. This kind of consideration was completely necessary and sensible. Moreover, as stated, the benefits from commercial development for the countries of the world are considerable. However, it is worth discussing whether commercial development should be given priority above all else. To put it more bluntly, do you take the Olympic Games as a means, with the promotion and dissemination all of the Olympic values as their main responsibility? Or do you take the Olympic Games as an end, using them as a simple source of business, and turning them into an industry? This is the problem faced by the IOC. Then a conflict emerges – if you want to disseminate the Olympic ideals it will inevitably be linked with the Olympic marks. However, the IOC's Marketing Department will consider the protection of commercial interest and allow the commercial sponsors exclusive rights. This will frequently entail limitations on activities for spreading Olympic knowledge and

Olympic education. Thus a potential problem exists, namely, which direction will the IOC face? Will it be a promoter of a social movement, a disseminator of Olympic ideals and values, or will it completely turn itself into an institution for organizing and running an Olympic sports performance? This cannot but provoke deep concern.

The fourth issue is the size of the Olympic Games.

The size of the Olympic Games is an issue that people have been constantly discussing for the last decades, but they have not yet been able to reach a consensus. The current size of the Olympic Games needs to be reduced, but the methods to reduce its size have apparently not been successful. After Rogge came to power he spent several years trying to reduce the size of the Olympic Games, but in fact they have now apparently returned to their original starting point. It is unfortunate that the 2012 Olympic Games will not include the sports of baseball and softball. Whether they can return to the Olympic Games will require another discussion. Actually, one way of solving the problem would be to fix some existing basic sports as compulsory, and list others as available for selection; each country could propose in its Olympic bid which “elective” sports it would select in addition to the “compulsory” sports, and then the vote for the host city would also decide which sports would be held.

A more profound issue is connected with the size of the Olympic Games. If the size is not restricted and the needs for facilities and technology increase over time, the result will be that only big cities in developed nations or a small number of developing nations will be able to host the Olympic Games, which does not accord with the principle of universalism.

Of course, the IOC has other issues that need to be resolved, such as the problem of Eurocentric thinking, which will require long-term effort before it can be resolved. Currently the most central problem

直讨论的问题，但仍然不能取得共识。奥运会目前的规模是需要缩小，但是现在采取的缩小规模的办法似乎并不成功。罗格上台后用了几年的时间，试图缩小奥运会规模，但现在实际上似乎又回到了原来的起点。倒霉的是棒球跟垒球，2012年奥运会没有了这两个项目。它们能不能回来奥运会又要重新讨论。其实，如果将既有的一些基本项目设为必须要有的，再列出一些可供选择的项目，这也许是一个解决办法。每个国家在申办奥运会的时候就提出，除了“必修”的项目外，还将选择“选修”哪些项目，这样在投票确定举办城市时也就决定了哪些项目要办。

与奥运会规模相连的另一个更深层次的问题。如果规模不加限制，对设施和技术的要求又越来越高，其结果是只有发达国家的大城市或少数几个发展中大国才能举办奥运会，这不符合普世性的原则。

当然国际奥委会还有其他问题要解决，例如欧洲中心主义思想问题，这是需要长期努力才能解决的问题。当前值得我们关注的国际奥委会最核心的问题，是奥林匹克运动向何处去。

我是一个乐观主义者。我坚信，国际奥委会通过自身的实践以及所有关心珍爱奥林匹克的人们的共同努力，会更深刻地理解，奥林匹克运动最宝贵的是它倡导的昂扬向上、永远向高峰攀登、不断超越自我的精神、公平公正的精神，反对任何歧视、相互尊重的精神、和平与友谊的精神。在此精神的指引下，奥林匹克运动将长盛不衰。

that deserves our concern is the question of where the Olympic Movement will go.

I am an optimist. I firmly believe that through its own practice and the joint efforts of all those who care for and cherish the Olympic Movement, the IOC will more deeply understand that the most precious asset to the Olympic Movement is the spirit that it advocates: the spirit of the pursuit of higher goals, forever climbing to higher peaks, and constantly striving to surpass oneself; the spirit of fair play and justice, the fight against discrimination of any kind, the spirit of mutual respect, and the spirit of peace and friendship. Guided by this spirit, the Olympic Movement will live forever.

OLYMPIC EDUCATION AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

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In recent years, Olympic education has increasingly received greater attention. It is not just Olympic host cities that have established specialized Olympic education programs across the board, but also non-host cities are developing Olympic education activities to different degrees. Olympic education has also become an important project in the Olympic preparatory work, and has been an important project in the preparations for the Beijing Olympic Games. How to understand Olympic education? There are many different ways of looking at it. This essay attempts to take the unique characteristics of Olympic education as a starting point to explore the important role played by issues of cross-cultural communication in Olympic education.

WHAT IS OLYMPIC EDUCATION?

To start with the most basic understanding, Olympic education is an educational activity that takes youth as its main target group and uses sports to disseminate the Olympic values. The goal of Olympic education is to protect and promote the common interests of human society, such as peace, friendship and progress; its pedagogical content is the humanistic values that are universally accepted by human society, such as striving for excellence, fairness, justice, respect; its basic pedagogical method is sports, a cultural form that universally exists in human societies. It is clear that Olympic education possess-

奥林匹克教育与跨 文化转播

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近年来，奥林匹克教育引起人们越来越多的注意。不仅奥运会主办城市均设有专门的奥林匹克教育计划，而且非主办城市在不同程度上也在开展奥林匹克教育活动。在北京奥运会的筹办过程中，奥林匹克教育也是筹办的一项重要内容。如何认识奥林匹克教育？人们见仁见智，有多种观点。本文试图从这种教育的特殊性入手，探讨在奥林匹克教育中有重要作用的跨文化传播问题。

一、什么是奥林匹克教育？

奥林匹克教育从根本上讲，是以青少年为主要目标群体，通过体育运动传播奥林匹克价值的教育活动。奥林匹克教育目标是维护和促进人类社会共同的根本利益，和平、友谊、进步；其教育内容是人类社会的普遍接受的人文价值，如奋发图强、追求卓越，公平、公正、尊严、尊重；其教育的基本手段是人类社会普遍存在的文化形态——体育运动。显然，奥林匹克教育从目标、内容到手段，都具有鲜明的普世性，具有超越民

族、宗教、政治、阶级等各种社会界限的普遍意义。

二、我们为什么需要奥林匹克教育？

近代以来，世界上各个国家已经在自己社会中建立起了门类齐全的教育体系，囊括了德、智、体、美四大部类，完全可以完成为该社会培养人才的任务。那么我们为什么还需要奥林匹克教育？奥林匹克教育是不是对既有教育的重复，因此是多余的？或者是为了举办和参与奥运会而做的一种“秀”？

任何一种教育出现的根本原因在于它能够满足特定的培养人的需要，奥林匹克教育是否有存在必要，也是由是否具有社会需要以及它能否满足这种需要而决定的。

1、“地球村”和谐发展的需要

目前世界既有的教育体系是以民族国家为基本单位建立起来的，是立足于本民族、本国家，着眼于本社会人才培养的需要而设计和实施的。随着人类社会的发展，这种国家教育出现了其自身难以克服的困难。人类社会的经济联系在经历了跨国化、局部的国际化最后进入全球化的发展阶段。在经济全球化的拉动下，世界各地在政治、文化、科技、军事、安全、意识

es a distinct universalism, from its goals to its content and methods. These pedagogical references usually possess universal meanings that transcend ethnicity, religion, politics, social status, and various other social boundaries.

WHY DO WE NEED OLYMPIC EDUCATION?

As the world entered the modern era, nations worldwide established varied and complete educational systems in their own societies that included the four major categories of moral, intellectual, physical, and aesthetic education, which were completely able to fulfill the task of fostering human potential for those societies. But then why do we need Olympic education? Isn't Olympic education superfluous because it merely repeats existing education? Or is it just a "show" that is put on in order to host and take part in Olympic Games?

The basic reason for the emergence of any education is that it can fulfill a specific need for fostering human potential; whether the existence of Olympic education is needed is determined by whether the social need exists, and whether it is able to fulfill this need.

The Need for Harmonious Development of the "Global Village"

Presently the world's existing educational systems are built upon a foundation whose basic unit is the nation-state. They are firmly based on the needs of that nation and that state, and they are designed and implemented with a focus on the cultivation of that society's human potential. As human society developed, difficulties emerged in this national educational pattern and they were hard to surmount. Economic links in human society passed through the economic phases of trans-nationalization and regional internationalization, and finally entered globalization. Driven by the globalization of the economy, there was an extremely rapid worldwide development of the interconnections between the multiple layers and realms of politics, culture,

science, military affairs, security, ideology, lifestyle, values, and so on. A developmental trend emerged in globalization and that was multi-dimensional and multi-institutional, which linked the world's countries together ever more closely, binding them by common interests as they shared their trials and tribulations. The serious problems in today's world, such as environmental problems, the fight against terrorism, the crackdown on smuggling, the control of HIV/AIDS, and so on, all have implications for a future which no longer belongs to just one nation, but which is the fate of all of humankind. "The global village" is no longer a thing of the future, but a reality in our lives today. Human society has entered an era that must consider both national interests and global interests. As the slogan of the Beijing Olympic Games puts it, "One world, One dream."

Therefore, because of its inherent nature - its goals, field of vision, and content - it is difficult for traditional education, which is based on the standpoint of one nation and circumscribed within the confines of one state, to fulfill the needs of the present era of globalization. Today's world lacks education which focuses on a global horizon and which is firmly based on the interests of humankind as a whole. It was precisely the lack of this focused education that sparked the emergence of Olympic education. Olympic education aims to produce qualified citizens of the "global village," to help them break through the various limitations of their respective societies, to impress the seal of a world citizen on top of the existing identity of a national citizen. Olympic education does not replace the existing national education in each region, but rather it augments and compliments national education as needed in order to facilitate the harmony of our shared global village and uphold the common interests of humankind. The emergence of Olympic education is an inevitable result of the development of contemporary society and the Olympic Movement. In October 2006 at the IOC's Fifth World Congress on Sport, Education and Culture hosted in Beijing, President Rogge clearly stated that the Olympic Movement is an educational movement.

形态、生活方式、价值观念等多层次、多种领域的相互联系发展极为迅速。全球化呈现出全方位、全领域的发展态势，将世界各国越来越密切地结合在一起，使它们休戚相关，患难与共。当代世界的各种重大问题，如环境问题、能源问题、反恐、打击走私、控制艾滋病等等，关系到的不再是某一个国家和民族的前途，而是整个人类的命运。“地球村落”也不再是未来的事情，而是我们今天的现实生活状态。人类社会已进入既需要考虑民族利益，也需要考虑全球利益的时代。正如北京奥运会口号所言“同一个世界、同一个梦想。”

然而，传统的基于民族立场、囿于国家范围的教育，由于其固有的特性，其目标、视野、内容均难以满足今天全球化时代的需要。当今世界缺少着眼于全球视野，立足于人类总体利益的教育。正是这种缺失引发奥林匹克教育的出现。奥林匹克教育旨在培养合格的“地球村”居民，使他们突破各自社会的种种限制，在他们既有的国家公民身份上增加世界公民的印记。奥林匹克教育不是要取代各地既有的国家教育，而是对国家教育进行必要的扩充与补偿，以促进我们共有的地球村落的和谐，维护人类的共同利益。奥林匹克教育的出现是当代社会和奥林匹克运动发展的一个必然结果。2006年10月在北京举办的国际奥委会第五届世界体育大会上，罗格主席明确提出，奥林匹克运动是教育运动。

2、人自身发展的需要

教育是培养人的，奥林匹克教育也以一个个活生生的个体为其作用对象。由于奥林匹克教育以维护和促进人类社会的共同利益为出发点，其教育在具体操作上，须寻求最相似的个体需求，这就是人的发展。不论社会背景如何不同，作为个体的人总是在寻求自身的发展。教育也就是科学地促进自身发展的手段。但是，在这一点上，奥林匹克教育与既有国家教育的不同是，它着眼于人类社会的共性，力图摆脱文化的种种束缚，促进个体自身的和谐发展。因而，它旨在为人的发展开创一种理想状态，而既有的国家教育则受其社会的或文化的种种限制，或多或少偏离于人的理想和谐发展轨道。因此，在这个意义上，奥林匹克教育超越民族的或国家的教育对个体发展的局限，使个体发展进入更高层次的和谐之境。

此外，身体是任何一个个体生存和发展的物质基础，人们身体的需要不因社会背景的不同而不同，奥林匹克教育以体育活动为其实施其教育的基本手段，不仅抓住了人的发展的基点，而且在手段上找到人的发展的共同点。这就使得奥林匹克教育在基础的实践层次上有所依托，从而能够满足人自身和谐发展的需要。

The Need for Individual Self- Development

Since Olympic education takes as its starting point the protection and promotion of the common interests of human society, it has to seek out the individual needs that most resemble each other for its concrete operations, that is, the self-development of each individual. It does not matter how social backgrounds may differ, as individuals all human beings always seek self-development. And education is a means to scientifically ease self-development. However, on this point, Olympic education differs from existing national education in that it focuses on the commonalities of human society and strives to throw off the various fetters of culture and facilitate harmonious individual self-development, and therefore it aims to create an ideal environment for human development. Existing national education, on the other hand, suffers the limitations of its society or culture, and to greater or lesser degree deviates from the ideal path of human harmonious development. Thus, it is in this sense that Olympic education transcends the restrictions placed on individual development by national education and allows individual development to enter a higher-level harmonious environment.

In addition, the physical body is the material means for the survival and development of any individual. People's bodily needs and the needs derived from them are not much different just because their social backgrounds are different. Since they are physical activities, sports are chosen for carrying out Olympic education, which not only satisfies the goal of Olympic education but also provides the tool needed to put the education into practice. Sports are aimed at human development and are widely shared, so they provide an ideal tool for Olympic education.

CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN OLYMPIC EDUCATION

It can be seen from the above analysis that the goal of Olympic education is global and its participation is worldwide. Therefore, it transcends regional, ethnic, national and other boundaries, and gradually spreads

out across the world on an unprecedented scale. The essential nature and scale of Olympic education determine that this education is inevitably cross-cultural and it will constantly shuttle back and forth between different cultures, so cross-cultural communication occupies an important role and function in Olympic education.

Cross-cultural Generalization and Dissemination of Olympic Ideas and Values

The ideals and social values that Olympic education seeks to disseminate do not take one specific nation as a model, but come out of lessons and generalizations drawn from the cultural achievements of different nations worldwide. Although the current Olympic ideas are based on Western civilization, they are not just a reproduction of the ideas of Greece, England, France, Germany, or America, but instead they are extracted from the cultural essence of these nations. Since the second half of the 20th century, along with the rise of the developing nations, the Olympic ideas began to absorb more cultural elements from a greater geographical space. Thus, at their birth, the Olympic ideas themselves already possessed cross-cultural characteristics. Furthermore, although the ideas and values that came out of this generalization and abstraction have been generally accepted by human society, the forms of their expression in different cultures are nevertheless often utterly different, which has meant that people's understanding of the Olympic ideas and values has a cross-cultural character.

Olympic education should not only uphold universalism in order to maintain the correctness of the orientation of Olympic education, but it should also be contextualized in order to make its implementation more effective in specific nations and territories.

Cross-Cultural Borrowing between Different Nations and Cultures

Olympic education has spread out across the globe. Each nation designed and carried out educational activities with features that vary according to each country's national and ethnic characteristics. As a result,

三、奥林匹克教育中的跨文化传播

由上述分析可见，奥林匹克教育的目标是全球的，参与是世界的，因而它超越地域、民族和国家等种种界限，以人类历史上前所未有的广度在世界各地渐次展开。奥林匹克教育的性质和规模决定了这种教育必然是跨文化的，会频繁地在不同文化间穿梭，因此跨文化传播在奥林匹克教育中具有重要的地位与功能。

1、奥林匹克理念和价值的跨文化概括与传递

奥林匹克教育所要传播的理念和社会价值，不是以某一个具体国家为范本的，而是从世界各国的文明成果中总结和概括出来的。尽管现有的奥林匹克理念基于西方文明，但并不是希腊、英国、法国、德国或是美国理念的翻版，而是从这些国家的文化精髓中概括出来的。20世纪后半期以来，随着发展中国家的崛起，奥林匹克理念又开始从更大的地理空间吸纳更多的文化要素。因此，奥林匹克自身理念的产生就已经具有跨文化的特点。此外，这些概括和抽象出来的理念与价值尽管是人类社会普遍接受的，但是在不同的文化中的表现形式却常常迥然不同，这就使得人们对奥林匹克理念与价值的理解也涉及到跨文化的问题。

奥林匹克教育既要坚持普世性，以保持奥林匹克教育方向的正确性，又要本土化，以提高在具体国家和地区的实施效果。

2、不同国家与文化之间的跨文化借鉴

奥林匹克教育是全球展开的，各个国家在根据自己的国情和民族特点在设计 and 开展不同特色的教育活动，从而呈现出多姿多彩的特色。国家和地区间的相互借鉴、移植，对于奥林匹克教育的发展十分重要，如北京奥运会借鉴了日本长野冬奥会的“一国一校”活动，开发出了自己的奥林匹克“同心结”教育计划，受到中国青少年的欢迎。不同国家间的这种借鉴显然具有跨文化的特点，使得奥林匹克教育成国家间反馈、互动，相互学习、共同提高的过程

四、奥林匹克教育中跨文化传播存在的问题

1、将互动转播误以为单向传播

奥运源于西方，属于世界。由于历史及社会发展的差异，长期以来，奥林匹克传播是西方向非西方文化、发达国家向非发达地区的单向流动过程。随着社会的发展，国际社会多元并存格局渐露端倪，奥林匹克传播也由单

rich and colorful Olympic education activities have emerged. Mutual borrowing and transplanted between nations and territories are extremely important for the development of Olympic education. An example of that is the borrowing of the “one country, one school” activity from the winter Olympic Games in Nagano, Japan, by the Beijing Olympic Games to initiate its own Olympic “Heart-to-Heart” educational program, which was well-received by Chinese youth. It is clear that this borrowing by different nations has cross-cultural features, which makes Olympic education go through a process of feedback, interaction, mutual learning, and shared improvement between nations.

PROBLEMS IN CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION THAT EXIST IN OLYMPIC EDUCATION

Interactive Communication Misunderstood as One-Way Dissemination

The Olympic Movement originated in the West and belongs to the world. Due to differences in history and social development, for a long time the dissemination of Olympism was a one-way flow from the West to the non-West, from the developed nations to the undeveloped regions. As society developed, the patterns of the pluralistic co-existence of international society began to show their colors and the dissemination of Olympism gradually evolved from one-way dissemination toward interactive, two-way and multidirectional communication. The longstanding custom of the one-way dissemination of Western ideas no longer suits the needs of today's world. Interactive communication is also a process of mutual clashes, understanding, acceptance, and intermingling between cultures. This manner of communication is of great importance for Olympic education. In particular, those nations and territories currently in a state of social transition are regions where various cultural differences are constantly colliding and interacting, which can bring new thinking and new content to Olympic education. The deep-rooted and

longstanding habit of one-way dissemination weakens the effectiveness of Olympic education.

Tension and Conflicts in Communication

Perhaps there is inconsistency, or even conflict, between the universal values advocated by Olympic education and the values of national culture. For instance, although the Olympic Movement opposes discrimination on any grounds whatsoever, this is a conflict with the state of affairs related to women's sport in Islamic nations. Some people suggest that if there are no female athletes on the teams of these countries, these very countries should be prohibited from taking part in the Olympic Games. This could seem reasonable, but does it follow that one kind of discrimination (cultural discrimination) should be used to oppose another (gender discrimination)?

Cultural Misreading in Communication

Olympic education provides a rare platform for human society to build something together, share it, and enjoy it together. Based on it the people from each nation and territory engage in wide-ranging interactions toward the same educational goal, facing the same educational objects, targeting the same educational themes. Yet, it should be pointed out that in cross-cultural communication, it is difficult to avoid misreading between cultures. Cultural misreading leads to misunderstandings, mistaken impressions, and even conflicts.

Differences between Channels for Communication

The methods and channels of Olympic education are many, not only guided by mainstream society, such as formal educational activities organized by government organizations or programs broadcast by mainstream media, but also civilian and non-official communication and exchanges. The information transmitted through these channels is not completely identical.

向传播, 逐渐演变为交互式的双向及多向的互动传播。沿习已久的西方理念的单向传递, 不再适合今日世界的需要。互动式的传播, 也是文化间相互碰撞、理解、接纳与交融的过程。这种传播方式对奥林匹克教育至关重要。尤其是, 当前正处于社会转型期的国家和地区, 是各种异质文化发生持续碰撞与交流的地区, 可能会给奥林匹克教育带来新的思考及新的内容。根深蒂固的单向传播的积习, 只会削弱奥林匹克教育的效果。

2、传播中的冲突与矛盾

奥林匹克教育所倡导的普遍价值与民族文化中价值可能存在不一致, 甚至冲突。如奥林匹克运动反对基于任何理由的歧视, 这与伊斯兰国家的妇女体育状况就有冲突, 有人建议, 如果这些国家的代表队中没有女运动员, 就应当禁止其参赛。这样似乎有一定的道理, 但是否是在用一种歧视来反对另一种歧视呢?

3、传播中的文化误读

奥林匹克教育为人类社会提供了一个难得的共建、共有和共享的平台。在这里各国和地区的人们为了同一教育目标, 面对同一教育对象, 针对同一教育主题, 进行广泛的交流。然而, 需要指出的是, 在跨文化的传播中, 文化间的误读是难以避免的, 这会引起误解、误会, 甚至冲突。

4、传播渠道的差异

奥林匹克教育的手段和渠道多种多样，既有主流社会的引导，如政府组织的正式的教育活动、主流媒体的传播节目，也有民间的、非官方的传播与交流。这些渠道传递的信息不尽相同。

五、改善奥林匹克教育中跨文化传播的措施

1、提倡对异质文化的容忍态度

要改善奥林匹克教育中的传播的效果与效率，首先应当提供其中对不同文化容忍的态度。由于世界是由多元文化构成，奥林匹克教育首先要教育青少年对自己不熟悉的异质文化采取宽容与容忍的态度，这样才能进而学会理解异质文化，为跨文化传播的正常进行打下良好的基础。

2、通过各种渠道了解不同文化

通过互访、座谈、网络增加不同国家教师、学生、管理者之间接触与交流的机会；组织以了解其他国家文化为目标的体育、绘画、音乐和雕塑等活动，让学生们学会欣赏异域文化。

MEASURES FOR IMPROVING CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN OLYMPIC EDUCATION

Advocate an Attitude of Tolerance toward Cultural Difference

In order to improve the results and effectiveness of cross-cultural communication in Olympic education, we should first provide an attitude of tolerance toward different cultures in terms of education. Because the world is constructed of plural cultures, Olympic education should first educate youth in an open-minded and tolerant attitude toward cultural differences with which they are unfamiliar. Only in this way will they be able to learn to understand cultural difference, creating the precondition for healthy cross-cultural communication.

Understand Different Cultures through a Variety of Channels

Increase opportunities for contact and exchange for teachers, students, and administrators through exchange visits, seminars, and the internet; organize sport, art, music, sculpture, and other activities oriented toward other national cultures to help students learn how to appreciate foreign cultures.

Develop Collaborative Research on Olympic Education

Develop wide-scale international collaborative research in Olympic education toward an in-depth comprehension of the distinguishing features of Olympic education initiatives in different regions. It should especially emphasize the influence of the International Olympic Academy and the national Olympic academies.

Establish a Mechanism for International Dialogue in Olympic Education

Provide opportunities for Olympic education specialists to carry out probing discussions and exchanges of view through hosting specialized Olympic education forums or other such mechanisms.

FINAL REMARKS

Olympic education is an inevitable product of the Olympic Movement's entry into the developmental phase of globalization. With its own unique educational goals, content, and pedagogical methods, it compensates for the deficiencies in national education, upholds the overall interests of human society, and fulfills the most basic and also most universal individual developmental needs of human beings. Thus, it possesses a strong life force. In Olympic education, cross-cultural communication plays a very important role. The successes and failures of Olympic education to a large degree depend on the effects and effectiveness of cross-cultural communication. Those people from all walks of life who are engaged in Olympic education should give it the attention it deserves.

3、开展关于奥林匹克教育的合作研究

广泛开展奥林匹克教育的国际间合作研究，以深入把握不同地区开展奥林匹克教育的特点。这里要特别强调国际奥林匹克学院和国家奥林匹克学院的作用。

4、建立奥林匹克教育的国际对话机制

通过举办专门的奥林匹克教育论坛或类似的机制，为各国奥林匹克教育专家提供进行深入讨论、相互切磋的机会。

结束语

奥林匹克教育是奥林匹克运动在进入全球化发展阶段的必然产物，它以自己独特教育目标、教育内容和教育方式，弥补民族国家教育的不足，维护人类社会的整体利益，满足人类最基本也是最普遍的个体发展需要，因此，具有很强的生命力。在奥林匹克教育中，跨文化的传播扮演着极其重要的角色。奥林匹克教育成败利钝，在很大程度上取决于跨文化传播的效果与效率。从事奥林匹克教育的各方人士应当对之给以足够的关注。

MULTICULTURALISM IN THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT

Multiculturalism – a Brief History

SUSAN BROWNELL
University of Missouri

The intellectual roots of multiculturalism can be traced back to an important theoretical development that occurred in American anthropology in the early twentieth century. Led by Franz Boas (1858-1942), the founding father of American anthropology, a paradigm shift took place in the discipline at that time which centered around a new understanding of “culture.” This involved a subtle refinement of E.B. Tylor’s classic definition:

Culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (1871: 1).

Edward B. Tylor (1832-1917), English anthropologist, used “culture” and “civilization” interchangeably, and used both words in the singular. Otherwise, it has served the discipline quite well up to the present day. Franz Boas’s contribution was to separate “culture” from “civilization,” and to discard the latter. The concept of “civilization” was not useful to him because of its traditional use to establish the superiority of “civilized” peoples over “uncivilized” peoples. He shifted the focus to “culture” and was the first person to use the word *cultures* in the plural; it became regular among his students around 1910. This was a new conception of culture because it was founded on the assumption that cultures are relative, all humans are equally cultured, and culture does not undergo a progressive evolutionary development. This was a reaction against evolutionary theory, which assumed that “civilized” people (i.e., the West) had more culture than other people. Boas believed that there is more than one culture in this world, and different peoples have different cultures. It is this understanding of culture that made possible the emergence of the concept of “multiculturalism” more than half a century later.

奥林匹克运动中的多元文化主义——多元文化主义的简明史

苏珊·布朗奈尔

对多元文化主义根源的探究，要回溯到20世纪早期这一美国人类学理论发展的重要时期。在美国人类学之父弗朗茨·博厄斯（1858~1942，又译为鲍亚士）的带领下，该学科围绕着对“文化”的新理解产生了些许变化。同时，还对E. B. 泰勒经典的“文化”定义进行了细致的修正：

据人种志学的观点来看，文化或文明是一个复杂的整体，它包括知识、信仰、艺术、伦理道德、法律、风俗和作为一个社会成员的人通过学习而获得的任何其它能力和习惯。（泰勒 1871：1）

泰勒认为“文化”和“文明”是通用的，并且他在用到两个词的时候使用的都是单数。然而，尽管如此，这一概念直到今天都对本学科做着很大的贡献。弗朗茨·博厄斯的贡献则是将“文化”概念从“文明”概念中分离了出来，并将后者丢弃。对他来说，“文明”这一概念没有什么用处，因为它的传统是用来说明“文明化了”的人对“未开化”的人的优越性。他将焦点转移到了“文化”上面，并第一个使用了文化的复数形式（cultures），从1910年左右开始这在他的学生中也变得很普遍了。这一

文化的新概念，假设文化是相对的、所有人都平等地在于文化之中、文化没有经历一个上升的进化过程。这是对进化论的挑战，因为该理论认为“文明人”（比如西方人）要比其他未开化的人具有更多的文化。博厄斯相信，在世界上不止一种文化，并且不同的人有着不同的文化。正是对文化的这种理解才使得50多年后“多元文化主义”概念的产生成为可能。

1971年，加拿大官方下达了一项文化政策来处理英语区和法语区的文化冲突，这是“多元文化主义”一词第一次被正式使用。还有一个因素是土著人的不利境况。20世纪70、80年代的美国和加拿大，教育者们建议在只包括欧洲男性内容的学校课程中，增加处于边缘的民族、种族和女性的内容。80年代，处于边缘的少数民族对自由人道主义者的个人权利保护观点提出了批评，指出也应该保护与他们分享相同文化的少数民族的类似权利。多元文化主义成为了一种“认同政治”的标签，少数民族由此可以在教育课程和文化方面要求单独的、平等的话语权（特纳1993：411）。多元文化主义主要的理论家之一、政治哲学家查尔斯·泰勒，总结了这一历史：

以前，许多少数民族要遵从民主国家的准则。国家的公共文化和政治文化——比如说，成为公民意味着什么——由主流群体或者创立者建立，并且作用于所有人。后代、少数民族或者晚近出现的移民者所要做的只不过是遵守这一规则而不是试图去改变它。然而，在过去的30年中，有关公民身份的规则被越来越多地改写了。不光是传统文化意义上

The word “multiculturalism” began to be used officially in 1971 in Canada, when an official policy was announced in response to the conflict between English-and French-speaking Canada. Also a factor was the disadvantaged situation of indigenous peoples. In the United States and Canada in the 1970s and 1980s, educators debated about expanding the core curricula in universities and schools to include not just works by white European males, but also the works and histories of marginalized ethnic and racial groups and women. In the 1980s marginalized minority groups criticized the liberal humanist focus on the protection of individual rights, and argued that rights should also be guaranteed to groups that share a cultural identity. Multiculturalism became a label for a kind of “identity politics” in which minority groups demanded separate and equal representation in educational curricula and cultural programs (Turner 1993: 411). One of the major theorists of multiculturalism was the political philosopher Charles Taylor, who summarized this history as follows:

Formerly, a great many minorities accepted the *conformity* formula for democratic states. This was the idea that the public and political culture of the state - i.e., what it meant to be a citizen - was laid down once and for all by the hegemonic majority or the founding generation. The job of subsequent generations, cultural minorities, or more recent immigrants was to conform to this definition without trying to change it. In the last 30 years, however, the rules of citizenship are being progressively rewritten. Not just cultural minorities in the traditional sense, but also groups who feel that the reigning formula does not reflect them, like women and gays, have demanded some adjustments (Taylor 1996: 408).

It is important to point out that multiculturalism is a label for a kind of “identity politics,” which is not always supported by the academic anthropological understanding of culture because multiculturalists often use “culture” as a catchword for social groups that are actually defined by characteristics other than culture - such as ethnicity, class, or gender (Turner 1993: 411-412). From a social-scientific viewpoint, the use of “culture” by multiculturalists is sometimes inaccurate because it misrecognizes social and political divisions as cultural differences - and worse,

it obscures the real roots of the differences, which are political and economic (p. 417).

The multicultural focus of this *Olympic Studies Reader* was motivated by questions of citizenship similar to those in multicultural politics in general. Membership in the Olympic Movement entails certain rights and privileges, and in that sense it is a kind of athletic citizenship. But does citizenship entail conformity to a hegemonic majority, or do the rules of citizenship accommodate the entrance of minorities who feel that the reigning formula does not reflect them? The multicultural focus of this book reflects a political position: it is an attempt to explore the ways in which the Olympic Movement has already or might in the future evolve to accommodate the cultures of the numerous new nations that have joined it since the original rules were laid down by what Taylor might call “the hegemonic majority or the founding generation.” Because the multicultural stance represents an orientation for action, I will not attempt to establish a rigid academic definition of multiculturalism here, but will leave it open for the authors to explore as they wish.

Multiculturalism essentially reflects a vision in which different cultures maintain their distinctiveness but interact within a common framework that pressures them toward conformity. It differs from “pluriculturalism,” which describes a situation of the co-existence of different cultures; “interculturalism,” which describes the interaction of different cultures; and “transculturalism,” which describes the pursuit of means of interaction that can transcend cultural differences. The last three words are not associated with a clear political agenda as multiculturalism has been, and thus can be used as relatively neutral descriptive terms. However, an examination of the on-the-ground realities that they describe will reveal the same tensions between conformity and difference, and in that sense these terms cannot escape the political problems associated with the term “multiculturalism.”

SPREAD OF MULTICULTURALISM INTO SPORTS

Multiculturalists tended to focus on cultural institutions such as schools and museums, and cultural performances such as ethnic song, dance, dress, as sites where cultural diversity could be preserved and displayed. In the 1980s and 1990s, this linked with a growing international concern that a singular global culture, which was largely white

的少数民族，其他认为自己在原有准则中被忽略的群体如女性和同性恋者，也都要求对这些规则进行一些调整（泰勒1996：408）

我们还有必要指出一点，多元文化主义作为一种“认同政治”的标签，并不总是得到人类学文化理论的支持，因为多元文化主义者通常将“文化”当作是社会集团的标签，但实际上社会集团之所以被区分是因为其特点而不是文化——比如种族划分、阶级划分或者性别划分（特纳 1993：411~412）。从社会科学的角度看，多元文化主义者对“文化”的使用有时是不正确的，因为它没有将社会和政治不同看作是文化差异的一部分，更糟的是，它模糊了文化差异的真正根源——政治和经济。

这本《奥林匹克研究读本》对多元文化重视的原因与多元文化政治中普遍遇到的公民身份问题相类似。奥林匹克运动中的成员身份意味着特定的权利和好处，在这个意义上讲，这就是一种运动员的公民身份。但是，公民身份是意味着对主流群体的遵从，还是允许那些认为原有规则并没有将其纳入到其中的少数派进入？本书对多元文化的关注至少反映了这样一种尝试，那就是探索奥林匹克运动已经或者在未来吸收大量新兴成员国家的文化的方式，因为传统的规则毕竟已经由“主流群体或者创始者”制订出来了。因为多元文化代表了未来行动的方向，所以笔者在这里就不再给出死板的多元文化主义的定义，而是留给本书的作者们按照自己的想法去探索。

多元文化主义的基本视角是不同文化一方面保留其各自的特色，另一方面又能够在旨在达到一致的普遍构建

内有有机地相互作用。这不同于描述不同文化共存状态的“复文化主义(pluriculturalism)”，也不同于描述不同文化相互作用的“文化间主义(interculturalism)”，更不同于旨在寻求结合方法从而超越文化差异的“跨文化主义(transculturalism)”。后三者并不像多元文化主义那样已经进入了政治日程，因此可以用来作为新的中性词。然而，对它们描述的现实进行考察我们可以看出与多元文化主义一样，它们也同样面临着文化的一致性和差异性的问题，在这个意义上，这些主义也同样不能避免与“多元文化主义”密切相关的政治问题。

多元文化主义在体育运动中的传播

多元文化主义者倾向于把目光集中在诸如学校和博物馆等文化机构以及诸如民族歌曲、舞蹈、服饰等文化行为上，将其视为保护和展示文化多样性的场域。在20世纪80、90年代，对全球单一文化——主要是白人的和西方的，这消除了各地文化的多样性——的国际关注日益增多。作为文化的重要组成部分，体育运动是多元文化讨论中一个非常重要的领域。然而，全球体育运动的传播而导致的传统的、少数民族的和土著体育运动的消失却没有得到学者、政客或者媒体的足够注意。

不过，土著体育运动得到了加拿大政府的重视。开始于1976年的加拿大运动会给民族项目的比赛提供了机会，使其能够得到加拿大人最大限度的关注。当得知70年代的体育运动体系不能满足当地居民的需求时，他们便创立了北极冬季运动会，从而使得加拿大北部的土著居

and European, was rapidly wiping out local diversity around the world. As an important genre of cultural performance, sports could have been an important realm for the multicultural debate, but the elimination of traditional, minority, and indigenous sports by the spread of global sport did not receive a great deal of attention from academics, politicians, or the media.

However, indigenous sports did receive government attention in Canada. The Canada Games were started in 1967 to provide a national development competition to reach the maximum number of Canadians. When it was realized that the sport system was not reaching native peoples, the Arctic Winter Games were established in 1970 to give natives in northern Canada their own national competition. Alaska (U.S.) also sent some athletes. The first North American Indigenous Games (NAIG) were organized in 1990, involving some U.S. participants.¹ The NAIG included “traditional aboriginal” sports such as archery, canoe, and lacrosse, as well as global sports such as track and field, basketball, volleyball, boxing, and others. Thus, within this important multicultural intervention in sports, both global and indigenous sports symbolized ethnic identity.

In addition, in the 1980s, the end of state-supported socialist sport in Europe and the rapid globalization of sports produced a backlash. There was a multiplication of international competitions and sports festivals celebrating alternative local and ethnic identities, such as the First Games of the Small Countries of Europe, the First Inter-Island Games, the First Eurolympics of Minority Peoples, and so on (Eichberg 2008). The International World Games Association was founded in 1981, and began organizing an international meeting of non-Olympic sports in the year following the Olympic Games. The Trim and Fitness International Sport For All Association (TAFISA), was founded in 1991, and has organized several installations of the World Festival of Traditional Sports.

Multiculturalism as a political movement made little headway into the Olympic movement itself. Membership in the IOC entailed conforming to the existing rules with little or no possibility for its members to add their unique traditional sports to the Olympic program. This stance was strengthened after Jacques Rogge’s election as the President of the IOC. The Olympic Programme Commission was formed in 2002, as part of a policy of controlling the increase in the number of sports on the Olympic programme. The system for adding and deleting sports

that was developed by the Commission only considered the geographical universalism of a sport and not its cultural character. One result was that Chinese wushu (martial arts) was eliminated from consideration as an official Olympic sport for the Beijing Olympic Games, which will be discussed further below.

DIFFERENT APPROACHES: WESTERN EUROPE, SOVIET UNION, CHINA

It should be mentioned that the sports of ethnic minorities had received special attention in socialist nations. The Tashkent Games of 1920, also called the First Central Asian Games, were organized by the Soviet Union for the mainly Turkic peoples of what were then independent republics. They may have been the first large-scale games for ethnic minorities. China followed the Soviet model and gave minority nationality sports an even more prominent place: in 1953 the First Chinese National Minority Games were held in Tianjin, and in 1982 they began to be held every four years. The fact that more government attention was given to minority and traditional sports under state socialism was also related to the different structure of citizenship. State socialism gave less attention to individual rights and more to attention to collective group membership. Therefore, these events did not arise out of the same multicultural movement that produced indigenous games in Europe and North America where, as described, multiculturalism was motivated by a pursuit of collective rights in political systems that emphasized individual rights.

It should also be noted that particularly in Europe, multiculturalism is applied to the assimilation problems of immigrants. There, scholars have investigated whether sports act as a vehicle for the integration of immigrants into mainstream society, and they have been concerned with issues of inclusion and exclusion (for example, Kennett 2005; Henry et al. 2004). The assumption is that sport is one of the individual rights of citizenship that should be guaranteed to immigrants. To the degree that the European Union considers sport a means of assimilating immigrants based on extending this individual right of citizenship to them, this approach is actually almost the opposite of the original North American approach, which was a reaction against the traditional “melting-pot” approach to assimilation.

民可以有自己的国家级赛事。美国阿拉斯加也有一些运动员参加。第一届北美原住民运动会 (NAIG) 于1990年举行,吸引了许多美国人参加。其项目中包括许多“传统的、土著的”项目,比如射箭、独木舟、长曲棍球等,也包括一些全球盛行的项目比如田径、篮球、排球、拳击等。这样,在这一多元文化对体育运动的介入中,全球和土著体育运动都得到了群体的认同。

在上个世纪80年代,晚期的东欧社会主义体育运动和体育运动的席卷全球并产生了巨大的影响,一批旨在获得群体认同的国际体育比赛和体育节如雨后春笋迅速涌现,比如欧洲小国第一届运动会、第一届岛内运动会、第一届欧洲少数民族运动会等等 (Eichberg, 2008)。国际世界运动会协会 (The International World Games Association, IWGA) 于1981年建立,主要任务是在奥运会后的第二年组织非奥运项目的世界运动会。国际健身大众体育协会 (The Trim and Fitness International Sport For All Association, TAFISA) 建立于1991年,并且已经组织了几届国际传统体育节。

多元文化主义要想通过政治运动的方式进入奥林匹克运动,显然不会有多少空间。国际奥委会成员资格的获得就是默认并遵守业已存在的规则,作为成员他们几乎没有可能将自己独特的传统运动项目加入到奥林匹克程序中。这一立场在雅克·洛个当选国际奥委会主席后得到了加强。作为对奥林匹克项目增长进行控制的相关政策之一,奥林匹克项目委员会成立于2002年。该委员会在确定一个项目是加入还是离开奥运会时,标准只有一个,那就是该项目在全球的普

及程度和广泛性，而并不考虑其文化特征。一个例证就是中国武术并没有成为北京奥运会的正式比赛项目，下文将对此进行进一步的探讨。

不同的方式：西欧、苏联和中国

我们应该指出，社会主义国家对民族体育项目给与了特别的关注。苏联组织的1920年塔什干运动会即首届中亚运动会，主要就是突厥人的运动会，当时他们建立了独立的共和国。这可能是为少数民族举行的第一届大规模运动会。中国效仿了苏联的模式，甚至更加重视少数民族体育：1953年，中国第一届少数民族运动会在天津举行，从1982年开始，每四年举行一次。这种政府对少数民族和传统体育的关注也与公民身份的不同结构有关。国家社会主义较少关注个人权利，但高度重视集体的成员资格和集体利益。因此，同样是在多元文化运动的作用下，在欧洲和北美的结果就是原住民运动会，其原始驱动力是追求在非常强调个人权利的政治系统中的集体权利。

还需要指出的一点是，特别是在欧洲，多元文化主义常常被用于对移民的同化问题上。学者们研究了体育运动是否被作为将移民同化到主流社会的手段，以及这些移民是否被同化了的问题。其假设是体育运动是个人公民权利之一，移民的这一权利理应得到保障。欧盟认为能够通过体育运动将这种个人的公民身份延伸到了移民中从而完成对他们的同化，这一方法与北美传统的“大熔炉”方法正好相反。

MULTICULTURALISM AND GLOBALIZATION

Is the globalization of sports a process of homogenization or diversification? Three well-known Olympic sport scholars come to conclusions that are rather similar in their optimism. They all feel that cultural difference is being created at the same time that homogenization is taking place. Perhaps it is the fact that they are based in powerful Western countries that allows them this optimism.

Allen Guttmann (1994), at the end of his survey of the global diffusion of sports through colonialism, argues against those who claim that the diffusion of sports is an imperialist destruction of authentic native cultural forms. He does, however, admit that the standardized universality of modern sports represents a loss of diversity. However, he says that indigenous groups are active participants in the borrowing and they change the sports in the process.

John MacAloon (1995) puts forth the theory of sport as an “empty form.” He states that sports of Western origin have, over time, been emptied of their original cultural content and refilled with diverse local meanings by the people who practice them. Sports constitute “intercultural spaces” for cultural interaction, and cultural differences are created during the process of integration.

Joe Maguire (1999) argues that globalization should be understood as a balance between diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties. Global sport fosters a cosmopolitan consciousness, but at the same time it strengthens feelings of ethnic identity. He notes that it is not inevitable that globalization will result in the continued rise of the West; the comingling of cultures through globalization could result in the de-centering of the West.

Three well-known Olympic scholars who are not based in powerful Western nations are less optimistic.

Lamartine DaCosta (2002) says that the current emphasis on the universalistic traditions of Olympism needs to be balanced with a new pluralist humanism, and criticizes Olympic leaders and sport scholars for failing to put pluricultural Olympism into action.

Kostas Georgiadis (2001), the honorary dean of the International Olympic Academy in Olympia, Greece—which in the past forty years

has provided more educational seminars in Olympism to young people and educators from around the globe than any other single institution—also complains that multicultural education is underdeveloped within Olympic education. He states that good methods for teaching multiculturalism through sports have not been developed, that teaching materials are inadequate, and that teachers need to be aided in developing multicultural sensitivity.

Farthest from the Western centers of power, Lu Yuanzhen, China's most prominent radical critic of sports, is much more forceful:

Modern world sports are a cultural phenomenon that emerged against the background of the industrial revolution and cultural Renaissance in the West. ... However, the sport cultures of other nations and peoples - whether they are traditional or modern, whether they are mature or budding, whether they are ethnically homogeneous or transnational and multinational - have all been relegated to the status of "second-class sport cultures" or "quasi-sport cultures."

Today, every nation and people is striving to join the trend of the dominant world sport culture, even considering it their pride and joy. In this dominant sport culture, the Olympic Movement is a leading force. ... Olympism - as a culture of the powerful, a culture of power, an overpowering culture - has produced strong effects of impulsion, assimilation, integration, accommodation, and absorption on the diverse ethnic cultures, and is now expanding, penetrating, and flooding into every corner of the globe, establishing a system of coordinates for the development of world sport.

[...]

Historically, Western sport culture hitched a ride on the colonial railcar and crowded aside the indigenous sport cultures of the different Eastern countries until they almost disappeared into oblivion. In the current process of economic glo-

多元文化主义和全球化

体育运动的全球化是一个同一化的过程还是多样化的过程呢？三位享誉世界的奥林匹克运动研究专家对此都得出了乐观的结论。他们认为虽然有着文化差异，但同时也完成了同一化。或许，得出如此乐观结论的原因是因为三者都是来自强大的西方国家。

阿伦·古特曼（1994）进行了体育如何通过殖民主义在全球进行扩张的调查研究，他认为那些将体育扩张看作是帝国主义对当地文化形式的解构和消融的说法值得商榷。然而，他同时也承认，现代体育的标准和国际化的确意味着多样化的丧失。不过，他认为原住民在学习和借鉴现代体育的过程中是积极主动的参与者，他们在这一过程中也改变了这些现代体育运动项目。

约翰·麦克阿隆（1995）提出了体育的“空形式（empty form）”理论。他认为西方体育运动最初的文化内容已经被清空，之后又被不同参与者的独特意义重新填充。体育运动构成了文化相互作用的“文化间空间”，这样，文化差异在一体化的过程中被创造了出来。

乔·马奎尔（1999）认为我们应当将全球理解为消除对立和增加多样性之间的一种平衡。体育运动的全球化促进了世界性意识的形成，但同时也加强了民族认同感。他指出，西方文化的中心化可能因全球化持续上升的趋势而得以控制，全球化引起的其他文化的进入可以逐渐去掉西方文化中心化。

另外三个著名的奥林匹克运动研究学者因为不是来自强大的西方国家，所以其结论并不那么乐观。

拉马丁·达科斯塔（2002）认为，现在对奥林匹克主义普世性这一传统的强调需要由新的人道主义来平衡，他还批评奥林匹克运动的领导人和学者们没有将复文化的奥林匹克主义贯彻到行动之中。

希腊奥林匹亚国际奥林匹克学院——在过去的40年中，该学院比起其它单一的机构，为来自世界各地的年轻人和教育者们提供了更多的奥林匹克主义教育研讨班——院长克斯塔斯·吉奥吉阿迪斯（2001）也抱怨说奥林匹克教育中缺乏多元文化教育。他认为，人们还没有找到通过体育运动进行多元文化主义教育的方法，教育材料也不足，教师对多元文化的认识也有待进一步提高。

三位学者中，位于离西方权力中心最远的地方——中国的激进体育学者卢元镇的言论更尖锐：

近现代世界体育是以西方工业革命和文艺复兴运动为背景而产生的一种文化现象……而其他国家、民族的体育文化，无论是传统的，还是现代的；无论是成熟的，还是萌芽态的；无论是单一民族的，还是跨国的、多民族的；都只能归于“亚体育文化”或“准体育文化”。

当今，各个国家与民族都在努力汇入这一世界主题体育文化的潮流，并以此为荣为乐。在这一主体体育文化中，奥林匹克运动是一种先导的力量……奥林匹克作为一种强者文化、强权文化、强势文化，对各种民族体育文化产生强大的感召、同化、融合、兼容和统摄作用，正在向世界的每一个角落

balization, Western sport culture has again, like a lawnmower, mowed down the cultural diversity of world sport into neat and tidy rows. In accordance with the rule that the strong feed on the weak, the diverse sport cultures, as the weak cultures, have become pale and feeble. An absolutely asymmetrical cultural relationship has been formed between the diverse sport cultures and Olympism. (Lu 2005: 2-3).

So, is the globalization of sports a process of homogenization or diversification? This question awaits further research, and in that process Western scholars probably need to make greater efforts to include the opinions and experiences of colleagues in developing and non-Western countries, who after all are in a better position to judge the answer.

GEOGRAPHICAL UNIVERSALISM DOES NOT EQUAL CULTURAL DIVERSITY

The 2008 Olympic Games will be hosted by the least Westernized nation to yet host them. It will be only the third time the Olympic Summer Games have been held outside the West and its former colonies, and when measured by the numbers of Westerners who will be in China, it will be the greatest-ever meeting of East and West in peacetime. It will mark a pivotal moment when the Olympic Movement begins to attain an unprecedented universalism, which is expressed in the slogan “One World, One Dream.”

However, geographical universalism does not equal cultural diversity. He Zhenliang, IOC member in China and chair of the Commission on Culture and Olympic Education, has observed,

a movement’s geographical universality does not automatically mean, in the minds of its leaders, that the cultural plurality of this movement is real and that there is compatibility between different cultures. In fact, universality requires there to be cultural plurality, something which can be achieved only when all cultures receive the same respect.” (He 2001: 11)

The majority of the history and symbolism of the modern Olympic Games is linked to Western civilization. The great majority of International Federations have their headquarters in the West. Of the 35 winter and summer federations, twelve have headquarters in Lausanne, Switzerland, to which they have been drawn because that is the IOC headquarters.

Representation in IOC Structures by Region of the World, 2008

(Please, see Table at the end of this chapter)

Most of the sports on the Olympic program were spread throughout the world through Western colonialist and imperialist expansion. There are only two sports of clearly non-Western origin on the Olympic Games program – judo (Japan) and taekwondo (South Korea). In addition, kayak might be considered as having some roots in indigenous American Indian cultures. In 2008, wushu will be performed under the auspices of BOCOG, but not as an official sport. In China there was a great deal of disappointment when the IOC Programme Commission did not forward wushu to the Session for a vote of approval for the Beijing Olympic Games. They had always assumed that, like Japan and South Korea, China would be able to add its sport to the Olympic program when it hosted the Games.

After the establishment of the Olympic Museum at the IOC headquarters in Lausanne, Switzerland in 1993, He Zhenliang proposed that it should introduce the “sport cultures of different civilizations.” However, some members of the Executive Board disagreed, stating that it should display “things relevant to Olympism.” He argued,

Times have changed; the participants in the ancient Olympic Games were limited to the various city-states in the area of Greece, in the later periods it expanded to various places along the Mediterranean sea. Even in the modern Olympic Games, the first participants were limited to a dozen European and North American countries. However, participants in today’s Olympic Games come from every corner of the world. They represent different cultures and what they have introduced into the Olympic Games is completely different from the past, and needless to say the meaning of the modern Olympic Games is com-

落扩张着、渗透着、弥散着，
成为世界体育发展的座标系。

在历史上，西方体育文化曾搭乘在殖民化的轨道机上，把东方各国的原体育文化推挤到边缘，几于湮没。在当今经济全球化过程中，西方体育文化又如同割草机一样，把世界各民族文化的多样性“修剪”得整整齐齐。各种民族体育文化似乎成为弱势文化，在“弱肉强食”的规律面前，变得如此苍白。各种民族文化与奥林匹克之间形成了一种不对称的文化关系。

那么，体育运动的全球化是一个同一化的过程还是多样化的过程呢？这一问题尚待更多的研究，在这一过程中，东方学者可能要付出更多的努力来综合发展中国家、非西方国家中同行们的观点和实践，毕竟他们是判断答案是否正确的更合适的人选。

地理上的广泛性不等于文化多样化

2008年奥运会将在最没被西方化的国家举行。这仅仅是夏季奥林匹克奥运会第三次不在西方举行（原文如此，把1956年墨尔本奥运会和1968年墨西哥城奥运会算在西方文化圈内是通行的做法——译者注），并且这里还是西方以前的殖民地，考虑到届时将来到中国的西方人数量，这或许是和平时东西方最大规模的一次聚会了。正如北京奥运会的口号“同一个世界 同一个梦想”所表达的，这是一个里程碑似的重要时刻，因为奥林匹克运动获得了史无前例的国际性。

然而，地理上的广泛性并不就等同于文化的多样性。国际奥委会委员、国际奥

委会文化与奥林匹克教育委员会主席何振梁先生注意到,

某项运动地理上的普遍性并不等于这个运动文化上的多样性,更不等于人们(特别是这个运动的领导人)在思想观念上对多种文化有多么认可。事实上,普遍性必然要求文化上的多样性。当多种文化受到同样尊重的时候,普遍性才得以真正体现。

现代奥林匹克运动历史和奥林匹克标识的大多数都与西方文明有着密切关系。大多数国际体育单项联合会的总部也设在西方。在35个冬季和夏季项目联合会中,有12个位于瑞士洛桑,因为这里是国际奥委会总部所在地,详见文末表。

奥运会的大部分项目都是通过西方殖民者和帝国主义扩张传播到了世界各地的。只有两个项目是非西方项目,一个是柔道(日本),另一个是跆拳道(韩国)。此外,皮划艇是源于美洲印第安土著文化。在北京奥组委(BOCOG)的支持下,武术成为了2008年北京奥运会的表演项目,但还不是正式比赛项目。当国际奥委会项目委员会公布北京奥运会正式比赛项目时,武术的落选使得整个中国都非常失望。他们一直希望象日本和韩国那样,在举办奥运会的同时能够增加正式的项目。

国际奥林匹克博物馆于1993年在洛桑建成后,何振梁先生曾建议,该博物馆应该介绍“不同文明的体育文化”,但是有些执委并不同意这一观点,认为博物馆应该展示“与奥林匹克主义有关的东西”。何先生认为,

时代变了,古希腊的奥运会参加者仅限希腊地区的各个城邦,后

pletely different from the ancient Olympic Games, too. Can we only transmit Greek sports culture to the nations of the world and should we not at the same time introduce the sport cultures from different sources? (Liang 2007: 383)

INTELLECTUALS HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY

The Olympic movement depends on the ideas that give it its significance and meaning. The future success and worldwide acceptance of the Olympic movement will depend on whether the IOC, in collaboration with scholars, is successful in re-thinking and re-working Olympism for the twenty-first century, not simply in marketing terms, but based on solid research drawing from the humanities and social sciences. As scholars, we have a responsibility. Following are suggestions for future directions for research and action.

We should seek to develop a new vision of Olympic history as a history of the interconnection of the world through sport - and not a history of the domination of the world by Western civilization through sport. For example, Pierre de Coubertin stated that he had consulted Confucius, among others, in constructing his notion of athletic pedagogy. His *L'Histoire Universelle* demonstrates his interest in world history, and also reveals that he considered himself familiar with the teachings of Confucius. He was educated by Jesuits, who were the first Westerners to live in China (beginning in the 16th century) and to introduce Chinese culture to the West. Their writings about China had a tremendous influence on the foundational thought of the French Revolution, which was one of the intellectual trends leading to the modern Olympic movement. Scholars writing about the origins of Olympism could pay more attention to the fact that Eastern thought played an important role in the intellectual milieu that produced Coubertin. This would require a shift from the traditional approach to Olympic history as a “History of Great White Men” toward social, cultural, and intellectual history.

We should seek ways to combine the best of East and West toward new multicultural Olympic values. For example, the traditional Chinese concept “humans and nature as one” (*tian ren he yi*) emphasizes the body's connection with the environment around it, a philosophy that is evident

in traditional Chinese medicine. This is a “green” concept for sport, which could provide something to the philosophy of Olympism that it currently lacks. Those scholars who consider it their task to define and disseminate Olympic ideals could add it to their repertoire.

The cultural program and opening and closing ceremonies could focus more attention on traditional and ethnic sports. At present, the cultural programs that surround the Olympic Games tend to focus on music, dance, and art, which, depending on the performance, may or may not showcase cultural diversity, but certainly do nothing to preserve cultural diversity in the sports of the world. Host countries could be encouraged to display their local sports to the world so that the global audience sees the cultural diversity of sports in the world and not just the monoculture of Olympic sports.

Are there not better ways to showcase cultural diversity through sport and to celebrate cultural diversity within the Olympic Games - with an attitude of respect? As He Zhenliang has argued, “Mutual respect must constantly be developed because peaceful coexistence and world peace will exist only on a basis of mutual respect among nations” (He 2001: 13). Intellectuals have a responsibility to generate new ideas for new times. The issue of multiculturalism in the Olympic Movement demands more attention and creativity.

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期曾扩大到地中海沿岸的一些地方。即使是近代的奥运会，最初的参加者也只局限于十多个、二十多个欧洲和北美的国家，但今天奥运会的参加者来自世界各地。他们代表着不同的文化，也向奥运会注入了完全不同于过去、更不用说不同于古代奥运会的含义。难道我们只能向世界各国传播希腊的体育文化，而不应同时介绍不同渊源的体育文化吗？（梁丽娟 2007，383）

知识分子的责任

奥林匹克运动因为其理想而具有深远的意义和重要性。其未来和世界范围内的传播是否成功将依赖于国际奥委会及其学者们是否重新思考并重新构建了21世纪的奥林匹克主义，这不仅仅是市场方面的，还必须要有的深厚的人文和社会科学研究基础。作为学者，我们有责任。在此，笔者罗列了一些未来的研究和行动方向，仅作参考。

我们应该寻求发展审视奥林匹克运动历史的新视角，将其视为通过体育运动联系全世界的历史，而不是西方文明通过体育运动控制世界的历史。比如，皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦就承认他在竞技教育学的构建过程中参考了儒家等许多有益的思想。他的《世界通史》一书显示了其对世界历史的浓厚兴趣，也表明他将自己看作是儒家教育关系密切的人。他接受了耶稣会会士的教育，而教士正是最早在中国居住的西方人（从16世纪开始）并将中国文化带到了西方。他们关于中国的著作是法国大革命思想基础之一，也是复兴现代奥林匹克运动的思想基础之一。学者们关于奥林匹克主义渊

源的论作理应对此予以重视，因为东方思想在顾拜旦奥林匹克思想的产生过程中的确非常重要。这需要我们改变原有的认为奥林匹克历史是“伟大的白人的历史”的想法，而认为这一历史是社会的、文化的和思想的历史。

我们应该寻找更多的方法来将东西方的精华结合起来，形成多元文化的新奥林匹克价值体系。比如，中国传统的“天人合一”理念就强调身体与周围环境的统一，这一哲学在传统中医药学中得到了证明。对体育运动来说这是一个“绿色的”概念，现在的奥林匹克主义哲学正缺乏这一方面的内容。那些旨在定义和传播奥林匹克理想和理念的学者们应该将这些内容纳入其研究领域。

文化计划和开闭幕式能够将更多的注意力集中在传统和民族体育项目上。目前，奥运会的文化计划倾向于音乐、舞蹈和艺术等表演方式。然而，无论这些方式是否展示了文化的多样性，它们对体育运动领域的文化多样性并无保护作用。应该鼓励举办国向世界更多地展示其民族的体育项目，这样全球的观众就能够看到世界范围内体育运动的多样性而不仅仅是单一文化的正式比赛项目。

那么，有没有更好的办法来表现对体育文化多样性的尊重或者在奥运会上提倡文化的多样性呢？正如何振梁先生说的，“如果所有国家能够像奥林匹克运动所倡导的那样，以宽广的胸怀和开阔的视野善待各国文明成果，这样就能以尊重代替歧视、以交流代替排斥、以友好竞争代替对抗、以共处代替冲突，并以此为基础建立一个维护人的尊严的社会，进而建立和平

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ENDNOTES

¹Thanks to Christine O'Bonsawin for providing me with some basic information on Canada.

和更加美好的社会。”（何振梁2001：13）知识分子们有责任提出更多新的符合新时代的理念。奥林匹克运动中的多元文化主义议题应该得到更多的关注和创造力。

Representation in IOC Structures by Region of the World, 2008*

Region	IOC Members		IOC Executive Board		Numbers of NOCs		IF Headquarter Locations	
Europe	48	44%	9	60%	49*	24%	30	86%
<i>Western</i>	37	34%	8	53%	28	14%	28	80%
<i>Eastern</i>	11	10%	1	7%	21	10%	2	6%
Asia	14	13%	3	20%	31	15%	3	9%
Africa	18	16%	1	7%	53	26%	0	0%
Middle East	6	5%	0	0%	13	6%	0	0%
South/Central America	14	13%	2	13%	40	19%	0	0%
North America	5	5%	0	0%	2	1%	2	6%
Oceania	5	5%	0	0%	17	8%	0	0%
Total	110	100%	15	100%	205	100%	35	100%

*The NOC of Israel is a member of the continental association for Europe (European Olympic Committees, EOC) and is classified as European by the IOC; therefore, its NOC and IOC member are counted there. Figures current as of January 2008, taken from the official IOC website, www.olympic.org.

地域	国际奥委会委员数量及其百分比		国际奥委会执委数量及其百分比		国家和地区奥委会数量		国际体育单项联合会位于该洲	
欧洲	48	44%	9	60%	49*	24%	30	86%
西欧	37	34%	8	53%	28	14%	28	80%
东欧	11	10%	1	7%	21	10%	2	6%
亚洲	14	13%	3	20%	31	15%	3	9%
非洲	18	16%	1	7%	53	26%	0	0%
中东	6	5%	0	0%	13	6%	0	0%
南美和中美洲	14	13%	2	13%	40	19%	0	0%
北美洲	5	5%	0	0%	2	1%	2	6%
大洋洲	5	5%	0	0%	17	8%	0	0%
总计	110	100%	15	100%	205	100%	35	100%

*以色列奥委会是欧洲奥委会（European Olympic Committees, EOC）的成员之一，因此该奥委会及其国际奥委会委员被算入欧洲。表中数据截至2008年1月，参考国际奥委会官方网站（<http://www.olympic.org>）。

HOPE LIES IN THE REVIVAL OF EASTERN SPORT CULTURE

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Today's world sports are a cultural phenomenon that was created against the background of the industrial revolution and cultural Renaissance in the West. It was composed of these elements: popular sports that held the ideal of improving public health and satisfying leisure requirements, school sports that pursued the goal of individual human development, and competitive sports that had the Olympic Games as their core. These three components came together as an organic whole and converged into the dominant segment of today's world sport, becoming a cultural treasure that the world holds in common. However, the sport cultures of other nations and peoples - whether they are traditional or modern, whether they are mature or budding, whether they are ethnically homogeneous or transnational and multinational - have all been relegated to the status of "second-class sport cultures" or "quasi-sport cultures."

Today, every nation and people is striving to join the trend of this dominant world sport culture, even considering it their pride and joy to do so. In this dominant sport culture, the Olympic Movement is a leading force. This cultural force has a tremendously contagious effect on people's behavioral tendencies, moral improvement, mental experiences, values, civilizational trends, and many other aspects. As a culture of the powerful, a culture of power, an overpowering culture, Olympism has produced strong effects of impulsion, assimilation, integration, accommodation, and absorption on the diverse ethnic cultures, and is now expanding, penetrating, and flooding into every corner of the globe, creating a system of coordinates for the development of world sport.

In recent decades, the Olympic Movement has been under internal and external pressures to revise its image of being only for the powerful and to join the historical trends of world peace, democracy, the youth movement, women's liberation, environmental protection, and science education. This has led its activities to transcend the boundaries of sport and to take shape as an almost completely monolithic and monopolistic sport culture.

希望在东方体育文化复兴

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一、环视现代世界体育文化

近现代世界体育是以西方工业革命和文艺复兴运动为背景而产生的一种文化现象。它以这样几个部分组成：以增进社会健康和满足休闲为理想的大众体育，以谋求人的个性发展为目的的学校体育，以及以奥林匹克为核心的竞技运动。这三部分有机地整合起来，汇成当今世界的主体体育文化，成为全世界共有的文化财富。而其他国家、民族的体育文化，无论是传统的，还是现代的；无论是成熟的，还是萌芽态的；无论是单一民族的，还是跨国的、多民族的，都只能归于“亚体育文化”，或“准体育文化”。

当今，各个国家与民族都在努力汇入这一世界主体体育文化的潮流，并以此为荣为乐。在这一主体体育文化中，奥林匹克运动是一种先导的力量。奥林匹克作用于社会，也作用于人。它不仅是体育力量，也是一种文化力量。这种文化力量对人们的行为趋向、道德升华、心理感受、价值观念、文明导向等诸多方面有着巨大的感染力、影响力。奥林匹克作为一种强者文化、强权文化、强势文化，对各种民族文化的产生强大的感召、同化、融合、兼容和统摄的作用，正在向世界的每一个角落扩张着、渗透着、弥散着，成为世界体育发展的座标系。

近几十年来，奥林匹克受到内外的种种压力，正在修正自己的强者形象，与时俱进地汇入世界的和平、民主、青年运动、妇女解放、绿色环保、科学教育的历史潮流，使它的活动空间大大超出了体育运动的范畴，几乎成为惟一的、独占的体育文化形态。

在历史上，西方体育文化曾搭乘在殖民化的轨道机上，把东方各国的原体育文化推挤到边缘，几于湮没。在当今经济全球化过程中，西方体育文化又如同割草机一样把世界各民族文化的多样性修剪得整整齐齐。各种民族体育文化作为弱势文化，在“弱肉强食”的规律面前，变得如此苍白。各种民族文化与奥林匹克之间形成了一种绝对不对称的文化关系。

又由于体育文化所特有的传播范围的广泛性，扩散倾向的世俗性，变异改造的保守性，以及流行普及的易接受性，这一主体体育文化一旦占有了文化的统治地位，就具备了专制主义文化的特征，而这种文化是以欧美价值观念为基调的，以发达国家利益为价值取向的，从而使体育文化的多元性受到极大的伤害。今天奥林匹克与卫星电视、互联网、微软、好莱坞、百老汇、可口可乐、NBA、迪斯尼、摇滚乐、柯达等文化产品纠合在一起，在全世界涌动着，呼啸着，成批成批地倾销着，进入人们的生活方式，闯入各国的精神世界，使许多弱小几乎民族忘记了自己民族体育文化的过去，使多数青少年不知民族传统体育为何物。

那么，拿什么来拯救世界体育文化的多样性？

Historically, Western sport culture hitched a ride on the colonial steamroller and crowded aside the indigenous sport cultures of the different Eastern countries until they almost disappeared into oblivion. In the current process of economic globalization, Western sport culture has again, like a lawnmower, mowed down the cultural diversity of world sport into neat and tidy rows. In accordance with the rule that the strong feed on the weak, the diverse sport cultures, as the weak cultures, have become pale and feeble. An absolutely asymmetrical cultural relationship has been formed between the diverse sport cultures and the Olympic Movement.

Furthermore, in a very short time this mainstream sport culture occupied the dominant cultural position and took on the character of an absolutist culture due to the uniquely broad scale of dissemination of sport culture, its diffusion as a nearly universal custom, the conservative nature of its variation and transformation, and its easy popularization. Since this culture is founded upon European and American values and is oriented toward the interests of the developed countries, this process also did great damage to the multicultural nature of sport culture. Today, the Olympic Movement is entangled with such cultural products as satellite TV, internet, Microsoft, Hollywood, Broadway, Coca-Cola, NBA, Disney, rock-n-roll, Kodak and so on, which are rushing and howling into popular lifestyles around the world like one assembly-line batch after another. They force their way into the mental lives of people in different countries, so that small and weak countries have almost forgotten their own ethnic sport cultures of the past, and many youths do not know what traditional ethnic sport is.

So, what can save the diversity of world sport culture?

What can be used to balance the imbalance in world sport culture created by the Olympic Movement?

What can be used to add momentum and dynamism into the development of world sport culture in the 21st century?

The whole world is casting its gaze at the revival and rise of Eastern sport culture, and even people of foresight within the IOC have realized this. Otherwise, the chairperson of the IOC Evaluation Commission, Hein Verbruggen, would not have made that famous statement in the 112th Session of IOC: “The 2008 Olympic Games will leave a unique legacy to China and to world sports”.

Attempts to Combine Eastern Sport Culture with Mainstream World Sport Culture

The rise of the Asian Games

Early in the 20th century, influenced by the importation of western sport culture, some Eastern countries began to develop school sport and competitive sport, and initiated international sport exchanges at the regional level. A brew of Eastern and Western sport culture was stirred together and the Asian Games emerged out of it. The Asian Games originated from the first Far Eastern Olympiad held in Manila, Philippines, in 1913. The Philippines, Thailand, Taiwan, Japan, Malaysia, Hong Kong, and other nations and territories participated in these games, which were the embryonic form of the Asian Games. At first the Far Eastern Olympiad was held every two years; by 1934 it had been held ten times, and the name had been changed to the Far Eastern Championship Games. Although it had been decided to hold the 11th Far Eastern Games in Tokyo, Japan, under the name Oriental Games, they finally had to be cancelled because of the gathering clouds of war.

After World War II, Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, advocated changing the name “Asia’s Games” into “Asian Games.” The Asian Games have survived 60 stormy years, have been held fourteen times, and have become a stable cultural pattern. However, there is no doubt that the Asian Games have inherited the mantle of the Olympic Games and are merely a regional edition of the Olympic Games. For many countries, they are just the competition for selecting the Olympic team - the Olympic trials. Although they have absorbed some Eastern sports into their midst, their essential character has never departed from the Western model.

The Abortion of the Games of the New Emerging Forces

Both the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF0) held in 1963 and the Asian GANEFO held in 1965 were a challenge issued by Eastern sport culture toward mainstream world sport culture, but the GANEFO ended after one installation. The abortion of the GANEFO was basically due to political instability, economic weakness, and the inability of cultures to coalesce in Asia, and also China’s newly-formed regime had not ob-

拿什么来平衡奥林匹克造成的世界体育文化的偏失？

拿什么来为21世纪世界体育文化的发展添加动力和活力？

全世界把目光投向东方体育文化的复兴与崛起，就连国际奥委会中的有识之士也意识到了这一点。否则何以有奥委会评估团团长海因·维尔布鲁根在国际奥委会第112次会议上的这句名言：2008年在北京举办奥运会“将给中国和世界体育留下独一无二的宝贵遗产”。

二、东方体育文化与世界主体体育文化融合的几次尝试

（一）亚运会的兴起

早在20世纪初叶，受西方体育文化输入的影响，部分东方国家开始发展起学校体育和竞技体育，开始有了区域性的体育国际交流，便酝酿东方体育文化的整合，就出现了亚运会。亚运会起源于1913年在菲律宾马尼拉举行的第一届东方奥林匹克运动会，菲律宾、泰国、台湾、日本、马来西亚、香港等国家和地区参加了本次运动会，这是亚运会最初的雏形。最初，东方奥林匹克运动会每2年举办一届，到1934年为止，共举办了十届，被称为远东运动会。虽然第十一届远东运动会选定日本的东京作为主办地，并命名为东方运动会，但终因当时战云密布不得不宣布取消。

二战后，印度总理尼赫鲁主张将“亚洲的运动会”正式更名为“亚洲运动会”。亚运会经历了60多年的风风雨雨，已经举办了14届，成为一种稳定的文化形

态。然而，毋庸置疑的是，亚运会不过是承接了奥运会的衣钵，是奥运会的地区版而已，对许多国家而言，不过是奥运选手的选拔赛、预选赛。它虽然也间或吸收了一些东方国家的运动项目，但本质始终没有离开欧美文化的主旨。

（二）新兴力量运动会的流产

1963年举行的新兴力量运动会和1965年举行的亚洲新兴力量运动会，是东方体育文化向世界主体体育文化发起的一次挑战，但新兴力量运动会只举行了一届就终止了。新兴力量运动会流产的根本原因是亚洲政治的不稳定、经济的不强大和文化的缺乏凝聚力，其中包括中国的新生政权没有得到普遍的承认。20世纪五、六十年代许多亚非国家处于政治动荡时期，中国陷入文化大革命史无前例的社会混乱；正在争取民族解放的国家游击战争、宗教战争和恐怖事件不断；新独立的国家政变、叛乱、颠覆频仍，许多国家无暇自顾，新兴力量运动会的文化环境和国际环境极其恶劣，因此它的中断是情理之中的。

新兴力量运动会的出现对奥运会构成一种威胁，遭到以布伦戴奇为首的奥委会的顽固派的封杀也是它夭折的一个外部原因。

（三）给奥运会做的东方补丁

60年代初，战败国日本主要出于政治目的举办了东京奥运会，试图重塑国际形象；80年代末，四小龙之一的韩国主要受到经济发展的鼓噪，举办了汉城奥运

maintained widespread recognition. In the 1950s-60s, many African and Asian countries were in the midst of political turbulence, and China descended into the Cultural Revolution, a period of historically unprecedented social chaos. As countries struggled for national independence, there were continuous instances of guerilla warfare, religious warfare, and terrorism. The newly-independent nations endured repeated coups, rebellions, and insurgencies; many countries could hardly take care of themselves. The cultural and international environment of the GANEFO was extremely bad, so its discontinuation is understandable.

The emergence of GANEFO was a threat to the Olympic Games system; an external reason for its premature death was that it was strangled by the diehards in the IOC led by Avery Brundage.

The Eastern Band-Aid for the Olympic Games

At the beginning of the 1960s, Japan, a nation defeated in war, held the Olympic Games for mainly political reasons and tried to rebuild its international image. In the late 1980s, one of the “four Asian tigers”- Korea – held the Seoul Olympic Games, mainly encouraged by its economic development to try to show off for international markets. These two Olympic Games both expressed the character of Eastern culture to some degree, but they were, after all, held on the periphery of Confucian culture, only brushing shoulders with the Chinese culture that was its source. Although judo and taekwondo were added to the Olympic program, and these two sports were promoted on a world scale, in the end this was just like slapping two Eastern Band-Aids onto the Olympic Games.

However, because of the distinctive character of the Olympic Idea, the Olympic Movement, with its standardized system and compulsory procedures, had already formed a series of strong barriers, making it difficult for any heterogeneous culture whatsoever to get into it. The difficulty of Chinese wushu in entering the Olympic Games has proven this point. Even at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, Eastern sport culture will only be a “show” that, at most, will be temporarily acknowledged by the West. The time is not yet ripe for the Olympic Movement to realize the integration, coexistence, and equality of Eastern and Western culture, or perhaps this is even impossible. One might even say that to attempt to transform the Olympic Movement into a place for the coexistence of Eastern and Western sport culture is a fantasy out of *The Arabian Nights*.

The Discontinuation of the Asian Sport Festival

In 1998, the first Asian Sport Festival was held in Shenyang, China. There were ten events, and most Eastern countries participated in it. In 2000, the second Asian Sport Festival could not be held as scheduled due to local political and economic reasons.

CHINA'S HISTORICAL RESPONSIBILITY TO REVIVE EASTERN SPORT CULTURE

The western historian Toynbee once said in the book *Prospects for the Western Civilization*, “the unification of the world is the way to avoid the road to collective human suicide. On this point, among the various nations the one with the most complete preparation is the Chinese nation, which in the past two thousand years has cultivated a unique way of thinking.”

There is evidence that, starting with the civilization of the Shang Dynasty, Chinese culture had its own characteristics, such as the food staples of millet and grain, clothing made of woven cloth, homes made of rammed earth combined with wooden frames, and a traditional of ritual wares that developed out of Neolithic firing techniques, as seen in bronze wares. The religion, centered around shamans, linked humans and heaven. Social structure centered around kinship groups, and then developed into the worship of ancestral spirits. The writing was the unique system of square Chinese characters. The morality that was formed in the mental world of China include ideas such as: “the whole world as one community;” “Self-cultivation, an orderly family, and a well-governed country are the basis for peace under heaven;” “No force can subdue, no money and rank can seduce, no poverty and hardship can shake;” “Be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy pleasures;” “Die for a righteous cause, act the martyr;” “Every man shares responsibility for the fate of his country;” and “Serve the people.”

The Chinese morality of dignity, peacefulness, kindness, and tolerance was not only expressed in the relationship between human beings, but also in the relationship between countries. Chinese culture possesses a staunch perseverance in absorbing, nourishing, and transforming heterogeneous cultures, a tolerance like that of the sea into which all rivers run, the skill of weaving a seamless heavenly

会，试图在国际市场亮相。这两届奥运会也都一定程度展显出了东方文化色彩，但毕竟是在广义的儒家文化的边缘地带进行，与中国的原文化擦肩而过。虽然在奥运会的比赛项目上增加了柔道、跆拳道两个项目，并把这两项运动推到了世界范围，然而这毕竟不过是在奥运会上打了两块东方补丁而已。

然而，由于奥林匹克观念的特质性，制度的规范性，程序的强制性已经形成了一道道坚固的藩篱，任何异质文化的进入都十分困难，中国武术进入奥运会的难度已经充分证明了这一点。即使在2008年北京奥运会上，东方体育文化也只能起到一个“展示”的作用，至多只是被西方暂时承认而已。在奥林匹克中实现东西方体育文化的融合、并立、平等，还为时尚早，甚至是不可能的，试图把奥林匹克改变为东西方体育文化共存的场所，几乎可以说是天方夜谭。

（四）亚洲体育节的中断

1998年中国沈阳举行了第一届亚洲体育节，设置了数十项活动，多数东方国家都参与了亚洲体育节。2000年因当地的政治和经济原因未能如期举行第二届。

三、中国对复兴东方体育文化的历史责任

西方历史学家汤因比在《展望二十一世纪》中说：“世界统一是避免人类集体自杀之路。在这点上，现在各民族中具有最充分准备的，是两千年来培育了独特思维方式的中华民族。”

从殷商文明开始中国文化就有了有稽可查的自身特点，如食物为黍稷与粮米为主，衣有纺织品，住为夯土与木建构相结合的建筑，青铜器为代表的石器时代烧窑技术发展而来的礼器传统，宗教是以巫为中心的天人相通，社群以亲属群为核心，并由此发展为祖灵的崇拜，文字是中国特有的方块字系统。在中国的精神世界里形成了“天下为公。修身齐家治国平天下。威武不能屈，富贵不能淫，贫贱不能移。先天之忧而忧，后天下之乐而乐。杀身成仁，舍生取义。天下兴亡匹夫有责。为人民服务”等品格。

中国文化不仅在人与人的关系上，而且在国与国的关系上，都表现出那种雍容、和平、温良、宽柔的品格。中国文化对异质文化的吸纳、涵养、改造具有顽强的毅力、海纳百川的宽容和天衣无缝的技巧，就像源于欧洲的乒乓球运动竟被认定为中国的“国球”一样。

实现中华民族对人类文化的贡献，我们最有充分准备，因为这是一种早已蕴藏在中华民族心头千百年的文化积淀和历史情结。中国的经典学理早在17世纪，就向西方传播介绍，至今在国际社会中发生着重要作用。中国的器物民艺，如陶瓷、丝绸、漆器等民艺器物很早就通过陆上和海上的丝绸之路，作为一种生态方式被欧洲所接受。中国的文化信息也在早年通过传教士的书信，旅行家的游记，使团的日记，包括现在众多调查报告、采访报道、摄影资料等传到了欧洲大陆。

今天我们不仅要把过去的文化遗迹保存下来，继续向西方传播，让世界真正地认识中国，而且要以中华文化为基

coat. One example is that table tennis, which originated in Europe, is recognized as the “national game” of China.

We are well-prepared to carry out Chinese people's contribution to human culture, because an accumulation of culture and a historical plotline has been stored in the mentality of the Chinese people for thousands of years. As early as the seventeenth century, the Chinese classics were introduced into the West, and they continue to exert an important influence on international society to this day. The utensils and folk arts of China, such as porcelain, silk, lacquerware, and so on, were adopted into European lifestyles by land and sea via the Silk Road. Information about Chinese culture was spread to the European continent by the letters of missionaries, journals of travelers, and diaries of the diplomatic missions, including a multitude of survey reports, interview reports, photographic materials, and so on.

Today, we should not only preserve the cultural vestiges of the past and continue to spread them to the West to help the world fully understand China, but also take Chinese culture as the starting point for creating a practical cultural foundation that can become a clear international example for contemporary times. Promoting the operational standards and habits of the Chinese cultural past in all its aspects into new territories in this way will require renewed efforts in these times by specialists in Chinese culture, including specialists in sport culture. This will require that specialists in sport culture have fertile imaginations and a vision for the construction of world culture. It will require that specialists in sport culture improve their entire personal character; only then will they be able to separate themselves from utilitarian material pursuits and rise up to an integrated cultural transcendence.

Since the beginning of the reform era, we have - more or less, wittingly or unwittingly - done some work in excavating, collecting and sorting through the traditional culture of the Chinese people. The work we have done includes:

1. Excavating and sorting out the life-cultivation, fitness, sports, and amusement activities passed down from Chinese history, and assembling them into traditional Chinese fitness exercises and games.
2. Processing and sorting through some folk activities that possessed competitive elements, standardizing the rules and methods, and popularizing them. These included dragon boat racing, dragon dancing,

lion dancing, shuttlecock kicking, and so on. Among these, dragon boat racing has begun to be accepted into Chinese communities around the world.

3. Combing through wushu and basically shaping it into a basic system of sparring (*sanda*), forms (*taolu*) and other styles, and developed systematic pedagogy, training, and research.
4. Implementing a highly effective initiative concerning the traditional sports of the minority nationalities, consolidating them into the Chinese Minority Nationality Traditional Sports Games (the Minority Games).

In the course of China's taking on the historical task of reviving Eastern sport culture, there were some weaknesses:

1. The backwardness of the Eastern sport culture originating in agricultural society made it largely incompatible with modernization, industrialization, urbanization, and the information era. Many activities could only be preserved as "living fossils" lacking real cultural significance, even more so pragmatic function.
2. The dominance of cultural absolutism during China's long history was not beneficial for the emergence of cultural diversity. Since 1949, Chinese sports have continuously emphasized an administration system of "state-supported sport." This system and corresponding operational mechanisms were essential to the entrance of Western sport into China, and did not seek to promote the development of Eastern sport culture.
3. In the modern era, China has for a long time occupied a position of low status in world culture. The main trend in interaction with the outside world was an "unfavorable balance of trade" with foreign cultures. China had engaged in insufficient theoretical preparation to lead Eastern culture toward the world, and lacked the strategic thinking and mastery of technical skills to develop Eastern culture into a world culture.

Since the beginning of the reform era, along with its increasing comprehensive national strength, China's international status has risen and the influence of Chinese culture in the world has increased. There is widespread popular support for China's taking on the task

元, 在现实文化的基础创造上成为当代无可争议的国际典范。这就要把中华文化过去的运行规范、习惯方式推到新的境界, 需要当代中国文化人做出新的努力, 其中包括体育文化人。这就要求体育文化人要有丰富的想象力和参与世界文化建设的眼光。这就要求体育文化人提升整体人格, 只有这样才能从现实的功利追求摆脱出来, 上升为一种整体的文化超越。

改革开放以来, 我们或多或少, 有意无意地在中国民族传统文化的挖掘、积累、整理方面做了些工作。这些工作包括:

1. 对中国历史上流传下来的养生、健身、体育、娱乐活动方式进行了挖掘整理, 集成了中国传统的健身方法和游戏方法。
2. 对一些民间的具有竞技因素的民俗活动进行加工整理, 规范了规则和方法, 并进行了普及, 如龙舟、舞龙、舞狮、毽球等。其中龙舟已经初步走向了世界其他华人圈。
3. 对武术运动进行了归纳梳理, 基本形成了以散打、套路和其他方法组成的基本体系, 并开展了系统的教学、训练和科学研究。
4. 对少数民族传统体育进行了卓有成效的开发, 已凝固成为全国少数民族传统体育运动会(下简称民运会)。

中国在承担复兴东方体育文化的历史责任过程中, 也存在着一些弱点:

1. 产生于农业社会的东方体育文化的落后性, 与现代化、工业化、城市化、

信息化之间较大的不兼容性。有很多活动方式只能成为“活化石”保存下来而缺乏现实文化意义，更缺乏实用性。

2. 中国历史上长期的文化专制主义统治，不利于文化的多元性的发生。建国以来，中国体育不断强化了一个号称“举国体制”的管理体制，这个体制和相应的运行机制基本上是为顺应西方体育进入中国的，而不谋求东方体育文化繁荣发展的。

3. 中国近代以来，长期处于世界文化的低势位状态，外来文化的“入超”是对外文化交流的主要倾向，中国对引领东方文化走向世界缺乏足够的思想准备，也缺乏将东方文化发展成世界文化的战略思想和技能技巧。

中国改革开放以来，随着综合国力的增强，我国国际地位的提升，中国文化在世界影响力的加大，中国承担起复兴东方体育文化的责任已经众望所归。在国际社会，作为一个负责任的大国，中国不谋求霸权，不搞以我为中心。但是在建设代表先进文化方面需要为世界做出实际贡献，包括体育文化。

四、把中国少数民族运动会扩展为“东方运动会”

在中国大地上出现历久不衰的民运会是有其独特的文化原因的，80年代后在世界许多地方发生民族主义泛滥，造成国家分裂、民族瓦解、社会动荡的时候，中国的民运会成为一枝独秀的民族团结象征，这其中包含了政治、经济、民族政策等多方面的因素，也包含了体育文化的理由：

of reviving Eastern sport culture. In the international community, as a responsible superpower, China does not pursue hegemony and does not engage in self-centered actions. However, the construction of a progressive culture, including sport culture, demands a real contribution to the world.

EXPAND THE CHINESE NATIONAL MINORITY TRADITIONAL GAMES INTO “EASTERN SPORT GAMES”

There are some special reasons for the appearance of the Minority Games and their continuation over a long period of time. After the 1980s, there was a flood of nationalism in many places around the world, with a period characterized by the splitting up of countries, the disintegration of nationalities, and social turbulence. The Chinese Minority Games became a singular and excellent symbol of national unity embodying political and economic elements, ethnic policies, and many other elements. Its continuance also included reasons internal to sport culture:

First, from ancient times, China was a unified multi-ethnic country in which there had been continuous exchanges in politics, economics, science and technology, philosophy and culture, literature and the arts, and so on, and mutual influence and complementarity had molded a brilliant Chinese civilization and promoted the continuous progressive development of Chinese history.

Second, in the process of the joint establishment of the boundaries of China, the 56 national minorities were linked by inseparable flesh-and-blood ties in politics, culture, lifestyle, and other aspects, which provided the social foundation for the emergence and development of the colorful and varied nationality sports with their unique characteristics.

Third, the Chinese people coalesced out of multiple peoples. Cultural history is a history of the continuous propagation of a sense of shared humanity. The convergence and integration of peoples is the renewal and development of those peoples. The renewal and development of the culture of China's various minority nationalities continued the accumulation of the great unified culture of the Chinese people, and brought into play a creative sport culture for the

joint creation of the culture of Cathay. The bright and colorful ethnic cultures were precisely the strength and cultural resources of the domain, and they provided the soil on which the traditional sports of the minority nationalities took shape.

Fourth, the diversity of the traditional sports of the minority nationalities was a precondition for the existence of the Minority Games. The main component of traditional Chinese culture matured and developed in the cradle of the Hegu (River Valley) Plain. However, on the periphery were those who had chosen the nomadic herding, fishing and hunting lifeways of the grassland, forest, plateau, and ocean, and these different cultural traditions gradually multiplied and created the diversity of Chinese sport culture, so that Han sport culture and minority nationality sport cultures constituted a great cultural complex. Each people should develop a culture with its own ethnic characteristics, of which sport culture should be an important component, so that it can stand tall in the forest of the world's peoples. It would be an unimaginable cultural loss if the Mongolian nationality stopped its "Nadam Festival," the Dai nationality forgot its Water-Splashing Festival, the Korean nationality did not have its swinging and seesaw, the Dong nationality discontinued its "Snatching the Fireworks," and so on. The colorful variations and utterly different styles of traditional ethnic sports are not only a sport system, they also build a national spirit of hard work and determination.

The Eastern Sport Games should take Eastern philosophical thought as their cultural background. Benevolence, harmony, and other philosophical concepts of Confucian thought should form part of the philosophical background of the Eastern Sport Games, but not the only part. The philosophy of the Games should be multicultural. Only if they embrace the essence of Indian, Japanese, Southeast Asian, and Western Asian thought will they have vitality. The Eastern Sport Games must be different from the philosophy of the Olympic Movement: they should better express humanity and kinship, with less pursuit of fame and fortune. They should more strongly emphasize the integration and mutual understanding of ethnic cultures. The Eastern Sport Games belong to not just to yesterday, but even more so to today and tomorrow.

On the basis of the above philosophical recognition, completely new events should be created for the Eastern Sport Games. They should not be a selection trial for the elite athletes, but a celebra-

首先, 自古以来, 中国就是一个统一的多民族国家, 各民族之间在政治、经济、科学技术、思想文化、文学艺术等方面不断地交流, 相互影响、相互补充, 铸造了中华民族灿烂的文明, 推动了中国历史不断向前发展。

其次, 在共同缔造祖国疆域过程中, 56个民族在政治、文化、生活方式等诸方面结成不可分离的血肉联系, 为斑斓多姿而又各具特色的民族体育项目的产生与发展提供了社会基础。

再次, 中华民族是由多民族融合而成。文化的历史就是人类共同性不断张扬的历史。民族的交汇和融合是民族的更新与发展。中国各少数民族在文化的更新与发展中承接着中华民族大一统的文化积淀, 为其共同缔造华夏文化发挥独创的精神。绚丽多姿的民族文化, 正是这一疆域的优势和文化资源, 为少数民族传统体育的形成提供了土壤。

第四, 少数民族传统体育的多样性是民运会存在的一个前提。中国传统文化的主体部分是在河谷平原的摇篮中发育成长的, 但它的边缘部分却选择草原文化、森林文化、高原文化、海洋文化以及游牧文化、渔猎文化, 并由此繁衍出不同的文化传统, 铸造了中华民族体育文化的多样性, 使中国的汉民族体育文化和少数民族体育文化构成了一个蔚然壮观的文化丛体。每个民族都要发展自己具有民族个性的文化而自立于世界民族之林, 体育活动则是其中重要的组成。如果蒙古族停止了“那达慕”, 傣族忘记了泼水节, 朝鲜族没有了荡秋千、蹬跳板, 侗族中断了“抢花炮”……将是不可想象的一种民族文化的损失。各民族创造的多姿多彩、风格

迥异的民族传统体育，不仅是一个体育体系，而且构筑了中华民族奋发有为的民族精神。

东方运动会应该以东方的哲学思想为自己的文化背景。中国的儒家思想中的仁爱、和谐等哲学观念应该成为东方运动会哲学背景的一部分，但不是惟一的部分。东方运动会的哲学思想应该是多元的，只有包容了印度、日本、东南亚、西亚各国的思想精髓，东方运动会才能有生命力。东方运动会又必须与奥林匹克运动的哲学思想有所区别，要更体现人性，更富有亲和力，更少功利的追逐，更强调多民族文化的融合和相互理解。东方运动会不仅仅属于昨天，更属于今天和明天。

基于上述的哲学认识，要创造出东方运动会全新的活动方式。东方运动会不应是精英型的选拔式，而是联欢型的体育节；不应是强力展示型的，而是娱乐参与型的，它注重对健康、健身、休闲的表达，关照老年人、妇女等体育参与倾向，看重一些人群寻求新的体育形式的时尚性关注。

在东方运动会上，一部分已经成熟的民族体育项目经过加工整理发展成为竞技运动，如武术、柔道、跆拳道、泰拳、龙舟、卡巴迪、藤球、毽球、摔跤等，大部分活动形式保留民族特征，成为表演性活动。

在东方运动会举办期间，举行东方文化研讨会，高级论坛，民族文艺表演，同时举行东方民族的民俗、服饰、饮食、住宅、图腾等展览。

东方运动会的确立不是一项短期的急功近利的工作，不仅要有顾拜旦先生那种

tory sport festival; they should not be a display of power, but an engagement in recreation; they should place importance on health, fitness, and leisure. They should follow trends in the participation of the elderly, women and others. They should also value fashions in the types of sport sought by certain groups.

In the Eastern Sport Games, some mature traditional ethnic sports will be refined and rearranged and developed into competitive sports, as happened with wushu, judo, taekwondo, Thai boxing, dragon boat racing, kabaddi, sepak takraw, shuttlecock kicking, wrestling, and so on. Most of the activities will preserve ethnic characteristics and will be in the form of exhibitions.

During the Eastern Sport Games, seminars on Eastern culture, high-level forums, and ethnic cultural performances should be held. At the same time, there should be exhibitions of folk customs, costume, food, habitat, totem, and so on.

The task of establishing the Eastern Sport Games will not seek instant results; it will not only require the courage and perseverance that Coubertin had in founding the modern Olympic Games, it will also require a strategic vision for constructing a great sport culture that “faces the world, faces the future, faces modernization.”

The Eastern Sport Games are not the opposite of the Olympic Games, but they are a new cultural creation, and as with the birth of any new cultural individuality, it will not always be smooth sailing.

The establishment of the Eastern Sport Games will certainly encounter many obstacles, but if only they can conquer ethnic nihilism and leave behind the shadow of the dominant world sport culture of modern times, if only they can create some new structures, they will ultimately stand for the developmental direction of progressive culture and strike out on a new road.

The Eastern Sport Games are in no way a simplistic repetition and compilation of Eastern ethnic sports, but are a reinvention of a new form of sport culture. Maybe there will be cultural difficulties as the Eastern Sport Games are born and greet the world. However, we have a profound faith that the peoples who possess Eastern wisdom, if they unite together, will ultimately succeed.

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创建近代奥运会的勇气和毅力，也要有“面向世界，面向未来，面向现代化”建设大体育文化的战略眼光。

东方运动会不是奥运会的对立物，但一定是一种新的文化创造，而任何一种具有新的文化个性的东西在诞生的一刻，总不会一帆风顺。

东方运动会的确立，一定会遇到种种阻力，但是只要克服民族虚无主义，摆脱的现代世界体育主体文化的阴影，只要在体制上有所创新，一定会在代表先进文化的发展方向上走出一条新路。

东方运动会决不是东方民族体育的简单叠加和集成，而是一种新型体育文化的再创造，这也许是东方运动会得以问世和赓延的文化难点。但我们深信具有东方智慧的民族，团结起来一定会取得成功。

OLYMPISM, COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE

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Within the context of modern sport, Olympism should assume the leadership of a new cultural policy (covering sport as a whole) on a worldwide scale. It has been said that the Olympic Games should not be confused with some “straightforward world championships”, precisely because of the added value that the Games wish to attribute to themselves: the role of being the humanistic and cultural leadership of sport in society. Additionally, the Olympic Games represent the best possible platform for the potentialities and the contradictions of highly competitive sport on a global scale.

Furthermore, all of this is occurring at a time of profound changes in the production and distribution system of communications. In this context, sport has become a social practice that is representative of the processes of convergence being produced in the Information Society amidst technological, cultural and social factors (1). This convergence (“media sport”, or more recently, “online sports”) should not then be considered as an isolated phenomenon, but rather as a direct consequence of the transformations being produced in the communication system and in the new cultural mediation processes present in the Information Society.

THE PROGRESSIVE INTERDEPENDENCE OF SPORT AND COMMUNICATION

Sport has become a great supplier of content and a provider of audiences of strategic interest for the media. In fact, it is increasingly true that sports programmes occupy the top positions in the rankings of television audiences' interests throughout the world.

奥林匹克主义、交流与 与文化

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在现代体育背景下，奥林匹克主义应该在全球范围内承担起新文化策略（将体育运动看作一个整体）的领导义务。我们不能将奥运会简单地理解为“单纯的世界冠军”，因为它还有很多其他的更为重要的内在价值：成为体育运动人文和文化方面的领导者。而且，奥运会是全球高水平竞技体育——无论是潜力还是矛盾——的最好的平台。

更者，所有这些都发生在一个信息生产还是传播都发生着复杂变化的时代。在信息社会的背景下，体育运动变成了一个技术、文化和社会因素共同作用下的集中过程。这种集中（称为“媒体体育”或者新近的“在线体育”）不是一个孤立的现象，而是信息社会中交流系统和新文化调节过程发生质变的直接结果。

体育与传媒间的相互依赖

体育运动已经成为媒体不可或缺的内容，也是吸引观众的重要手段，

这充分满足了媒体的战略利益。实际上，在全世界电视观众的兴趣排行榜上，体育节目都名列前茅。

体育运动在电视上的出现主要表现在这样几个方面。首先，一改往日仅仅把体育节目放在周末不同，目前体育节目在工作日的转播量激增。其次，无论是主题体育频道还是俱乐部自有频道，都不断推出更个性化的消费方式。最后，代表了重要文化交换的付费电视频道和购买比赛的情况也已出现。有条件地进入（通过付费）体育运动暗示了普遍文化消费的消失，从而对传统的体育所背负的国家政治价值提出了挑战。为了弥补这些，欧盟努力去维持大型体育赛事的社会利益，尤其是当它们看起来要通过体育来捍卫“国家”精神的时候。

大众传媒时代体育的语义： 从传播到叙述

新的“媒体体育”已经导致了语义化或者文化传媒体化过程。“体育传播”已经被“体育叙事”全面代替，体育运动变为了“讲故事”的载体。体育事件的“媒体化”或者“实质化”使其转变为了单纯的信息载体。更者，这还不仅仅是单纯地“叙述”事件，它们还必须适应于电视节目（还有现在的互联网）的程序和格式，将体育事件转

The presence of sport on television manifests itself in several areas. Firstly, in an ample distribution of transmissions throughout the days of the week, definitively leaving behind the old established relationship between sport and the weekend. Secondly, with the appearance of new forms of personalised consumption, whether through theme specific sports channels or channels run by clubs themselves. Finally, with the appearance of pay-per-view channels and the purchase of matches which represents a cultural change of great importance. Conditional access (via payment) to sports events implies the disappearance of areas of universal cultural consumption, affecting the perceived collective and questioning traditional ideas about the national political value of sport. In order to try and remedy this, the European Union has sought to preserve the social interest of great sporting events, especially when these are seen to be defending the “national” spirit through sport.

THE SEMANTICIZATION OF SPORT IN THE MASS MEDIA: FROM TRANSMISSION TO NARRATION

The new “media sports” have led to important semanticization or cultural *mediarisation* processes. Thus, for example, “sports transmissions” have tended to be replaced by “sports narrations” in which sport has become a pretext for “telling stories”. The “mediarisation” or “virtualization” of sporting events has converted them into mere pretexts for the production of information. Moreover, it is not a case of simply “narrating” the events, they must be fully adapted to the formulas of television programming (and now to those of the Internet), transforming sports events into media events, and consequently changing their rhythm, periodicity and their accompanying rituals.

It is increasingly clear that the media are now tending to “produce” sporting events: “*Sportainment*” and “*infotainment*” being examples of the same process of *mediarisation*.

The mass media have been steadily infusing sport with narrative forms usually associated with fiction and entertainment. Sport is now narrated like a TV serial or a soap opera. As an example, we might bring to mind the case of the skaters Nancy Kerrigan (good and gorgeous) and Tonya Harding (bad and belligerent) in Lillehammer '94, which became a saga, or a sporting drama, which triggered new audience records in the history of U.S. television. The audience quotas reached by the unfolding cover-

age of the skaters has only ever been bettered by other sports transmissions (three Super Bowl finals), or by the last, and crucial, episodes of some popular TV series, such as “M.A.S.H” or “Dallas”. Soap operas and sports have always topped the list of television audience rankings.

More recently, the U.S. channel NBC offered multiple images of the Sydney 2000 Games, including multiple channels, multiple genres, embracing all the participating sports, but with one notable exception to the norm: it did not offer a single live transmission. American citizens did not see the actual Sydney or Athens Olympic Games, but rather NBC’s versions of them.

The way in which NBC produced the Olympic Games (using post-production, advert breaks, cuts introducing videos and personalised comments, and online options) was decidedly distant from the classic transmission styles associated with sports events.

The directors of NBC made no attempt to conceal their strategy, openly presenting their own philosophy, resumed in what they called the “5 Rings” in their rhetoric, these being: “History”, “Reality”, “Possibility”, (something achievable), “Idealism” and “Patriotism” (2).

The broadcaster’s new programming criteria tend to ignore the distinction between “live” and “recorded” material in their sports transmissions, interrupting them with new multi-media formulas including virtual publicity, transforming the “event” into an audiovisual product (3) - this has led to significant commercial results.

COMMUNICATION-BASED BUSINESSES, SPORTS-BASED BUSINESSES

This phenomenon has immediate repercussions on the economy of sport and the media. Economic interests in television have made sport into a multi-million earning business. Direct income from ticket sales has been diminishing geometrically and is now beginning to represent an insignificant amount in the turnover of sporting entities (4).

The continual increase in the price of sporting event coverage for television is very clearly expressed in the exponential growth in the evolution of broadcasting rights paid for the Olympic Games, which in Sydney 2000 represented a total of 1,331.36 million dollars, some 49%

变为媒体事件，并为其改变自己的节奏、周期甚至其相关的仪式。

媒体现在正在趋向于“生产”体育赛事：“娱乐体育”（sportainment，由sport体育运动与entertainment娱乐两个词组合而成）和“信息体育”（infotainment，由sport体育运动与information娱乐两个词组合而成）就是这一媒体化进程的代表。

大众传媒持续又稳定地向体育运动灌输着通常与小说和娱乐密切相关的叙述形式。体育运动现在被以电视剧或者肥皂剧一样的方式叙述着。我们或许还记得1994年利勒哈默尔冬奥会上滑冰运动员南希·里根（优美漂亮的）被队友和托亚·哈丁（坏的，并且好战）找人袭击致使不能参赛的事件，这一事件随后演变得如同长篇小说或者体育剧目那样，创造了美国电视史上的收视率新高。后来，仅仅是被类似超级碗决赛等体育赛事，或者是某些热门剧目比如《风流医生俏护士》或者《达拉斯》等才打破。众所周知，肥皂剧和体育赛事是最经常的位居电视收视率排行榜前几位的内容了。

最近，美国电视台NBC提供了多种多样的2000年悉尼奥运会的影像，节目充斥了各个频道，包含了各种风格类型，并囊括了所有的项目，但没有提供哪怕一次真正意义上的现场直播。美国观众并没有看到一届真实的悉尼

奥运会或者雅典奥运会，他们看到的只是NBC版本的奥运会。

NBC生产奥运会产品的方式（使用延迟播放、插入停顿、剪掉引导性内容和带有个人感情色彩的评论、在线选择等）显然与传统体育赛事的传播方式大相径庭。

NBC的导演们一点都不隐瞒自己的策略，甚至公开宣扬自己的传播哲学，大肆鼓吹其“五环”理论：历史、现实、可能性、理想主义和爱国主义。

体育节目传播商的新节目标准越来越趋向于用新的多媒体方式如视觉宣传、将“体育事件”改变为听觉产品等模糊“直播”与“转播”之间的界限，这带来了可观的商业价值。

基于传播和体育的产业

这一现象对体育运动和大众传媒都产生了立竿见影的影响。电视带来的经济利益使体育运动成为了一项能够赚进大笔金钱的买卖。门票销售的直接收入已经呈几何数量递减，在当今体育实体的营业额中再也算不上什么重要的收入来源了。

2000年悉尼奥运会的转播权达13.3136亿美元，超出1996年亚特兰大奥运会49%，超出1992年巴塞罗那奥运会109%，这清楚地表明了体育赛事电视转播权价格的持续增长。

more than the figure paid for the Atlanta Games in 1996 and up to 109% more than that charged for the Barcelona Games in 1992 (5).

We should not be surprised then that among “leading men in sports” (the presence of women among the world leaders in sport is scandalously limited) we find a great number of communications magnates and directors of the huge corporations that sponsor sports (6).

A THIRD AND INCREASINGLY INFLUENTIAL PROTAGONIST: THE SPONSOR

This relationship between the media and sports is compounded by the ever more decisive influence of sports sponsors. The example of the Olympic Games is significant in this respect, and not only because of the aforementioned increase in broadcasting fees, but also because of the relationship that has been established between those who have acquired the television rights and the sponsors of such events. In the majority of large-scale markets, Olympic sponsors represent up to 75% of advertising revenue for TV stations during the transmission of the Games (7). This interrelationship manifests itself in shared economic interests between the media and sponsors, and also in advertising strategies shared by both sponsors and broadcasters.

The growing interest of brand names in sponsoring large-scale sporting events (and the fierce competition created in this area) have triggered the appearance of numerous marketing strategies, and even “counter-marketing” strategies (a phenomenon that consists of using and benefiting from references to “sport” or “Olympic Games” without paying the corresponding rights fees). As an example, we may recall the strategy of American Express, which was not an Olympic sponsor during the Barcelona Olympic Games in 1992. Practising counter-marketing, their publicity was based on images of the city (Gaudi’s *Sagrada Família*, the Cathedral, the Gothic Quarter) to the detriment of Visa (official Olympic sponsors), which had built their publicity campaign using images of athletes and the Olympic facilities. American Express (without the expense of sponsorship) and Visa (with huge costs) coincided in the same semantic references.

Knowledge of these strategies has led to new and sophisticated regulations which attempt to reserve access for the official broadcasters

and sponsors not only to Olympic facilities, but also to images of the host city.

This controversy, whichever way you look at it, is representative of globalisation and also of the growing concentration of sponsorship and broadcasting strategies at large-scale events.

The Olympic city (and not just the sports facilities) has now tended to become exclusive visual territory, controlled by a large-scale holding, comprising the Organising Committee, sponsors, broadcasters and political, economic and tourist organisations in the host city.

SPONSORSHIP: A NEW “FATHERLAND” FOR SPORTS PARTICIPANTS?

Commercial interests linked to sport end up influencing the semanticization and popular interpretation of sporting events.

This influence affects, for example, fundamental aspects of mass interest sport such as popular identification with athletes. One of the first consequences of this process has been the loss of athletes' traditional loyalty to their teams, because today, where loyalties lie depends more on the offers and counter-offers of sponsors. Footballers (Figo, Maradona, Ronaldo, Zidane) change their shirts and their fan base, cyclists no longer race as representatives of their countries, but rather of the commercial brands behind them.

In this sense, the Olympic Games and World Championships constitute an interesting exception because commercial interests are expressed outside of the stadiums in advertising and in the media discourse. During the actual event, athletes represent their nations, but in the mass media they represent their sponsors.

It cannot be said, therefore, that in the Olympic Games, or in World Championships, there is no cultural influence by publicity and sponsorship. In fact, the reverse is true. It can be seen that those responsible for sporting institutions are now no longer the main protagonists of the semanticization of sports values. They have ceded this protagonism to the creative team in advertising agencies which have transferred the criteria of their marketing strategies to sports.

“体育领导者”（这里强调的是男性，因为世界体育的女性领导者的出现还多少是令人反感地受到了些许限制）中有很多众多赞助体育运动的大型传播公司的经理人和导演，这种现象一点都不让人觉得奇怪。

影响力日益增强的第三主角： 赞助商

媒体与体育的关系在影响力越来越强大的体育赞助商的作用下变得更加稳固。在这方面，奥运会就是一个很好的例子，这不仅是因为前文提到的高额的转播权等原因，还因为获得电视转播权的一方与这些赛事的赞助商之间往往也存在着密切的关系。奥运会赞助商能够获得电视台奥运会转播期间广告收入的75%。这种密切的关系清楚地表明了赞助商与媒体之间共同的经济利益以及与广播公司类似的广告策略。

品牌在赞助大型体育赛事（以及在此领域创立的激烈比赛）方面持续增长的兴趣触发了大量的营销策略，甚至是“反营销”的策略（一种不需要为相关权利支付费用但能使用“体育赛事”或者“奥运会”并从中获益的现象）。比如说，我们回忆一下美国运通的营销策略。该公司并不是1992年巴塞罗那奥运会的赞助商，但其当时的宣传内容就积极地运用了反营销策略，选取

的是巴塞罗那的著名景观（高迪设计的圣家大教堂，著名的哥特式建筑），这损害了奥运会官方赞助商Visa的利益，该公司的宣传使用的是运动员和奥林匹克设施。美国运通（没有支付赞助费用）和Visa（支付了巨额的赞助费用）获得了同样的话语权。

为了保护正式的广播公司和赞助商对奥林匹克设施、甚至是举办城市形象景观的独家使用权，这些案例无疑都会使有关组织来制定出新的且更为复杂的保护条款。

这些论战，无论你从哪个角度来看，都代表了全球化的趋势和持续增长的对大型体育赛事的赞助和传播策略的关注。

奥运会举办城市（而不仅仅是其体育设施）现在已经逐步成为专有的视觉领域，被一个规模巨大的集体——包括奥运会组委会、赞助商、传播公司和举办城市的政治、经济和旅游组织等——控制着。

赞助：体育运动参与者的新“祖国”？

与体育运动密切联系的商业利益最终影响了体育运动的语义化及其流行程度。

这影响了诸如运动员的身份认同等体育运动最基本的方面，其后果之

For their part, broadcasters who have paid millions of dollars for transmission rights are the first people to be interested in semanticizing the events they have acquired in a positive way. Sponsors, who have invested multi-million figures in hiring athletes, are in no mood to recognise their weaknesses or failures.

The large-scale broadcasters and the big name companies (NBC, TVE, Coca-Cola, Visa, MacDonald's, etc.) have strategic motives for associating themselves with sport and its values (emotion, spectacle, identity). However, what consequences might this association have on sporting institutions? Satisfied with the huge economic benefits this convergence represents, sporting institutions do not always perceive the negative consequences which their association with multinational commercial brands (and their associated marketing strategies) can have in the long-term.

With some exceptions, negotiations between large-scale corporations and Olympic and sports institutions on these subjects are not even-handed since the large-scale corporations have huge resources and massive research and development structures. Sporting institutions, on the other hand, are now faced with the need to modernise and to make their management and administration structures more professional in order to negotiate, to their advantage, with these huge and experienced corporations.

In short, we are dealing with the problem of how much autonomy sporting institutions now have with respect to control over their own activities and, especially, with respect to their cultural proposals. That is why we must now speak of the “cultural policies” of sporting institutions.

THE NEW CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF SPORT

Synergies between sport and the media, (8) especially television, affect modern sport in a multiplicity of ways: in its regulation, its professional criteria, the economies of clubs and federations, sporting calendars and even the duration of competitions. However, above all, they affect its cultural forms: the relationship between citizens and the sport; thus determining one of the most powerful forms of symbolic production, consensus and design in modern culture.

This tight relationship with the media has transformed sports and sporting events into large-scale symbolic production platforms across the entire planet.

FACTORS INFLUENCING POPULARITY: EMOTION, SPECTACLE AND IDENTITY

At the heart of this whole debate there is a fundamental question: what are the reasons for sport's success (and its huge audiences)? The answer to this can be sought in the existence of three main factors which combine to make sport more attractive: emotion, spectacle and, above all, identity.

These three factors profoundly stimulate the cultural consumption of the contemporary masses. Emotion (the surprise factor, a reduction in entropy), which is expressed in multiple phases of competitions (the ball in the centre of the pitch, players expectantly waiting, unexpected changes, etc.), represents a large part of the attraction for the spectator. The spectacle of the human body in action (strength, speed, skill, rhythm) is boosted by the use of TV cameras, using various ploys such as close-ups or slow motion replays. Finally, the influence of the identity factor, heightened by rivalry, is a key aspect of the representation of sport, especially in the case of football.

The gratification produced by these factors is now no longer exclusive to anyone attending the live spectacle in the stadium, but it can also be sought in new domestic uses (rituals) of television consumption. The spectators attending the event, from the point of view of the television audience, constitute a mere decorative component to the football. Canned sounds used to represent the spectators and the murals present in many stadiums to conceal the cement are indicative of the transition from "stadium to studio", which is currently affecting sport.

IDENTITY IN SPORT: A LOCAL REFERENCE POINT ON A GLOBAL SCALE

"Emotion" and "spectacle" are factors which, in the final analysis, simply reinforce the central issue in the popularity of sport which is "identity". Sport represents a crucial phenomenon in the processes of

一就是运动员失去了传统的对其团队的忠诚感，而代之以当今更为流行的越来越多的对赞助商的忠诚。著名的足球运动员（菲戈、马拉多纳、罗纳尔多、齐达内）改变其球衣和球迷会都是如此，自行车运动员也不再代表其国家参赛，而是代表其背后的商标参赛。

在这个意义上，奥运会和世界锦标赛是个有趣的例外。由于商业利益在场外广告和媒体讲述中进行了表达，所以在实际的比赛中，运动员代表了自己的国家。然而，在大众传媒中，他们代表的依然是他们的赞助商

因此，我们不能说奥运会和世界锦标赛就没有媒体和赞助的文化影响。实际上，情况恰恰相反。我们可以看到，那些体育运动的主管机构如今再也不是体育价值语义化的主角了。他们将这一地位让给了能够将自己的营销策略转移给体育运动的广告上的创意团队。

为转播权付出了数百万美元的广播公司是对他们通过积极途径获得的赛事的语义化最为感兴趣的人。而与运动员签订了数百万美元合同的赞助商，才没有心情来发现其弱点或者败笔。

大型传播机构和广播公司（NBC、TVE、可口可乐、Visa、麦当劳等）在战略上都积极地把自己与

体育运动及其价值（感情、景观、认证）联系起来。然而，这种联系对体育机构会带来的影响如何呢？由于体育团体对这种联系带来的巨大商业利益颇为满意，所以他们通常不会觉察到与跨国商业机构（和其相关的营销策略）密切联系所带来的长期负面影响。

借助巨大的可利用资源和可观的研究机构和发展部门，大型公司与奥运会和体育机构所进行的协商可能并不对等。另一方面，体育团体现在还面临着现代化的问题，只有使其经营管理结构更加专业，才能在与大型的富有经验的公司的谈判中增加获胜的把握。

简言之，我们关心的是，还有多少自治的体育机构能够控制自己的行为，尤其是文化方面。这就是为什么我们现在必须谈谈体育机构的“文化策略”的原因。

体育运动中的新文化纬度

体育与媒体尤其是电视的合作，使其在诸如规则、专业标准、俱乐部和联盟的经济、赛程，甚至是比赛持续的时间等方面都发生了深刻的变化。然而，最首要的影响是文化形式，即人与运动的关系，这种影响决定了现代文化中标识生产、统一和设计的最有力的形式之一。

identification and projection in modern culture. However, this identity is beginning to go beyond its traditional regional references (and rivalries) into the new context of a global society: on a worldwide scale.

Globalisation and localisation suitably combine as recognition platforms for each identity. The maximum expression of this process is the euphoria (or disappointment) of a world champion, or an Olympic medalist, crying (with hand on heart) while listening to the national anthem. The victory of an athlete is then, everybody's victory: "We have won!" The success of the other participants is not very important: interpreting a triumph is univocal and refers exclusively to the identity of the group interpreting it.

However, not all "identities" have access (unless there is a "miracle") to worldwide sporting success. This is why various communities in the world embrace as their own the idols of the dominant cultures in the world. Athletes from many poor countries, through their agents, become millionaires in richer countries. Children in Cameroon play on the beach in Real Madrid, Manchester United or F.C. Barcelona T-shirts. These are new identities transferred onto the world football stage.

Sponsors and broadcasters were the first to realise how to make the best use of this world-local dialectic, when organising their strategies in the new scenario.

IN WHICH DIRECTION IS SPORT (SUBJUGATED TO THIS TECHNICAL-COMMERCIAL DYNAMICS) GOING?

All of this growth has its weak point in sportive sustainability, in the athletic sustainability of sport, faced with the pressures of an industry that no longer limits itself to financing sporting activities, but rather is actively taking over sporting institutions.

All of this raises certain challenges not only for sports policies, but also for ethics and the defence of the human rights of sports participants. Businesses demand the maximum return on their investment and the maximum number of performance hours, forcing alterations in the timetables, calendars and periodicity of sporting events. Altering, as they do so, the traditional ways in which sport, as culture, is consumed.

Health risks, challenges for sports ethics, the continual loss of autonomy by sporting institutions, all of these factors are being absorbed economically by the interests of the new *sportainment* industry.

The Olympic movement has an obvious new area here in which to demonstrate its leadership in world sports: defending the human rights of the athletes and not, solely, dealing with their utilisation as content products for sports programming and commercial advertising.

THE CULTURAL RESPONSIBILITY OF OLYMPIC AND SPORTING INSTITUTIONS

The debate about sports policies must be considered then, as one of the great debates on modern cultural policies. It cannot be ignored that sports organisations have acquired a new and weighty cultural responsibility: that is the production of values (identity, inter-cultural issues, participation) within the platform of the great media events of the modern era. However, sporting institutions do not always make the best of this opportunity to transform their sporting competitions into platforms with a symbolic value on a world scale, promoting inter-cultural values and a culture of peace.

For example, what were the dominant cultural values represented in the European football championships in June 2000? How were European Cooperation, inter-cultural issues and the need for dialogue between peoples in conflict broached?

The exclusion of South Africa from hosting the World Cup in 2006, with what this might have meant for Africa (by offering a representative platform for inter-cultural values in sport) is an example of a lack of cultural commitment by those responsible for world football.

OLYMPISM AS A SCENARIO FOR MULTICULTURAL SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIONS

Our hypothesis is that, once again, the Olympic Movement has an opportunity for leadership if it can only learn to assume its cultural responsibility within the domain of world sports. A notable example of these possibilities can be found in the Olympic ceremonies,

与媒体的密切关系已经将全球的体育运动和体育赛事转移到了大规模的符号标识及其象征意义的生产上了。

影响受欢迎程度的因素：感情、景观和身份认同

我们讨论的核心是一个基本的问题：体育运动成功（及其能吸引海量观众）的原因是什么？答案是感情、景观和首要的一点——身份认同，这三者的结合使体育运动变得更加有吸引力。

这三个因素深深地刺激着当今的大众文化消费。感情这一要素在各个阶段的比赛中都能看到（球场中心的球、球员们在热切地期盼着、无法预料的变化等），是对观众产生吸引力的一大组成部分。而人体运动（力量、速度、技巧和韵律）等形成的独特景观，通过特写或者慢动作等得以放大。最后，身份认同的影响，这主要通过对抗得到提高和加强，是代表体育运动的主要方面，尤其是在足球等项目中。

这些因素带来的满意度不再是现场观众和参与者的特权，电视机前的观众同样也得到了。在电视机前的观众看来，现场的观众不过是足球的一个装饰品而已。声音通常代表了观众，很多体育场的大型壁画遮盖住了水泥，这些都表明了从“体

育场到录音室”的转变，现如今，这种变化正深刻影响着体育运动。

体育运动中的身份认同：在全球范围内的当地参考

体育运动如此流行的最关键因素是“身份认证”，“感情”和“景观”因素只不过是用来加强它而已。体育运动是现代文化认同过程的重要因素。然而，这种身份的确认已经开始突破传统的地域（和敌对）局限，进入到一个全球化的背景之中。

每一个文化认证的平台都是全球化和地方化有机地结合在一起的，比如最常见的表达就是世界冠军或奥运会奖牌获得者极度兴奋（或失望）的样子，尤其是当听到国歌、泪流满面（手放在心脏位置上）的时候。运动员的胜利在这个时候就是所有人的胜利。其他参与者的胜利这时就显得不那么重要了：这种胜利是既普遍又地域化的，即世界化又当地化的（univocal, universal和local组合而成），并特指团体的身份认同。

然而，不是所有的“身份认同”都能在全世界取得成功（除非有“奇迹”）。这就是为什么不同的社团都趋向于把世界主流文化的偶像当作自己的偶像来接受。许多来自贫

spectacles which hold records for maximum audience figures in global television and constitute the most emblematic case of symbolic production and cultural proposals in world sports. Olympic organisers have been transformed by these ceremonies into the producers of one of the grandest cultural events of our era. These ceremonies present an incomparable platform to promote universal participation, respect for cultural differences and the promotion of equality, thus making a contribution to the culture of peace.

Special mention should be made of the Paralympic Games, which are being increasingly integrated into the Olympic Games themselves, and of their contribution to the integration of everybody into top class sport and, as a symbolic consequence, their integration into modern social life.

The Olympic Ceremonies constitute a positive exception to the cultural and aesthetic poverty associated with the staging of the majority of sporting events, especially in Europe. One need only look, for example, at the feeble spectacle that kicks off Champions League games with groups of young people moving around a surrogate ball in the form of a great circular cloth. The absence of music, of festive performances, or of popular culture, is increasingly more pathetic on the football pitches of Europe. As a counterpoint, symbols of identity that exclude others are becoming a more frequent sight in the decoration of the stands.

Numerous specialists and social researchers specialising in Olympism have repeatedly stressed the importance of the Olympic Ceremonies as expressions of the singular nature of Olympic culture. Without a doubt, these ceremonies constitute the main contribution of Olympism to modern sport (9).

Symbolic production should not be reflected solely in the ceremonies, but also, and above all, in the evolution of the sporting events themselves, where gestures, the relationship between the athletes and the public, the images of the public and their symbols, constitute a particularly influential production platform for symbols.

In this context, we see it is as something very positive as, for the first time, the International Olympic Committee has begun to speak of “Olympic cultural policy”. All as a result of the reform process approved in December 2000 (10).

OLYMPIC CULTURAL POLICY: EXPANDING AND BRINGING UP-TO-DATE THE VALUES OF “COUBERTINISM”

If the Olympic Movement and the International Olympic Committee wish to exercise positive leadership in modern sport, they should renovate and critically revise the IOC guiding ideals. The IOC should face, without complexes, a revision of “Coubertinism”, keeping its more positive aspects, but also suppressing its more 19th-century elements. It should also accept the need for a critical review of the economic growth of modern Olympism, on two key issues: the traditional values of Olympism and the sustainability of the new athletic-commercial framework.

The Olympic Movement should strengthen some of the great values it inherited from the philosophy of Coubertin and which are still relevant: sport as an educational resource, the value of sport for everyone, fair play, participation, cooperation and effort. However, in order to face the new challenges of modern sport, it is also necessary to overcome some of the limitations of the traditional Olympic philosophy, especially some of the negative inheritances of the past. Above all, there is a need to jettison the excessively “national” and “nationalist” concept of internationalism. It should be remembered that when Coubertin founded the International Olympic Committee in 1894, international exchanges were in their infancy. During the Olympic Games that took place together with great Universal Exhibitions: Paris, 1900; Saint Louis, 1904; and London, 1908 (Franco-British Exhibit), there were respectively 24, 12 and 22 countries represented, while at the Sydney Olympic Games there were close to 200 National Olympic Committees. In today’s globalised world, geopolitical representation should not be exclusively reserved for nation-states. Other spaces (regions, unrecognised nations and international communities like the European Union) are demanding representation. On the other extreme, there is representation based exclusively on commercial brands (as has already happened in the Tour de France), thus eliminating political and cultural references from the sporting event. Between both extremes (hyper-nationalism and hyper-commercialism), the Olympic Movement must find new ways of representing the identity of sport.

Secondly, there is a need to introduce limits and logistics based on sustainability in the practice of modern sport at every scale. This is especially true in aspects more directly related to health and to the fight against

穷国家的运动员，通过其经纪人等代理机构，变成了富裕国家的百万富翁。来自喀麦隆的孩子身着皇家马德里、曼联或者巴塞罗的T恤在沙滩上玩耍。这些都是世界足球舞台上新的文化认同。

赞助商和广播公司首先认识到了如何充分利用这一“世界——当地”辩证关系，并在新实践方案中积极运用。

（迫于技术-商业影响的）体育运动将走向何方？

然而，当面对毫无节制的对体育赞助等问题时，所有这些增长在体育和运动员的持续发展方面都有其弱点。

所有这些增长挑战的不仅仅是体育政策，还有道德伦理和体育运动参与者的人权维护等问题。商业要求其投资回报的最大化和表演时收视率的最大化，这就会导致强行更改体育运动时间表和日程乃至周期。在这个过程中，传统的体育运动和文化就消失了。

健康隐患、体育道德伦理的挑战、体育机构自治权利的逐渐消失等等所有的这些因素都被新的体育娱乐产业的利益遮盖了。

因此，奥林匹克运动需要在维护运动员人权方面展示其在全球体育运

动中的领导地位，而不仅仅是处理运动员作为体育节目和商业广告的内容生产者等这一类问题。

奥林匹克运动和体育机构的文化责任

关于体育政策的讨论必须要被作为现代文化策略讨论的重要一环。我们不能忽视体育组织所承担的新的和重要的文化责任：在现代大众传媒平台上它们是价值的生产者（文化认同、跨文化交流、参与）。然而，体育机构并没有充分利用这样的机会来将体育比赛树立为全球范围内彰显跨文化交流与和平文化价值的标志和榜样。

比如说，2000年6月的欧洲杯代表了怎样的主流文化价值呢？欧洲合作、跨文化交流和矛盾双方对话的需求又是如何被解决的呢？

拒绝南非承办2006年足球世界杯，对非洲来说可能有意义（通过提供一个体育运动跨文化价值交流的平台），就是一个证明那些对世界足球负责的人缺乏文化义务的一个很好的例子。

奥林匹克主义作为多元文化象征的方案

我们假设，奥林匹克运动再次拥有了一次学会承担其在世界体育运动

doping, but also when it comes to dealing with what we have called the “doping of doping” (11), in other words, the economic and advertising interests driving athletes and clubs to overexploit the human body. Olympism should be leading the criticism of this, as well as condemning the use of medicine as a system for increasing performance, rather than helping athletes to recover from injuries. These sustainable principles also have other important economic and environmental aspects which lay claim on the Olympic Movement’s qualities of leadership and arbitration. It is time for a new interpretation (based on sustainability) of the historic Olympic slogan: *Citius, Altius, Fortius*.

In short, as John MacAloon (12) has indicated, what is needed is a change in management mentality, in the sense that those overseeing Olympism should not act as the managers of a brand, but rather as the guardians of a cultural and sporting movement. The “Olympic discourse”, as we have previously argued, has been excessively conditioned by advertising rhetoric, resulting in a reduction of the semantic field of Olympic references to “euphoric” values more appropriate to a consumerist discourse. A new discourse is needed: that of Olympic cultural policy, without intercessions from advertising, directly expressed by the Olympic institutions, making best use of the communications potential represented by the rituals and ceremonies of the Olympic Games, but now, additionally, the communications media (especially the Internet).

CONCLUSION

NEW CULTURAL POLICIES FOR SPORT IN THE INFORMATION SOCIETY

In order to fulfill its social and cultural objectives, modern sport demands a new guiding principle that would necessarily include avoiding the loss of autonomy by sporting institutions faced with the new oligopolies comprising sponsors, the media, and telecommunications and financial institutions. Some years ago, during the Cold War, the great objective of sport was to be independent of the political powers. Although that obstacle has still not completely disappeared, the main obstacle to the independence of sports today can be found in these oligopolies.

Why should autonomy be a good thing? Autonomy is necessary in order to develop a sustainable policy covering sports as a physical activity

and as cultural phenomena (identity and spectacle) in communication spaces which are also for everybody.

WHAT SHOULD BE DEMANDED OF GOVERNMENTS

The economic, social and cultural transcendence of sports demands new sports policies that guarantee the sustainable development of sport in benefit of the whole community. Sporting autonomy, which must be reinforced, should never imply impunity. Governments should guarantee access for all to the practice of sports as one of the essential elements of society, alongside such fundamentals as the welfare state or the universal right to education. Governments should guarantee to defend the human rights of athletes and support the fight against any form of doping in sports.

But it is also up to governments to defend the interests and cultural property implicit in sports, such as the unchallengeable use of public spaces.

This is also an important challenge for the cultural policies of the European Union (which has been all too willing to just go along with events), which should be making the best use of its condition as a community in order to face the new challenges set by the globalisation of sport.

WHAT SHOULD BE DEMANDED OF SPORTING INSTITUTIONS

Insist on the democratisation and transparency of sporting institutions:

The social and cultural responsibility acquired by large-scale sporting institutions is incompatible with a lack of democracy or transparency in their management. It has often been the case that, using the excuse of the autonomy or independence of sport, many of the most fundamental elements of transparency and democracy have been violated. Civil society, but also democratic governments, should keep a careful eye on important decisions about sport, whether at a local, national or international level. Such decisions should not be left in the hands of antidemocratic processes.

领域的文化责任的领导机会。这样的可能性可以在奥林匹克仪式中找到，这些仪式创造了收视率纪录，构成了世界体育运动的符号生产和文化建议中最具有象征性的案例。奥林匹克组织者通过这些仪式已经变为了当今时代最重大文化事件的生产者。作为一个无与伦比的平台，这些仪式促进了全球范围内的参与，尊重了文化的差异，促进了彼此的平等，从而对和平做出了应有的贡献。

我们尤其要提到日益与奥运会成为一体的残奥会，其贡献在于将每个个体都带入了高水平体育运动，并由此进入现代社会生活，这一成果是标志性的。

奥林匹克仪式与大多数体育赛事尤其是欧洲的体育赛事中缺乏文化和审美因素截然不同。我们只需要想一想，冠军联赛中场开球时候的苍白场景。节日表演、流行文化和音乐的缺乏，在欧洲足球场上屡见不鲜。相反，在观众席的装饰中的，将他人排除在外的文化认同标志却越来越经常地映入眼帘。

许多专家和专门从事奥林匹克主义研究的社会学者反复强调奥林匹克仪式作为奥林匹克文化卓越特性的重要之处。毫无疑问，这些仪式是奥林匹克主义对现代体育运动的主要贡献。

符号的生产不应当仅仅在仪式中表现出来，而是首先要在体育赛事自身的变革中表现出来，在这里，手势、运动员和观众的联系、公众及其标志物的影像，都组成了独特的具有影响的符号。

在这种背景下，我们看到一些积极的事情，比如国际奥委会第一次提到了“奥林匹克文化政策”。所有这些都是2000年国际奥委会开始进行改革以来取得的成果。

奥林匹克文化策略：扩大并更新“顾拜旦主义”的价值

如果奥林匹克运动和国际奥委会希望在现代体育运动中发挥积极的领导作用，那么它们应当用批判的眼光来修正国际奥委会的领导理念。国际奥委会应该使“顾拜旦主义”走向更加积极的方面，并舍弃其中某些带有19世纪时代局限性的消极特质。还有必要批判性地从奥林匹克主义的传统价值和维持新的运动员——商业框架两个方面回顾现代奥林匹克主义中经济比例的增加。

奥林匹克运动应该加强其从顾拜旦的哲学体系中继承下来的伟大价值体系，这些即使到目前为止都不过时：体育作为教育的手段、体育对所有人的价值、公平竞争、重在参与、合作和努力。然而，为了迎接现代体育运动的新挑战，还有必要

Get sporting institutions to commit to the culture of peace:

Sporting institutions are the primary beneficiaries of the media's attention to sport; consequently, they are also the primary bodies responsible for the production of symbols in contemporary sport. Sporting competitions are now large-scale platforms in which images and ideas are generated about contemporary sport: tolerance, cooperation, fair play and friendship, or their antitheses: intolerance, enmity, violence, deceptions, anti-sportive attitudes, etc.

We should insist then, that these institutions, especially the more influential, and those with better resources (Olympic committees, leading clubs, federations, professional leagues), take on a cultural commitment, especially in relation to values implicit in the defence of the culture of peace (inter-cultural issues, cooperation, participation, etc.).

Insist that large-scale sporting institutions create solidarity programmes:

Sports institutions have become huge businesses with a multiplicity of commercial activities and huge profits. Part of these activities and profits should be aimed at the creation of solidarity and cooperation programmes for development through sports.

The International Olympic Committee is setting a good example with its Olympic Solidarity programme. However, this experience should be extended to all sporting institutions and broadened to include a greater commitment to education and the promotion of sport for all.

Large-scale sporting institutions should make a commitment to education:

Sporting institutions, and in particular the Olympic institutions, should be encouraged to make a greater commitment to education, utilising the new possibilities offered by information technology, especially the Internet.

Introducing ceremonies and festive performances at sports events:

The tradition of the Olympic ceremonies should not only be maintained at the Games, but it should be extended out towards all the great sporting events, thus developing a cultural practice in favour of the basic values of Olympism, especially multicultural issues and the culture of peace.

Elite sportspeople should be committed to promoting sport for all and the culture of peace. Sport, by the end of the last century, had become a transnational phenomenon in which great athletes had huge influence over young people across the entire planet. That is why it is very important to insist that these sporting icons commit themselves to promoting sport for all and a culture of peace.

WHAT SHOULD BE DEMANDED OF THE MEDIA

Autonomy and responsible criticism:

One of the basic ingredients of a democratic system is freedom of expression and the right of citizens to responsible criticism. In theory, this is also the main mission of the media in defence of values in sport. That is why the media should maintain its independence (an increasingly difficult task) with respect to sporting institutions.

Synergies between communications and sport contribute to the loss of autonomy of the media with respect to sporting information. Some commentators have stopped being journalists and reporters and have become, rather, narrators forming an integral part of the spectacle. Some television commentators, influenced by the high cost of transmission rights, heighten their narration with euphoria, to maintain audiences.

Critical journalists are a key, irreplaceable, element in the defence of the social values of sport: condemning abuses, inequalities and commercial manipulations, eschewing the pressure put on athletes, fighting against doping and its origins, exposing corruption and the uncivil or violent behaviour that can emerge in the world of sports.

Paying attention to the social and educational values of sport:

Any analysis of the content of sports media would show evidence of huge gaps, inequalities and imbalances which should be condemned and corrected.

Gaps with respect to minority sports and sport for all, inequalities in the treatment of sport for men compared with sport for women, an imbalance in the treatment of televised sport versus non-televised sport, little attention paid to the social, cultural and economic dimensions of sport. The mass media create the language of sport, they establish its

克服一些传统奥林匹克哲学体系的局限性，尤其是那些消极方面。首先，有必要抛弃过分的“国家”概念和国际主义中的“民族主义”概念。当顾拜旦于1894年建立国际奥委会时，国际交流尚在萌芽状态。当时的许多届奥运会如1900年巴黎奥运会、1904年圣路易斯奥运会和1908年的伦敦奥运会（法英展览会）都与世界博览会同时举行，这三届奥运会分别有24个、12个和22个国家参加，而悉尼奥运会，这个数目达到了将近200个。在当今全球化世界中，地理政治不应只被国家这一概念所表现。其他的方面（地区、未获承认的国家和类似欧盟等国际社团）都需要得到同样的表达和认可。另一方面，也存在着建立在专门的商业品牌上的表达和认可（这在环法自行车比赛中已经发生了），以消除体育赛事中的政治和文化指向。在超民族主义和超商业化之间，奥林匹克运动必须寻找新的表达体育认同的道路。

其次，在各种规模的现代体育运动实践中，还有必要介绍基于可持续性的局限性和后勤问题。在与健康直接相关的方面以及反兴奋剂方面尤其如此，但也应该来应对“兴奋剂的兴奋剂”方面，即经济和广告利益促使运动员和俱乐部超过人体极限地来开发身体的潜能。奥林匹克主义应该带头反对这种做法，并同时谴责使用药物来提高竞技水平

的行径，而不仅仅是帮助运动员来从伤病中恢复。这些准则也包括经济 and 环境保护方面的影响，这些都能够帮助提高奥林匹克运动的领导和仲裁质量。现在，是时间来重新解读（建立在长期维持的基础上）古老的奥林匹克格言：更快、更高、更强的时候了。

正如约翰·麦克阿隆所言，我们需要管理理念方面的改变，那些监管奥林匹克主义的人不应该充当商业品牌的经理人，而更应该是文化和体育运动的保护者。“奥林匹克讲述”，正如我们之前讨论的，已经习惯于过分的广告浮夸，结果是导致了奥林匹克价值的缺失，使得这一过程显得更象是主张消费主义的人的讲述。我们需要新的讲述：那就是对奥林匹克文化策略的讲述，没有来自广告的打断，直接由奥林匹克机构来进行，充分利用奥林匹克仪式和典礼——但是现在，还有大众传媒（尤其是互联网络）——所蕴藏的交流潜能。

结论：信息社会的新体育文化策略

为了完成这一社会和文化目标，现代体育运动需要新的领导原则，即在面对赞助商、媒体、电信和财政机构等团体时候，如何避免失去体育机构的自治权。在冷战时期，体

stereotypes. They are, without doubt, jointly responsible for the “culture” of sport in modern society.

The media, especially the communications media (of great importance in Europe) should be made to correct these imbalances, to make a greater commitment to the social and educational aspects of sport and, in general, to act more responsibly in anything affecting cultural policies connected with sports.

WHAT SHOULD BE DEMANDED OF ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS

Finally, educational and academic institutions also have their responsibilities and commitments when it comes to sport.

This commitment should include the extension of the practice of sport for all throughout their facilities, but it should also embrace the introduction of the subject of sport in their lecture halls, libraries and research projects.

Considering sport as a cultural phenomenon, as an object of study in schools and universities, is a fundamental aspect of the defence of the sport-related social and humanistic values that we are putting forward here.

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NOTES

1. Dominique Wolton, *The Internet and Afterwards?*, Flammarion, Paris, 1999
2. The U.S. Press have shown that they are concerned by this new method of “producing the Games” for television: “So, in an era when television technology can show almost any happening in real time, NBC has perversely used that

technology to create a zone of fictional time ... NBC has been going where no network has gone before in ignoring athletes from the rest of the world ... The Olympic Games for all their entertainment value, are still news, not a made-for-TV Movie”. (New York Times, Editorial, 2nd August, 1996).

3. Hans-Jörg Stiehler, Mirko Marr, Falk Tennert “Ski-show. Changes in Sport Coverage in Germany”. IAMCR Conference, Singapore, 2000.
4. See MORAGAS, M. and N. RIVENBURG, *Television in the Olympics*, Libbey, London, 1995.
5. IOC, *Press release*. “Sydney Olympic Games projected to set global broadcast records”. Lausanne, 3rd August 2000.
6. According to a report in The Guardian newspaper (April 2000) the 15 most influential men in sport in the year 2000 were: Rupert Murdoch (media magnate), Sepp Blatter (President of FIFA) Joan Antoni Samaranch (President of the IOC), Leo Kirch (President of Kirch Media), Ted Turner (CNN, AOL-Time Warner), Phil Knight (Nike), Lennart Johansson (President UEFA) Dick Pound (Vice-president IOC), Bernie Ecclestone (Formula One Holdings), Dick Ebersol (NBC Sports), Michael Eisner (Disney Corporation), Tim Finchem (United States PGA golf tour), Bud Selig (Major League baseball), Mark McCormack (IMG), Silvio Berlusconi (AC Milan).
7. IOC, *Press release*, 3rd August 2000: <http://www.olympic.org/ioc/e/news/pressreleases/>
8. MORAGAS, Miquel de, *Los Juegos de la Comunicación. Las múltiples dimensiones comunicativas de los Juegos Olímpicos*, (Communication Games - Multiple Communications Dimensions in the Olympic Games), Madrid, Fundesco, 1992.
9. MORAGAS, Miquel de, J. MACALOON, M.LLINÉS, *Olympic Ceremonies. Historical Continuity and Cultural Exchanges*, in *International Symposium on Olympic Ceremonies*, Olympic Museum, Lausana, 1994.
10. On the 30th of March 2000 the 1st Forum on the “International Olympic Committee and its Cultural Policy” was held under the auspices of the new Olympic Education and Cultural Commission, created within the framework of reforms passed in the 10th session of the IOC in December 1999.
11. Sessions dedicated to ““Los límites del deporte. El doping del dopaje” (The Limits of Sport – The Doping of Doping). CEOIE /IEC, June 1999. Miquel de Moragas Spá, “Esport mediàtic i espectacle: què ens en queda, de l’esport?” (Media Sport and Spectacle: What is Left of Sport?) in Sessions dedicated to “«Los límites del deporte. El doping del dopaje» (The Limits of Sport – The Doping of Doping). CEOIE/IEC, June 1999. <http://olympicstudies.uab.es>
12. 1st Forum on “The International Olympic Committee and its Cultural Policy” The Olympic Museum, Lausanne, May 1999.

育运动的目标是独立于政治力量之外。如今，障碍依然存在，在商业机构中，我们依然能够发现阻碍体育运动独立的主要力量。

为什么自治是一件好事呢？在同时也是为了每一个人的信息社会中，要发展一个将体育运动看作身体活动和文化现象（身份认同和景观）的持久政策，自治是必须的。

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM AND THE DIFFUSION OF OLYMPIC SPORT IN AFRICA: A COMPARISON OF PRE AND POST SECOND WORLD WAR CONTEXTS

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The diffusion of Olympic sport in Africa in the pre- and post-World War II periods provides an interesting contrast. In the period before the War the spread of sport was largely a colonial affair, conducted through (or at least with the approval of) the colonial powers, and in processes in which the IOC - International Olympic Committee leadership was implicated. Realistically to spread the message of Olympic sport, the cooperation of the ruling political elite was essential. In this paper we explore the ideas associated with this phenomenon and the tensions which existed between some of those in the Olympic movement who were keen to propagate sport among indigenous groups, and those whose reservations were evident and were largely an expression of political fears of promoting (cultural and political) self-assertion by such groups. The vehicle for our discussion of this period is an analysis of Coubertin's writings in relation to sport in Africa, in particular those produced later in his life when colonial powers had begun to wane.

In relation to the post-war period we focus on the emergence of Olympic Solidarity and its forerunner, the Committee for International Olympic Aid (CIOA) in the 1960s and early 1970s. The vehicle for our evaluation here is an analysis of the correspondence and reports relating

文化帝国主义和奥 林匹克运动在非洲 的传播：二战前后 的比较研究

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二战前后奥林匹克运动在非洲的传播截然不同的，这是一个让人感兴趣的研究。在二战之前，这一传播是一个涉及到了国际奥委会领导的殖民事件，主要是通过殖民势力（或至少是获得其支持）来进行的。实际上，当权政治势力的联合对奥林匹克运动的传播是非常有必要的。本文主要探讨了与此现象密切相关的观点。此外，在致力于向土著团体传播奥林匹克运动的人和那些明显持保留意见并很大程度上对这些团体（文化和政治上的）的发展怀有政治恐惧的人之间存在着紧张的关系，这是本文探讨的另一个主要方面。战前阶段，本文的研究方法之一是分析顾拜旦关于非洲的体育运动的论著，尤其是那些他生命晚期当殖民势力日益削弱时所写的东西。

战后部分，本文主要集中在奥林匹克团结基金的出现及其雏形——20世纪60年代和70年代早期的国际奥林匹克援助委员会（the Committee for International Olympic Aid，以下简称CIOA）上。研究方法则主要是分析有关其建立和早期活动的报道和文献。上世纪50年代到70年代末，有48个（几乎占现在得到IOC承认的国家（地区）奥委会的四分之一）来自亚非的新兴国家奥委会得到了国际奥委会的承认，国际奥林匹克运动中政治势力的平衡得到了显著的改善。这一时期的体育援助是将新兴国家“合并”到奥林匹克运动中的有效手段。而国际奥委会中西方精英对此的顾虑是双重的。首先在体育方面，他们关心的是对国际奥委会宣称的全球化构成威胁。之前如妇女运动会、工人运动会和苏联等共产主义国家进行的斯巴达奇亚等，最终都被二战之前和之后马上开始的这种“合并”克服了。这些试图脱离奥林匹克运动的威胁——尤其是当印度尼西亚于1956年举办了新兴力量运动会时——实际上都非常强大。其次，在更为广阔的政治方面来说，尤其是苏联的崛起使得奥林匹克运动的西方领导者关心将体育援助作为吸引亚非国家支持的手段。

最后，我们试图寻求二战前后两个时期有所差异的原因，以更好地评价文化帝国主义对理解这一过程所能带来的帮助。

to the founding and early activities of Olympic Solidarity in this period. From the 1950s to the end of the 1970s, 48 new NOCs (National Olympic Committees) were recognised in Africa and Asia (almost 25% of the total of NOCs currently recognised) and, therefore, the political balance of power in the movement was changing significantly. Sport aid in this period was used as a vehicle for ‘incorporation’ of new states into the movement. The major concerns on the part of the Western elite represented within the IOC were twofold. In relation to sport there was a fear of a threat to the global / universalist claims of the IOC. Oppositional sporting movements such as the Women’s Games, the Workers’ Games and the Communist Spartakiads had been overcome by incorporation in the period before and immediately after the Second World War. The threat of a breakaway movement was manifest in real terms when Indonesia led the movement for the Games of the Newly Emerging Forces (GANEFU Games) in 1965. Secondly, and in broader political terms the Western leaders of the Olympic movement were concerned about the use of sport aid as a vehicle to attract support in Africa and Asia by the Soviet Union in particular.

Finally we seek on the basis of the contrasting of these two periods to evaluate the extent to which cultural imperialism provides the most appropriate perspective to understand the processes identified.

METHODS

The approach adopted in this paper seeks to identify the structures and processes in development / at play across these two periods in the Olympic world. Who were the agents involved? What was the nature of the arguments adopted by the various parties to support their position in relation to the diffusion of Olympic sport in Africa? What structural resources were available to those actors and how did the actions of those involved reproduce or undermine such structures? How did the very different structural contexts of pre- and post-war Africa enable / constrain the adoption of particular approaches to diffusion of Olympic sport? To what extent do the events of the two periods lend themselves to a cultural imperialism account of the phenomenon of diffusion of Olympic sport in Africa?

As we have noted, in the pre-war period we consider the discussion of diffusion in Africa through the prism of Coubertin’s own writings. Coubertin is selected for analysis since he was founder and President of the IOC, and is generally regarded as the most influential figure in the early period of the Olympic movement. His writings provide evidence of

his worldview (values, norms, perspectives) in relation to sport and to the imperial powers and their colonies. It also provides one man's testimony as to the rationales underpinning action by the IOC and its members. In addition, by implication, Coubertin's defence of his own position against others provides some insights into the nature of other views circulating within the movement in relation to Africa and sport. Coubertin's speeches, articles and correspondence relating to these issues (n = 201) were selected and subjected to detailed qualitative content analysis. Within this sample of items, a sub-set of 12 texts authored in the period 1920-34 deal in significant detail with aspects of colonialism and Olympic responses in Africa and therefore represent major sources for this part of our analysis in the paper. All documents employed in this analysis were available in English (some having been translated from the French).

In relation to the post-war period, a review of materials available in the archives of the Olympic Studies Centre in Lausanne rendered 247 pieces of correspondence, reports and minutes of meetings in English and French, which were identified as relevant to the development of Olympic Solidarity and its predecessor, the Committee for International Olympic Aid (CIOA) from the period 1960-1971.

The evaluation of the data for the 1960s and 1970s primarily consisted of analysis of communications between various parties involved in initiating, developing, receiving or resisting what was initially referred to as Olympic Aid. In order to evaluate the nature and direction of communication, geo-political constituencies were broadly conceptualised in three groups – the 'core' capitalist economies of Western Europe, the United States, Canada and Australia; the 'semi-periphery' of the Eastern European Communist bloc; and the 'periphery', largely Asian, African and Latin American states. These divisions, which reflect relative economic wealth and influence, on the whole map well onto the system of Olympic influence. The presidents of the IOC have all come from the core, and with one or two exceptions (Tokyo in 1964 being the first) the Summer Games have taken place in the core, while Olympic performance by athletes from states in the semi-periphery has been exceptionally strong, due in large part to the nature of state support in the command economies of the Eastern European communist bloc. There are exceptions in terms both of countries and individuals. Nevertheless, the distinction between core, semi-periphery and periphery was one which proved a useful starting point for analysis of the post-war period.

Both pre- and post-war sets of data were scanned into text files and analysed with the aid of NU*DIST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data

研究方法

本文使用的方法主要是确定这两个时期发展中的结构和过程。什么是真正的动因？奥林匹克运动在非洲传播涉及到的各方在这一传播过程中争论的本质是什么？对他们来说什么样的结构资源是可以利用的，这些卷入其中的行动又是如何再生产或暗中破坏这样的结构的？非洲战前和战后截然不同的结构如何导致了奥林匹克运动必须采用特定的传播方式？两个时期的事件又分别在何种程度上参与到了见证了奥林匹克运动在非洲传播传播现象的文化帝国主义之中呢？

顾拜旦和战前关于非洲奥林匹克运动的斗争

下文对战前有关资料的分析向我们解释了顾拜旦要在非洲发展西方体育模式的原因，他认为这对土著人和殖民势力都有很大的好处。在战前的这个时期，他主要阐述了三个主要的相关方面：英法殖民势力反对建立非洲运动会；欧洲对非洲体育运动的控制；土著体育文化的消亡。

就第一个方面而言，当时，欧洲最具影响力的几个国家正在为其各自在非洲的影响进行竞争，顾拜旦认为，在这样的历史条件下，理应促进奥林匹克主义在非洲的传播。这几个国家主要包括英国、法国、荷兰、德国、意大利和葡萄牙等，其占优势的殖民文化已经强加给了殖民地的土著人。比方说，欧洲势力

强迫非洲人来使用其语言，并适应其文化。在这样的背景下，顾拜旦也将其注意力转向了非洲大陆，以促进奥林匹克主义和“体育运动在土著青年人中的传播”。为了这一目的，他进行了一个有着明确传播指向的“非洲奖章”计划，并建议建立非洲运动会。虽然顾拜旦建立非洲运动会并由此在非洲大陆传播奥林匹克运动的想法遭受了很大的阻碍，但“非洲奖牌”计划却得以成功实施，“比方说，我们选择了拉丁语和一个完整的教育计划。原文是：‘*Athletae proprium est se ipsum noscere, ducere et vincere*’，意思为‘运动员有责任和义务来了解、领导和控制他们自己’，这对他们来说是非常重要的。”

在19世纪末、20世纪初，欧洲中上层的寄宿学校中主要讲授希腊和拉丁经典学说，重点在于这些文明与欧洲起源和历史的的关系上。因此，给“非洲奖牌”计划的献词也是使用拉丁文就一点也不足为奇了。这一决定似乎具有三重目的：a) 由于其内容是被欧洲的白人移民翻译和传播的，所以能够方便地将欧洲知识和价值观方面的欧洲优越论模式强加给土著人；b) 将非洲现代体育运动的发展和有声望的主题结合起来以获得殖民官员的支持，这是顾拜旦在早期的奥林匹克运动传播过程中经常使用的策略；c) 将非洲奖章作为欧洲移民的团结象征，而不选择某种语言。要知道，选用某种特定的语言常常会被认为是变相承认了一种制度比另一种制度优越。

Indexing Searching and Theorising) software, with items subjected to analysis using protocols drawing on Altheide's^a ethnographic content analysis.

COUBERTIN AND THE PRE-WAR STRUGGLE OVER OLYMPIC SPORT IN AFRICA

The analysis of the pre-war materials, which follows, elucidates arguments developed by Coubertin in relation to the reasons for the development of the Western sporting model in Africa in terms of those benefits which would accrue to the indigenous populations and to the colonial powers respectively. Three key points are rehearsed in relation to this pre-war period. These are the French and the British colonial resistance to the establishment of the African Games; European control over African sport; and the dismissal of indigenous sporting cultures.

In respect of the first of these, Coubertin wished to promote Olympism in the African continent at a time when the most influential European countries were competing for influence in Africa. There were English, French, Dutch, German, Italian and Portuguese colonies where dominant colonial cultures were imposed on the indigenous populations. European powers, for example, coerced native Africans to adopt their language and to adapt to Western culture. In that context, Coubertin also turned his attention towards the African continent for the promotion of Olympism and “the propagation of athletic activity among indigenous youth”.^b To this end, he started a programme with clearly propagandist goals establishing an ‘African medal’ and proposing the initiation of African Games. Although, Coubertin faced obstacles in establishing the African Games and, thus expanding the Olympic Movement on the continent, the proposal for an African medal was successfully implemented, “We chose Latin and a whole system of education was carved into the exotic foliage, in just a few words. Here is the text: ‘*Athletae proprium est se ipsum noscere, ducere et vincere*’. - It is the duty and the essence of the athlete to know, to lead and to conquer himself”.^c

In the late 19th and early 20th century, the classic studies of Hellenism and Latin were taught in the European boarding schools of upper middle classes, emphasising the connections of these civilisations with the origins and history of Europe. Consequently, it comes as no surprise that the inscription of the African medal would also be in Latin. This decision seems to have had a threefold purpose: a) to impose a European, ethnocentric model of knowledge and set of values on the indigenous people, as translated and delivered by the white, European settlers, b) to

gain the support of the colonial officials by associating the development of modern sport in Africa to prestigious themes; a tactic that Coubertin had used in the early history of the Olympic Movement, and c) to make the medal a symbol of unity among the European settlers without choosing one language over another, which could be interpreted as acceptance of the superiority of one imperial power over another.

In an issue of the *Olympic Review* (January 1912), Coubertin attempted to persuade the colonials who were against the Regional (African) Games that they had nothing to fear from such an event. Nonetheless, the local colonial governments opposed such initiatives fearing that the colonisers' position of power would be undermined by sporting defeat by indigenous groups. However, the resistance to allowing indigenous groups access to competition in Olympic sport was by no means common to all powers. Some years later, Coubertin explained that the German, the British and the Italian colonies did not have much hesitation about being open to sport contests involving both the colonials and the colonised. However, he claimed that the French were the major opponents of the African Games countering and finally managing to stop the organisation of the first African Games in Algeria (planned for 1925).

The January 1912 *Olympic Review* already dealt with this matter and opposed the view that a victory over the dominant race in the field of sport by the people in bondage may have a dangerous effect and risk to be exploited by the local opinion as an enticement to rebellion... Algiers had been honoured with the organisation of the first African Games. The Algerians, supported if not egged on by the Metropolis, declined this honour. In this way the inauguration was put off for two years, when Egypt, in her quality of senior country, was entrusted with the task of organizing the first Games.^d

Moreover, due to English and French political manoeuvring, the inauguration of a stadium in Alexandria, Egypt, designed subsequently to host the African Games, was denied international exposure. The opening of the stadium was therefore able to attract publicity only on a strictly local scale. Coubertin emphasised that the African Games were not inaugurated in Algeria in 1925 because the settlers feared that through the organisation of the African Games the indigenous populations would be given more confidence and legitimacy and thus power.

在1912年1月号的《奥林匹克评论》中，顾拜旦试图告诉那些反对非洲运动会的殖民者根本没有必要害怕这样的赛事。但殖民势力还是担心万一在赛场上输给土著人的话可能会削弱其殖民地位和势力，所以始终持强烈的反对意见。然而，并非对所有当权者都反对土著人进入奥林匹克运动和比赛。几年之后，顾拜旦解释说德国、英国和意大利的殖民者对他们和土著人同时都参加的体育比赛就不那么犹豫。但是，他也宣称，法国殖民者是最主要的反对非洲奥运会的势力，就是他们，最终阻挠了阿尔及利亚首届非洲运动会的组织活动（原计划在1925年举行）。

1912年的《奥林匹克评论》并不赞同这样的观点，即在体育比赛中，土著人如果战胜了殖民者或许会产生危险的影响和风险，有可能被认为是诱惑人们对殖民者进行反抗……阿尔及利亚本已经获得了首届非洲奥运会的举办权。但最后阿尔及利亚人——如果不是在大城市（的那些殖民者）的怂恿下，那么至少是支持下——放弃了这一荣誉。直到两年后，埃及这一相对成熟的国家，终于才举办了第一届非洲运动会。

此外，由于英国和法国的政治操纵，埃及为举办非洲运动会而准备的亚历山大体育场开工的消息在国际范围内被封锁。这样，体育馆的开幕就只能吸引到当地有限的注意了。顾拜旦

特别强调说，非洲运动会未能于1925年在阿尔及利亚拉开帷幕，就是因为欧洲移民害怕通过组织非洲运动会，土著人口能够获得更多的自信和合法性，从而可能获得更多的权力。

我们并不关心那些导致未能举办非洲运动会的暗流，但现在，一个众所周知的事实是，导致反对派未能理解（举办非洲运动会可以）委会殖民地的真实和忠诚的原因是殖民者认为，殖民地（在体育运动上）的成功会破坏资本主义国家那些大都市的威望。

因此，缺乏来自殖民者的支持使得顾拜旦创建非洲运动会的运作变得非常困难。然而，顾拜旦一直坚持说，为了增强欧洲文化的地位，殖民者在将现代体育运动介绍给土著人时，不应犹豫。因此，第二点的分析就牵扯到这样一点——虽然顾拜旦与殖民主义者关心的问题都是确保欧洲国家在非洲大陆的文化领导者地位，他还是发展了一条与殖民官员截然不同的道路。殖民官员害怕非洲运动会的组织会鼓励土著人去追求更大程度的觉醒，但顾拜旦却持相反观点。他认为，非洲体育运动的发展是必然要发生的，唯一要确定的问题是这样的发展是应该在欧洲殖民者的支持下进行还是通过土著团体的努力来进行。在他看来，如果欧洲想要获得对非洲体育运动（并由此带同其他领域的兴趣）的更多掌控，就不应该对这样的机会有所犹豫。

We are not concerned with the undercurrents, which caused this failure [of hosting the African Games], but it is now a known fact that the reason, which caused this opposition to fail to understand that truth and loyalty would subsist, is the notion that the prestige of the Metropolis might be jeopardized by colonial successes.^e

As a result, lack of support from the colonisers made it very difficult for Coubertin to establish the African Games.^f However, Coubertin always insisted that the settlers should not hesitate to introduce modern sport to the indigenous populations in order to reinforce the position of the European culture. Therefore, the second point to emerge in this analysis relates to the fact that although Coubertin shared with colonial interests a concern to secure the leading role of European nations on the African continent, he had developed a different approach from that of some colonial officials. Colonial officials feared that with the organisation of the African Games the indigenous populations would be encouraged to seek more concessions. Coubertin, however, believed the opposite. The development of sport in Africa, he argued, was inevitable and it was simply a matter for deciding whether that development should either take place under the patronage of Europe or develop through the efforts of indigenous groups. In his opinion, if Europe wanted to have more control over the sport movement in Africa (and to foster its interests in other spheres), it should not hesitate to seize such opportunities.

The Olympic Review had dealt with the fine subject of “The role of sport in colonisation” in the number for January 1912. Twenty years later, I thought that opinion had evolved sufficiently to allow the idea to be put into effect! It appeared that the time was not yet ripe. *It must be getting nearer now and I remain convinced that before long, in spite of everything, sport will be organised throughout Africa but perhaps less well than if Europe had been clever enough to take over the running of the movement at the right moment.*^g

This approach illustrates the paternalist colonial attitudes of European interests in Africa, and this is related to the third theme evident in Cou-

bertin's analysis. He, in common with the colonial powers, viewed the indigenous sporting cultures as 'peripheral' merely providing 'entertainment and recreation'.

There are certain forms of sport activities among natives, which localised to a region, sometimes even to a district, should not be discouraged, on the contrary, they ought to be encouraged, but they do not pretend to be anything else but a form of entertainment and recreation. If we want to extend to natives of colonized countries, what we call boldly the benefits of 'sport civilisation', it is imperative that we allow them to belong to the vast sport system, which entails rules and regulations and competitive sports results performances, which form the basis of this civilisation.^h

The sporting tradition of the imperial powers, predominantly 'modern sport' based on western (mainly Anglo-Saxon) rules and regulations, was imposed on the colonies often with the intention of undermining indigenous sport traditions or with the aim of 'civilising' the colony.ⁱ The Western sporting model was seen as the only efficient system that with its rules and regulations could lead to competitive sport performances. Nevertheless, the European powers were 'aware' of the difficulties of introducing modern sport in such circumstances.

And perhaps it may appear premature to introduce the principle of sports competitions into a continent that is behind the times and among peoples still without elementary culture-and particularly presumptuous to expect this expansion to lead to a speeding up of the march of civilisation in these countries. Let us think however, for a moment, of what is troubling the African soul. Untapped forces-individual laziness and a sort of collective need for action-a thousand resentments, and a thousand jealousies of the white man and yet, at the same time, the wish to imitate him and thus share his privileges-the conflict between wishing to submit to discipline and to escape from it-and, in the midst of an innocent gentleness that

1912年1月的《奥林匹克评论》最后还讨论了“体育在殖民化中的角色”的问题。20年后,我想这样的观点就会得到长足发展,从而能够付诸实践!尽管时机还不成熟,我却一直坚信它离我们一定是越来越近了,相信用不了多久——尽管有着各种各样的阻挠——体育运动将在全非洲被有效地组织起来。如果欧洲殖民者足够聪明,能够在合适的机会领导这一进程,无疑将会组织会更好。

这显示出了欧洲人对非洲的兴趣还仅限于家长式的殖民态度,也与顾拜旦分析的第三个主题密切相关。与殖民势力一样,他将土著人的原由体育文化看作是“次要的”,仅仅是提供了“娱乐和休闲”而已。

当地人中有特定形式的体育运动,其中大部分在某一地区——有时甚至是某一个区——被当地化了,这些应该得到鼓励。但是他们不能假装这些能够成为其他的什么,因为这些不过是休闲娱乐的一种形式。如果我们想将我们的体育文化延伸到殖民国家——这正是我们宣扬的“体育文明”的好处,就非常有必要使其成为这一巨大体育系统——其文化基础主要包括规则、规章和有竞争力的体育赛果和表演——的一部分。

帝国主义的体育传统——其中占主导地位的是基于西方（主要是盎格鲁-撒克逊）规则的“现代体育”——被强加到了殖民地，其目的通常是削弱土著人的体育传统或者是使殖民地更加“文明化”。西方体育模式被认为是唯一有效的系统，其规则能够带来颇具竞技性的体育表演。然而，欧洲势力“知道”在这样的情况下将现代体育介绍到非洲的难度。

把现代体育比赛介绍到一个落后的大洲，或者是自以为是地希望这种扩张能够加速这些殖民国家的文明化进程，都还为时尚早。要知道，这个大洲的公民还没有基本的相关文化。然而，让我们思考一下，是什么在给非洲的精神制造着麻烦？某些未使用的力量——一个人的懒惰和某种集体对行动的需求，比如说对白人的愤恨和妒忌以及同时掺杂的模仿他们并因此分享其特权的愿望，即那种遵从这些原则又想从中逃离之间的矛盾——可能在一个不失魅力的温和过程中，以祖先留传下来的剧烈突然地爆发……显然，体育会加强这种力量。

从顾拜旦关于奥林匹克运动在非洲传播及其体育运动总体发展的文献中我们可以看出，非洲社会多次被描写成为次要的或者说是边缘的地方。

顾拜旦假设了西方人“种族”和“性格气质”的优越性，因此将西方确定

is not without its charm, the sudden outburst of ancestral violence... Sport has hardened them.ⁱ

It is noted from Coubertin's documents that the African societies were repeatedly described in subordinated terms regarding the spread of Olympic sport in Africa and the development of sport in general.

Providing evidence of 'Social Darwinism' again, Coubertin assumes a 'racial' and 'temperamental' superiority of the Westerners, hence assigning to the West the role of 'civilising force' that will bring "the light of civilisation on the vast continent of Africa".^k

The time has come for sport to advance to the conquest of Africa, that vast continent which it has as yet hardly touched and to bring to its people the enjoyment of ordered and disciplined muscular effort, with all the benefits which flow from it.^l

The above quotation is part of an 'Olympic solidarity' campaign that Coubertin had initiated in 1923, but was short-lived due to lack of support. It is to the development of this approach of organising sporting solidarity to which we turn in the following section. However, it is worth underlining at this point that while some of the European powers (particularly France and Britain) resisted diffusion of Olympic sport through their opposition to the establishing of the African Games, Coubertin's promotion of this idea was in part legitimated by him with reference to the ability of European powers to maintain their influence.

THE POST-WAR CONTEXT AND THE EMERGENCE OF OLYMPIC SOLIDARITY

The post-war period was a period of relatively rapid decolonisation. Before going on to outline the results of our analysis of the data extracted from the IOC archives, it is perhaps worth referring to some key developments in the Olympic context.

In 1961, a resolution to the 58th IOC Congress established the Committee for International Olympic Aid (CIOA). According to the IOC's own account of the history of the origins of Olympic Solidarity^m, this resolution was presented by Count Jean de Beaumont, who subsequently chaired the Committee in its early years. The Committee provided aid (in kind or as loans but not in cash) to some of the NOCs of the newly independent states.

Relations between some of these states and the West were, however, problematic. On the one hand, their favour was being courted on a number of diplomatic and cultural fronts by the Soviet Union and the USA; while on the other hand, a group was forming under the banner of the Non-Aligned Movement. This group of nations under Indonesia's leadership and with support from China and the USSR, held the Games of the Newly Emerging Forces (the GANEFO Games) in 1965, Games which the IOC sought to oppose with considerable vigour.ⁿ

Despite evidence of significant reservations on the part of Brundage about the activities of the CIOA, a full Commission of the IOC for Olympic Aid was established in 1968. However, in 1967 the International Sports Federations and in 1968 the National Olympic Committees, both established world umbrella bodies in the form of General Assemblies (respectively, the General Assembly of International Sports Federations (now GAISF) and the Permanent General Assembly of the National Olympic Committees (PGA of NOCs)). These bodies were constituted as a result of the frustration that the IFs and the NOCs felt collectively about their lack of influence with regard to the IOC, and in particular their lack of a share in revenue generated by the Games (comparatively small though this was at the time)^o. A difficult set of negotiations ensued between the IOC and the two General Assemblies, taking place against a background of resistance on the part of African NOCs to the system of apartheid which eventually resulted in the exclusion of South Africa from the 1968 Games in Mexico, following the threat of a boycott.

The introduction of sports aid in the Olympic movement was a product of pressure from the Soviet Union in the late 1950s, in the context of the competition between the West and the USSR in aid terms. Although De Beaumont is said to have introduced the resolution, it is in a letter to the IOC in 1961 from Adrianov, the Soviet IOC member, that such a draft resolution for the 58th meeting of the IOC was proposed.

The International Olympic Committee, solemnly [declares] thereby, that one of its important tasks of the present time shall be to draw sportsmen from countries of Africa and Asia into the world Olympic movement without any discrimination on the ground of politics, religion, or race, to render every aid and assistance at its disposal to the Olympic movement and amateur sport in these countries.^p

为将“文明之光带到整个非洲大陆”的“文明化的力量”，这再次给我们提供了“社会达尔文主义”的证据。

用体育来促进非洲这个还未开垦的广袤大陆发展的时机已经到来了，这将会带给其民众带来有序和规范的身体努力及其产生的所有好处。

上述引用是顾拜旦1923年发起的“奥林匹克团结”活动的一部分，但是因为缺乏足够的支持而昙花一现。我们下一部分的讨论将由此转向这种方式。然而，有必要指出的是，有些欧洲力量（尤其是法国和英国）强烈反对通过非洲运动会的方式在非洲传播奥林匹克运动。因此，考虑到欧洲势力试图保持其势力这一点，顾拜旦对此观点的促进一定程度上是正当的。

战后奥林匹克团结基金出现的背景分析

战后时期是一个相对快速的去殖民化时代。在勾勒我们通过研究IOC文献和数据而得出的结论之前，提一下奥林匹克运动背景的主要发展脉络或许是有必要的。

在1961年，58次国际奥委会全会决定建立国际奥林匹克援助委员会（CIOA），这是奥林匹克团结基金的雏形。根据国际奥委会自己的解释，这一建议是让·德·包蒙伯爵提出的，他之后担任了这一委员会的主席。委

员会的任务主要是给一些新兴国家提供帮助（通过实物或者债务形式，而非现金）。

然而，这些新兴国家与西方国家之间的关系却是有点问题的。一方面，他们乐于处在苏联和美国的外交和文化前线；另一方面，另一组却是在不结盟运动的旗帜下形成的。这组国家在印度尼西亚的领导下，在中国和苏联的支持下，于1965年举行了新兴力量运动会，这一运动会遭到了国际奥委会的强烈反对。

尽管有证据很明显地证明布伦戴奇对CIOA的工作持保留意见，国际奥委会还是于1968年授权给该组织。然而，国际体育联合会和国家奥林匹克委员会分别与1967年和次年建立了全球性的全体大会形式（分别是国际单项体育联合会总会GAISF和国家奥林匹克委员会大会）。之前，国际体育单项联合会和国家奥委会在面对国际奥委会时，感觉其影响力明显处于劣势，尤其是他们在分享奥运会的财政收入方面更觉得软弱无力，这两个大会的建立就是对这一状况的直接回应。因此，在反对实行种族隔离制度的那些非洲国家奥委会进入奥运会的背景下，国际奥委会和两个组织及其大会之间的一系列谈判都非常艰难，这最终导致了南非被拒绝参加1968年奥运会及其之后的抵抗行为。

奥林匹克运动引入体育援助是迫于苏联上个世纪50年代制造的压力，其背景是西方和苏联在援助方面的竞争。虽然德·包蒙被人们看作是向国际奥委会提出相关建议的人，但

The USSR was apparently keen to be seen championing the notion of aid to the newly independent states. The USSR's reference to the need to decolonise was seen by some commentators in the West as unwarranted preaching to the established colonial powers, and the response by the French IOC member Comte Jean de Beaumont (who was to become the first Chair of the Committee) to the proposal by the USSR is significant.

In the note sent by USSR to all the NOCs and the IFs, we are told of decolonisation. I must say, France did not wait for external intervention in order to carry out decolonisation in every field, especially in the field of sport when France developed sport in French speaking African territories.⁴

The tone of the response is interesting since it came at a time immediately before Algerian independence gained through bloody resistance. Indeed sport had played a key role both in the French project to resist Algerian pressure for independence and in the Algerian FLN (National Liberation Front) response.⁵

De Beaumont, as the first Chairperson, took the initiative with the Committee for International Olympic Aid forward. The motives of the IOC for establishing the sport aid system were expressed in correspondence to the external world outside the Olympic family in terms of the need for efficiency and altruism, as this letter to UNESCO indicates.

Now, the world has seen itself enlarged by a new dimension: that of developing countries. The I.O.C. would like to offer these countries some tangible evidence of brotherliness in sports through practical, technical and financial aid...⁶

But internally the Western dominated group within the IOC was concerned about being up-staged by the USSR, as we see from the following extract from a letter by Lord Luke to de Beaumont in August 1962.

There is another confidential point, which needs to be watched (but not mentioned in public) - it is my private opinion that the U.S.S.R. are only keen about this effort in so far as it is part of their political objective of extending their influence in Africa, and they see in the I.O.C. a means to that

end. We must not forget that the overwhelming influence of the U.S.S.R. in the United Nations affairs has been accentuated by their support of the African states, and we have to beware that too much influence.⁴

As the letter points out, the USSR's tactics in the UN (United Nations) involved fostering support from the newly independent states, and the IOC's hierarchy was concerned that the same tactics were being employed in sport. It was feared that the USSR was garnering support to oppose Western conservative domination of the IOC.

There was however evidence of more worrying rationales. Cultural imperialism implies the promotion of cultural superiority, and therefore is expressed occasionally in racist terms, as is the case in the following extract in a letter from Otto Mayer the then Chancellor of the IOC to Avery Brundage.

One thing I regret not to agree is, when Jean de Beaumont intends to get money to send to those people what are they going to do with that money? Can you imagine non-organized people, knowing practically nothing - or not much - about sport, receiving suddenly money for what? What those people should receive ...are: educators in sport, trainers and material ... That money should be used for that only: material sent from Europe and Instructors sent from Europe or USA, but certainly not cash money which will disappear in the pocket of some clever negroes! The first thing is to find intelligent people there who would listen FIRST to what Count de Beaumont tells them.⁵

Given the opprobrium that had been expressed in relation to Brundage's role in supporting the Berlin Olympic Games, the fact that Mayer felt secure in communicating his thoughts in this manner suggests that there may have been a common set of assumptions about Black Africa within the IOC network members from the core countries. Of course such racist stereotypes would probably not have been unusual in any number of Western dominated organisations of the time (and it would perhaps be naïve to expect the IOC to be exceptional in this respect),

实际上，1961年给国际奥委会写信的苏联委员安德烈诺夫，才是第一个向第58次国际奥委会全会提出这一建议的人。

国际奥委会因此庄严地宣布，其当时的重要任务之一就是将来来自亚非国家的运动员们纳入到奥林匹克运动，消除任何政治、宗教、种族等方面的歧视，并在其奥林匹克运动和业余体育的开展方面提供尽可能的援助和支持。

苏联很显然热衷于被看作是援助新兴独立国家的积极力量。在西方评论家看来，苏联对去殖民化的需要是对已经建立的殖民势力的毫无意义的说教。法国委员让·德·包蒙（后来成为该委员会首任主席）对苏联建议的响应是意味深长的：

在苏联发给所有国家奥委会和国际体育单项联合会的信中，提到了去殖民化。我必须要说，法国不会等着外来干预才会进行在所有领域尤其是体育领域的去殖民化，要知道，非洲法语区殖民国家的体育运动可是法国帮助发展起来的。

这一回应的语气非常有趣，因为它就发生在阿尔及利亚通过血的斗争后而获得独立前不久。实际上，无论在法国对阿尔及利亚独立力量的镇压方面，还是在阿尔及利亚国家解放前线的回应方面，体育都扮演了一个重要的角色。

德·包蒙，作为首任主席，将国际奥林匹克援助委员会的初衷向前推进了一大步。与外界的口径一致，正如在包蒙给联合国教科文组织（UNESCO）的信中所言，国际奥委会建立这样一个援助系统的动机被认为是效率和利他主义的需要：

现在，世界已经在一个新的纬度上日益扩大：那就是发展中国家。国际奥委会希望提供给这些国家一些明确的东西：体育运动中的兄弟般的情谊，通过训练、技术和财务方面的援助……

但是，国际奥委会的西方当权者关心的是如何使得苏联相形见绌，就像我们从下面鲁克领主于1962年8月给德·包蒙的信中的引用中可以看出的那样：

还有一个秘密需要被指出（但是不能在公开场合提及），那就是，在我个人看来，只有苏联热衷于这一努力，因为这是其旨在扩大其在非洲影响的政治图谋的一部分，为了这一目的，他们也会利用国际奥委会这一舞台。我们绝对不能忽视联合国事务中苏联因为其非洲同盟的支持而获得的压倒性的影响，这一点已经被强调了。我们必须要当心这种过分的响也出现在国际奥委会之中。

然而，更多证据显示这其中或许有着更让人焦虑的理由。文化帝国主义必然包含着文化优越论，因此偶尔会被

but it is still somewhat shocking to see these views being aired at a senior level.

The files also provide ample evidence of the sustained promotion of cultural dependence. Sport had already become a key vehicle for promoting national identity in the contemporary world, and access to the world's biggest sporting event was essential to those who were closely implicated in nation-building in the newly independent states. NOCs were, in particular, dependent on the IOC for admission to the Olympic sports domain, and had to conform to certain requirements. Dependency was reinforced by the provision of technical assistance with coaching and administration, in particular, but which was provided 'with strings'. Assistance was invariably provided without direct financial aid so that the beneficiaries could not simply buy assistance in an open market, but rather were tied to the forms of assistance and the providers of assistance, nominated by the CIOA.

However, it is important to note that the idea of Olympic Aid did not receive universal support in the IOC. There was resistance in the form of a struggle within the Olympic movement between those who founded the CIOA (led by Comte Jean de Beaumont) and those who opposed it (led principally by Avery Brundage), which is very evident in the correspondence. The reasons for the concern expressed by those within the IOC (and Brundage in particular) relating to the activities of the CIAO (at least those rehearsed 'in public') fell into essentially three categories: concern that the CIOA was too closely involved in politics; fear that it was fostering financial demands from new states which at that stage the IOC could not meet; and concern that the CIOA would simply duplicate International Federations, UNESCO, the Commonwealth, and other national aid schemes. Brundage was able, with the support of several other conservative IOC members (described by Mme. Meuwly, the Secretary of the CIOA, as "the old crowd") to employ the formal powers of the IOC to withdraw permission from the CIOA to use the term Olympic in the title of the Committee, to stop using the IOC letterhead, to desist from accepting financial support from states or cities, and not to offer to grant financial aid.^w

Notwithstanding this, over the period the new and peripheral states had been gaining strength. Continental Games were organised in the periphery (the Pan-American, and the Asian Games from 1951, the African Games from 1965, with the Pan-Arab Games inaugurated in 1953). The nations of the periphery flexed their political muscles, for example in terms of opposition to apartheid when Kenya refused to allow visas for the South African representatives to attend the Nairobi

IOC meeting in 1963, and when South Africa and Rhodesia were not subsequently invited to the first African Games in Brazzaville in 1965. The Nairobi affair prompted Brundage's response in a letter to IOC members and to NOCs arguing that "The International Olympic Committee will, we trust, never permit anyone to decide who will or will not attend its meetings".^x

Perhaps the major turning point in terms of IOC relations with the peripheral nations was the struggle over the GANEFO Games (the Games of the Newly Emerging Forces) in 1965. Indonesia's refusal to provide visas for Israeli and Taiwanese representatives to compete in the Fourth Asian Games had led to suspension of the Indonesian NOC by the IOC. The Indonesian government and NOC declared this as a product of the IOC's inherent western bias since it had done nothing to counter the activities of western states which had made it difficult for East German athletes to participate in international competition.

At bottom the principle faced by Indonesia and People Republic of China and Democratic Republic of Germany are the same, namely the attitude of the leadership of the IOC which plainly defends the interest of certain bloc, or more exactly the interest of the imperialist. The president of the IOC may say what he likes to the press about the question of Indonesia, but he cannot tell why the IOC is not bold enough to take any steps whatever regarding the NATO states which quite openly and repeatedly obstruct the participation of athletes from Democratic Republic of Germany in international competition.^y

The dispute culminated in Indonesia organising the GANEFO Games in 1965. The Games which incorporated 12 countries from Asia, Africa, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, were planned to be a forerunner of a parallel alliance in the political arena, and thus were overtly political in their purposes. Since the Games had not been held under its auspices, the IOC was unable to take action but a number of the International Federations, working with the encouragement of the IOC took action to ban or otherwise punish athletes for participating. The *Fédération Internationale de Natation* (FINA, the International Swimming Federation), for example, threatened to ban athletes who participated in the event, or who subsequently competed against those who had competed.

以种族歧视的方式表现出来，好比时任国际奥委会官员奥托·梅耶给艾弗里·布伦戴奇的信中所言：

很遗憾让·德·包蒙想要以金钱的方式援助给那些人这件事我没法赞同，他们能够拿这些钱做什么？你能够想象一群毫无组织的人，对体育的操作一无所知——或者知道的不像需要的那么多——突然收到这些钱后会做什么吗？那些人应该收到的……是：体育方面的教育、训练者和物资……这些钱只应该用于从欧洲送来的物资以及从欧洲或者美国援助来的指导者，但是当然不是现金，因为这些钱无疑将会消失于某些聪明的黑鬼的口袋里！首先要做的事就是找一个聪明的能够听德·包蒙伯爵的话的人。

考虑到布伦戴奇由于支持柏林奥运会而留下的耻辱，梅耶却觉得以这种方式来表达其观点是安全的，这一事实表明，在当时，来自核心国家的国际奥委会委员中可能有一种普遍的关于非洲黑人的假设。当然，这样的种族歧视在当时西方主导的组织里面都是稀松平常的（期望国际奥委会是这方面的例外可能略显幼稚），但是看到这样的观点是如此普遍可能还是或多或少地让人们感到了一些震惊。

然而，有必要指出奥林匹克援助的想法并没有在全球范围内的国际奥委会的支持。阻力表现为奥林匹克运动内部的斗争，一方面是让·德·包蒙伯爵

建立和领导的国际奥林匹克援助委员会，另一方面是艾弗里·布伦戴奇领导的反对者。关于反对CIOA的活动（至少是公共的活动）的原因，国际奥委会内部（尤其是布伦戴奇）解释的原因基本包括三类：首先，是CIOA与政治的关系过于密切；其次，担心这会促进新兴国家对国际奥委会财务资源的依赖，当时的国际奥委会根本无法负担；第三，担心CIOA沦为像国际体育单项联合会、联合国教科文组织、联邦或者其他国家的援助计划一样的复制品。在其他几个保守的国际奥委会委员（被国际奥林匹克援助委员会的秘书长缪丽女士称其为“守旧的人”）的支持下，布伦戴奇能够借助国际奥委会的正式力量撤回了对CIOA使用奥林匹克名称和国际奥委会信笺抬头的特许，停止其从国家或城市接受财政援助，并拒绝提供巨大的财务援助。

边缘国家显示了其政治力量，比如说到反对种族隔离制度，肯尼亚拒绝给南非代表发放参加1963年国际奥委会内罗毕会议的签证，南非和罗得西亚后来没被邀请参加1965年在布拉柴维尔举行的首届非洲运动会。内罗毕事件促使布伦戴奇在给国际奥委会委员和国家奥委会的信中写道：“我们相信，国际奥委会绝不会允许任何人来决定谁可以或者不可以参加其会议。”

国际奥委会与这些边缘国家关系的关键转折点是1965年的新兴力量运动会。印尼拒绝为参加第4届亚运会的以色列和台

Further difficulties were probably only ultimately avoided because GANEFO itself ran into political difficulties, when President Sukarno was ousted in a coup in 1965 and Egypt declined to host the Games because of preparations for war with Israel.²

With the onset of the GANEFO crisis, the IOC establishment clearly recognised that there would be a need to bring the NOCs more closely into the core activities of the Olympic movement but this did not necessarily mean increasing their numbers in membership of the IOC itself. The great fear of the IOC members was the swamping of IOC membership by the new nations which would have radically affected the balance of power in the Olympic movement. This is evident in, for example, comments by Brundage himself in a letter to de Beaumont, who stresses that entry into the movement means entry into the Games not into decision-making

By the end of the 1960s, the National Olympic Committees (NOCs) (both from core countries and from the Olympic political periphery) and the International Federations whose sports made up the diet of the Games were becoming frustrated with a lack of power and influence, and began to press for a greater say in the Olympic movement. Both groups established bodies through which to represent their collective interests in the form of the Permanent General Assembly of National Olympic Committees (PGA of NOCs) in parallel with the General Assembly of International Federations (GAIF).

One of the first issues to concern the Permanent General Assembly of NOCs was to establish an Olympic Solidarity fund and to formally request from the IOC that television rights income be allocated through the PGA to aid NOC work.^{aa} The IOC accepted most of the PGA of NOCs' requests and formally incorporated it and the GAIF into the organisational infrastructure known as the Olympic family. By doing so, the IOC was able to unite the movement, coordinating the interests of different forces within it, protecting against political interference and commercialism / professionalism, while also still effectively holding the new NOCs at arm's length. The adoption of Olympic Solidarity, which was formally established in 1972 at Sapporo, was in effect the price to be paid for ensuring the compliance of the NOCs.

However, although it accepted the idea of Olympic Solidarity, the IOC still initially resisted the provision of financial aid through Olympic Solidarity. Control over funding was still effectively vested in the IOC since it insisted that aid take the form of training and other such services.

This position, however, became more and more difficult to sustain,

and with the on-set of major revenue streams from TV rights and sponsorship in the post-1984 era, and the introduction of increasing centralisation of fund allocations (albeit for programmes centrally decided) in the 1990s, the NOCs of the peripheral nations have, to a certain degree, achieved their goals.

CONCLUSIONS

The contrast between pre- and post-war evidence of the exercise of cultural imperialism in Olympic sport is striking. In the pre-war period we see evidence of the recognition by Coubertin at least of the inevitability that sport would come to Africa, and that this would be managed to better effect (in terms, that is, of European interests) if it were led by European initiatives. Progress was, however, blocked by the French who undermined the possibility of holding the African Games in Algiers in 1925 and by the British and French who combined to frustrate the development of facilities in Egypt for staging the Games. Hence, although Coubertin's approach might be considered effectively to constitute a species of cultural imperialism in its intentions, the French and British treatment of the issue of the African Games seems to suggest that at least for part of the pre-war period, and for some colonial administrators, cultural separatism, rather than the passing down of an elite culture, is what was intended.

In reviewing the post-war early history of Olympic Solidarity and its predecessor the CIOA, a different picture emerges. The evidence reviewed allows us to draw a number of conclusions. If cultural imperialism is concerned with the unifying of dominant and subordinate powers around shared cultural projects, this is clearly reflected in the Olympic Solidarity project. It is clear, for example, that the origins of Olympic Solidarity, or at least its subsequent incorporation into the IOC's formal activities, performed the function of unifying the Olympic Movement by neutralizing the pressure exerted by the IFs and NOCs for a greater say in the running of the Olympic system. In addition, the activities of the CIOA and of Olympic Solidarity did facilitate the flow of Western culture to non-Western societies but in terms which were increasingly contested / negotiated rather than imposed. The increasing ability of the peripheral National Olympic Committees to exert their own influence is clearly evident by the beginning of the 1970s.

Consequently, we might conclude that our account provides us with elements of evidence for both cultural imperialism and related accounts (modernisation processes, the construction of cultural dependency

湾代表提供签证导致了国际奥委会对印尼奥委会的处罚。印尼政府和奥委会随即宣布这是国际奥委会西方偏见的产物，因为国际奥委会对西方国家阻挠东德运动员参加国际体育比赛一事就无动于衷。

说到底，印尼、中国和东德面临的事情都是一样的，即国际奥委会的领导态度是维护某些特定集团利益的，或者更确切的说，是帝国主义利益的。国际奥委会主席也许会说他对印尼问题更感兴趣，但是他回答不了为什么国际奥委会不勇敢地采取措施来应对北约集团国家公开和反复阻挠东德运动员参加国际体育比赛的事情。

更多的困难在最后得以避免可能只是因为新兴力量运动会自身遇到了政治麻烦，苏加诺总统在1965年的政变中权力被剥夺，而埃及因为准备与以色列的战争放弃了举办运动会。随着新兴力量运动会自身的危机，国际奥委会非常清楚地认识到有必要将国家奥委会更紧密地联系在奥林匹克运动的核心周围，但是这并不必然地意味着增加国际奥委会成员的数量。国际奥委会成员最担心的问题是新兴国家所带来的国际奥委会成员资格的困窘从根本上影响了奥林匹克运动中势力的平衡。这一点非常明显，比方说，布伦戴奇在一封给德·包蒙的信中就强调说进入奥林匹克运动仅仅意味着进入奥运会，而不是进入了决策层。

国家奥委会大会首要关注的是要建立奥林匹克团结基金，并正式地向国际

奥委会提出请求，分配其电视转播权收入，以帮助各国家奥委会的工作。国际奥委会接受了大部分国家奥委会的请求，正式与其分享收入，并将国际单项体育联合会总会也纳入到奥林匹克大家庭的基础机构中。通过这样做，国际奥委会能够联合体育运动的各要素，协调其中不同力量的利益，保护其不受政治干预和商业化/职业化的干预，同时还能够有效地与新兴国家奥委会保持一定距离。1972年札幌会议上奥林匹克团结基金的正式建立，实际上是为了保证国家奥委会服从IOC。

然而，虽然奥林匹克团结基金得以建立了，国际奥委会最初还是拒绝通过奥林匹克团结基金提供金钱援助。基金的控制权还是有效地掌握在国际奥委会的手中，因为它一直坚持援助的形式应该是训练和其他服务。

然而，这一状况变得越来越难以维持，随着1984年后电视转播权和赞助所带来的财政收入的激增，以及20世纪90年代IOC下放了更多的资金分配的权力，边缘国家的奥委会在某种程度上实现了其目标。

结论

二战前后文化帝国主义在奥林匹克运动中表现方式之不同令人震惊。在二战前，我们看到顾拜旦至少是承认体育运动进入非洲的必然性的，并认为如果这一过程是有欧洲人来领导的话，这将（对欧洲利益方面）产生更

etc.) However the ‘top-down’ elements of cultural imperialism (and of dependency and modernisation theory) are most relevant only to the processes in the early period, the 1960s, while more multi-directional accounts of influence appear more appropriate to the period of the early 1970s. As the newly independent states developed, so too their ability to assert their own wishes and views became increasingly apparent, and what had been an evidently top-down imposition of policies could not be sustained in the longer term. Globalisation theories and multi-causal approaches to explanation of the phenomena under consideration would seem to offer a more satisfactory account in the longer term. Certainly there are elements of the rationalization of culture and its delivery in the development of the Olympic Games in the newly independent states, as indeed there is evidence of cultural imperialism (it is essentially Western culture which is being promoted with little reference to indigenous sports and games). Similarly there are aspects of cultural dependency as the newly independent states seek entry to this (Western dominated) world cultural club, the Olympic movement, with almost as much assiduousness as they seek entry to the (Western dominated) political club that is the United Nations. However, the outcomes cannot be explained by reference to these factors alone. The interplay of political, economic, and cultural factors supports the notion of both core and periphery being able to exert influence. One cannot for instance imagine a ‘world’ event in track and field having any credibility without central participation by Kenyan, Ethiopian, Moroccan, and Algerian athletes. Power imbalances exist of course, but they are not all unidirectional.

ENDNOTES

^a D. Altheide *Qualitative Media Analysis*. London: Sage, 1996.

^b P. Coubertin, *Athletic Colonization* (1931), in N. Müller, ed., *Pierre de Coubertin, 1863-1937, Olympism: Selected Writings* (Lausanne, 2000), lines 4-12, pp. 591-593.

^c P. Coubertin, *New Mottoes* (1931), in N. Müller, ed., *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937, Olympism: Selected Writings* (Lausanne, 2000), lines 64-85, emphasis added by the authors.

^d P. Coubertin, *Athletic Colonization* (1931), lines 29-41.

^e P. Coubertin, *Athletic Colonization* (1931), lines 64 – 69.

^f A. Guttmann, *Games and Empires. Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*, New York, 1994 ; M. Roche, *Mega-events and Modernity: Olympics, Expos*

and the Growth of Global Culture, London, 2000; and K. Benzerti, *Olympism in Africa*, available at: www.sport.gov.gr/2/24/243/2431/24312/e243123.html [Accessed: 23/5/2003].

^g P. Coubertin, *The Capitol in Rome* (1923), lines 269 – 280, emphasis added by the authors.

^h P. Coubertin, *Athletic Colonization* (1931), lines 113-119.

ⁱ A. Guttmann, *Games and Empires. Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*, New York, 1994; B. Houlihan, *Sport and International Politics*, London, 1994.

^j P. Coubertin, *The Capitol in Rome* (1923), lines 141 – 178.

^k P. Coubertin, *The Neo-Olympism. Appeal to the People of Athens* (November 16, 1894). Lecture given to the Parnassus Literary Society at Athens, in N. Müller, ed., *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937, Olympism: Selected Writings* (Lausanne, 2000), lines 359-361, pp. 533-541.

^l P. Coubertin, *Athletics Want to Conquer Africa. An Appeal from the President of the IOC*, in N. Müller, ed., *Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937, Olympism: Selected Writings* (Lausanne, 2000), lines 1-5, p. 702.

^m See IOC (2006) *History of Olympic Solidarity* http://www.olympic.org/uk/organisation/commissions/solidarity/history_uk.asp, date accessed 06/08/2006.

ⁿ A. Guttmann *Games and empires modern sports and cultural imperialism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

^o S. Wenn. *An Olympian Squabble: the Distribution of Olympic Television Revenue, 1960-1966. OLYMPIKA: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* III:27-47, 1994.

^p Adrianov & Romanov, 1961: Document, Draft resolution on aid to Africa and Asia for the 58th IOC session.

^q J. de Beaumont, date not recorded, 1961: letter to A. Brundage

^r Dine, P. (1996). *Un Héroisme problématique- Le sport, la littérature et la guerre d'Algérie. Europe*, 806-7, 177-185.

^s J. de Beaumont, October 4, 1962: Letter to Mr Mehau UNESCO.

^t Lord Luke, August 28, 1962: Letter to Jean de Beaumont.

^u Otto Mayer, January 25, 1962: Letter to Avery Brundage

好的影响。然而，这一进程却被英国人和法国人给阻断了，前者阻碍了阿尔及利亚举办1925年非洲运动会，后者阻挠埃及准备举办运动会的设施。因此，虽然顾拜旦的方法就其目的来说，是一种构建文化帝国主义的有效方式，法国和英国对非洲运动会的做法则表明，至少在战前，对某些殖民管理者来说，其目的更在于文化分离主义，而不是将其精英文化传播下去。

回顾奥林匹克团结基金在战后早期的历史及其雏形CIOA，则呈现出了不同景象。前文回顾的那些证据使得我们得出一些结论。如果文化帝国主义参与了主要国家和次要国家文化的分享计划，那么这很明显地反映在了奥林匹克团结基金计划中。比如，很明显，奥林匹克团结基金的起源，或者至少是其随后成为国际奥委会正式活动的一部分，通过抵消和中和对国际体育单项联合会和国家奥委会在奥林匹克系统的运作中分享更多权力的尝试，发挥着把奥林匹克运动团结起来的作用。此外，CIOA的活动和奥林匹克团结基金确实使得西方文化向非西方社会的流动变得更为方便和简单，但这更多的是采用了竞争和协商而不是强迫的方式。边缘国家奥委会日益增长的影响力在20世纪70年代初就已经露出了端倪。

因此，我们或许可以得出结论，我们的解释给我们提供了证明文化帝国主义及其相关内容（比如现代化进程、文化附属国的结构等）的证据。然而，文化帝国主义组织严密的因素（

和附属国和现代化理论)只与早期即60年代的过程有关,70年代早期已经转而出现了更为适合的多方向的发展态势。新兴独立国家表达自己愿望和观点的能力的增强是有目共睹的,很明显政治强迫再也不能长期存在了。长期来看,用全球化理论和多因素方法来解释这一现象看起来好像是提供了更让人满意的方法。当然,因为现实中文化帝国主义(西方文化必然地得以促进而极少考虑到土著人的运动和运动会)的存在,新兴国家奥林匹克运动和奥运会的发展中存在着文化的合理化及其传播的问题。同样的,当新兴国家试图进入奥林匹克运动这一(西方主导的)世界文化俱乐部中的时候,还存在着文化附属方面的问题,正如其努力进入(西方主导的)世界政治俱乐部联合国那样。然而,结果不能单纯凭借这些因素来衡量。政治、经济和文化等因素的相互作用使得无论是主流国家还是边缘国家都能够发挥其影响。比方说,人们不能想象一个世界级的田径比赛没有肯尼亚、埃塞俄比亚、摩洛哥和阿尔及利亚的运动员参加。其中当然会存在权力的不平衡,但这已经不是单向的了。

^v These included IOC members Bolonaki, Massard, Brundage, Mahamed Taher, and Franz-Joseph: M. Meuwly, January 18, 1963: Letter to R.S. Alexander

^w A. Brundage, 1963: Letter to Jean de Beaumont (Date illegible)

^x Brundage, August 23, 1963: Document sent to IOC members and NOCs

^y Indonesia Olympic Committee. (1963). Indonesia and the Olympic Committee (Booklet). Djakarta: Indonesia Olympic Committee (p. 14)

^z Sic, S. 'Sport and politics: the case of the Asian Games and GANEFO, in B. Lowe, D. Kanin & A. Strenk (Eds.), *Sport and international relations* (p. 296.). Champaign, Ill.: Stipes, 1978.

^{aa} PGA of NOCs Resolution, 1971.

TOWARD A BICULTURAL VIEW OF OLYMPISM WITHIN NEW ZEALAND PHYSICAL EDUCATION: AN EMERGING JOURNEY

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While the universality of Olympism in essence claims to transcend cultural boundaries there are expressions of difference that require acknowledgement, acceptance and celebration. This article seeks to explore some of the issues relating to the formation of a bicultural view of Olympism within New Zealand society between Pakeha (New Zealanders of European descent) and Māori (indigenous people of New Zealand). Furthermore, implications for a bicultural perspective of Olympism in the Health and Physical Education in the New Zealand Curriculum (NZHPE) (Ministry of Education, 1999) will be discussed including an exploration of current issues and dilemmas that impact upon the development of such a perspective.

Historical positioning albeit New Zealand is still in its infancy as a nation may serve to assist in developing an understanding of Māori perspectives of Olympism. Colonisation within New Zealand led to the marginalisation of Māori culture, language, customs, values and traditions. During the 1800s and 1900s many Māori cultural practices were threatened by Pakeha governance and control and this included control over traditional Māori physical cultural practices. Early Christian missionaries perceived many such practices to be in conflict with a Christian world view and were consequently discouraged or in some instances banned (Sutton-Smith, as cited in Hokowhitu, 2007). Pakeha dominance and control was also clearly evident through educational policy. For example, legislation ensured that the Māori language was banned from being spoken in schools. Māori became increasingly marginalised as their cultural practices were discouraged.

二元文化视角中的 奥林匹克主义和新 西兰体育教育

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前言

奥林匹克主义的普世性以消除文化间的壁垒为己任，然而，我们仍然需要去了解 and 接受不同的文化。本文旨在探讨奥林匹克主义在新西兰传播中的二元文化问题。这里，构成二元的双方，一方面是欧洲白种人（欧洲人在新西兰的后裔），另一方面是毛利人（新西兰土著人）。同时，本文也将讨论“新西兰体育与健康课程计划”（教育部，1999年）中奥林匹克主义在二元文化背景中传播的前景，这既包括对现状

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的描述，也包括对这一前景所面临的两难处境的讨论。

虽然新西兰还是一个年轻的国家，但是在理解毛利人对奥林匹克主义的看法时，还是很有必要回顾历史。欧洲在新西兰的殖民扩张使得毛利文化、语言、习惯、价值体系和传统都日益边缘化。在19、20世纪，毛利人的文化生活受到了欧洲白人的统治和控制，这其中就包括对毛利传统体育文化的控制。早期的传教士感到这些传统体育会与基督教的世界观相冲突，所以并不鼓励它们的发展，甚至明令禁止（萨顿·史密斯，2007）。这种统治和控制从教育政策上就能看出来，比如，法律就规定学校中不允许说毛利语。这样，毛利文化日益走向了社会的边缘。

20世纪后期开始，毛利人逐渐开始在政治上活跃起来，其目标是“更自给自足、为毛利人自豪和高度的自治”（杜里，2003，p198）。究其原因，可以从新西兰建国文献《怀唐伊条约》中

After a significant period of assimilation, Māori during the later part of the 1900s became increasingly political as they moved “toward greater self-sufficiency, a celebration of being Māori, and higher levels of autonomy” (Durie, 2003, p.198). Foundational to this shift was an assertion of Māori rights based on the principles of New Zealand’s founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi. The principle of partnership is as Durie noted, “at the heart of the Treaty...a mutually beneficial relationship between Maori and the Crown” (p.205). A partnership is sought to be created where rights, opportunities, equal and power sharing exists which allow for shared decision making that both values and respects Māori and Pakeha cultures. The principles of the Treaty provide a foundation for biculturalism and as such serve as integral to exploring a bicultural perspective of Olympism particularly as it relates to NZHPE.

THE HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM

NZHPE (Ministry of Education, 1999) challenged the existing dominant scientific or technocratic physical education paradigms that correspondingly emphasised individualism and neo-liberal self-interest. This curriculum statement, mandated by the State, challenged teachers and learners to consider a socio-cultural-critical approach to physical education that was embedded in a pedagogy that acknowledged the learner operating within diverse social and cultural environments. In particular the curriculum advocated for a cultural orientation that acknowledged and addressed the bi-cultural uniqueness and needs of New Zealand society (Salter, 2000).

As Culpan and Bruce (2007) argued, the meaning for physical education then was that physical education programmes based on this curriculum needed content to focus on all aspects of the movement culture i.e. learning in, through and about movement and taking into account the notion of balanced development. In particular it meant that physical education had a role to play in the holistic nature of health and the promotion of it; it meant that movement practices needed to be examined from an individual as well as from societal and cultural perspectives; and it meant that the pedagogy needed to be socio-cultural, reflective in nature with significant emancipatory actions. Furthermore, it meant that scientific, physical, social, cultural, economic, political and moral and ethical dimensions of movement needed to be explored and critically examined. By doing this, a more coherent and integrated ‘human connect-

edness' and 'usefulness' to learning associated with the 'physical culture' could be utilised (Culpan, 2004; Wright, MacDonald & Burrows, 2004). For physical education to achieve this intent the curriculum presents four under-lying concepts. These are:

- Well-being (*hauora*)
The concept of well-being (*hauora*) encompasses the physical, mental and emotional, social and spiritual dimensions of health. This concept is recognised by the World Health Organisation. *Hauora* is a Māori philosophy of health unique to New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 1999, p.33).
- Health Promotion
Health promotion is a process that helps to create supportive physical and emotional environments in classrooms, whole schools, communities and societies (Ministry of Education, 1999, p.32).
- A Socio-ecological Perspective
Through this perspective students can help to create the conditions that promote their own well-being and that of other people and society as a whole (Ministry of Education, 1999, p.33).
- Attitudes and Values that promote well-being
Through this concept students will develop a positive and responsible attitude to their own physical, mental and emotional, social, and spiritual well-being; ... respect for the rights of other people... care and concern for other people in their community and for the environment.... a sense of social justice (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 34).

To successfully implement the curriculum, scientific functionalism would need to be reduced and instead socio-cultural dimensions of physical education would need to be given a sharper focus. This new paradigm for physical education would amalgamate the critical and humanist perspectives to arrive at what Burbules (1995) called the "position of reasonableness" involving, as Ennis (1997) argued, the virtues of objectivity, fallibilism, pragmatism, and judiciousness.

In exploring NZHPE we wish to make explicit and critically examine how the curriculum links the underlying concept of Attitudes and Values, Olympism in New Zealand from a unique bi-cultural perspective. In developing the underlying concept of Attitudes and Values the curriculum clearly locates itself alongside Arnold's (1979) argument of 'learning through movement' and adopting the humanist position that movement

找到答案，“条约的核心……是毛利人与英国王室之间的互惠互利关系”（杜里，p205），在这一基础上，毛利人的权利有所提升。要对毛利文化和欧洲文化都予以同样的尊重和重视，就需要建立分享权利、机会和权力的合作关系。《条约》的这些条款原就是二元文化主义的基础，并且是探索奥林匹克主义——尤其是当其与教育计划相联系时——的二元文化前景的必要条件。

体育与健康课程

“新西兰体育与健康课程计划”（NZHPE，教育部，1999年）对业已存在的占主导地位的所谓科学的或者技术的体育模式发起了挑战，强调了个人主义和新自由主义的自我利益。该课程计划由政府发起，力求使得师生们关心“社会——文化——批判”的体育教育学方法，并使学生所学能够适应不同的社会和文化。本课程计划提倡了解和强调二元

文化这一独特需要的文化目标（萨尔特，2000）。

卡尔潘和布鲁斯（2007）认为，体育教育在当时的意义主要在于是增强诸如在体育中学习、通过体育学习、学习体育运动相关内容等运动文化，并且在这些过程中达到全面发展。这意味着体育在健康和健康促进的全盘中扮演了重要的角色；也意味着运动体验不仅仅三个人的经历，也是社会、文化经历；同时，它还意味着教育应该是社会文化的、深思熟虑的、解放思想的行动。更者，我们也还要批判地研究体育运动的科学的、身体的、社会的、文化的、经济的、政治的和道德伦理纬度。要这样做，就需要进行持续、完整的促进“人们之间的联系”和“作用”等“身体文化”的学习（卡尔潘2004；怀特、麦克唐纳和布罗斯，2004）。对要达到这一目的的体育教育来说，课程包括下面四个主要概念：

- 健康（hauora）

健康（hauora）是包括身体、

(sport) is a valued human practice when it is practiced in a moral and ethical sense (Arnold, 1996). Table 1 outlines the Attitudes and Values of NZHPE and the relationship of this to Olympism.

Table 1 (Please, see Table at the end of this chapter)

DRAWING RELATIONSHIPS

The link between the Attitudes and Values of NZHPE (Ministry of Education, 1999) and the manner in which other curriculum ideas have been conceptualised in the document suggests a harmonious integrative link with the philosophy of Olympism as per stated in the Olympic Charter (IOC, 2004). Regarding the future of Olympism, arguments suggesting there is no immutable code of Olympism (Bale and Christensen, 2004; DaCosta, 2006; Parry, 2006; Tomlinson and Whannel, 1984) are acknowledged by the writers here, but in illustrating their thesis, Olympism as defined by the Olympic Charter will be used to demonstrate this harmonious link. In adopting this position the authors are in agreement with Parry (2006), who argued that Olympism can be viewed as a universal concept, but the interpretation of such is culturally relative as ideas contained within generate their own meanings, language and practice. DaCosta (2006) supported this by arguing that Olympism is essentially a process philosophy that may be able to remain universal but manifested through contextual expressions.

Learning through movement is central to establishing the linkages between the Attitudes and Values of the curriculum and Olympism. Indeed DaCosta (2006) reported that scholars are generally in agreement that sport has a ‘carrier role’ and as Arnold (1979) argued:

the dimension of education through movement is best conceived of as being that part of the educational process which aims to enhance and harmonise the physical, intellectual, social and emotional aspects of a growing individual chiefly through professionally selected and directed physical activities (p.176).

It is learning through movement that the intent of NZHPE can be achieved, particularly the curriculum’s Attitudes and Values and it is learning through movement (sport) that Olympism can be manifested. This is the linkage. What is inherent in the curriculum is the provi-

sion for Olympism to be studied (learned and critiqued) as a legitimate aspect of physical education. Right throughout the curriculum there are Achievement Objectives and suggested contexts of study that can allow this to occur. As Culpan (1998) argued, the curriculum promotes amongst other things, a learning area that:

enhances, extends, informs and critiques the deliberate use of play, exercise, sport and other forms of physical activity within an individual and societal context (p.6).

This clearly is an important link. However, what is the significance and importance of this link in a New Zealand society that is bi-cultural in nature? To address this question a brief examination of the critique of the curriculum is necessary.

Essentially NZHPE received significant approval both from the Ministry of Education Research Unit (Ministry of Education, 1998), and in an international comparative study Ministry of Education (2002). Sustained criticism of the document rested with only a few groups and organisations (Culpan, 2000). The major criticism came from the Education Forum a group sponsored by wealthy business interests who claimed that the document:

is thus a manifestation of a hidden agenda to achieve the goals for NZHPE prescribed by critical theorists who constitute an exercise in individual and social emancipation, and attacks of a subversive kind on existing social, communal, political and economic institutions and structures and practices (Education Forum, 1998, p.5).

From the feedback provided at that time, the Education Forum (1998) clearly objected to the socio-critical position promulgated in the curriculum. They saw both health and physical education going beyond their remit, which in the Forum's view, should be anchored in traditional games and conservative health practices. The Forum argued that the:

aim should be to produce a much more constrained and manageable remit for Health and Physical Education, and one that is more true to its particular and respected place in the school curriculum (p.95).

心理和情感的、社会和精神等纬度的全面健康。这一概念得到了世界卫生组织（WHO）的承认。Hauora则是新西兰毛利人特有的健康哲学（教育部，1999，p33）。

• 健康促进

健康促进是在教室内、学校中、社区和全社会创造出适合身体和情感的优良环境的过程（教育部，1999，p32）。

• 社会生态途径

通过这一途径，学生们能创造出合适的条件来促进他们自己的健康，并将其与他人的健康和社会的健康看作是一个整体（教育部，1999，p33）

• 促进健康的态度和价值观

通过这一概念，学生们树立起促进自己身体、心理和感情、社会和精神方面的健康发展的积极的、有责任感的态度……尊重其他人的权利……关心和爱护社区的其他人和环境……形成促进社会公正的觉悟（教育部，1999，p34）

要成功地贯彻该课程，就需要来降低科学的实用主义并代之以体育的社会文化纬度，而且要给予相当的关注。这一新的体育模式在批判和人文两方面都达到了正如布尔布勒斯（1995）所说的“理性的位置”，并综合了恩尼斯（1997）所提到的客观性、易谬主义、实用主义和明智的优点。

在研究NZHPE时，我们希望直接地、批判地从独特的二元文化视角来研究该课程如何将下述态度和价值概念与新西兰奥林匹克主义传播有机地联系在一起。该课程明确定位于阿诺德（1979）“通过体育运动进行学习”的基础上，并采取了人道主义的观点，即讲究伦理道德的体育运动是有价值的人类实践（阿诺德，1996）。

关系

其他课程中的观念已经被概念化了，而NZHPE（教育部，1999）中的态度和价值观念应与奥林匹克

Further to this criticism, and despite significant Māori input into NZHPE, in the spirit of the bi-cultural nature of New Zealand and the expectations of the Treaty, NZHPE was criticised by some for not necessarily meeting the needs of Māori (Salter, 2000; Hokowhitu, 2004). NZHPE claimed to be culturally responsive, but Salter (2000a) noted that whilst NZHPE integrated Māori conceptions of health and physical education, essentially the conceptions were Western interpretations and these interpretations have been substantially sanitised. To illustrate his point, Salter (2000) argued that constructing meanings from Māori concepts is likely to give rise to differing understandings. For Māori, some of the concepts in NZHPE have far deeper meaning and understanding to that which is presently evident in the Western view. He argued that these concepts are often lived experiences for Māori but simply ‘official knowledge’ for the Pakeha. According to Salter (2000), this difference is a ‘way of knowing for Māori’, but for Pakeha it is a ‘way of education’ and as such becomes institutionalised knowledge. Hokowhitu (2004) argued that learning in physical education in a bi-cultural context:

will hold less (or no) value to a student if it is taught in a cultural vacuum. If practices are not shown to be philosophically underpinned, then a student has every right to question their validity and relevance (p.78).

Furthermore, Hokowhitu (2004) argued that by decontextualising Māori cultural concepts, cultural invasion has occurred and the Freirian concept of ‘false generosity’ may become evident. Taking this argument a little further and considering the linkages between physical education and Olympism in the New Zealand setting brings into question the appropriateness of Olympism in a bi-cultural environment. Can the Eurocentric philosophy of Olympism provide a culturally inclusive meaning for Māori?

Providing a bi-cultural education for contemporary society is critical if New Zealand is to develop fully as a nation and appreciate its unique cultural heritage, customs and traditions. To achieve this, mutual respect, inclusiveness, non-discrimination and rich understanding between Māori and Pakeha culture is essential – all of which are consistent with the Olympic Movement’s philosophy of Olympism.

As Parry (2006) argued, the universal philosophy of Olympism is at a high level of conceptual generality and this generality gives rise to

expressions of meaning and interpretations that are open to debate. Essentially, Parry (2006) draws the distinction between concepts and conceptions. Drawing on the work of Tamir, he argues that Olympism provides a ‘thin layer’ of humanist values that are manifested through the practice of sport (Tamir, 1995). Each culture’s different expressions in time, place and history provide conceptions of Olympism that add to the rich tapestry of cultural diversity. This richness is labelled the ‘thick values’ and are contestable from culture to culture. As a result, Parry (2006) argued that there is a need for nations to commit themselves to the high level generalities articulated in Olympism and then subsequently find individual expression of them in a manner that is unique to their culture. DaCosta (2006) referred to this as the axis of logic of Olympism.

TOWARD A MĀORI VIEW OF OLYMPISM

Within New Zealand, this notion of concept and conception is reflected in Reedy’s metaphor for a Māori world view (personal communication, 11 July, 2007). Māori interpret knowledge within two divisions; the ‘philosophical’ and the ‘practical/technical’. The ‘philosophical’ is acknowledged as *te kauanā runga* (the upper jaw) and is a representation of the celestial knowledge. *Te kauanā raro* (the lower jaw) is the terrestrial. Reedy clarified how the ‘philosophical’ and the ‘technical/practical’ aspects of knowledge related to Olympism when he noted that:

The two foundations to knowledge are complementary to each other; they inform each other [in a reciprocal relationship] rather than conflict and confront. The Olympic Academy and the Olympic Committee are a reflection of the two divides of knowledge. One looks after the purity of the thing and the other looks after the nuts and bolts...I see Olympism as being the purity of sport. It is about achievement. It is also about a wonderful life; ‘He oranga mutunga kore’ – a life that is endlessly full of promise. This is the kind of life one should try and live. These are handed down from generation to generation. It needs a lot more philosophical understanding to be able to inform the practice. To me without the philosophy you are going no where.

主义这一哲学体系建立和谐的联系。有一些学者认为奥林匹克主义的概念并不是不可改变的（贝尔和克里斯滕森，2004；达科斯塔，2006；帕里，2006；汤姆林森和沃纳尔，1984），但本文还是采用了《奥林匹克宪章》的定义。作者同意帕里（2006）的观点，即奥林匹克主义应当被看作是普世的概念，但是因为奥林匹克主义对不同文化的意义不同、其语言和实践不同，所以对其的解读又应该按照各自文化的不同而相对有所差别。达科斯塔（2006）支持这一观点，认为奥林匹克主义在本质上是一个过程哲学，它能保持着普世性，但是本质上是发展的和一脉相承的。

对课程及其价值体系与奥林匹克主义相通的关系来说最核心的问题是通过体育运动来学习。实际上，达科斯塔（2006）认为，学者们普遍赞同体育运动扮演着“运输工的角色”，这也正如阿诺德（1979）所认为的：

通过体育运动进行教育是很好的，因为它是教育过程的一部分，其目的是通过专业的、精挑细选的和直接的体育活动来增强正在成长的个体在身体、智力、社会情感等各方面的平衡和全面发展（p176）。

依靠这种通过运动的学习，NZHPE的目标才能实现，尤其是课程的态度和价值体系，也只有这样，奥林匹克主义才能显露出来。这就是二者之间的联系。学习（学习和批评）奥林匹克主义是与该课程密切联系的，这种学习也是体育教育的珍贵遗产。该课程的学习能够促进目标的成功实现。正如卡尔潘（1998）所言，这些课程促进了如下学习领域的发展：

加强、延伸、告知和批评了游戏、锻炼、体育运动和其他形式的身体运动在个人和社会背景中的应用（p6）。

The above account infers that if the concept of Olympism is to transcend cultures; then it must be tolerant towards both Pakeha and Māori world views (conception) of Olympism and sport practice. The ‘upper and lower jaws’ remind us that both the Pakeha and Māori views of Olympism and sport are there to inform each other but not to dominate. In achieving this ideal both cultures will be equally recognised, fully acknowledged and valued as having a sense of function in an interdependent manner.

Through exploring a Māori conception of sport, a bicultural view of Olympism is emergent. Traditionally in Māori societies a holistic view of physical activity and sport meant that activities were inseparable from everyday life. Reedy (personal communication, 11 July, 2007) outlined the manner in which such traditional practices were intertwined:

Even the idea of scaling your mountain was seen as sport. Sport and living were so intertwined. The old people had their *taiaha* close by. They may be resting but not far was their *taiaha*.

As New Zealand society became increasingly colonised, the Pakeha conception of sport practice predominated. As Māori were assimilated into British colonial cultural practices, traditional Māori physical activities and ‘sports’ became decentralised and diluted (McConnell, 2000). Instead British colonial sports such as rugby, cricket, football and netball became the most prevalent of sporting codes. The consequential dominance of colonial sports led to an unquestionable acceptance and normalisation of these practices over Māori forms of movement. As Reedy (personal communication, 11 July, 2007) noted:

It is unfortunate that sport has come down to [just a small number of dominant sports]. Unfortunately what Māori has to offer in New Zealand sport... is not coming to the surface because sport is dominated by Europeans and their view of sport... they have the appearance of catering for all but deep down they don't. I think there are prejudices... I don't think people consider the rich heritage of Māori. I don't think they even know about it or consider it.

Arnold's (1997) definition of sport provides an interesting framework for considering what counts and what does not count as sport and this has implications for constructing a bicultural view of sporting practice

and Olympism within New Zealand. Arnold (1997) proposed that sport as a valued human practice is characterised by:

- Being rule-governed and practiced within traditions and customs
- Each sport pursues its own intrinsic goals
- Social interaction
- Rivalry contest and competition
- Physical exertion
- Being practiced within a moral and ethical sense

Given this definition there are a number of Māori physical cultural practices that would comply with the definition of ‘sport’; however, these forms of movement have become marginalised as dominant European sport forms have been privileged and seen as ‘normal’ or acceptable. Coakley (2003) argued that the widely held perception of what counts as sport is likely to alienate traditional cultural practices. However, rather than alienate traditional Māori physical cultural practices, a bicultural view of Olympism seeks to embrace a Māori conception of Olympism and sport practice. Integral to journeying toward a bicultural view of Olympism is the process of embracing self-determination (*rangatiratanga*).

RANGATIRATANGA (SELF-DETERMINATION)

Rangatiratanga literally means control. Increasingly, however, *Rangatiratanga* has become synonymous with ‘self-determination’ as a means to describe how individuals have the right to determine and define their own destiny (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh & Teddy, 2007). Dominant discourse of self-determination among Western nation states speaks of self-determination in absolute terms. By contrast, indigenous peoples’ aspirations of self-determination are “relational, acknowledge interdependence and... are better understood as a quest for an institutional context of non-domination” (Young, as cited in Bishop et al., 2007, p.187). For Māori, self-determination should be a way of promoting a world view that is seen by all as “... legitimate, authoritative and valid in relation to other cultures in New Zealand” (Bishop et al., 2007 p. 10). The need for Māori to be self determining within the realms of an interdependent society is clearly highlighted by Reedy’s (personal communication, 11 July, 2007) analogy:

正如帕里（2006）所言，奥林匹克主义是一种普世哲学，具有概念上的一般性，这种一般性使其意义的表达和解读都是开放式的。他还对概念（concepts）和观念（conceptions）进行了区分。塔米尔则认为奥林匹克主义只提供了“薄薄一层”通过体育锻炼所显示的人道主义价值（塔米尔，1995）。每种文化在时间、地方和历史上的不同表达赋予了奥林匹克主义观念以丰富的文化多样性。这种丰富性被贴上了“深厚价值”的标签，并且在文化间是可以竞争的。因此，帕里（2006）认为，国家需要担负起奥林匹克主义高层次的普世性的重任，并找到适合他们自己文化的独特表现方式。

毛利人对奥林匹克主义的观点

在新西兰，关于概念（concept）和观点（conception）的看法反映在兰迪对毛利人世界观的比喻上（个人交流，2007年7月11

日)。毛利人理解知识的方式有两种：“哲学的”和“实践的/技术的”。前者（毛利语为 *te kauae runga*）是上层的，代表了天空的知识，后者（毛利语为 *te kauae raro*）是下层的，代表了陆地上的知识。兰迪澄清了二者如何与奥林匹克主义相联系的：

这两种认识方式是互补互惠的。可以拿奥林匹克学院和奥委会来当例子理解这两种认识方式。一个寻求事情的理论方面或者纯度，而另一个则负责具体部分……我将奥林匹克主义看作是纯洁的体育运动。它是关于成就的，也是关于美好生活的；这种美好生活是许多承诺组成的。这是一种人们需要努力和积极主动的生活。它代代相传，需要更多哲学方面的解释，以更好地指导实践。在我看来，如果没有哲学，我们什么都做不成。

由上述论述可知，如果奥林匹克主义的概念是跨文化的，那么它就能同时被欧洲白人和毛利人关于奥林匹克主义和运动实践的观

In a native forest there are all sorts of trees. There is the fern – without the fern the big trees would not grow. There are fat trees, skinny trees, wide trees and tall trees. There is this interdependence. They need each other. It takes all sorts of trees to make a native forest. It takes all sorts of people to make a nation. If we recognise each other nothing will assail our nationhood. You can't get a better metaphor for allowing for diversity at the same time as this kind of unity. The unifying figure is Tane [God] of the forest... If the cultures want to be recognised in the society they have to be allowed to do their ritual. There has got to be tolerance for difference...

Durie (2003) maintained that part of self-determination for Māori should be to enable Māori to successfully live as Māori, participate successfully as citizens of the world, and enjoy good health and a high standard of living. Part of living as Māori includes accessing *te ao Māori* (the Māori world) such as language, culture, *tikanga* (customs), principles and practices.

The development of *kohanga reo* (preschool total immersion language nests) and *kura kaupapa* (primary and high schools based on Māori culture and total language immersion) have highlighted the success of education initiatives driven by Māori for Māori. Durie (2003) is adamant that while the purpose of education is to prepare students for participation in society it also must be remembered that preparation and participation in Māori society needs to be included.

If after twelve or so years of formal education a Māori youth was totally unprepared to interact within *te ao Māori*, then, no matter what else had been learned, education would be incomplete (p.199).

Thus, any form of education, including physical education and Olympism also needs to provide the opportunity for Māori to develop understandings of *te ao Māori*.

Reedy (personal communication, 11 July, 2007) points out that the Māori view of *rangatiratanga* reconciles with Olympism's attempts to bring the world together in an interdependent manner while maintaining one's control of his/her own destiny. He noted that self-determination can coexist in New Zealand's society and reinforced that Māori have a lot to offer New Zealand and other cultures globally:

To me the large majority of society needs to look at itself because we can add value here to anything that is going on here e.g. to trade, to commerce, to culture. What is good for Māori is good for *Aotearoa* (New Zealand), which is good for the world. The passion that people showed over the world at Athens [Olympic Games] – they couldn't get enough of things Māori.

BALANCED DEVELOPMENT OF BODY, WILL AND MIND

Cartesian Dualism framed a dominant belief about Māori as being overtly physical people of colour, unenlightened and, thus, uncivilised (Adams, Clark, Codd, O'Neill, Openshaw & Waitere-Ang, 2000). However, Māori possessed a far more balanced development of body, will and mind than was understood or portrayed by Pakeha dominated society and this holistic perspective is clearly evident through examining traditional Māori physical activities. Hokowhitu (2004) pointed out that in actual fact

the least important aspect of Māori physical activities was the physical. Incantations and stories that surrounded these activities allowed for the regeneration of whakapapa [genealogy] and tikanga [culture] (p.74).

For Māori, physical activities were expressions of a particular belief or value and as such were multi-dimensional as they connected the physical, with the spiritual, and the past with the present. Reedy (personal communication, 11 July, 2007) supported Hokowhitu (2004a) in his argument that Māori were indeed a society of people whose life and practices were encapsulated in the balanced development of body, will and mind when he pointed out that:

Your physical well being had to be important... they all required some kind of ability that related to sport. Even waiata (songs) like moteatea and oriori, you can't sing those unless you are healthy, they take a long time to sing these, they require breathing... The achievements in our society combine the physical and the spiritual... Like the haka – you can have powerful emotions but it is how

念 (conception) 所接受。“上层和下层”的观念让我们了解到, 无论欧洲白人还是毛利人的奥林匹克主义观都能够到达彼此那里, 但没有孰轻孰重之分。要实现这一理想, 两种文化应该被平等对待, 都要被充分了解, 其价值也要被充分认识到, 这样才能达到真正的互相依存。

通过探究毛利人的体育观念, 奥林匹克主义的二元文化视角就浮出了水面。传统毛利社会存在着身体运动的整体性观点, 认为体育运动是与日常生活密不可分的活动。兰迪 (个人交流, 2007年7月11日) 对此进行了概括:

爬山也被认为是一种体育运动。体育运动和生活是如此紧密地联系在一起。老人们把taiaha (一种毛利传统的木制武器, 其应用在一定程度上是通过体育发展起来的) 放在身边。它们可能就放在那不动, 但是不能太远。

随着新西兰逐渐被殖民，欧洲白人的体育观念占据了主导地位，毛利文化逐渐被同化到英国殖民文化中，毛利传统的身体运动和“体育”逐渐淡化和边缘化了（McConnell, 2000）。英国殖民者的体育项目如橄榄球、板球、足球和篮网球等，成为了最流行的项目。殖民体育运动的主导地位使其逐渐被接受和正常化。正如兰迪（个人交流，2007年7月11日）所言：

很不幸的，体育演变成了[那么可怜的几个项目]。毛利人的体育运动……并没有表现出来，因为体育运动被欧洲人把持着，他们关于体育运动的观点……表面上让人感觉这些体育运动是为所有人创造的，但实际上并不是这样。我认为，有歧视存在……我不认为他们了解、知道或者关心毛利丰富的体育文化遗产。

you discipline them [that is important] and that is where the haka comes in – it is poetry in motion... The spirit and the passion are the important part of this stuff... You must allow the dignity in sport.

Reedy (personal communication, 11 July, 2007) further explained the importance of spirituality in relation to sport practice through the metaphor of a bird's feathers. He noted that it is the *buruburu* (feathers) that 'birds' need to soar and these *buruburu* represent the spiritual component of physical activity and sport practices. Thus, a Māori perspective of Olympism is about the joy found in effort through achievement, and in a Māori society achievement combines the physical and the spiritual. This concept is expressed in a *whakatauki* (proverb):

He ao Te Rangi ka uhia ma te huruhuru te manu ka rere. [Like clouds adorn the sky birds need feathers to fly].

Further significance of the spiritual nature of Māori sport was reflected by Reedy (personal communication, 11 July, 2007) when indicated that European sport has become too sterile:

European sport does not have mauri (life force), no wairua (spirit)... European sport has got too ho-hum... All the coaches that are with our athletes at the moment, there is no heart. You can run them around, do this and that, but in the end the last parentage is the thing that is ticking here [heart]... Where is the stuff in Pākehā [European] society that touches the heart...birds need feathers to fly...Olympism needs more huruhuru (feathers) so that it can fly. It needs a proverb to reflect the realms of possibility that it could strive for... [Such as] He oranga mutunga kore. A life of unbounded passion and promise”

Further to the Māori world view of relationship between the physical and the spiritual is the concept of interconnectedness with *whenua* (the land). For Māori the importance of *whenua* extends to all cultural practices including physical activity and sport. Because Māori believe that *Papatuanuku* (Earth mother) is living and *whenua* has *mauri* (life force) it is essential that

whenua is cared for by its guardians and not reduced to a mere commodity that is bought, sold or traded (Williams, 2004). Regarding then the universal ethic of respect for others, Māori would perceive that respect must also be extended to the land. Reedy (personal communication, 11 July, 2007) inferred that the Māori connection with *whenua* surpasses the Olympic ideal of balanced development of body, mind and will by saying that:

You've got to know the seasons, be aware of the climate, and know your people. Relationships are everything. Relationships are the essence of everything. Relationships with those who were there at your birth. They look after you, they nurture you. They tell the stories [pass on history and knowledge]. The relationships transcend people to include the fish, the forest, and the seas... relationships with the environment. The Māori people know every part of every inch of the land, lakes and the seas. That is the environment they grew up with.

For Māori then, the conception of well-being (*hauora*) as embraced by NZHPE is essentially a contextual interpretation of the Olympism concept of 'balanced development of body, will and mind', but with the strong spiritual importance of *whenua* (the land), *whakapapa* (genealogy) and *tikanga* (culture) providing the necessary life force to this conception. To Māori this life force or *Mauri* is lacking from the Euro-centric interpretation/conception of balanced development and therefore provides a greater richness to the conception – this is the thick values that Tamir, (1995) referred to. Integral to this, balanced development and its association with *hauora* (well-being) are the complex interconnectedness of the past with the present, of the spiritual with the temporal and the land with the people. To Māori this provides the personal and collective meaning to life.

CONCLUDING THE LINK BETWEEN BI-CULTURALISM, OLYMPISM AND NZHPE.

This article has sought to address some of the issues relating to the formation of a bicultural view of Olympism within New Zealand. In the development of this bi-cultural perspective of Olympism and its relationship to New Zealand education system, more particularly NZHPE, current issues and dilemmas that impact upon this development have been identified and critiqued with a view to providing a constructive pathway for future considerations and ultimate acceptance.

The critique has centred on the importance of *rangatiratanga* (self-determination), the notion of concept and conception, the holistic nature of Māori sport practice and the implications for NZHPE. Preliminary

阿诺德（1997）对体育的定义可以让我们判断什么是有价值有意义的体育运动而什么不是，这对建立新西兰体育和奥林匹克主义的二元文化视角有着重要的意义。他将体育看作是有价值的人类实践活动，并列举了其特征：

- 受规则制约的，在传统和习惯范围内进行
- 每项运动都有其固有的目标
- 社会相互作用
- 竞争性的比赛
- 身体方面的努力和尽力而为
- 在伦理道理范围内进行练习

按照这一定义，有相当一部分毛利的身体练习都符合“体育”的定义；然而，这些运动形式在欧洲体育形式统治新西兰而且人们认为这种统治是“正常的”或者可以接受的情况下就日益走向了边缘化。科克利（2003）认为，大多数关于什么才算是体育运动的观念都越来越不考虑到传统的体育

文化。然而，奥林匹克主义的二元文化观点寻求将毛利人关于奥林匹克主义和体育的部分包括在内，这是一个寻求自治（*rangatiratanga*）的过程。

二元文化主义、奥林匹克主义与NZHPE相互关系的结论

本文试图就二元文化视角中的新西兰奥林匹克主义的形成进行论述。在这一奥林匹克主义二元文化视角的发展过程以及它与新西兰教育系统尤其是NZHPE的关系中，我们应对影响其发展的议题和矛盾进行研究，以对未来提供建设性的意见。

评论主要集中在*rangatiratanga*（自治）的重要性、对概念（*concept*）和观点（*conception*）的看法、毛利体育文化的整体性和NZHPE的意义上。这就是通过毛利人体育实践及其与毛利人世界观的关系来进行的二元文化视角中的奥林匹克主义。

thoughts on a bicultural view of Olympism through an exploration of Māori sport practices and links to a Māori world view have been presented.

For a bi-cultural view of Olympism to emerge, the richness of both Pakeha and Māori culture needs to embrace the interdependent and interconnectedness that the conception of *rangatiratanga* (self-determination) can bring. In this way Olympic ideals (expressed in Table 1) may be reflected and become a lived expression of Olympism. In particular, the values of tolerance and respect for the rights of others are of utmost importance here. The importance of acknowledging diverse viewpoints emphasises the need to consider conceptions as distinct from concepts. While it is clear that Māori physical practices are linked holistically to the spiritual, to the mind, to the will, and to the land, influential institutions within New Zealand such as state education, physical education, sport and media have served to further perpetuate the dominant and inaccurate notion of dualism. This dualistic discourse is being challenged by Māori medium schooling where students who are steeped in their own culture realise the significance of such values as *whanaungatanga* (family), *hinengaro* (intellect), *wairua* (spirituality), *aroha* (love and compassion), and *manaakitanga* (support and concern for others). Regarding the teaching of such values, the challenge to mainstream schools within New Zealand is to ensure that Māori cultural attitudes and values are understood and valued. In particular, when considering a bi-cultural teaching/learning approach to Olympism through physical education, it has been argued that a culturally responsive physical education curriculum should reflect the holistic values important to Māori. It is only through learning a set of bi-culturally relevant life principles through sport that Māori interpretations or conceptions of Olympism can be achieved and indeed become relevant.

While it has not been the intention of this article to present a conclusive, decisive or comprehensive bicultural view of Olympism, NZHPE clearly, has made a useful albeit tentative start. However, further progress will require extensive consultation and discussion between Māori and Pakeha. As Hokowhitu (2004) notes, there have been a number of impediments to the emergence of NZHPE that is bicultural in nature. These include a dominant historical discourse that has been exclusionary for Māori, a lack of acceptance of *rangatiratanga* (the right to self-determination) and little recognition of the spiritual importance and significance of *whenua* (the land), *whakapapa* (genealogy) and *tikanga* (culture). It is these same impediments that have implications for the evolution of a bicultural view of Olympism. There is cultural richness and vibrancy present where diverse perspectives are embraced, and Olympism pro-

vides an ideal platform for creating such views. In New Zealand, the Olympic Academy is seeking to develop links between NZHPE, Olympism and a bicultural perspective. It is anticipated that ongoing dialogue and reflection will enable this journey to continue. The continuance of this journey reminds us of DaCosta's (2006) analysis of Olympism as being a 'process philosophy'. A process which, in New Zealand's case, can capture the hearts and minds of people through a culturally rich tapestry of sport practice and sport meaning.

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二元文化视角中的奥林匹克主义，需要欧洲白人和毛利人丰富的文化互补，这样就可以实现rangatiratanga（自治）。通过这种方法，奥林匹克理想就成为了奥林匹克主义的生动表达。这样，容忍和尊重其他文化的权利这一价值就显得尤其重要。对不同观点的认知特别强调观念（conceptions）与概念（concept）的区分。非常明显，毛利人的身体活动实践与其精神、思维、意志是一个整体，也与新西兰有影响的习俗比如国家教育、体育教育、运动和媒体等密切联系在一起。毛利人学校的教育使学生们沉浸在他们自己文化之中，培养了诸如whanaungatanga（家庭）、hinengaro（智力）、wairua（精神）、aroha（爱和同情）和manaakitanga（支持和关心别人）等价值意义。考虑到这些价值的教学，新西兰主流学校所面临的挑战就是保证对毛利文化态度和价值的理解和重视。尤其是，当考虑

到通过二元文化的体育来对奥林匹克主义进行教学时，体育课程应及其文化该反映对毛利人来说非常重要的整体性的价值体系。只有通过体育运动来学习一系列的二元文化生活准则，毛利人才能获得对奥林匹克主义的解读或者观念，并与之关联。

虽然本文的目的不在于提出一个总结性的、决定性的或者综合的二元文化视角中的奥林匹克主义，但NZHPE的确非常清楚地表明了它是一个良好的开始和探索。然而，仍然需要对毛利人和欧洲白人之间的关系进行更多的、大量的讨论。正如Hokowhitu (2004)所言，该计划因为其二元文化性质，所以自然而然地会遇到很多障碍。这包括历史上已经将毛利人排除在外的欧洲主导的体育、缺乏自治 (rangatiratanga) 以及对其精神重要性、土地 (whenua)、宗谱 (whakapapa) 和文化 (tikanga) 的认识。因为这些

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障碍的存在，所以需要奥林匹克主义二元文化视角的改革。丰富的和活跃的文化才能使文化富有多样性，而奥林匹克主义为此提供了理想的平台。在新西兰，奥林匹克学院正致力于发展NZHPE、奥林匹克主义和二元文化。不断的对话和考察能使这一进程继续下去。这一过程使我们想到达科斯塔（2006）对奥林匹克主义的分析，认为这是一个“哲学的过程”。就新西兰而言，这一过程通过相当丰富的体育运动文化及其重要性抓住人们的心。

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Table 1
**Harmonious Link between the Attitudes
 and Values of NZHPE and Olympism: through Movement**

<p>NZHPE Attitudes and Values Positive and responsible attitude to personal physical, mental and emotional, social and spiritual well being by valuing themselves and other people, a willingness to reflect on beliefs; the strengthening of integrity, commitment, perseverance and courage.</p>	 <p>The Olympic Charter essentially defines Olympism as: The blending of sport with culture and education to promote a way of life based on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the balanced development of the body will and mind • the joy found in effort • the educational value of being a good role model • respect for universal ethics including: tolerance, friendship, generosity, non-discrimination, unity and respect for other. 	<p>NZHPE Attitudes and Values Respect for the rights of other people through acceptance of a range of abilities, acknowledging diverse viewpoints and through tolerance and open-mindedness.</p>
		
<p>NZHPE Attitudes and Values Care and concern for other people in their community and for the environment through: cooperation, love, care compassion, constructive challenge and competition and positive involvement and participation.</p>		<p>NZHPE Attitudes and Values A sense of social justice by demonstrating fairness, inclusiveness and non-discriminatory practices.</p>

AN ANALYSIS OF TRADITIONAL SPORTING PRACTICES AND THE DISSEMINATION OF OLYMPISM IN AFRICA BASED ON STUDY OF THE CASE OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

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INTRODUCTION

Like many African countries south of the Sahara, the Central African Republic (CAR) is still looking to develop its resources in the fields of sport and education through sport some 45 years after becoming independent. Although the factors hampering sport have now become clear thanks to the many forums on sports-related problems that have been organised in the CAR, the same cannot be said of the factors obstructing education through sport. Although they are closely linked to sport due to their positive social effects, education through sport and the pedagogy of physical education are not widely recognised despite the fact they were the subject of some research papers written two decades ago.¹

Given today's globalised world, dominated as it is by recognition of the importance of education through sport – the concept upon which Baron Pierre de Coubertin built modern Olympism and which has as one of its distinguishing features the acceptance of cultural diversity – analysis of the complementary nature of the core values of ancient

从中非共和国个案看非洲
传统体育运动和奥林匹克
主义的传播

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前言

正如撒哈拉大沙漠南部的许多国家一样，中非共和国（CAR）在其宣布独立后的45年中，也同样正在努力挖掘和发展其体育和体育教育领域的资源。虽然中非共和国组织了各种以体育相关内容为议题的论坛，从而使得人们对目前阻碍体育运动发展的因素有所了解 and 认识，我们还是不能做出这些因素同样影响了体育教育这一判断。虽然体育教育因为其积极的社会影响与体育运动关系密切，体育教育和体育教育学这一早在20多年前就有人研究的领域仍未得到大范围的认可。

因为对体育教育——这也正是皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦男爵建立现代奥林匹克主义的基础所在，亦已成为奥林匹克主义包容多样性文化的主要特点之一——重要性的认识控制和决定着当今世界的全球

化进程，而且尤其是在考虑到我们如今的任务是真实反映奥林匹克教育的未来发展这一奥林匹克运动中心任务时，研究古希腊奥林匹克主义核心价值和非洲传统体育运动的互补和双赢就显得非常重要了。要使得奥林匹克文化真正扎根于非洲，我们就必须首先认识到奥林匹克文化在非洲传播的特点，并将其作为其传播的基础。当然，这种传播主要是通过与其非洲实际情况的紧密结合来进行的。在这个过程中，我们也能接受上文所说的文化的多样性。

令人欣慰的是，主管体育和体育教育的组织对这些领域颇有兴趣。有迹象显示，他们对非洲奥林匹克运动领导者和研究者们所关心的问题的认知也在日益增长。此外，也有好的迹象表明，这样的关注和认知在未来的日子会继续加强。首先，联合国进行的新近研究和相关工作证实，运动能力和作为其基础的价值理念可以改变人们的生活态度。其次，新的信息和通讯技术已经展示了其解决不平等问题的强大能力，从而可以进一步增加欠发达地区——这显然包括非洲——的人们融入奥林匹克运动的可能性。第三，包括非洲人民在内的

Greek Olympism and traditional sporting practices in Africa has become essential, particularly in view of the fact that our task here is to reflect on the future development of Olympic education, which is at the very heart of the Olympic Movement's mission.² If Olympic culture is to take root properly in Africa, we must first of all accept the prime importance of the very specific nature of Olympic culture in this part of the world and then use that as the basis for ensuring its dissemination through teaching, a process that must respond to the realities of the continent. In doing so, we can also bring about acceptance of the diversity of the aforementioned cultures.

Happily, the organisations in charge of sport and education through sport seem to be taking an interest in these areas. There are signs of increasing awareness of these issues both among the heads of the Olympic Movement and researchers who have embarked on Olympic-related studies in this part of the world.³ There are also healthy signs that such awareness will grow in the decades to come. Firstly, recent research as well as work conducted by the United Nations has highlighted the capacity of sport and the values that underpin it to bring about changes in attitude. Secondly, the new information and communication technologies have been shown to possess the power to tackle inequality and foster greater accessibility for people in the most far-flung corners of the world, including those living in Africa. Thirdly, more and more people in the four corners of the globe, including Africa, are increasingly determined and willing to uphold Olympic ideals.

As a consequence, research into the improved structuring of the pedagogy of modern Olympism in Africa seems entirely justified. This structuring should not come about by rejecting the universal something that would not be understandable in the modern globalised world, but through a concern for efficiency, an approach that is also linked to the concept that holds that a universal view does not exclude the specific aspects that form part of it and enrich it in an original synthesis. It is therefore this search that is at the core of this study, a study that is thus presented as an attempt to analyse by scientific means the traditional sporting practices of the Central African Republic and their significance in terms of their rational rehabilitation and their restoration as part of the strategy for disseminating Olympic culture in the CAR in particular

and, by extension, throughout Africa in general. Using data collected in a field study carried out in the CAR – data that could just as easily have been collected in other African countries, it should be added – the essential task involves identifying the traditional sporting practices in this cultural milieu and their enduring significance, and how to envisage their integration as the cornerstone of a pedagogical strategy that aims to disseminate Olympic ideals throughout Africa in such a way that the best possible results can be obtained. By way of closely analysing this question, I will begin by briefly summarising the history of sport and culture in the CAR and in Africa (I), before schematically presenting the aforementioned sporting practices and their significance (II). I will then detail how these practices are taught in the CAR and in Africa, before drawing a comparison with the pedagogy of modern Olympism (III). Lastly, I will analyse strategy for the rehabilitation and restoration of the significance of these traditional sporting practices through the pedagogy of modern Olympism (IV).

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SPORT AND CULTURE IN THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC AND IN AFRICA

It is accepted that some kind of physical and sporting activities were practised in Black Africa in the pre-colonial era. It is nonetheless clear that the history of sport on the continent and therefore in Central Africa dates back to colonial times. Bernadette Deville-Danthu, for example, takes the period after the First World War as her starting point, 1923 to be exact, with the directives issued by the French Minister for the Colonies, Albert Sarraut. In these directives the minister emphasises the point that sport is closely linked to military concerns and to the search for a foundation upon which to base the “civilising mission of colonial France”.⁴ The fact is that ever since the 16th century, the history of Africa in general has been one of great dependency, a dependency that has grown through the centuries in contrast with the brilliant civilisations that flourished there beforehand, most notably in ancient kingdoms such as the Mossi, Ashanti, Buganda, Zulu, Yoruba, and Hausa, to name but a few. Such a dependency has had well-documented effects that have

不发达地区的人们支持奥林匹克理想的决心和愿望日益增长。

因此，研究非洲现代奥林匹克主义教育学的改良结构就变得非常有必要了。如果忽略了那些在当今全球化背景下难以理解的普世性的东西，这一结构就不能实现，但我们可以从非洲体育运动和奥林匹克主义二者最初的融合中找到与全球化密切相关的途径，而且这种途径包括了用非洲体育运动文化构成和丰富奥林匹克主义的特质。因此，这在本研究中处于核心地位。概括来说，本研究旨在通过科学方法分析中非共和国传统的体育运动，并探讨其复原和重建的深远意义，同时将其作为在非洲——尤其是中非共和国——传播奥林匹克文化策略的一部分来进行分析。利用在中非共和国进行的一项实地调查的数据——如果在非洲其他国家同样能如此容易地搜集到这种数据，那么就应该也加进去——本研究的主要任务就是确定中非文化背景和持续意义下的传统体育运动，以及如何正视其与奥林匹克文化的融合，并将这种融合作为在全非洲传播奥林匹克教育战略基础等问题，通过这种方法，我们可以获得最好的结果。为了更进一步地分析这些问题，

笔者将会首先简要概述中非共和国和非洲体育运动和文化的历史（I），之后分析这些体育运动及其意义（II）。第三部分将详细论述这些实践在中非共和国和非洲是如何被教授的，并将之与现代奥林匹克教育进行比较（III）。最后，分析如何通过现代奥林匹克教育来复原和重建这些传统体育运动及其意义的方法（IV）。

中非共和国和非洲体育运动和文化简史

人们已经普遍认可，在被殖民之前，非洲就已经有着某种形式的身体运动和体育运动。然而，虽然如此，整个非洲——这样显然也就包括中非共和国——的体育运动史还是始于殖民时代。伯尔纳蒂特·德维尔-丹斯乌在其研究中就将一战后的时期——确切点说是1923年，法国殖民地总督阿尔伯特·萨罗的政令——作为其起始点。在这份政令中，总督强调了体育运动同军事的密切关系，并谋求建立一个基金会来完成“使法国殖民地文明化的任务”。

考虑到本研究——因为该研究已经对所有这些活动有所分析，所

greatly undermined the continent and which have led to it falling behind in every aspect of the current processes of globalisation.

As far as sport and physical activities are concerned, this decline is all too evident across the continent, despite the fact that Africa is now a prominent breeding ground in terms of sport for other parts of the world.

As regards the specific focus of this study – insofar as it has been established by all the analyses of these activities, the main one being the national forum on the issue of sport in the Central African Republic in 2000 – sports that have been introduced relatively recently to the CAR have not developed as much as they have in other countries. Apart from a few fleeting successes in handball, volleyball and basketball⁵, the mediocre performances of CAR teams in both continental and world competitions accurately sums up the state of sport in the country. According to these diagnoses, this weakness can essentially be explained by the following unfavourable factors:

- A lack of infrastructures.
- A shortage of properly qualified teachers and trainers.
- The instability of management structures.
- A lack of material and financial resources.
- A lack of training schools.
- An increasing lack of equipment, both large and small.
- Wider social, economic and political problems.

This does not mean to say that sport is not recognised as extremely important to the country's development, as reflected by governmental support for the sacrifices that need to be made to ensure that the country does not miss out on major international events such as the Olympic Games. As in many other countries, there is awareness in the CAR that physical education and sport have major contributions to make to the physical, intellectual and moral well-being of all sections of the population, particularly young people. Furthermore, thanks to the awareness work the CAR National Olympic Academy has carried out since its inception, increasing recognition is being given to the fact that physical education and sport have major contributions to make to bringing people together and building a peaceful nation. This awareness is now

being manifested in a raft of policies and development actions focusing on sport and physical recreation and backed by the government, the CAR National Olympic and Sports Committee.

Turning now to those aspects of culture connected to sport and the arts, although they are now at the heart of concerns regarding the place they should occupy in the development of the nation in the current era of cultural diversity and sustainable human development, this has not always been the case. If we accept that culture, in its anthropological sense, “refers to the system of values of a society, to its ideology and its modes of behaviour; to its production techniques, its consumer habits, its religious beliefs, its myths and its prohibitions; to its social structure; to its political system and its decision-making mechanisms,”²⁶ it therefore follows that we should discuss African culture in general and Central African culture in particular in terms of cultural disorder.

In fact, in searching for an historical rationality in the manner in which relations between Africa and the West have evolved, it emerges firstly that there is a rupture in the standard evolutionary processes of African countries, and secondly that this rupture resulted from the destabilisation of societies due to the market economy and the dislocation of cultures. It is an observation made with a certain amount of bitterness by the philosopher W. E. Blyden (1832-1912), “All our traditions and experiences are linked to a foreign race. The only poetry and philosophy that we have is that of our masters ... To our great disadvantage, we learn their prejudices, adopt their passions and our thoughts are fixed on their aspirations and power.”²⁷

In response to this cultural alienation, public authorities in a good many African countries have made culture and cultural identity central issues, driven in particular by the concept of human development as proposed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in the post-war period and following the undermining of traditional cultural structures in a large number of countries. From that moment on the need to introduce cultural parameters in development strategies that until then had been conceived in line with economic criteria became paramount. It has been abundantly clear ever since that culture has become the prime concern, the concept shaping our thoughts and our behaviour,

以成为了2000年中非共和国体育运动全国论坛上的主要议题——的独特焦点中非共和国，我们应该知道，体育运动被介绍到中非共和国的时间相对较晚，所以，并没有像其在他非洲国家那样得到了一定的发展。除了在手球、排球和篮球等方面的短期成功，中非共和国体育代表团在洲际和国际体育比赛中的一般表现真实地反映了本国体育运动发展的现状。这种表现可以从下面几个方面得到解释：

- 缺乏基层组织；
- 缺乏具备执教资质的教师和训练者；
- 管理结构的不稳定性；
- 缺乏硬件和财政支持；
- 缺乏学校的训练；
- 持续增长的器材设备的缺乏；
- 越来越广泛的社会、经济和政治问题。

中非共和国无疑是这种文化疏离的典型。然而，在全国发展体育运动的认知和愿望，虽然姗姗来迟，但是的确促使文化论坛的组织 and 举行，并俨然已勾画出了全

国文化发展的主要政策和方针，其核心是起草受国民大会直接领导的专门文化发展法令。这些蕴含奥林匹克哲学和体育教育文化的内容正在迅速发展成为全球的文化概念，并通过其独特力量和益处来帮助中非乃至全非洲的年轻人来弥补其相关知识的缺乏。中非共和国奥林匹克学院按照国际奥委会（IOA）的要求于1989年建立，使得古希腊奥林匹克文化得以在中非全国传播，这一过程在中非奥林匹克和体育运动委员会的支持和赞助之下，日复一日地得到了巩固和强化。新近的研究也显示了对德育遗产的重视，这些德育遗产反映出了古希腊奥林匹克文化的确存在于非洲传统体育运动的基础理念和非洲前殖民地时代包含在法令和格言中的谚语中。

中非共和国的传统体育运动及其意义

作为上述文化整合现象的结果，对非洲国家尤其是中非共和国的体育运动的宏观分析就自然也包括了对其体育运动发生发展所依存的框架及其游戏和休闲娱乐之事的论述。这样，当人们被问及是否知道他们国家的过去和传统的时候，相

the dynamic force driving change, creativity and freedom. As part of this vision, sport is naturally seen as a means of expressing culture in every country and on every continent.

In the Central African Republic – which is without doubt a prototype of a culturally alienated country – the awareness of and the willingness to envisage national development in close connection with the introduction of cultural parameters in said development, albeit a little late, have recently led to the organisation of a cultural forum that has outlined the main axes of a national cultural policy at the core of which is the drafting of a cultural charter to be submitted to the National Assembly. Among these cultural parameters can be found Olympic philosophy and education through sport, which is increasingly becoming a universal cultural concept with the power and beneficial effects to help the youth in both Central Africa and Africa overcome their lack of knowledge. The creation of a National Olympic Academy in the CAR in 1989, at the behest of the International Olympic Academy, has enabled the values of ancient Greek Olympic culture to be gradually disseminated throughout the country, a process that is being consolidated year after year under the auspices of the CAR National Olympic and Sports Committee. Recent studies have also led to the identification of the vestiges of a moral culture mirroring that of ancient Greek Olympic culture in the concepts underpinning traditional sporting practices and those found in the aphorisms contained in the tales and proverbs of pre-colonial Black Africa.

The similarity between these two cultures has consequently raised the question of adapting the pedagogy of modern Olympism to African and Central African realities. And in order to respond adequately to this question on the basis of the case of the CAR being studied herein, it is first of all necessary to summarise the main forms of traditional sporting practices by giving a more or less exhaustive description of each one. It is also important to identify the significance attached to these practices as well as the social/religious roles they perform, as well as showing the impact that these practices and their significance have on social relationships and the harmony between different groups. Finally, there is a need to look back at how these practices have evolved in time, pointing out the place they have always occupied in the life of people and societies both in Central Africa and in Africa.

TRADITIONAL SPORTING PRACTICES IN THE CAR AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

As a consequence of the aforementioned phenomenon of cultural integration, analysis of the sporting practices of African countries in general and the CAR, in particular, also involves analysis of the tradition of the country in question and of the games and recreational pursuits that form the frameworks in which these practices have emerged without their being confused with them. Thus, when people were asked if they knew about their country's past and its traditions, a sizeable percentage said that they did and described them in a way that more or less conformed to the manner in which they have always been depicted:

- A way of life dominated by agriculture, stockbreeding and harvesting.
- A mythical vision of society.
- The predominance of religion, with its cults and rites.
- The distribution of social roles according to hierarchy and age groups.
- The influence of local chiefs and leaders, but also the existence of the discussion tree for resolving disputes.
- Education of children through initiation and respect for their elders.

The fact that these survey responses fit in with this template confirms that recollections of bygone days have not yet been wiped from the collective memory, particularly in rural areas. Moreover, a number of studies on Africa have established this fact, particularly with regard to traditional education. Following his research into the subject, P. Erny reached just such a conclusion, "Nowhere is it possible to identify traditional education in its purest form, protected in its entirety from foreign influences. Even so, the changes to which it has been subjected vary in degrees and levels depending on the ethnic groups, regions, families and individuals in question. Nowhere has it been completely erased and given way to a purely modern, Western form of education. Even in the most Europeanised of environments it is still possible to find certain elements, and more often than not it continues to form the

当大的一部分人就会说他们知道，并且能够用一种多少符合他们被描述的方式来描述它：

- 一种充斥着农业、畜牧业和收获的生活方式；
- 从神话视角对社会的认知；
- 宗教及其礼拜和仪式的统治；
- 根据社会阶层和年龄进行的社会角色分配；
- 当地酋长和领导的影响，还包括解决争端的讨论机制的存在；
- 从小就开始的和首先通过尊敬长辈进行的教育。

正是因为这个事实，关于中非共和国传统体育运动的研究才能够与体育的联系中得以进行。更者，我们有理由相信，即使城市已经被西化，在边远的乡下，传统依然会很顽强地起着重要作用。然而，即使在乡村地区，我们还是非常难过地承认，现代价值观念正在以损害传统价值观为代价的方式传播着。乡村生活方式已经被这些价值观念的传播逐渐消蚀着，这也逐渐使其成为对

应价值，破坏了那些本是他们引入到社会中的道德体系。

中非的人们为什么会坚持其古代传统的原因之一大概是他们能够记住那些游戏和休闲娱乐方式以及传统的体育运动，这些都是构成传统的重要组成部分。我们应该注意到，游戏和休闲娱乐形成了我们研究传统体育运动的一个特殊部分。某些作者（比如伯尔纳蒂特·德维尔-丹斯乌）谈到的是“体育游戏”，而我们的研究建立在这样的理念之上——虽然它们被认为是游戏，体育运动还是因为其远远多于其他游戏的身体运动及其产生的功效从而很清楚地与其他游戏划清了界限。而且，早期的研究显示，在中非共和国的传统教育过程中，像**bolo**（脚部的一种运动）、**kpong**（弹球）、**kissoro**和**anarikaté**之类的游戏都广泛开展，但是被认为是次要的训练。相反，真正传统的教育包括理论和实践两部分。

实际上，因为“体育”这一词在如今被过分广泛地使用，俨然已经成为了现代文明的重要组成部分，并且因此“可以应用于所有事情”——比如说棋类和足球就都包含其中——P.

backdrop to the educational contributions that the child receives from his/her family and immediate surroundings.”⁸

It is this fact that the study of traditional sporting practices in the Central African Republic has been able to establish in relation to sport. Furthermore, there is every reason to believe that the theory that traditions continue to survive in the countryside at the same time as urban areas have become very Westernised is far from being erroneous. However, even in rural areas, it is sad to report the spread of modern values at the expense of traditional ones. The structure of life in the countryside has been eroded by the introduction of these values, which have gradually made their appearance as counter-values undermining the very morals they sometimes introduce into these societies.

Part of the reason why the people of Central Africa have clung on to their ancient traditions is that they have been able to remember that games, recreational pursuits and traditional sporting practices form an integral part of that tradition. It should be noted that games and recreational pursuits form a specific part of our study of traditional sporting practices. While some authors talk of “sporting games” (Bernadette Deville-Danthu), our study is based on the idea that although they are considered games, sporting practices can be distinguished by their far more physical nature and the functions they involve. Furthermore, an earlier study demonstrated that in traditional educational processes in the CAR, games such as *bolo* (which involves the movement of one’s feet), *kpong* (marbles), *kissoro* and *anarikaté* were played widely but were considered secondary disciplines, whereas genuine traditional education involved both theoretical and practical instruction.⁹

In actual fact, as the meaning of the word “sport” tends to be over-used these days, having become an integral part of civilisation and “applied to everything” therefore – to both chess and football, for example – something that P. Parlebas has lamented, it is helpful that we apply a more precise definition in order to depict traditional sporting practices more accurately. The following definition was one that caught our attention, therefore, “A series of physical exercises that take the form of individual or team games and which may give rise to competition and practices that observe certain rules.”¹⁰ It is upon the basis of this defini-

tion that many traditional sporting practices have been observed in Central Africa, although I shall only look at the most important ones here.

First of all there is archery, known in local languages as *ndem*, *ndengué*, *bodo* and *ndokpiri*, and practised either individually or in teams and judged by a referee. The objective is to hit a target placed at a distance of 10 or 15 metres with an arrow while abiding by a certain number of rules, which include the requirement to stand behind the shooting line, observe the shooting distance, and to place the arrow inside the circle representing the target.

The second of these leading sporting practices is wrestling, known locally as *pongo* or *kporo*, and involving a bout between two wrestlers inside a clearly marked circle and which ends when one of the wrestlers is brought down by the other and pinned down on the ground. The bout is judged by one or two referees, who ensure the various rules are observed. For example, wrestlers are not allowed to kick or head butt each other, they must hold each other by their belts and they must try to avoid falling on their backs, as such an event the fight is awarded to the other wrestler.

The third sporting practice in our list is *péta* or *kpong*, which involves the throwing of pebbles or stones. This game of skill and accuracy can be played by two to ten players. The device used to project the stones can be made by the players themselves or by a specialist maker, and consists of a piece of animal hide, both ends of which are attached to a fork by two pieces of elastic. Each player has ten pebbles and uses the instrument to attempt to hit the centre of a target positioned some 20 metres away. Three referees are on hand to ensure the players stand in the right position and to check if the pebbles hit the target. The winning team is the one with the most points.

The fourth main game is hoop throwing, otherwise known as *nganda*, *ndola* or *goro*. This is another game of skill played again by two to ten players and using equipment such as a hoop made of leaves or straw, a bow made of bamboo and a piece of string, and arrows. The purpose of the game is to score points by hitting the hoop when it is rolled at a certain speed along a track about 50 metres long by one of four judges

帕勒巴曾经为此感到颇为遗憾，所以，我们认为有必要提供一个更精确的定义来描述传统体育运动。下面的定义是吸引了我们注意力的定义之一，“采用个人或者团体的形式的一系列身体练习，遵守一定的规则并能够促进练习和竞争。”

然而，我们必须指出，女性体育运动（除了翻跟头）相对来说还非常少，大部分的体育运动都是年轻男性参加的。这是因为这些体育锻炼有着重要的社会意义，是社交的基础。在这个方面，被调查的大部人回答说这些体育锻炼因为其扮演的重要角色因而成为传统生活非常重要的组成部分。体育运动之所以如此重要的原因在于他们扮演着不同的角色，并产生了积极的作用，主要有：

- 增强了个人的和集体的能力；
- 增强人们的尚武品质，尤其是体质和技巧；
- 通过控制人们的感情帮助其面对危险；
- 帮助建立了同志般的感情；

- 贡献出开心和愉悦；
- 对和平和婚姻的维持有所帮助；
- 促进人的社会化，使其为社会角色做好准备，尤其是领导角色；
- 鼓励人们去体会积极的生活；
- 帮助将社会联系在一起。

需要强调的是，上述体育运动的重要作用赋予了体育运动深远的意义。然而，传统社会中生活的不精细和不稳定也解释了为什么体育运动在这些社会中以休闲娱乐和享受的形式同样扮演了重要的角色。同样的，我们能够确定为什么体育运动在这些与其益处密切相关的社会中被如此广泛地传播，正如大多数被调查者所言，这些体育锻炼是全球性的，事实证明它们的确是在调查范围内外都广泛开展的。

传统体育运动的教育学和现代奥林匹克主义教育学

今天，虽然事实是这些体育锻炼仍然是日常生活的一部分——并且被我们调查中的大部分人所证实——但是，却不再像从前一样

positioned on the edge of the playing area. The team scoring the most points when the hoops are rolled is declared the winner, and the referees' job is to make sure the rules of this traditional sporting practice are properly observed.

Horse racing, which is increasingly popular in Peulh tribes, is the fifth on our list and involves two individual riders or teams of riders racing each other along a pre-agreed course with the rider(s) recording the fastest times being declared the winners. The judge gives the starting signal, notes down the finishing order and announces the results.

Canoe racing, known locally as *gbi ngo*, is the favoured sporting pursuit among riverside communities such as the Sango, Yakoma, Banziri, Bouraka and Mondjombo. It is increasingly becoming a team sport with 10 to 20 rowers racing each other over a distance that is agreed on beforehand, with the first team to make it back to the start line declared the winners. Races are refereed by three to five judges. Speed is essential and so is the ability to prevent the boat from capsizing. This is, above all, a physically demanding sport.

The seventh and final traditional sporting practice referred to here is somersaulting or *Ték-Zéri*, as it is called in the Gbaya language, which consists of nothing more than a race interspersed with a series of different somersaults and mainly contested by women. It provides women with an opportunity to show their agility and strength in a physically demanding discipline, and it is considered more of a demonstration than sport, as it has no specific rules.

This non-exhaustive list shows that the various communities that make up the CAR, like those of other countries in Africa, were taking part in such traditional sporting practices long before the arrival of foreign powers. Furthermore, these practices are characterised by their great diversity, the result of the natural environments in which people live. In talking to people about these activities, I have also heard of other practices inspired by the “natural method”, in other words, the specific situations of everyday life. The predominance of activities placing an emphasis on physical endurance and the development of physical strength can essentially be explained by the fact that such strength is necessary in carrying out everyday activities such as blacksmithing, hunting, fishing, harvesting

and farming, activities that help ensure the continued survival of these communities.

It should be pointed out, however, that there is very little in the way of women's sport (aside from somersaulting), with most sports being played by young men. This is because these practices are not without significance and are based on social functions. On that subject, a large proportion of the people surveyed said that these practices were a very important component of traditional life because of the roles afforded to them. The reasons behind their importance, the different roles they play, the advantages they give rise to, the importance they are invested with and the benefits attached to them are listed below:

- They reinforce individual and collective skills.
- They enhance warlike qualities, particularly fitness and skill.
- They help people facing up to danger by controlling their emotions.
- They build up camaraderie.
- They contribute fun and enjoyment.
- They help bring about peace and matrimonial alliances.
- They aid preparation for roles in society, particularly leadership.
- They encourage people to lead an active life.
- They help bring communities together.

It should also be emphasised that the very specific functions listed above lend significance to these practices. However, the harshness, precariousness and instability of life in traditional societies also explain why such practices occupy an important place in these societies as forms of entertainment and enjoyment. Similarly, we have been able to ascertain why they are so widespread in these societies, where they are intimately linked to the benefits they generate, as a large number of the people surveyed said that these practices were universal, which is confirmed by the fact that they are engaged in in virtually all the areas covered by the survey and beyond.

在生活中扮演重要角色了，这种改变发生的原因是通过皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦男爵创立的奥林匹克主义教育，现代体育运动大量流入非洲并且占据了主导地位。然而，这并没有阻止相当大的一部分人群认识到，有必要将传统形式的游戏、休闲娱乐和体育运动形式作为宝贵遗产保护下来并认识到其重要意义。人们重新产生对传统体育运动兴趣的原因之一是因为传统体育是形成全球的和结构性的生活方式的一个重要组成部分，也是我们祖先在古代社会中作为教育系统基础的一部分，同样是非洲教育形式的一个重要特点，即以对青少年教育的关注和渴望给孩子们安全感为重心。

众所周知，传统非洲社会本来就是遵循古制来运作的，这就给个体提供了无价的道德体系和公民守则。我们应该记住，共同体和大家庭的感觉代表了这些社会中教育的基本原则。在这样的基础之上，建立了一系列由集体施加的行为要求和惯例，并被集体内的每个个体下意识地予以吸收。可以说，教育学并不是在忽略了心理学因素和理论的纯科学层面进行的，而是由无法量化和测量的诸如本体、种族和宗教等标准

来决定。如果父母是来自不同的部落，那么传统的非洲儿童通常在很大程度上被基于部落的社会结构所影响，这些社会结构同时也构成了他们周围关系网的一部分。孩子因此从小就非常尊敬其父母，并深深受其影响。同时，还对施加在他们身上的那些权威保持克制和温和的态度，就好像整个社会是一个远远超出了只有父母和孩子构成的小家的大家庭。在形成个人关系系统的过程中，祖父母和所有的亲戚关系也在孩子的教育中扮演了积极的角色。然而，从很小的年龄开始，这种血族关系的延伸就使得孩子在很大程度上具备了离开父母的独立性，并具备了很好的安全感从而能够鼓励其自由发展，正如历史上的明证之一诗人总统列奥波尔德·塞达·桑代尔所表现出的那样。同时，因为孩子们在家里被珍视，因此他们也会陷于规范、权力和义务、特权与尊重等严格系统之中，并永远都与其保持着密切的关系。

上述非洲教育学的概念被翻译为下列警句。在论及自豪的时候，Bayombe（民主刚果的一个地方）有一句格言这样说：“每条蛇都滑行在自己的道路上。”，而中非共和国的Ngbougous地

THE PEDAGOGY OF TRADITIONAL SPORTING PRACTICES AND THE PEDAGOGY OF MODERN OLYMPISM

Today, even though it is true that these practices have remained a part of everyday life – as confirmed to us by the majority of people questioned as part of our survey – they do not play as prominent a role as they once did due to the predominance of modern sports following their introduction into Africa through Baron Pierre de Coubertin's pedagogy of Olympism. However, this has not prevented a large section of the population from recognising the need to preserve traditional heritage in the form of games, recreational pursuits and sport by giving proper consideration to the significance attached to them. One of the reasons behind this renewed interest in traditional sporting practices is that this significance constitutes a global and structured concept of life that our ancestors used as the basis for the educational system in traditional societies, and at the heart of which can be found a specifically African form of education, one that hinged on the concern for teaching children and on the desire to give children a sense of security.

In view of the fact that concepts and activities are interwoven in traditional societies, it should be pointed out first of all that the pedagogy of traditional sporting practices is not separated completely from the pedagogy of general education in these societies. And as mentioned above, this education is at the same time theoretical and practical, in the sense that it is structured both on the art of speaking properly – most learning being conducted orally – and on the instilling of social responsibilities. Drawing inspiration from the forces of African spirituality but also from the moral order to which the people have always been strongly attached, it is a pedagogy that subsequently promotes ideas such as pride in oneself, respect for others, love, the extolling of loyalty in effort and the virtue of exertion in shaping attitudes and behaviour. It is through the concept of society, therefore, that one must understand the specific nature of this pedagogy, as it is one that provides society as a whole with the tools it needs to ensure its values survive and flourish. And one of these tools can be found in African pedagogy itself.

As is well known, traditional African societies essentially function on the basis of an enduring conformism that provides individuals with an invaluable moral and civic stock to draw on. It should be remembered that a sense of community and an extended family represent the fundamental principles of education in these societies. Upon such foundations are built a series of behavioural requirements and inalienable rules imposed by the group and subconsciously assimilated by the members of the community. It could be said this pedagogy is not set out in scientific terms as it ignores psychological theories¹¹ and is determined by unformulated ontological, ethnic and religious criteria. Born to parents who often hail from different clans, the traditional African child is usually indulged to a great extent by the clan-based social structure that forms part of the network around him/her. The child is thus treated with great respect and affection by his/her parents, and with restraint and leniency by those exercising authority over him/her, given that the family extends beyond the group formed by the mother, father and children. In forming part of a very closely knit system of personal relationships, grandparents, uncles and aunts also play an active role in the education of children. Yet, from a very early age, the extending of this kinship gives the child a great degree of independence from his/her parents as well as a feeling of great security that encourages his/her development, as the historical example of the president-poet Léopold Sédar Senghor clearly shows. At the same time as the child is cherished and pampered, he/she is also immersed in the strict system of rules, rights and duties, privilege and respect, that must be adhered to at all times.

From a young age children find themselves in the midst of a large number of very specific codes originating from all circumstances of everyday life, such as being polite to one's parents, elders, adults, the elderly and people in positions of authority, and also showing respect for the cult of ancestors and spirits. Above all, he/she learns to serve and obey his/her parents, to be helpful, to be unobtrusive and to be quiet in the presence of elderly people. The child also knows how to greet everyone according to their status, how to give and how to receive, how to ask for something and how to give thanks. In short, the child must conform to the fundamental codes of discipline set forth by traditional society, among which figure sporting practices – these having been dealt with above – and which have often been accompanied by dancing and

区这样说：“斑马不能不要自己的斑纹，一棵树的树皮不能粘住另一棵树。”下列的这些格言谈及的也都是如何尊重和爱他人：

- “体积大小并不重要，使胡椒强大的是它的辣味。”
(Karré)
- “在美洲豹统治的地方，雄山羊从不追逐雌山羊。”
(Banda)
- “牙齿们彼此之间是朋友。” (Gbayá)

身体和精神的协调发展是包括体育教育的所有教育的基础。与此相关，古代健身场馆就铭记了古代奥林匹克教育的深远意义，古希腊体育学校的孩子们不仅仅接受身体练习方面的培训，也要接受端正品行的教育，这也就解释了为什么古希腊人认为如果一个城市没有体育场，那么就是不文明的或者说未开化的。因为奥林匹克主义的目的是要帮助建立一个更美好、更和平的世界，而其前提就是“个人的和谐，运动员们可以达到平和宁静的状态，从而可以掌控他们自己的身体，净化其热情，非常有必要使其达到良性循环。因此，也就将带来世界各国的和平和理解。”（伊

夫·布伦)不能否认,此种教育的优势在于其教育内容是由一系列完全集中于个人进步并基于个人和国家的价值组成的。

我们应该记住,其中最主要的价值是互相的理解、团结、宽容、高贵的精神或者公平竞争、竞争的乐趣、友谊和拒绝任何形式的歧视。正是因为这些奥林匹克理念和价值,体育教育或者说奥林匹克教育试图将艺术和文学、美丽和道德精髓综合在奥林匹克运动中。伊夫·布伦教授描述了其重要意义:“当代的奥林匹克主义不仅仅是技艺和冠军,它还包括了文明的诸多观念,比如友爱、平等、自由;比如身体、智力和道德的完善;比如自我牺牲这一被金钱利益和权力诉求所驱使的残酷社会遗忘的品质和精神;比如与同伴、敌人以及最弱的运动员之间的团结。”

因此,毫无疑问,在传统非洲教育学和源于希腊的现代奥林匹克主义教育学之间具有类似之处。可以肯定的是,受国际奥委会领导的国际奥林匹克学院从1961年诞生之日起——国家或地区奥委会也通过自己的奥林匹克学院——已经在全世界范围内传播了其价值观念。虽然是以他们自

singing as a means of expressing, among other things, the aphorisms of popular wisdom that are used to convey ethical and moral principles and the rules governing the traditional way of life.

The aforementioned concepts of African pedagogy have been translated into the following aphorisms. On the subject of taking pride in oneself there is a proverb Bayombe (part of DR Congo) that says, “Every snake slithers in its own way”, whereas the Ngbougous of the CAR say, “A zebra cannot part with its stripes, and the bark of one tree does not stick to another tree”. Below are listed some other sayings on the subjects of respect for others and love:

- “No matter its size, it is its spicy flavour that makes a pepper strong” (Karré).
- “In the court where the leopard reigns, the billy goat does not chase after the nanny goat” (Banda).
- “Teeth are all friends with each other” (Gbaya).

The Beti of Cameroon have a saying about hard work and effort that holds that “He who wakes earliest gets the best fruit that falls in the night”, whereas on the same subject the Yakoma of the CAR say, “Put the load on your knee. That will help you to put it on your head”. Finally, on the subject of loyalty in effort, the Wolof of the Kayoor use the expression, “Refet ci xare bi” to express the disloyalty, self-harm and weakness inherent in breaking the rules of warfare. As is well known, the peoples of Black Africa, be they of Bantu or Sudanese origin or from the Nile, have always expressed their vision of life through such aphorisms. What is more, past generations drew on the wisdom encapsulated by these aphorisms to educate their children and teach individuals hardened by life.

If a comparison can be made between the concepts framed within these sayings and the principles of ancient Greek Olympic philosophy, it is clear that no dichotomy exists between them. This is because, as is also widely recognised, Olympic philosophy is underpinned by a need for education, both of the body and of the mind. This need, however, is not expressed in a significantly different way, insofar as Olympism is based

on a finely balanced combination of the qualities of the body, will and mind. And as an integral part of this combination, sport plays its part in the harmonious development of man and the preservation of his dignity. Baron de Coubertin emphasised the educational function of sport in setting out his reasons for reviving the Olympic Games: “To ennoble and strengthen sports, to ensure their independence and duration, and thus to enable them to better fulfil the educational role incumbent upon them in the modern world.”¹²

The educational role given to sports in general thus translates into the concept of Olympic education or education through sport. Even though it has now become a universally recognised concept of civilisation, it is nothing less than a story that is rendered incomprehensible if taken out of its own context. It is worth pointing out, therefore, that it was the Greeks who created the concept of Olympic education within the framework of Olympic culture that was created in order to extol the god Zeus, the Master of Olympus, in the form of games and song. In the words of the writers and artists who depicted ancient sports, Olympic education is understood to be “a display of power and energy, a reflection of prosperity and a demonstration of the human spirit”. The fact is that Olympism was not directly born in the stadiums, but conceived beforehand in the temples before flourishing in philosophy schools.

It also provided the basis for all education, including physical education, at a time when the harmonious development of the body and the spirit was considered a fundamental aspect. Linked to this concept, the ancient gymnasium enshrined the profound significance of Olympic education to such an extent that children attending ancient palaestrae received training not only in the performing of physical exercises but also on behavior and good manners, which explains why the ancient Greeks considered a town without a gymnasium to be uncivilised. That this was so was because the purpose of Olympism was to contribute to the construction of a better, more peaceful world, the premise being that “individual eurythmy, that peaceful state that reaches the sportsman who masters his body and purges his passion, ought necessarily to lead to a reciprocal and, therefore, peaceful understanding between all nations” (Yves Bologne). The undeniable advantage of just such an education lay in the fact that its educational content consisted of a set of values

己的语言来进行，这些观念也正是非洲传统社会一直在积极发扬的。因此，非洲人民总体上是与构成奥林匹克运动一部分的《奥林匹克宪章》相一致的，而国际奥委会将教育作为其所有活动的第一要义和基础。宪章的第二基本原则指出：“奥林匹克主义是将身、心和精神方面的各种品质均衡地结合起来，并使之得到提高的一种人生哲学。它将体育运动与文化和教育融为一体。奥林匹克主义所要建立的生活方式是以奋斗中所体验到的乐趣，优秀榜样的教育价值和一般伦理基本原则的推崇为基础的。”基于此，问题就是如何将这两种教育形式更好地结合起来，从而使奥林匹克理想在全世界，尤其是非洲，得到更有效地传播。

复原和重建非洲传统体育的探索及其与现代奥林匹克教育的结合

非洲传统体育运动的基础——民族概念，除了天体神秘和宗教等概念之外，对整个非洲（自然也就包括中非）的社会关系都有着相当大的影响，我们调查的许多社区都表达了他们复原和重建传统体育以实现其

对现代体育进行补充和修正的渴望。对大多数被访谈者而言，这一议题更像是传统体育和现代体育之间相似性的问题，就好像我们看到的诸如掷标枪、射箭和移动射箭等传统追求，而不是传统体育运动在现代的生存问题。在有关上述二者具有互补性的研究中，传统生活方式和现代生活方式之间的连续性使得大多数被调查者都乐于支持它。这种渴望赋予了该研究这样的框架，那就是乡村的确很大程度上并未被西方文化所影响。

在这些乡村中，传统和现代的共存继续赋予了前辈将传统传递给年轻人的机会，从而能够使得这些东西一代一代传下去。每个人都相信，如果这些体育运动、游戏和休闲娱乐没有被很好地保存下来，或者说失去了其相对于现代体育运动的重要意义，那么这在根本上是学校的失败，因为它们没能通过当地文化的传递来完成其中心任务。另外，考虑到其特殊的目标，西方教育没有着手于促进非洲的当地文化，而在这些文化中，体育占据着一个非常重要的位置。因此，人们可以理解为什么在当代恢复这些传统体育运动对接受调查的人们来说是

focused entirely on that sense of individual advancement and based on people and nations.

The main values among them, it should be remembered, are mutual understanding, solidarity, tolerance, nobility of spirit or fair play, the joy of competing, a spirit of friendship and the rejection of all discrimination. It was because of these Olympic ideals and values that education through sport or Olympic education seeks to integrate arts and letters, the quintessential creators of beauty and virtue, into the Olympic Movement. Just such significance was provided by Professor Yves Bouloungne when he wrote, “Contemporary Olympism produces more than just techniques and champions. It also conveys concepts of civilisation: the concepts of fraternity, equality, liberty; the concept of physical, intellectual and moral excellence; the concept of self-sacrifice, one so forgotten in our brutal societies, dominated as they are by financial interest and the quest for power; the concept of solidarity with one’s partners, opponents and the weakest of athletes.”¹³

In view of this, there are unquestionable similarities to be drawn between the values of traditional African pedagogy and that of modern Greek-based Olympism. It is true to say that the concepts that the International Olympic Academy, under the auspices of the International Olympic Committee, has been disseminating throughout the world since its creation in 1961 – and which National Olympic Committees across the globe have been transmitting through their National Olympic Academies – are the very ones that Africa’s traditional societies have long been promoting, albeit in their own language. As a result, the people of Africa in general are in consonance with the Olympic Charter, in that it forms part of the Olympic Movement, which establishes Olympic education as the fundamental basis of the actions engaged in by the International Olympic Committee. The second Fundamental Principle of the Charter states, “Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles.” Based on this, the question is how to capitalise on the complementary aspects of these two forms of teaching so that Olym-

pic ideals may be disseminated more efficiently throughout the world, particularly in Africa.

PROSPECTS FOR THE REHABILITATION AND RESTORATION OF TRADITIONAL SPORTING PRACTICES IN AFRICA AND THEIR ADAPTATION TO THE PEDAGOGY OF MODERN OLYMPISM

Insofar as the ethical concept underpinning traditional sporting practices, aside from cosmogonic and religious concepts, have a considerable impact on social relations in the societies of Africa in general and the Central African Republic in particular, many of the communities that are the focus of our survey expressed a desire for the rehabilitation and restoration of the significance of these traditional sports with a view to their complementing modern sports. For most of the people interviewed, the issue was more a question of the similarities between traditional and modern sports, as can be seen in traditional pursuits such as javelin throwing, archery and firing arrows at a moving hoop, rather than the survival of traditional sporting practices in the modern era. In advocating research into the aforementioned complementary nature of the two, it is this continuity between the time-honoured and modern ways of life that most of the people surveyed are in favour of. Such a desire is unsurprising given the framework of the survey: rural areas largely unaffected by the influence of Western culture.

In these rural environments traditional and modern festivities continue to represent opportunities for older people to revive traditions for younger members of the community, thereby enabling them to be passed on from one generation to another. Everyone is of the belief that if these sporting practices, as well as games and recreational pursuits, have not been properly conserved or have lost the significance they had prior to the modern, contemporary period, it is essentially the fault of schools, which have failed, in both their very nature and actual objectives, to adopt the central mission of providing a vehicle for local culture. In addition, taking into consideration the specific goals it is given, Western education does not set about promoting this local culture, at the heart of which traditional sports occupy an important place. One can thus un-

如此重要了，他们还相信，考虑到困扰中非共和国乃至全非洲的社会危机，现在正是有所作为的最好时机。他们坚信这种复原能够使得人们的原有的不会产生现代体育这一态度发生改变。正是基于此原因，在他们看来，这样的复原应该是通过教授传统体育运动项目及其意义来进行，同时教授的方法也需要更新，其结果要集中于以下几个方面：

- 体质的增强；
- 智力的发展；
- 道德品质的提高。

至于恢复传统体育的方法，这些对传统体育运动和现代体育运动本质上的互补和传统体育项目的普及都至关重要。这种复原的目标应该是更新作为传统生活方式中儿童教育基础的价值体系，其中一个非常独特的方面，如上所述，是它本身就支持教育儿童并将其需要纳入考虑范围这一事实。这种教育学的优势在于树立了将全人类看成一个团结的整体，有着普世的规则和价值体系——从一开始就应用着——并将对身体的谦恭融入到效率和收益之中。这并没有阻止这一信息导向的教育学成为基于男女性别

不同的性别导向教育学，同时，也没有阻止其将年龄的划分考虑在内。

这一价值体系仍然暗藏在占优势的西方教育价值体系的边缘，我们迫切需要推进一种将重点放在如何使传统价值体系适应和融于现代环境的二者融合的教育学。这种融合的教育学在新近的社会学研究有所反映，从而得以重新来定义传统和现代之间的辩证关系。G. 巴兰蒂尔如是说，“传统干预着现代的成型过程，对新社会和文化结合的分析有所贡献，并导致了这样的结论，那就是，所有的现代性都展示了现代和传统相融合的构型。二者的关系，不是截然对立的，而是辩证的。”

自然的，这种融合的教育学必然包括了战略上的在非洲传播奥林匹克文化的计划。人们已经公认，非洲大陆必须发动新的“复兴”来“彻底改造”自己，并进行“文化的调节”，其中，新的范例能够使得现代社会的矛盾得以更加有效的解决。这一文化调整的过程是包括奥林匹克文化发展的，其积极作用在于：首先，其目标指向年轻人；其次，这

derstand why the issue of reviving these practices in contemporary times is so important to many respondents who also believe that this is the right time for just such a revival to occur, given all the crises afflicting the CAR society and, for that matter, African society. They strongly believe that this rehabilitation would lead to a change in attitudes that modern sports have been unable to bring about. It is for this reason that such a rehabilitation should, in their opinion, be generated by teaching traditional practices and their significance or, more specifically, by renewing the way in which these practices are taught, with the consequent focus being as follows: physical development.

- The development of intellectual skills.
- The development of moral qualities.

As regards the methods for this rehabilitation, these are essentially the complementary nature of traditional and modern sports, and the popularisation of traditional sports. The objective of this revival should be to renew the system of values that provides the basis for educating children in the traditional way of life, a specific feature of which, as stated above, is the fact that it is itself supported on a concern with educating children and with taking their needs into consideration. The advantage of this pedagogy lies in a model that stresses the unity of the being, with its general rule – systematically applied during periods of initiation – being an asceticism that involves the submission of the body to the principles of efficiency and profitability. This does not prevent this communication-oriented pedagogy from also being gender-oriented in the sense that it is based on the differentiation between males and females, and at the same time, from being hierarchised in the sense that it takes age groups into account.

Insofar as this system of values still exists implicitly on the fringes of the dominant Western-type system of educational values, there is an urgent need to promote a syncretic pedagogy that places an emphasis on adapting traditional values to the current environment and on the complementary nature of the traditional and modern approaches. It is just such a syncretic pedagogy that inspired recent sociological studies identifying dialectic between tradition and modernity. G. Balandier spoke of this dialectic in the following terms, “Tradition intervenes

in the shaping of the present, it contributes to the formation of new social and cultural combinatorial analyses, all of which leads to the conclusion that all modernity reveals configurations that combine modern and traditional traits. The relationship between them is not dichotomous but dialectical.”¹⁴

Naturally this syncretic pedagogy must encompass a strategic plan for the propagation of Olympic culture in Africa at a time when it is universally agreed that this continent should have the capacity to “reinvent” itself, to spark a “renaissance” and also a “cultural adjustment” as part of which new paradigms can enable it to invert the contradictions of the modern world more effectively. This process of cultural adjustment is one that involves the development of Olympic culture, the benefits of which lie in the fact that, first of all, it is aimed at young people and, secondly, that it is a dynamic concept oriented towards the future and designed to create a more peaceful and enhanced international community. It should in fact be remembered that the idea of Olympism in ancient Greece broke down ideological barriers and tempered the irascible nature of Ares, the legendary god of War, by restoring peace between warring parties and by nurturing the emergence of fraternity, mutual understanding, civility and cooperation. If this historical example can inspire the nations of Africa, they may finally be able to create happier societies by giving priority to the culture of sport and the Olympic spirit.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it can be said that like the other countries of Central Africa or even Africa as a whole, the Central African Republic does not completely disregard the concept of education through sport as a means of helping individuals and, above all, young people to better themselves. It is for this reason that a systematic study of the traditional sporting practices in this unique country was necessary in order to bring about improved understanding of the system of values that these practices transmit both inside and outside the country. The fact is that the specific values underlying these practices can enrich modern Olympism. Research into similarities between the pedagogies of traditional sporting practices in the CAR and the pedagogy of modern Olympism has thus

是一个面向未来的动态概念，并且其本意就是为了创造一个更和平的社会，因此自然会增强国际团结。事实上，人们应该记住，古希腊的奥林匹克理想破除了意识形态的障碍，通过促进战争双方的和平和增进其友爱、互相理解、里面和协作而安抚了暴躁的战神阿瑞斯。如果这一历史经验能够被非洲国家借鉴，那么他们最终就能够通过优先发展体育运动文化和奥林匹克精神来建立更加幸福的社会。

结论

总之，我们可以说像中非乃至非洲的其他国家一样，中非共和国完全不能漠视旨在帮助个体——并且首先是年轻人——达到更完美境界的体育教育这一概念。也正是因为这样的原因，为了更好地增进对这些传播到国内外的传统体育运动的价值观的理解，系统地研究该国传统体育就非常有必要了。这些传统体育运动所具备的独特价值能够丰富现代奥林匹克主义。因此，对于展示复原和重建这些对中非共和国、中非乃至整个非洲的奥林匹克理想传播都有积极影响的传统体育运动及其意义来说，对中非共和国

传统体育教育学和现代奥林匹克教育学相似性的研究就有着很多实用的手段和方法了。毫无疑问，在有关文化特性的显著差别的探索开始时，非洲的体育运动就被采用了。奥林匹克哲学体系如果不能首先融于中非的文化或者非洲的文化中，那么就不能真正在这块大陆扎根。在像亚洲这样的地方，这种需求已经得到了认可，但是在全球化和文化对话为背景的当代，建立一个符合《奥林匹克宪章》精神的更和平和更美好的世界，在非洲也已经是势在必行的了。如果奥林匹克运动的角色在有效满足这种需求方面是至关重要的，那么政治决策者和研究者的角色同样重要。

奥林匹克教育的未来一直将依赖于在传播、普及化、奥林匹克价值教授和奥林匹克哲学研究等方面的更大努力，因为这是一项长期的工作。然而，因为态度的改变，这种独特的教育方法的应该一步一个脚印地进行，来保证这一工作从现在开始以更快的步伐前进。此时，古希腊奥林匹克文化中的普世人文主义只能是通过世界上其他地方的人们广泛地认知其价值来更加广泛的传播。值得鼓励的是，已经有很好的迹象显示这样的传播过程正在进行。

allowed identification of the most suitable means for setting out the rehabilitation and restoration of these practices and their significance with a view to positively influencing the dissemination of Olympic ideals in the CAR, in Central Africa and in Africa in general. There can be no doubt that with regard to sport, which – in the case of Africa – was adopted at the same time as the search for the distinguishing marks of a cultural specificity began, Olympic philosophy cannot take root without first establishing itself in Central African culture in particular and African culture in general. In some parts of the world such as Asia this need has already been identified, but in this era of globalisation and dialogue between cultures for a more peaceful and better world – in line with the Olympic Charter – it has now become imperative in Africa. And if the role of the Olympic Movement is vital in effectively implementing this requirement, the role to be played by political decision-makers and researchers is no less important.

The future of Olympic education has been and always will be dependent upon greater effort being expended in terms of the dissemination, popularisation and teaching of Olympic values, and research into Olympic philosophy, as it has always been agreed that this is a long-term task. Yet because of the change in attitudes that this particular approach to education entails, steps should be taken to ensure that this work is conducted at a faster pace from now on. At this point of time, the universal humanism of the Olympic culture of ancient Greece can only be disseminated through increased awareness of the values held by other people around the world. Encouragingly, there are healthy signs that such a process of dissemination is taking place.

Among these signs are the recognition, including by the United Nations, of the power that sport and its underlying values have for generating changes in attitudes, an attribute that is also shared by the new information and communication technologies, which have a part to play in tackling disparities and providing greater accessibility for people in the remotest of areas. It must also be added that more and more people from all four corners of the globe are showing an increasingly strong desire to defend Olympic ideals of their own volition.

These positive aspects – which are clearly the result of the hard work engaged in up to now by the National Olympic Committees and the International Olympic Academy, under the auspices of the International Olympic Committee – ought to be taken advantage of in the future and used as follows:

1. To bring about greater recognition of the concept of Olympic education and the role that it plays in contemporary society.
2. To maximise the use of technical resources to support Olympic education.
3. To encourage voluntary participation as a means of promoting Olympic values.
4. To strengthen the capacity for researching Olympism and the pedagogies for disseminating it.

These major guidelines for future work in the field of Olympic education represent a series of powerful ideas that could be held up as the basis for actions to be implemented at all levels and on a worldwide scale. These guidelines will be dependent upon the decision by the Olympic Movement in general, and its governing body the International Olympic Committee in particular, to make the promotion of Olympic education one of its main concerns. This should not come, however, at the expense of its major sporting competitions, most notably the Olympic Games, which represent an exceptional opportunity for education through sport. And to ensure that this decision can be taken effectively, concerted action by the National Olympic Academies, led by the International Olympic Committee, and under the aegis of the International Olympic Academy, could well be engaged in as a means of safeguarding the growth of Olympic education within the Olympic Movement and in society as a whole.

At the same time such action is undertaken, there is also scope for envisaging the development of the structures responsible for Olympic education and, most importantly, a more high-profile mission for the International Olympic Academy vis-à-vis the National Olympic Academies, which up to now could be forgiven for thinking that the International

体育的力量及其隐含的价值正在改变着人们包括联合国的态度，从这个迹象中，奥林匹克运动正在通过新的信息和通讯技术在全世界分享和传播着，并致力于消除不平等，并更加接近不发达地区的人们。因此，必须加上一笔，那就是全球越来越多的人正在表现出其自发的越来越强烈的维护奥林匹克理想的渴望。

在未来的日子里，这些积极的方面——显然是如今国际奥委会领导下的国家奥委会、国际奥林匹克学院积极努力工作的结果——应该被我们更多地利用于如下几个方面：

1. 对奥林匹克教育及其在当今社会所扮演的重要角色的更多认识；
2. 对支持奥林匹克教育中技术资源的最大化支持和利用；
3. 鼓励促进奥林匹克价值的志愿参与；
4. 加强奥林匹克主义及其教育学的研究，以更好地传播它。

这些未来奥林匹克教育工作主要的指导方针表达了一系列的

强有力的观点，这些观点应该成为全世界所有奥林匹克教育行动的基础。这些方针应该由通常的奥林匹克运动——尤其是其领导机构国际奥委会——来决定，从而推进奥林匹克教育成为其中心任务。然而，这不应该以牺牲其主要的体育竞赛——主要指奥运会——为代价，因为这是表现体育教育的独特机会。为了保证执行的有效性，国际奥委会和国际奥林匹克学院领导下的国家奥林匹克学院的协调行动应该被很好地进行组织，其意义在于维护和捍为奥林匹克运动内部和全社会奥林匹克教育的整体增长。

在进行这样的行动的同时，也还有机会来正视负责奥林匹克教育发展的结构。国际奥林匹克学院的一个最重要的鲜明的任务就是积极发展国家奥林匹克学院。现在好像只有当组织举办大型奥林匹克活动的时候，人们才意识到国际奥林匹克学院的存在。这种发展必须经过智囊团的深思熟虑，并特别委任其思考要出于其最基本的目的，同时还要起草法律体制和全球奥林匹克教育机构的条例，从而能够保障所有大洲奥林匹克教育结构运行的顺畅。

Olympic Academy only comes into existence when organising major Olympic events. This development could be studied by a think tank especially commissioned for that purpose and which would be entrusted with the job of drafting the legal framework and the statutes of a global Olympic education institution that would coordinate the activities of all the continental Olympic education structures that are to be put in place.

Within this new structure the International Olympic Academy could become directly involved in the management and evaluation of Olympic education programmes funded by the International Olympic Committee. The IOA could also search for additional resources from sponsors in order to fund programmes submitted by the National Olympic Academies through their continental organisations.

As regards the National Olympic Academies themselves, thought should be given to the fact that they will increase in number as a result of the activities of the continental organisations. Resources should be made available to these organisations by the International Olympic Committee to allow them to structure themselves and to set up National Olympic Academies throughout their respective continents. These academies will in turn be encouraged to collaborate closely with their National Olympic Committees in setting up initiatives and, most notably, in drafting future programmes of activities that can be submitted by the International Olympic Academy through their continental organisations. Work could also be carried out at this level to encourage greater voluntary participation, although the proficiency of the individual volunteers should always be used as selection criteria.

With the support of Olympic Solidarity, the International Olympic Academy could also consider putting in place a major programme for supplying computer equipment to the National Olympic Academies with a view, first of all, to bridging the technological divide between richer and poorer nations, and then helping the continental organisations and the National Olympic Academies to become more efficient in their operations.

In my very humble opinion, I believe that this is the direction that must be taken to ensure a brighter future as a result of the actions inspired by Olympic education in today's world, a world in which progress

brings with it an increasing demand for men and women of virtue. And it is by responding to this demand that the Olympic Movement can make a valid contribution.

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在这种新的结构中，国际奥林匹克学院能够直接地参与到国际奥委会资助的奥林匹克教育计划的管理和评估之中，也能从赞助者处搜索到更多的资源，来支持和资助各国奥林匹克学院通过洲际组织提交上来的发展计划。

国家奥林匹克学院的数量会因为洲际组织的活动而增加。国际奥委会应该保证这些机构的资源供应充足，促进其更好地发展，从而在他们各自的国家建立自己的奥林匹克学院。这些学院反过来将会跟其国家奥委会密切合作，主动建立起关于未来活动发展计划的构架，并通过洲际组织提交给国际奥委会。同时，虽然个人志愿者的熟练程度通常被用来当作是挑选标准，我们还是应在这一水平进行相应的工作来鼓励更多的志愿参与。

在奥林匹克团结基金的支持下，国际奥林匹克学院能够实施给国家奥林匹克学院配备计算机设备的计划，其目的首先是弥合富国和穷国之间的技术距离，其次是帮助洲组织和国家奥林匹克学院，使其更加有效地运作。

作为被奥林匹克教育激励的所有行动的结果，当今社会的进步对人们道德的提升提出了持续的高

要求。我相信，为了更美好的未来，这是一个我们必须坚持的方向。通过对这一要求的积极回应，奥林匹克运动能够做出其应有的贡献。

NOTES

1 Doctoral theses by Belegoe and Elegamandji in 1985 and 1986 at the University of Paris VII and the University of Paris V respectively.

2 Just such a process was embarked on by the Olympic Movement in May 2006 following a joint session of the heads of the NOCs and the NOAs, which discussed the activities engaged in up to the point by the Academies in their respective countries as well as the prospects for the future.

3 The example of the Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (ANOCA) can be given here. The conclusions reached at the forum on sport and Olympism that it organised in Tunis in November 2005 revealed this emerging awareness, while the author's research project on the subject, entitled "An analysis of traditional sporting practices and the dissemination of Olympism in Central Africa based on study of the case of the Central African Republic" (September 2005-March 2006) upon which this contribution is largely inspired, highlights the efforts to address this concern through scientific analysis.

4 Deville-Danthu, B. *Le sport en noir et blanc. Du sport colonial au sport africain dans les anciens territoires français d'Afrique occidentale (1920-1965)*. L'harmattan, Paris.

5 Most notably at the Brazzaville African Games, the African Nations Cup and the 1988 Seoul Olympics.

6 Coombs, P. H. *The World Crisis in Education*. p. 268.

7 Blyden, E.W. *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*. 1881.

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OLYMPIC OPPORTUNITIES: MULTINATIONAL AND TRANSNATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP AND THE OLYMPIC GAMES

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The modern Olympic Games provide scholars with unique opportunities to analyze events that simultaneously manifest national and transnational characteristics. From the beginning of the modern Olympic Games, the world has participated in the spectacles as a collection of nations, making national experiences and identities a crucial component of the Olympic movement. At the same time, a host of variables that transcend national boundaries, from internationalist schemes to promote global harmony to international experimentation with methods for enhancing performance, have impacted the Games. Transnational forces, from race, class, and gender to technology, science, and medicine, cut across the nations that quadrennially gather at Olympic sites. Simultaneously, nations use their Olympic experiences and performances to interpret how these forces impact their societies through their own particular histories. National and transnational patterns are inextricably woven together in the modern Olympic tapestry.¹

The intermixture of national and transnational patterns at the Olympic Games comes as no surprise to historians who have long chronicled Baron Pierre de Coubertin's Herculean efforts to create modern Games that he hoped would serve both as a devotion to transcendent cosmopolitanism and as an abiding commitment to patriotism. In the Baron's scheme, the Games served both the world and his France, promoting at the same time transnational goals and restoring the vigor of his fellow countrymen.² Following in Coubertin's wake, national and transnational issues have enlivened recent scholarship on the revival of the Games and broadened the cast of founders beyond the French nobleman. A new group of scholars has revealed a very different set of Olympian

奥林匹克运动的机遇： 国际和跨国学术研究和奥运会

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现代奥运会同时具备鲜明的国家特色和跨国特色，这一事件给学者们提供了独一无二的研究机遇。现代奥运会从一开始就将国家经验和认同作为奥林匹克运动的重要组成部分之一。同时，诸如从促进全球和谐的国际主义者计划到促进行动的实践等因素又打破了国家的界限，深刻影响着奥运会。诸如种族、阶级、性别、科技、医药等跨国因素打破了国家的樊篱，四年一度地将人们聚集在奥运会举办地。同时，各国又利用其奥林匹克经验和行为来解读着这些因素如何通过他们自己独特的历史影响着他们的社会。国家特色和跨国影响互相

交织在一起，共同编织成了现代奥林匹克运动的美丽画卷。

研究过皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦男爵对复兴现代奥运会所做努力的历史学家绝对不会惊诧于奥运会中国家特色与跨国方式的组合，因为顾拜旦本人就非常希望奥运会同时致力于卓越的世界主义和持久的爱国主义责任上。在他的计划中，奥运会既是为世界服务的，又是为他的祖国法兰西服务的，可以同时促进跨国目标并重振其同胞的活力。有新的学术团队提出希腊的奥林匹克历史不同于法国、英国、德国和美国等国家的观点，认为希腊——如同其它“现代”西方国家一样——在现代奥林匹克运动的复兴中，起着非常积极的作用。当希腊本地爱国主义者和流散到其他地方的希腊人的跨国社团聚拢在本来就持有把这两种性质糅合在奥运会中观点的现代奥林匹克运动复兴者顾拜旦身边，并成为奥林匹克运动奠基人时，关于奥运会本质的新问题自然就出现了。

histories in Greece as opposed to other nations such as France, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States.³ Their writings have revealed that Greece, as well as the more “modern” nations of the West, played an essential role in the contemporary Olympic genesis. New questions about the basic nature of the Olympic Games have emerged as native Greek nationalists and transnational communities of diaspora Greeks have been added to the cast of Olympic founders alongside the national and transnational Philhellenes, such as Coubertin, who have traditionally been credited with breathing life into the modern Games.⁴

These new perspectives on the origins of the Olympic Games have emerged from a multinational team of researchers such as the group whose works were critiqued in the recent “Eurocentrism and the Olympic Games” forum in a 2005 issue of the *Journal of Sport History*. Their multinationalism, their multidisciplinary training, and their multilingualism cut across place of residence, graduate education, and major field of study.⁵ In the same tradition, the multinational team assembled by editors Arnd Krüger and William J. Murray to examine efforts to boycott the 1936 Olympic Games in a variety of different nations by scholars from a variety of different nations has added important new insights into one of the most controversial Olympic episodes.⁶ Clearly, multinational teams of scholars can collaborate to illuminate crucial issues that contribute to both national and transnational interpretations of the Olympic Games. The fruitful endeavors of these multinational teams inspired Mark Dyreson (a historian trained mainly in U.S. history and who also developed a field in Latin American history) to put together his own multinational expedition to explore a particular event in Olympic history which had not received a great deal of attention but which marked a critical juncture in the national and transnational development of the modern Olympic movement. Dyreson has written mainly on U.S. nationalism and the Olympic Games.⁷ He has recently begun to explore Mexican nationalism and Olympic politics as well.⁸ In the course of researching an article with both national and transnational dimensions on the social construction of race and national identity through Olympic sport, Dyreson came across an interesting episode in American arguments about the nature of race and its relation to athletic performance regarding the 1928 Olympic marathon victory of Boughera El Ouafi, the first track and field gold medalist in Olympic history born in Africa and of African heritage.⁹ Dyreson discovered that the U.S. media, particularly African-American newspapers and especially Marcus Garvey’s pan-Africanist and black nationalist periodical, *The Negro World*, had used El Ouafi’s victory in the marathon to attack popular and scientific ideas of European supremacy

both in the United States and around the world.¹⁰ Serendipitously, while researching Mexican plans to make one of their own distance racing champions from the Tarahumara tribe of Chihuahua the first non-European track champion in the very same marathon at the Amsterdam Olympic Games in 1928, an honor that went instead to El Ouafi, Dyreson discovered that a similar debate over the racial and national meanings of the race had broken out in the Mexican press.¹¹

In Mexico and the United States the news that El Ouafi, a Rif tribesman from Algeria, who ran under the colors of France, had won the 1928 Olympic marathon and stunned experts and fans alike. An editorial in the New York Times contended that the Amsterdam Olympic Games had witnessed “no greater surprise” than El Ouafi’s marathon victory.¹² The Mexican press also credited El Ouafi with turning in the greatest upset of the Amsterdam Games.¹³ At the same time, Mexicans were disappointed that their own “exotic” Olympians, two Tarahumara foot runners from Chihuahua, finished in thirty-second and thirty-fifth place.¹⁴ The intriguing discourse in the United States and Mexican press regarding the national and transnational meanings of El Ouafi’s marathon triumph pushed Dyreson to a broader consideration of the event. Trained to read the cultural texts from a variety of cultures in the tradition pioneered by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz, Dyreson hoped that a close look at the multinational versions of the intersecting transnational genealogies of nature, nation, and science in the 1928 Olympic marathon would highlight the role of the Olympic Games in the construction of modern racial folklore.¹⁵

Clearly, at least the United States, Mexico, France, and colonial Algeria were connected to the history of the 1928 marathon. A cursory scouting of the terrain surrounding the race soon revealed to Dyreson that far more nationalities and languages were involved in the transnational narratives surrounding the 1928 marathon than he could ever hope to master. The race had pitted sixty-eight runners from twenty-three nations against one another. The majority of the runners were from northern Europe or North America. Great Britain, the United States, Holland and Finland each sent six runners to the start while Canada and Germany sent five apiece.¹⁶ Indeed, scientific and popular wisdom during the 1920s denoted Nordics, Anglo-Saxons, and other northern European “races” as the hardiest human specimens, specially favored by genetic and cultural heritage to triumph in the most challenging event on the Olympic program. Finland’s sterling distance running credentials during the 1920s made the contingent from that tiny northern European republic the pre-race favorites.¹⁷ Scattered among the other entries were

多国学者组成的国际研究团队——比方说《体育历史杂志》2005年卷组织的“欧洲中心主义和奥运会”论坛上提到的团队工作——提出了许多关于奥运会起源的新想法。该团队的多国组成、多学科知识背景极其多种语言使用等都消除了居住地区、教育水平和主要研究领域的局限性。同样的, Arnd Krüger和 William J. Murray担纲的多国研究团队的工作, 集中了来自不同国家的学者, 重点研究了不同国家抵制1936年柏林奥运会所做的努力, 给传统上最具争议的一段历史注入了新的视角。非常明显, 多国学者组成的国际研究团队能够合作起来阐述关键问题, 这对奥运年会无论国家方面还是跨方面的解读都有着极大的贡献。

马克·戴尔逊(历史学家, 主要研究美国历史, 现在也发展到拉丁美洲历史的研究领域)牵头的国际学术团队将各自的跨国研究联合起来, 集中于奥林匹克历史

上的某一独特事件，其取得的丰富成果虽然还没有得到足够的重视，但是已经成为了研究现代奥林匹克运动中国家和跨国发展结合的重要标志。戴尔逊主要研究了美国的国家主义和奥运会，最近又开始关注墨西哥国家主义及其奥林匹克政治。在研究过程中，戴尔逊采用了国家和跨国双重纬度来研究奥林匹克运动中种族和国家认证的社会结构，他在研究过程中发现了一个有趣的情况，那就是美国人关于1928年阿姆斯特丹奥运会马拉松冠军博格赫拉·埃尔·瓦菲所引发的种族问题及其运动表现的争论。戴尔逊发现美国的媒体，尤其是非裔美国人的报纸，特别是马库斯·加维等泛非主义者和黑人爱国主义者期刊《黑人世界》，都用埃尔·瓦菲在马拉松中的胜利来攻击在美国和全世界都非常流行的所谓科学的欧洲（白人）优胜论的观点。无独有偶，当戴尔逊在研究墨西哥人试图使他们的一位来自奇瓦瓦的塔拉乌马拉部落的长跑冠军——同样是在1928年阿

exotic—in Occidental eyes—competitors from the supposedly less-civilized corners of the globe, including the North African Arab El Ouafi, two members of the Tarahumara tribe from the Sierra Madre mountain range of Mexico, three Japanese, and one Chilean.

The results of the 1928 marathon stunned scientific and athletic experts and challenged racial stereotypes and rankings. The North African Arab won the race. The Chilean finished second. Japanese runners won fourth and sixth places. The results confounded standard Western interpretations of athletic prowess in general and endurance running skill in particular. Questions of national and racial will power, fortitude, and perseverance, long the bailiwick of Occidental certitude, took on new meaning. A new interpretative world seemed destined to emerge from the stunning developments in Amsterdam.

This new world, however, resided in large part beyond Dyreson's ability to read in either a literal or figurative sense. English and a rudimentary reading knowledge of Spanish gleaned from his graduate training had opened U.S. and Mexican "cultural texts" regarding the race. A deeper reading of the race from a French, French colonial, or Rif perspective in regards to El Ouafi's significance in developing racial and national identities rested outside of the scope of his expertise, as did an interpretation of a South American perspective in regards to silver medalist Manuel Plaza Reyes of Chile. In addition to his limited Spanish skills, which made even his Mexican explorations a major challenge, Dyreson had little grasp of Chilean or other South American histories of sport and nationalism. French, Arabic, and El Ouafi's native Berber dialect eluded him entirely, and no translations of El Ouafi's place in France or the colonies had been translated into English. Dyreson did, however, know scholars working on histories of Olympic sport and its connections to race and national identity who specialized in Latin American and in French themes. The idea of a multinational team, a technique which had produced fruitful collaborations on Olympic origins and the "Nazi Olympic Games," seemed an obvious route to a multinational reading of what Dyreson considered one of the most important and least explored events in Olympic history. Dyreson turned to Cesar R. Torres, and to Thierry Terret and Anne Roger, in an effort to enlist a multinational scholarly team. When Dyreson first contacted Torres, the latter was writing an article on what he has labeled "the Latin American 'Olympic explosion,'"—the multifarious regional reactions during the 1920s to the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) policies of globalization.¹⁸ These policies accelerated the process of integrating Latin America into the Olympic fold. Torres had also started to explore the significance of Juan Carlos Zabala's 1932 Olympic marathon victory for Argentine nationalism.¹⁹ Torres recognized that the

projects he had undertaken to analyze the Latin American and, especially, the Argentine Olympic experience were relevant to Dyreson's proposal. Studying the 1920s Latin American "Olympic explosion" and the Argentine interpretations of Zabala's stunning race in Los Angeles had serendipitously familiarized Torres with the athletic exploits of Plaza's sensational endurance running career as well as the conditions of Chilean athletics and the larger patterns in South American sport in the 1920s and 1930s. Torres considered Dyreson's proposal interesting, stimulating and exemplary, and enthusiastically joined the multinational research team.

The personal and professional experience of Torres, who has studied in his native Argentina, in Greece, and in the United States, has repeatedly pointed to the need and benefits of engaging in candid multicultural exchanges and serious multinational research efforts. Frequently, Torres's teachers, colleagues, and friends from both "core" and "peripheral" nations have stressed the maladies created by ethnocentrism—Eurocentrism representing one of its most prevalent forms in academia—and warned against the neglect of the "other," those whose voices are silenced or suppressed.

This message was quite strong when it came to an endeavor such as the Olympic Games, which by its very nature constitutes a terrain traversed by national histories that are in turn traversed by transnational forces. This interweaving forms quite intricate particular histories that unfold most powerfully every four years in Olympic arenas. However, putting into practice the sophisticated approaches recommended to Torres by teachers, colleagues, and friends has proven an elusive task. Thus, for Torres, Dyreson's proposal to ponder from multiple national perspectives the transnational forces coalescing in the 1928 Olympic marathon constituted a chance for enacting a methodology Torres had long considered essential. The proposal was a step toward "decentering" the way Olympic history has traditionally been conducted.²⁰ The uniqueness of the Olympic event at hand lent itself to the multinational explorative strategy.

Given his scholarly expertise and interests and his command of Spanish and Portuguese, Torres agreed to investigate the impact that Plaza's silver medal in Amsterdam had in Chile and also how it resonated across South America.²¹

Congruent with the spirit of the project, the images of Plaza constructed in Chile and South America as well as their cultural significance were framed in light of the prevailing view of the 1920s that situated North Americans and Northern Europeans as the most advanced cultures, the "civilizations" favorably predisposed to dominate in all human endeavors. With its increased global appeal, by the 1920s the Olympic Games had

姆斯特丹奥运会上——成为第一位非欧洲的田径冠军的时候，他发现在墨西哥媒体中同样进行了关于种族问题及其国家意义的辩论。

非常明显，至少美国、墨西哥和殖民地阿尔及利亚等国家都与1928年阿姆斯特丹奥运会的马拉松比赛有着联系。史料证明有着比戴尔逊试图掌握的更多国家的选手进入了1928年奥运会马拉松比赛领域。比赛有来自23个国家的68名运动员参加。运动员们大部分是来自北欧或者北美。英国、美国、荷兰和芬兰各派出了6名运动员，加拿大和德国各5名。实际上，在20世纪20年代，人们普遍接受的科学观点是将北欧、盎格鲁撒克逊和其他北欧“种族”作为强壮种族的代名词，尤其是其来自遗传方面的天赋以及在奥运会最具竞争力的项目上的传统优势。芬兰在那个时候的优异长跑表现使得这个北欧小国在赛前就非常被人们看好。我们来看看其他的参赛者，这些人在西方人眼中或许是从文明程度较

低的地方来的门外汉，包括来自北非的阿拉伯人埃尔·瓦菲、来自墨西哥马德雷山区塔拉乌马拉部落的两名运动员、三个日本人和一个智利人。

1928年奥运会马拉松比赛的结果让所有专家都大吃一惊，并对先前的种族模式和地位等级发起了挑战。来自北非的阿拉伯人最终赢得了胜利，智利人获得了亚军，日本人获得了第四和第六。这些结果挫败了传统西方运动技艺尤其是耐力素质优势论的所谓科学解读。西方一直确信的关于国家和种族意志力、坚韧、持久的优势问题呈现出了新的意义。一个要被重新解读的世界似乎注定要从阿姆斯特丹这令人震惊的发展中慢慢浮出水面。

戴尔逊认为奥林匹克起源和“纳粹奥运会”是奥林匹克历史上重要但又只得到很少研究的事件之一，要想在这些问题上取得丰富的研究成果，采用国际研究团队是一种良好的可行方法，能够获得跨国的解读。于是，戴尔逊与

emerged as a preferred spectacle to corroborate, dispute, and recreate all manner of cultural assumptions. Within this framework, Torres started gathering information regarding Plaza's life and athletic career, the preparation for his 1928 excursion to Amsterdam, and the stories surrounding his Olympic participation that were told in Chile and in the rest of South America. After many difficulties and much frustration, Torres eventually tracked down sufficient primary and secondary sources. This material proved critical in formulating a picture of the significance in Chile and the rest of South America of Plaza's 1928 Olympic success.²²

Torres discovered that when Plaza took silver in Amsterdam, he was not a neophyte runner. The Chilean had demonstrated his superior running skills in regional meets since the early 1920s. Indeed, Plaza had dazzled Brazilian crowds with his performance in the 1922 Latin American Games, a series of sport events organized to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Brazilian independence.²³ Plaza's performance was so outstanding that Count Henri de Baillet-Latour, a future IOC president who attended the athletic festival, acknowledged the quality of the Chilean runner and described him as a national hero.²⁴ South Americans believed that Plaza's potential, which had been confirmed with a reputable sixth place in the 1924 Olympic marathon immediately ahead of El Ouafi, who finished seventh, would fully manifest itself in the streets of Amsterdam. In 1928, Plaza's compatriots expected him to give a creditable performance.²⁵ In neighboring Argentina, *La Prensa* predicted that the South American star would probably emerge as the surprise of the marathon and finish among the top runners.²⁶

The regional recognition of Plaza's potential did not extend much further the sub-continental shores. Similar to the situation with El Ouafi, the international track and field establishment did not count Plaza among the serious contenders for the 1928 Olympic marathon. For the *New York Times* and the *Times of London*, Plaza and El Ouafi were "outsiders."²⁷ Interestingly, in South America, El Ouafi was ignored in pre-race debates to the point that his teammate Seghir Beddari, who did not even take part in the race, was listed as a candidate to win the marathon.²⁸ After El Ouafi's victory, and reproducing the reaction to the race in New York and London, the French colonial was perceived in Buenos Aires as an unlikely winner.²⁹ In contrast, Plaza was perceived in his home region as belonging to the elite of international long distance running and qualified enough to earn Olympic glory. After the race, the South American press gave El Ouafi his due, but the overwhelming, if natural, emphasis was on Plaza's performance and what it portended in regard to Latin American identity in the world.

Plaza's silver medal in the 1928 Olympic Games was much celebrated in Chile and the rest of South America. It is worth mentioning that the second place was consistently constructed as Olympic "success" or "glory," which conferred to Plaza's accomplishment an even more substantial aura. Plaza was portrayed standing atop the peak of the Olympic world.³⁰ The runner was welcomed back to his homeland by General Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, then Chile's President, and a myriad of other authorities. He was feted at dozens of celebrations. A playwright even penned a theatrical production in Plaza's honor.³¹ On his journey back to Chile, Plaza was also recognized in Argentina and Uruguay. These celebrations and the commentaries they created on the marathon race underscored national and international trends. Unlike the North American response to El Ouafi's and Plaza's Olympic performance, issues of racial superiority did not dominate public discussions in South America. Rather, issues of social class and of national and sub-continental identity figured prominently in the stories of Plaza's exploits. The response to the proposal that Plaza run in the United States following his Olympic glory illustrates the first issue. Juan Livingstone, the Chilean chef de mission in Amsterdam, dashed the proposal by labeling it impracticable. For Livingstone "That boy [Plaza] must get back at his job of selling newspapers."³² Plaza's status as a "popular" hero, a symbol of the common folk, was stressed in most interpretations.³³ On the other hand, the Chilean press and Plaza himself "nationalized" his success. Plaza's overcoming of knee problems during the race was articulated as a sign of the national character. His success became Chile's triumph. Despite the "nationalization" of Plaza, both in Chile and Argentina, Plaza's success was also "South Americanized." For both *La Prensa* and *El Mercurio*, a Chilean daily, Plaza earned the silver medal for the whole continent.³⁴

The South American narratives and characterization of the 1928 Olympic marathon reveal a complex story in which social class, nationalism, and regional identity were articulated and contested. They also reveal noteworthy similarities and dissimilarities with the stories that emerged from the same event in North America and France. Together, these stories make for a more complete understanding of the intersection of national histories and transnational forces not only of the 1928 Olympic marathon but also of the Olympic world of the late 1920s and early 1930s. For Torres, the broad consideration and insights of this project have impelled him to consider further questions about the Latin American Olympic experience and to keep in mind that the Olympic imagination is always inextricably linked, sometimes in the most unexpected ways, to national issues and international forces. While this project has also reassured Torres

塞萨尔·R. 托雷斯、蒂里埃·铁烈和安·罗切合作，建立了一个这样的国际学术团队。

托雷斯的个人和专业经历——从学于祖国阿根廷和希腊以及美国——向我们表明了自然的跨文化交流和严肃的跨国研究的必然性和好处。托雷斯的老师们、同事们和朋友们，无论是来自“核心”国家还是“边缘”国家，都经常强调民族中心主义的弊端——欧洲中心主义是其中在学术上最流行的一个表现形式——并反对对“其他”国家的忽略，这些国家的声音通常被忽视了或者压制住了。

托雷斯的学术造诣和兴趣以及其对西班牙语和葡萄牙语的精通使其同意调查阿姆斯特丹奥运会上布拉扎的银牌在智利产生的影响以及这种影响如何在整个南美大地产生了震荡。

对布拉扎潜力的区域性认同并未延伸到南美这一亚大陆的海岸。同埃尔·瓦菲的情况一样，国际田径机构并没有将布拉扎认为是

1928年奥运会马拉松比赛的夺标热门。对《纽约时报》和《泰晤士报》而言，布拉扎和埃尔·瓦菲都是门外汉。有趣的是，在南美，埃尔·瓦菲在人们赛前的争论中完全被忽略了，而其队友赛吉尔·拜达里虽然没参加过比赛，却被认为是一大热门。在埃尔·瓦菲取得胜利和改写了《纽约时报》和《泰晤士报》对比赛的报道后，布宜诺斯艾利斯还认为这位法国殖民地的人不太象是胜利者。相比之下，布拉扎在他的祖国被认为是国际优秀的长距离跑选手，有着足够的资格来赢得奥运会比赛。赛后，南美的媒体给予了埃尔·瓦菲他所应得到的一切，但是总体而言，重点却是布拉扎的表现，因为这被认为是拉丁美洲在世界上获得认同的标志之一。

南美关于1928年奥运会马拉松比赛的叙述和描述揭示了社会阶级、国家主义和区域认同之间的互相连接和矛盾关系。此外，还揭示了北美和法国对同一事件产生的反应的异同点。这使得人们

of his basic approach to his work, it has ultimately reminded him of the value and gratification of collective academic efforts, and underscored the always sobering lesson that scholarly findings are preliminary, limited, and influenced by factors of which we sometimes are not fully cognizant.

When they received Dyreson's proposal, Roger and Terret had just completed a volume of essays on the 1924 Olympic Games, analyzing the Paris Games from both a national and an international perspective.³⁵ The proposal to interpret El Ouafi's Olympic victory represented a challenging opportunity to extend their current research in two ways. First, their work on the Games of the Eighth Olympiad was fully comparative. An informed and systematic reading of the national press commentaries on the Paris Olympic Games from a dozen countries reduced a tendency toward "Francocentrism" in the analyses. The same concern was clearly reflected in Dyreson's project. Second, Roger and Terret had already crossed El Ouafi's path during their recent work, since the North African-born French runner finished seventh in the Olympic marathon at Paris, with astonishing little attention given to his performance by the French media. The comparison with the Olympic Games of Amsterdam four years later revealed a similar, though less thorough neglect of El Ouafi's feat by French journalists. The evidence invited questions about El Ouafi's marginalization in the French press.

Trained by French pioneer of the history of sport and international relations, Pierre Arnaud,³⁶ Terret had published several articles that explored sport and nationalism in nations beyond France, especially England, Belgium, and Italy.³⁷ However, neither knowledge of some particular collections and materials kept in foreign countries nor familiarity with various national contexts is sufficient for a true international analysis. This can be achieved by different ways; Terret experienced them frequently in studies of the context of sport in the interwar period. One of the most obvious approaches was to compare sport histories in different countries on a European scale.³⁸ The inclusion of histories of international relations enriched the political analysis of the interwar sport. For instance, Terret's works on the Inter-Allied Games of 1919 were mainly based on an interpretation of the relations between France and the United States in the aftermath of World War I.³⁹ An additional approach investigated the perception of the image of a nation abroad, including the reception of national stereotypes, champions, political uses of victories, etc.⁴⁰ A fourth perspective concerned what the German historiographical tradition calls "cultural transfer;" that is, the real or subjective influences of foreign experiences on a particular country. In her doctoral program, Roger studied this process in analyzing how the

Scandinavian, German, and American conceptions of training impacted French athletics.⁴¹ Terret explored how an English model of swimming as a sport was introduced into France in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, causing the decline of traditional swimming in the country.⁴² Terret considered the same process during World War I, analyzing the role of the British “Tommys” sent to the Western Front on French football, as well as the influence of the “foyers franco-américains du soldat” of the Young Men Christian Association on the sporting acculturation of French soldiers.⁴³ Finally, an additional mechanism for framing the historiographical debate in international terms is to focus on the place of sport in the migration of populations between nations.⁴⁴

These approaches can be easily combined. For instance, the issue of the diffusion of sport in colonial processes highlights patterns of cultural transfer, migration, and international politics.⁴⁵ Several levels of analysis can often be combined in the case of particular sport events, when different countries are involved in one way or another. Terret has argued that the “affair,” which pitted the Italian fencer Oreste Puliti against a Hungarian referee during the Olympic tournament of 1924, was shaped in large part by the state of international relations between France, Italy, and Hungary, as much as by the historical struggle for hegemony between the three divergent schools of fencing in these countries.⁴⁶

El Ouafi’s Olympic victory in Amsterdam constitutes an opportunity to compare the perceptions of French, North American, and South American peoples over North Africans. At the same time, it raises the question of successful athletes coming from colonized territories. Indeed, in the context of 1920s colonial France, the discourses on El Ouafi’s performance reflect more the nature of the relations between the colonial power and the natives than the perceptions of racial differences. This explains why the French perception of the marathon run by the young Algerian was so different than the North American one. While El Ouafi became a kind of living proof of the ideological roots of racism in the United States, he was seen as an anachronism in France, breaking the belief in the superiority of metropolitans over the colonised people. In 1924, Muslims from the North African French colonies still chafed under the “code of indigenes” written in 1881, which gave the colonial administration considerable powers and considered the natives inferior citizens.⁴⁷ In 1928, heightened tensions in Algeria led colonial officials to impose on all Muslim sport clubs a requirement to integrate a certain number of Europeans as members in order to reduce ethnic confrontations.

This context and the linked representations of the natives explain why El Ouafi’s victory received relatively little attention in France, in either the

更彻底地了解到，国家历史和跨国力量的交织不止是在1928年奥运会的马拉松比赛中出现，也还出现在了20世纪20年代末和30年代初的奥林匹克世界中。对托雷斯而言，对这一项目周全的考虑和宽阔的视野促使其考虑关于拉丁美洲奥林匹克经历的更深入的问题，并时刻带着奥林匹克理想总是与国家国际力量密切联系在一起的观点，尽管这种结合有时候是以我们不太期望的形式出现的。

埃尔·瓦菲在奥运会上的胜利提供了一个比较法国、北美和南美人民对北非看法的机会。同时，它提出了来自殖民地的成功运动员问题。实际上，在20世纪20年代的法国殖民地，对埃尔·瓦菲表现的描述更本质地反映了殖民力量和当地人之间的关系，而不是种族差异的观点。这解释了为什么法国与北欧人关于此事的观点非常不同。当埃尔·瓦菲成为证明美国根深蒂固的种族主义意识形态的活证据的时候，他在法国则被认为是打破了大都市

的人优越于殖民地人民这一观念。1924年，北非法国殖民地的穆斯林还相信当地人低殖民者一等。在1928年，阿尔及利亚的紧张趋势使得殖民官员不得不给所有的穆斯林体育运动俱乐部都提出了加入一定数量的欧洲人作为会员的要求，以缓解种族冲突。

这一背景以及当地人的表现或许可以解释，为什么埃尔·瓦菲夺冠这件事在法国只受到了很少媒体的关注。Miroir des Sports、L'Auto、Sporting和L'Echo des Sports都报道了比赛过程，但在评论方面，都坚持认为埃尔·瓦菲早在1923年就离开了阿尔及利亚，并在巴黎定居，所以（几乎）已经变成了真正的“法国人”。比如，维克多·Breyer就评论说：“阿尔及利亚人埃尔·瓦菲这位马拉松冠军获得者，将再一次的胜利带到了法国……阿尔及利亚被证实是法国的延伸……即便这是由阿尔及利亚人获得的胜利，对法国人来说也是一个很好的安慰。我们必须记住这一点，冠军虽然出生

general or in the specialized press. Journalists from Miroir des Sports, L'Auto, Sporting, and L'Echo des Sports covered the race but they insisted mainly on El Ouafi's transformation into an (almost) real "Frenchman," particularly since he had left his Algerian village in 1923 and settled in Paris. Victor Breyer stated, for example, that the "Algerian El Ouafi, winner of the marathon, gives France another victory. . . . Algeria affirms herself as an extension of the mother-country. . . . This victory bridges her still more narrowly to the sport of the mother-country. . . . It is really a nice consolation for the French people, although it was won by an Algerian. We must not forget that, although the winner was born in Biskra, he made his entire sport career in France and that it was the counsels of French trainers which made him a remarkable specialist in long distance races."⁴⁸ Such affirmations were also linked to the particular status of athletics in France. The works of Roger have consistently demonstrated that track and field, though not very popular in the 1920s, was shaped by a strong belief in the connection between athletics and specific educational systems.⁴⁹ The French press presented El Ouafi as having received an "athletic education," a blessing that signified the generosity of the French society.

At the same time, both the general and colonial presses developed a more racist discourse, where the racial stigmatisation was more prominent than the ethno-political considerations which dominated the French sport press. Such a divergence had already been mentioned by Timothée Jobert in his analysis of the perception of black sportsmen in the white sporting press in the context of colonial France.⁵⁰ For the French authorities and general opinion, El Ouafi's victory constituted above all a challenge to the colonial order rather than a challenge to the racial order, though both orders have obvious links. It took almost two decades for the French federation of athletics to begin searching for potential world-class athletes in Africa in order to reinforce the French national team. The initial efforts to search the colonies for great athletes in the late 1930s produced no immediate results.⁵¹ During the interwar epoch, it was considered more important to build a "French method" and a "French school" of athletics to train champions than to extend the system of selection and recruitment outside the borders of the motherland. French athletics was still based mainly on educative and hygienic purposes rather than on the quest for performances and records.

The fear in the 1920s and 1930s of challenging the colonial order helps to explain the surprising erasure of El Ouafi in interwar French collective memory. Only the recent reactivation of the debate over immigration has contributed to put (modestly) El Ouafi's name back into French sport history.⁵² After his Olympic victory and his tour in North America, he went

back to France and was immediately disqualified for professionalism by the French federation of athletics. He soon fell into a miserable situation, marked by unemployment, destitution, illness, and anonymity. Years later, in 1956, he managed to regain a bit of celebrity, owed in large part to respect expressed for his 1928 feat by another Algerian-born French marathoner, Alain Mimoun. When Mimoun returned to France after his Olympic victory in Melbourne, he managed to get El Ouafi invited to the Elysée. Mimoun also obtained a modest job for the great French endurance runner of the 1920s.⁵³ Three years later, in the dark context of the war between France and her African colonies, El Ouafi was murdered in a Parisian suburb. His demise met with general indifference among the French public.⁵⁴

Our explorations have uncovered some of the theoretical frameworks, motivations, efforts, and challenges that a multinational team of researchers faces in the attempt to analyze the interweaving of national and transnational narratives surrounding the 1928 Olympic marathon. We share a conviction that a comprehensive understanding of this critical event in Olympic history merits a multinational and multidisciplinary analytical strategy. Assembling the multinational team, discussing the methodological approaches, and critiquing each other's findings makes it patently clear to us that this particular strategy is most fruitful for illuminating crucial issues that contribute to both national and transnational experiences of the Olympic Games—a phenomenon infused and enlivened by national and transnational forces. An important outcome of this scholarly project is the sobering reminder that truly “global” perspectives are not only difficult to construct but also that individual efforts are more fractured and partial than collective approaches.

The multinational analysis of the 1928 Olympic marathon reveals that the race held complex and varied meanings in different corners of the globe. In North America the outstanding performances of El Ouafi and Plaza, whom the hegemonic Western gaze perceived as representatives of supposedly less-civilized regions, sparked debates about the adequacy of scientific racism for explaining the nature of athletic performances. Issues of national identity - though not entirely absent - receded into the background in the North American discourses. In South America, the narratives about the race tended to focus more on issues of national identity and social class rather than on racial classification. In France, the reactions to the marathon's outcome vividly reflected the tensions between the colonial power and the colonized territories. Though discussions about the categories of race were not entirely absent, questions about the structure of colonial power animated the debate more fully than questions about racial superiority.

在Biskra，但是其整个运动生涯却是在法国，而且依托的正是法国教练的建议，正因为如此，他才能够长距离赛跑中成为一把好手。”这种论调或许与田径在法国的特殊地位也有着密切的关系。罗格的研究成果告诉我们，田径在20世纪20年代虽然还不是非常流行，但由于人们认为它与特定的教育体系有着密切的关系，所以已经算是基本成形。法国媒体认为埃尔·瓦菲已经接受了“田径教育”，并认为这充分显示了法国社会的慷慨大度。

同时，无论是普通的还是殖民地的媒体都发表了一些更种族歧视论的表述，在法国媒体中，这种种族的标记比“民族—政治优越论”更突出。Timothée Jobert在其对法国殖民时期，白人体育媒体对黑人运动员的观点等研究的分析中已经提到了这种分歧。对法国主流观点来说，埃尔·瓦菲的胜利首先是对殖民统治秩序而不是种族秩序的挑战，虽然这二者有着明显的联系。法

国田径联合会用了大约20年的时间来开始寻求借助于非洲潜在的世界级运动员来增强法国国家队的实力。最初的寻找殖民地优秀运动员的努力始自20世纪30年代末，但是并没有马上就产生效果。在两次世界大战之间，人们认为在田径中建立“法国式的方法”和“法国派”来产生世界冠军比从法国本土之外来扩大选拔和补充新鲜血液更重要。法国田径运动仍然主要建立在教育和卫生的基础上，而不是追求成绩和记录上。

担心这些非洲运动员会破坏殖民秩序这种想法在20世纪20和30年代一度盛行，这可以解释为什么在法国的集体记忆中宁愿把埃尔·瓦菲抹去。只有到了晚近关于移民贡献的热烈讨论中，才将他的名字重新纳入回法国的体育历史中。在埃尔·瓦菲获得了奥运会冠军以及在北非的旅行后，他回到了法国，并且很快被法国田径联合会除去了职业资格。他的生活状况

While optimistic that this scholarly project reveals a great deal about the 1928 Olympic marathon, we understand that not all the relevant voices have been heard. More research of this nature is needed to develop an even deeper understanding of this critical Olympic moment. The Algerian, Japanese, and Finnish constructions of their runners' experiences in Amsterdam still await excavation and analysis—at least for English-speaking communities. This does not imply in our estimation a form of ethnocentrism but rather an attempt to engage in meaningful scholarly exchange. In this sense, it is essential that English-speaking scholars intensify their knowledge of other languages in order to engage in richer exchanges with scholars from across the world. This will undoubtedly help in the quest to “decenter” Olympic scholarship. The intermixture of national and transnational patterns at the Olympic Games requires an effort to engage more researchers in more multinational scholarly endeavors in more diverse settings. After all, the history of the Olympic Games has been to an important degree marked by attempts, not always successful and many times fiercely contested, to expand the opportunities inherent in its professed philosophical visions. Those visions have, paradoxically, both national and transnational manifestations.

NOTES

¹For an effort to outline the collision of national and transnational forces in the modern Olympic Games see Mark Dyreson, “Globalizing the Nation-Making Process: Modern Sport in World History,” *International Journal of the History of Sport* 20 (March 2003): 91-106.

²John J. MacAloon, *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

³Konstantinos Georgiadis, *Olympic Revival: The Revival of the Olympic Games in Modern Times*, trans. Richard Witt (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 2003); Christina Koulouri, ed., *Athens: Olympic City* (Athens: International Olympic Academy, 2004); Alexander Kitroeff, *Wrestling With the Ancients: Modern Greek Identity and the Olympic Games* (New York: Greekworks, 2004).

⁴For an enlightening analysis of the questions raised by this recent scholarship see the 2005 “Forum” in the *Journal of Sport History* that includes Susan Brownell, “The View from Greece: Questioning Eurocentrism in the History of the Olympic Games,” *Journal of Sport History* 32, no. 2 (2005), 203-216; Christina Koulouri, “The Inside View of an Outsider: Greek Scholarship on the History of the Olympic Games,” *Journal of Sport History* 32, no. 2 (2005), 217-228; Allen Guttmann, “Say It in English, *šil vous plait*,” *Journal of Sport History* 32, no. 2 (2005), 229-230; Susan Brownell, “Eurocentrism Is More About Than Language,” *Journal of Sport History*

32, no. 2 (2005), 231-232; “Εν οἶδα ὅτιδεν οἶδα (I only know that I know nothing): The Babel of Sport Historians,” *Journal of Sport History* 32, no. 2 (2005), 233-234.

⁵In addition to the works cited in notes 2, 3, and 4, the forum also excavated Richard D. Mandell, *The First Modern Olympic Games* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); and David C. Young, *The Modern Olympic Games: A Struggle for Revival* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). Susan Brownell, Allen Guttmann, Alexander Kitroeff, John MacAloon, Richard Mandell, and David Young reside in the United States, Konstantinos Georgiadis and Christina Koulouri work from Greece. Brownell, Guttmann, MacAloon, Mandell, and Young were trained in the United States, Kitroeff in Great Britain, Georgiadis in Germany, and Koulouri in France. They were trained as anthropologists (Brownell), historians (Kitroeff, Koulouri, Mandell), classicists (Young), physical educators (Georgiadis) and American studies researchers (Guttmann). They generally specialize in different national traditions, including China (Brownell), Greece (Georgiadis, Kitroeff, Koulouri), and the United States, France, Germany, and Great Britain (Mandell, MacAloon), or seemingly every national tradition (the polymath Guttmann), or periods preceding nationalism (the Greek classicist Young). They research in an impressive variety of languages, especially English, Greek, German, and French. Susan Brownell, “Eurocentrism and the Olympic Games,” *Journal of Sport History* 32, no. 2 (2005), 199-201.

⁶Arnd Krüger and William J. Murray, *The Nazi Olympic Games: Sport, Propaganda, and Appeasement in the 1930s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

⁷For some of his forays into United States nationalism see Mark Dyreson, *Making the American Team: Sport, Culture and the Olympic Experience* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Mark Dyreson, *Crafting Patriotism for Global Domination: America at the Olympic Games* (London, Routledge, 2008).

⁸For his initial gambit into Mexican nationalism and sport see Mark Dyreson, “The Foot Runners Conquer Mexico and Texas: Endurance Racing, Indigenismo, and Nationalism,” *Journal of Sport History* 31, no. 1 (2004), 1-31.

⁹There is disagreement about El Ouafi’s first name in different contemporary national sources in North and South America and in Europe. The runner’s first name is sometimes listed as Boughera and as Broughera. It also appears as Abdel Baghinel, or some variant thereof, in the contemporary sources. Clearly, “Occidental” observers did not have a clear grasp of El Ouafi’s proper name, adding to the layers of colonialism that cloaked the Olympic champion.

¹⁰Mark Dyreson, “American Ideas About Race and Olympic Races from the 1890s to the 1950s: Shattering Myths or Reinforcing Scientific Racism?,” *Journal of Sport History* 28, no. 2 (2001), 173-215. The main articles in the *Negro World* interpreting El Ouafi’s victory were “‘Nordic Supremacy’ Has No Scientific Validity, Professor Drives Home,” *The Negro World*, 11 August, 1928, p. 3; “El Ouafi,” *The Negro World*, 18 August, 1928, p. 4.

¹¹“Exclusivo para EL UNIVERSAL y el ‘New York Times,’ *El Universal* (Mexico City) (hereafter *El Universal*), 7 August 1928, sec. 1, p. 5. *New York Times*

因为失业、贫穷、疾病等原因很快变得很潦倒。在1956年，由于另一位阿尔及利亚出生的法国马拉松选手Alain Mimoun所表达出的对他1928年夺冠事迹的尊敬，他才重新获得了一些荣誉。当Mimoun夺得墨尔本奥运会的冠军回到法国的时候，他设法使埃尔·瓦菲得到了爱丽舍宫的邀请。Mimoun还为他找了一份不错的工作。三年后，在法国及其非洲殖民地的恶劣时期，埃尔·瓦菲在巴黎郊区被谋杀。法国民众对他的死似乎漠不关心。

我们的探索或许会对来自不同国家的学者在试图分析1928年奥运会马拉松比赛的国家 and 跨国相互作用时，遇到了理论框架、动机、努力和挑战有所帮助。我们认为，对奥林匹克历史上这一事件的深入理解应该获得跨国和多学科研究策略的支持。联合各国的研究力量、讨论研究方法、批判地来看彼此的研究结果等，都会是富有成果的研究策略，这

对无论是国家的还是跨国的对奥林匹克运动——这一融入和活跃国家和跨国力量的现象——的研究来说都是很大的贡献。其积极影响之一就是冷静的回忆，真正的“全球”视角不但很难去建立，而且个人的努力比起团体的合作来说更加断裂和不完全。

对1928年奥运会马拉松比赛的跨国研究和分析表明，比赛在全球不同的角落蕴含着不同的复杂信息。在北美占统治地位的西方视线中，埃尔·瓦菲和布拉扎是未开化地区的代表，其卓越表现，引发了对曾经被用来解释运动表现的种族偏见的讨论。关于国家认同的条目，在北美的讨论中相对地隐退到了背景中去。在南美，关于比赛的论述则更倾向于集中在关于国家认同和社会阶级的条目上，而不是种族划分。在法国，对于马拉松比赛结果的反应则反映了殖民势力和被殖民者的紧张关系。虽然关于种族优劣的讨论并不是一点没有，关于殖民权力结构问题的争论却相对更加活跃。

version was Russell B. Porter, “‘Nordic Supremacy’ Called Fallacious,” *New York Times*, 7 August 1928, sec. 1, p. 10.

¹²“El Ouafi’s Marathon,” *New York Times*, 7 August 1928, p. 20.

¹³“La Carrera Marathon la Ganó un Corredor del Team Frances,” *El Universal*, 6 August 1928, sec. 1, p. 5; Alan J. Gould, “United States Wins Olympiad With 175 Points Against 102 of Britain,” *El Universal*, 6 August 1928, sec. 1, p. 2, (English page); Alan Gould, “Gano el Maraton un Corredor de Argelia,” *Excelsior (Mexico City)* (hereafter *Excelsior*), 6 August 1928, sec. 1, p. 2; Alan Gould, “Diminutive Algerian Wins Marathon Race,” *Excelsior*, 6 August 1928, sec. 1, p. 6 (English page).

¹⁴G. Van Rossem, (ed.), *The Ninth Olympiad: Being the Official Report of the Olympic Games of 1928 Celebrated at Amsterdam*, trans. Sydney W. Fleming (Amsterdam: J.H. De Bussy, 1928), 426-430; David E. Martin and Roger H. W. Gynn, *The Olympic Marathon: The History and Drama of Sport’s Most Challenging Event* (Champaign, Ill.: Human Kinetics, 2000), 469.

¹⁵In several places in his recent *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History* (London: Routledge, 2006), Douglas Booth implied the theories of Clifford Geertz have not been consistently “appropriated or applied” in regards to “Western sports” (pp. 161, 199-201). Dyreson’s view is somewhat different. More historians of sport than Booth recognizes have employed Geertz, in greater and lesser doses. In fact, Dyreson and others have been endeavouring to apply Geertz to American sports for nearly two decades with a fervour that some colleagues have claimed borders on obsession, using ideas from Geertz’s “Notes on a Balinese Cockfight” in *The Interpretation of Cultures* as well as from Geertz’s *Local Knowledge*. Geertz’s ruminations on the methods and philosophies of cultural interpretation continue to spur new discoveries, in particular his two collections of essays, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), and *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1984). Geertz’s “Deep Play” has greatly influenced recent scholarship on sport, especially the work of such insightful historians as Michael Oriard in his masterful studies on American football as a cultural text. See Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), and *King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio and Newsreels, Movies and Magazines, the Weekly & the Daily Press* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

¹⁶Van Rossem, *The Ninth Olympiad*, 426-430. A later narrative of the race lists 69 entrants rather than 68 listed in the official Dutch report. Martin and Gynn, *The Olympic Marathon*, 127-144, 468-469.

¹⁷For a history of scientific racism, Nordicism, and the Finnish prowess in this era see Dyreson, “American Ideas About Race and Olympic Races,” 173-215.

¹⁸Cesar R. Torres, “The Latin American ‘Olympic Explosion’ of the 1920s: Causes and Consequences,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no. 7 (2006), 1088-1111.

¹⁹Cesar R. Torres, “The Endurance of the Nation: Juan Carlos Zabala’s 1932 Olympic Marathon Victory and Argentine Nationalism,” *Stadion* (forthcoming 2007).

²⁰The multinational perspectives on the origins of the modern Olympic Games and the efforts to boycott the 1936 Olympic Games mentioned above are notable exceptions and instructive examples.

²¹Torres has written about the diffusion of Olympism in Latin America, with a primary focus on Argentina. In addition to the articles mentioned above see his following works: “Mass Sport Through Education or Elite Olympic Sport? José Benjamín Zubiatur’s Dilemma and Argentina’s Olympic Sports Legacy,” *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 7 (1998), 61-88; “Tribulations and Achievements: The Early History of Olympism in Argentina,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 18, no. 3 (2001), 59-92; “Ideas encontradas: la educación física y el deporte en el debate parlamentario sobre la participación argentina en los Juegos Olímpicos de 1908,” *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 11 (2002), 117-142; “‘If We Had Had Our Argentine Team Here!’ Football and the 1924 Argentine Olympic Team,” *Journal of Sport History* 30, no. 1 (2003), 1-24; “What was Pierre de Coubertin concerned about in 1889? A View from an Argentine Contemporary Source,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 22, no. 3 (2005), 344-364; “A Persistent Desire: An Account of Buenos Aires’ Efforts to Host the Olympic Games,” *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 16 (2007), 43-76; “‘Spreading the Olympic Idea’ to Latin America: The IOC-YMCA Partnership and the 1922 Latin American Games,” *Journal of Olympic History* (forthcoming 2008).

²²Obtaining South American sources could be a challenging enterprise for Olympic scholars. The difficulties range from the lack of archival tradition in regional sport bureaucracies to the scarcity of South American newspapers and magazines holdings in North American libraries. Cultural anthropologist Eduardo P. Archetti has pointed this issue in his book *Masculinities: Football, Polo and Tango in Argentina* (London: Berg, 1999). Archetti has noted that there are only two complete collections of the Argentine sport magazine *El Gráfico*, whose publication dates back to 1919, and has clarified that access to them is not easy (pp. 56-57).

²³See Cesar R. Torres, “‘Spreading the Olympic Idea’ to Latin America: The IOC-YMCA Partnership and the 1922 Latin American Games.”

²⁴Rapport Fait par le Comte de Baillet-Latour sur la Mission qu’il a remplie pour le C.I.O. dans l’Amérique du Sud, l’Amérique Centrale et l’Amérique du Nord, “22 E Session Rome 1923. Rapports. Rap. De mission en Amérique, 1923. 1923-1923”, *Le Comité International Olympique Archives*, Lausanne, Switzerland.

²⁵See, for example, *El Mercurio* (Santiago de Chile) (hereafter *El Mercurio*), 19 July 1928, p. 5; 22 July 1928, p. 34; 24 July 1928, p. 7; 28 July 1928, p. 10; 3 August 1928, p. 10; and 5 August 1928, p. 20.

²⁶*La Prensa* (Buenos Aires) (hereafter *La Prensa*), 28 July, 1928, p. 17; and 5 August 1928, p. 17.

当我们乐观地认为这一学术研究揭示了很多关于1928年奥运会马拉松比赛的内容时，我们还清醒地认识到我们并没有听到全部的声音。学者们还有必要对其进行更多的研究，以获取对这一奥林匹克关键时刻更为深入的理解。阿姆斯特丹奥运会上，来自阿尔及利亚、日本和芬兰的比赛者的经历和结构仍有待于挖掘和分析——至少对于英语国家来说是这样。我们的判断没有暗示种族中心主义式，而更是提供了一种进行有意义的学术交流的尝试。在这个意义上，英语国家的学者对其他语言的掌握能力就有待增强，以方便世界各地的学者日后日益增多的交流。这毫无疑问地将适应奥林匹克运动学术研究的“去中心化”。奥运会中国家和跨国模式的组合要求更大的努力来将更多的研究者纳入其中，以在各领域进行更多的国际学术研究。毕竟，奥运会的历史在很大程度上是由勇敢的尝试——虽然

这些尝试未必一定是成功的，很多时候甚至要面临强有力的挑战——来标记的，这些尝试有助于扩大其公开声称的哲学视野。奥林匹克运动的这些视野，无论在国家特征还是跨国交流上都具有极其鲜明的特征。

²⁷New York Times, 7 August 1928, p. 20; and London Times, 6 August 1928, p. 5.

²⁸La Prensa, 5 August 1928, p. 18.

²⁹La Prensa, 6 August, 1928, p. 17.

³⁰See the 5-10 August 1928 editions of El Mercurio.

³¹See the 17-19 September 1928 editions of El Mercurio. See also 24 September 1928, p. 15 and 25 September 1928, p. 5 of the same daily.

³²New York Times, 7 August 1928, p. 15.

³³See, for example, El Mercurio, 3 October 1922, p. 5.

³⁴See La Prensa, 6 August 1928, p. 17; and El Mercurio, 6 August 1928, p. 9.

³⁵Thierry Terret (ed.), *Les Paris des Jeux Olympiques de 1924* (Biarritz: Atlantica, in press 2008), 4 volumes. Terret has previously co-edited a book on the Winter Olympic Games of Chamonix 1924. See Pierre Arnaud and Thierry Terret, *Le rêve blanc. Olympisme et sport d'hiver* (Bordeaux: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 1993).

³⁶Pierre Arnaud and James Riordan (eds.), *Sports et relations internationales* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998).

³⁷For instance Thierry Terret, "Professional swimming in England before the Triumph of Amateurism, 1837-1875," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 12, no. 1, (1995), 18-32; Thierry Terret, *A la recherche de l'identité belge: le capitaine Docx et la promotion de l'éclectisme, Sport et Histoire, revue internationale des sports et des jeux (nouvelle série)*, 1 (1992), 81-101. Thierry Terret and Roberta Vescovi, "L'éducation physique à l'école primaire pendant l'entre-deux-guerres. Une comparaison des systèmes français et italiens," in Else Trangbaeck and Arnd Krüger (eds.), *The History of Educational Institutions, Physical Education and Sport* (Copenhagen: CESH, 1999), 269-283.

³⁸James Riordan, Arnd Krüger and Thierry Terret (eds.), *Histoire du sport en Europe* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004). An attempt to compare a particular activity at a world level was made later with the case of aquatic fitness. See Thierry Terret and Henry Humbert, *Histoire et diffusion de la gymnastique aquatique* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002).

³⁹Thierry Terret, *Les Jeux interalliés de 1919. Sport, guerre et relations internationales* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002).

⁴⁰For instance, in the case of the French perception of the preparation of the Olympic Games of Beijing in 2008. See Thierry Terret, "The Dish Might Be Overspiced: Fears, Doubts and Criticisms in French Perceptions of Chinese Olympic and Other Successes," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* (forthcoming 2008).

⁴¹Anne Roger, *L'entraînement en athlétisme en France (1919-1973): une histoire de théoriciens?*, Ph.D. diss., Université Lyon 1, 2003.

⁴²Thierry Terret, *Naissance et diffusion de la natation sportive* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1994). The case of water polo was still more complex, with a

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⁴³Arnaud Waquet and Thierry Terret, "Ballons ronds, Tommies et tranchées: l'impact de la présence britannique dans la diffusion du football-association au sein des villes de garnison de la Somme et du Pas-de-Calais (1915-1918)," *Modern and Contemporary France*, 14, no. 4 (2006), 449-464; Thierry Terret, "'Teaching the World to play': The Crusade of American YMCA Educators in France and the Foyers du Soldat (1919-1924)," in Gigliola Gori and Thierry Terret (eds.), *Sport and Education in History* (Sankt Augustin: Akademia Verlag, 2005), 71-79. More generally, on this process of influences in and through sport in France, see Jean-Philippe Saint-Martin and Thierry Terret (eds.), *Histoire du sport dans l'entre-deux-guerres. Regards croisés sur les influences étrangères*, (Paris : L'Harmattan, 2000)

⁴⁴For a serial of examples, see Thierry Terret (ed.), *Sport, Europe and Migration*, special issue "Europe," *International Journal of the History of Sport* (forthcoming 2008).

⁴⁵Important literature exists now on this issue. For the United States, see Gerald Gems, *The Athletic Crusade: Sport and American Cultural Imperialism* (University of Nebraska Press, 2006). For France, see the recent synthesis by Evelyne Combeau-Mari, "Sport in the French Colonies (1880-1962): A Case Study," *Journal of Sport History*, 33 no. 1 (2006), 27-58.

⁴⁶Thierry Terret, Cécile Ottogalli and Jean Saint-Martin, "The Puliti Affaire. Fencing Tradition, Geo-Political Issues and National Pride in Paris 1924," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24 no. 10 (2007), 1281-1301.

⁴⁷Youcef, Fates, *Sport et politique en Algérie de la période coloniale à nos jours*, Ph.D. diss., Université Sorbone, 2001.

⁴⁸Victor Breyer, *L'Echo des sports*, 6 August 1928.

⁴⁹Thierry Terret, Patrick Fargier, Bernard Rias and Anne Roger, *L'athlétisme et l'école. Histoire et épistémologie d'un sport éducatif* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002).

⁵⁰Timothée Jobert, *Champions noirs, racisme blanc. la métropole et les sportifs noirs en contexte colonial (1901-1944)* (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 2006).

⁵¹Bernadette Deville-Danthu, *Le sport en noir et blanc. Du sport colonial au sport africain* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996).

⁵²See, for instance, Patrick Pierquet, "Ahmed Bouguera El Ouafi de l'Olympe à l'oubli," *L'Humanité*, 4 September 1995; Frédéric Sugnot, "Boughera El Ouafi, marathonien inconnu," *L'humanité*, 21 September 2002.

⁵³Gaston Meyer, "La tragique aventure d'El Ouafi illustre le problème de l'amateurisme," *L'Equipe*, 18 December 1956.

⁵⁴Gérard Edelstein, "La gloire avait été trop lourde pour El Ouafi," *L'Equipe*, 20 October 1959.

OLYMPIC CEREMONIES AS A SETTING FOR INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGE

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“It is above all through the ceremonies that the Olympiad must distinguish itself from a mere series of world championships” (Coubertin, 1910:41). When Pierre de Coubertin made this crystal-clear judgment in 1910, there was no Olympic flame or flame relay or any separate Victory Ceremony. There was no Olympic flag, no Olympic oath, no established Olympic hymn. Coubertin had not even been present in Paris and Saint Louis for what could hardly be described as Olympic Ceremonies in any case. He had as models only the two Olympic Openings he attended in Athens and London.

These ceremonies consisted of stadium decoration, choral and band music, the formal entry of dignitaries, a parade of athletes, speeches, flag-raising and anthems, a release of doves, cannon salutes, and the declaration of opening by the host Head of State. No program of elaborate, much less artistic or spectacular cultural performances as yet formed any part of the Opening Ceremonies. Direct observation of the ceremonies was limited to the thousands in the stadium, and media coverage to the written press. After the fashion of the times, newspaper reports in most countries focused on lists of dignitaries present, bare narratives of the ritual (or rather the “protocol”) acts, and stereotyped depictions of the national delegations and athletic prospects in the march.

奥林匹克仪式—— 跨文化交流的平台

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现代奥林匹克运动之父顾拜旦曾说过“奥林匹克仪式是区分奥林匹克运动与其他单纯世界锦标赛的最显著标志”（顾拜旦，1910：41）。然而，当他在1910年明确地做出这一判断时，实际情况是如何的呢？当时，没有奥林匹克圣火或者圣火传递，甚至没有单独的颁奖仪式，也没有奥林匹克旗、奥林匹克宣誓，更没有现成的奥林匹克圣歌。顾拜旦甚至没有出席1900年巴黎奥运会和1904年圣路易斯奥运会，虽然在这两届奥运会上也还没有什么实际意义上的奥林匹克仪式。他做出这个判断的依据不过就是他参加过的1896年雅典奥运会和1908年伦敦奥运会。

这些仪式包括体育场的布置、大合唱、乐队演奏、代表团正式入住、运动员入场仪式、各种讲话发言、宣誓、升旗、圣歌、放飞和平鸽、礼炮以及举办国国家元首宣布开幕等。虽然没有精心制作的各种节目，也没太有壮观的文艺表演，这

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些却的确构成了开幕式。当时，能直接观看到这些仪式的不过只有体育场内的几千人，对其的新闻报道也仅仅限于纸质媒体。在当时的历史条件下，大多数国家的新闻报道只是局限在代表团数量、仪式（或者说“程序”更合适）以及老生常谈的对各国代表团的描述以及对其运动员比赛表现的预测上。

闭幕式则大多集中在颁奖典礼上，顾拜旦因此将其定义为“庸俗的”和“可怕的”，认为这导致了一种“混乱的、没有一丝审美气息的”氛围（顾拜旦，1910：42）。

那么，在这样的情况下，顾拜旦是如何做出这一判断的呢？要知道，同时作为对仪式有着偏好的人类学家和顾拜旦传记作者的我，一直认为这是他关于奥运会的所有论述中最敏锐的和最有预见性的论断。我将回到这个问题上来，但是首先，让我们回忆一下当今那些证明了其预言的铁一样的事实。

奥林匹克仪式和媒体

虽然奥运会的主体育场内出现了越来越多的技术精湛的电子媒体，举办国也在现场投入了大量的媒体和官方电影的技术人员，但所有的一切丝毫没有降低购买了转播权的转播商对诸如评论员、相机和机位

As for the Closing Ceremonies, centered largely around the awarding of prizes, Coubertin himself characterized them as thus far “vulgar” and “hideous,” conducted in an atmosphere of “disorder and without the slightest care for aesthetics” (Coubertin, 1910:42).

On what grounds then could he have made what I regard--with the bias of an anthropologist of ritual but also the privilege of a Coubertin biographer--as the most acute and prophetic remark in all his writings about the Olympic Games? I will return to this question, but first let us remind ourselves of certain facts which today confirm the accuracy of Coubertin's prophecy.

THE IMPORTANCE OF OLYMPIC RITUALS TO THE OLYMPIC FAMILY

From the standpoint of Olympic authority today, the IOC (International Olympic Committee) President's ritual acts of inviting the host Head of State to declare open the Games during the Opening Ceremony and of himself declaring the Games completed during the Closing Ceremonies are (together with selection of host cities) the chief public demonstrations of the IOC's authority and power. Without these ritual moments, many persons around the world would know neither the names nor faces of Mr. Brundage, Mr. Killanin or Mr. Samaranch and would have no sustained image whatsoever of the IOC. Without these ceremonies and those at the victory podiums, the IOC would have little symbolic power and would be merely a faceless agency in the mass public cultures of many countries.

From the standpoint of in-person Olympic spectators, the ceremonies have for some time been the most sought-after admissions of all Olympic events, despite the fact that ceremonies tickets are now officially priced some five to ten times higher than the highest profile sport

events. For Atlanta 1996, U.S. domestic orders for ceremonies tickets have been greater than for any sports contest or arts festival event. This is in a nation said by many to love sport but to have little taste for ritual and protocol. In Seoul, Korea, our research team documented Opening Ceremonies tickets being "scalped" (privately exchanged) for as much as US\$8000/ticket on the inaugural day, and figures only slightly less were reported to us for Barcelona. We anticipate that some wealthy or particularly devoted persons will pay US\$5000 on the black market for an Olympic Opening Ceremonies ticket in Atlanta.

Guarantees of ceremonies tickets are now a chief component of Olympic sponsorship packages. Without such guarantees, multinational corporations would be unwilling to offer the current level of sponsorship money. As became especially notable in Albertville, these business executives, selected employees, and favored corporate clients now arrive at the Opening Ceremonies and occupy large blocks of seats in their own sponsor's uniforms, as if they were a participating athletic team.

For the first, and often the only time during the Games, the sections reserved for "A", "B", and "C" credentialed Olympic family members are filled to overflowing during the ceremonies. Rights to attend the Opening Ceremonies are furthermore a central ambition and reward for OCOG (Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games) staff members and volunteers, and are understood by many in the years after the Games as the clearest measurement of their worth to the organizing committee. Olympic scholarly researchers have generally had to purchase black market tickets, and even the few recently credentialed as official observers by the IOC or OCOGs have obtained ceremonies admissions only with great and last-minute difficulties. Demand for ceremonies admission by local and international politicians, dignitaries, celebrities, and tycoons is also acute, leading to additional pressures on organizers.

The unrelenting growth in Olympic family demand for tickets - including sponsors, dignitaries, press and researchers - has meant that fewer and

以及更多工作人员出现在开闭幕式上的要求。虽然很多电子媒体记者可以很好地完成其任务，就像经济更窘迫的那些转播商能够做到的一样，但在国际新闻中心（IBC）里，这些事情的确在发生着。书面媒体记者也要求进入主体育场内，这其中也包括体育记者，虽然他们在其报纸和杂志中只刊登很少的关于仪式的部分，并且其任务的完成大部分要依靠主新闻中心（MPC）提供的内容（默拉嘎斯、里文博格、拉尔森，1995）。但记者们无疑很害怕丢失其面对编辑和观众时候的身份，他们担心如果没有亲身出现在这些仪式中进行报道的话，会被人评价为只是顾及体育专业技能或者炫耀世界排名（而没有抓住奥林匹克运动的内涵）。

全球观看这些仪式的绝对人数和相对人数是我们要考虑到的重要问题。默拉嘎斯教授及其同事尼古拉斯·洛里特、努利亚·加西亚对此做出过积极贡献，他们在进行了科学的评价后认为，媒体和营销机构——包括国际奥委会和组委会的那些出售赞助权的部门——对观众所说的话是惊人的一致。比如说，你能够在很多官员的谈话和新闻出版物中看到数据显示，观看巴塞罗那奥运会开幕式的电视观众是35亿，或者接近全球人口的65%。西班牙巴塞罗那自治大学奥林匹克研究

中心的研究结果却显示，考虑到全球电视信号的发布、播出时间、频道环境甚至是最大限度的观众参与程度，看到这些仪式的观众大概只有23亿左右。这些研究者还认为，更现实和科学的负责的观众估计大概是10亿人（默拉嘎斯、里文博格、拉尔森，1995:209-221）。

在电视转播技术相对薄弱的非洲、南亚和南美洲，一个村子或者一桩楼或者一个商店的角落里大概有40人围拢在电视机前观看这些仪式，人类学家的这一直接观察使得我相信，25%这个数字是相对保守的。但同时，几乎所有的研究者又都赞同这样一点，那就是，即使全球每5个人中只有一人能够亲临或者代表这一伟大时刻，那么这一单一的人类历史事件就几乎会得到人们同时的关注。更者，奥林匹克运动的任一项目从未要求过观众对该项目有着对奥运会开闭幕式同样的热情。最后，记住顾拜旦的论述，世界杯决赛的电视观众可能比许多单项奥林匹克运动项目的决赛观众还要多，但是世界杯的开闭幕式不会像奥运会开闭幕式那样引起那么多人的注意。同样，其他任何单项赛事的世界锦标赛的开闭幕式则更少有人关注，这些开幕式仿佛都是对奥运会开幕式的苍白模仿。

因此，萨马兰奇先生具备了什么国际田联主席内比奥罗先生、国际足联主席阿维兰热先生和国际体操联

fewer places in the stadium are available for ordinary persons. This fact now contributes significantly to popular polemics against the commercialization and gigantism of the Games, even in host cultures like Korea which happily found no difficulty in admitting over 250,000 ordinary citizens to Opening Ceremonies dress rehearsals. Western ceremonies organizers in America, France, and Spain have been unwilling to permit this, in order to preserve what their very different general and professional cultures tell them are the performative values of secrecy and surprise.

The increasing appropriation of the Opening Ceremonies by official elites is one reason why the Olympic flame relay has become so much more important in the total ceremonial system of recent Olympic Games. As a consequence, international researchers like myself, Kang Shin-pyo, and Arne Martin Klausen and his Norwegian colleagues have lately turned attentions much more to the torch relay. Because it is public, free, open, local, motile, face-to-face, largely un-mass mediated, human in scale, subject to spontaneous decision-making by potential audiences, and closely inflected by concrete local communities and cultures, and because it keeps elites--including the IOC--in their place, the flame relay has emerged as the people's Olympic celebration, the most popular of Olympic Ceremonies in key meanings of that term.

In certain senses, the Olympic flame relay has become socially and symbolically the antithesis of the Opening Ceremonies, and even a kind of anti-ritual or ritual protest against the elite social segregation of the central ceremonies. Real understanding of the Olympic ceremonial system as a whole now requires as much discussion of the flame relay as of the Opening, Closing, and Victory Ceremonies. But, of course, it is well understood that the term "popular" is losing its original referents in favor of the modern meaning of raw demography of attention through the mass media. In absolute measures and by contrast with the flame relay, the Opening and Closing Ceremonies command massive world press attention and emphasis.

CEREMONIES AND MEDIA

Ever more generous and technically sophisticated electronic pool coverage arrangements and the armies of host broadcaster and official film technicians in the stadium have done nothing to dampen the demands of rights-holding broadcasters for commentator, unilateral camera, and production positions, and for larger and larger staffs physically present for the Opening and Closing Ceremonies. This occurs despite the fact that many electronic journalists could fulfill their responsibilities perfectly well, as financially poorer broadcasters do, from within the International Broadcast Center (IBC). Journalists from the written press demand to be inside the stadium too, not excluding sports reporters who will publish little in their newspapers and magazines about the ceremonies and who could fulfill their tasks perfectly well from the Main Press Center (MPC) (Moragas; Rivenburgh; Larson, 1995). Journalists rightly fear losing status with their editors and audiences and slipping down in the professional prestige ranking of Olympic reporters if they are not physically present at the ceremonies.

The absolute and relative size of the global broadcast audience for the ceremonies is a chief fact to be considered. Professor Moragas and his colleagues, notably Nicolás Lorite and Núria García, have done a great service by scientifically evaluating the claims of media and marketing agencies to audiences of astounding proportion, including IOC and OCOG departments whose task it is to sell sponsorships. For example, you can read in many official as well as journalistic publications that the television audience for the Barcelona Opening Ceremonies was 3.5 billion persons, or approximately 65% of the entire population of our planet. The researchers of the Centre d'Estudis Olímpics (Barcelona, Spain) have shown, however, that the best available data on the global distribution of television sets and broadcast timing, channel environment, and even the most generous models of audience participation indicate a maximum conceivable number of 2.3 billion television adherents to these ceremonies. According to these researchers, a more realistic and

合会主席蒂多夫先生所不具备的东西呢？答案就是这些全球化了的、充满力量并能有效唤起感情的仪式。你也可以说，这是一项理想主义的活动而不仅仅是体育运动，这一点没错。我们将这些抽象的概念定义为“奥林匹克主义”。如果有人比着葫芦画瓢，推出什么国际田联（IAAF）主义、足球主义、体操主义等，那可就是荒唐至极了。那么，这一旨在追求和平和国际理解的奥林匹克思想又是如何在人类社会落地生根的呢？除了奥林匹克大家庭外，大部分都是两年一度地在其起居室或者酒吧角落与奥林匹克现象有着或多或少的接触。因此，问题就是，它是如何最大限度地具体化的？答案同样是在这些仪式中，而奥林匹克体育赛事仅仅是其中一个融入圣火传递、开闭幕式 and 颁奖典礼等奥林匹克仪式的一部分，融入其中并不时被这些仪式打断或者说联系着的。然而，这些体育项目虽然很精彩，但正如顾拜旦所言，如果只有单纯的锦标赛，那么国际奥委会将会是另一种体育官员和主办人的组织机构，或许实际上在国际联合会中是力量相对弱小的一种。如果没有了这些仪式，萨马兰奇等最担心的事情，至少是像巴黎一百周年大会上的行为那样，就会成为现实：国际体育单项联合会可能最后会成功地将国际奥委会置于权力之外。

奥林匹克历史和地理政治学中的仪式

与人们对构成“奥林匹克传统”的历史的记忆不同，现在的开幕式更加注重流行化。研究者们毫不费力地就可以证实，对世界各地的很多观众来说，开幕式的形象和景象是他们对过往奥运会最持久和最稳定的记忆：汉城“丰富多彩的民族传统”；洛杉矶（LA）“好莱坞狗仔队”；莫斯科“庄严肃穆的舞台设计”；阿尔贝维尔“先锋派的艺术”；利勒哈默尔“北方的神化与传说”。有时是保持在集体记忆中的某些特定的表演景象：巴塞罗那的歌剧和射箭点火；利勒哈默尔社会底层精神和跳高滑雪的火炬传递；阿尔贝维尔气泡女孩和跳簧杂技演员；洛杉矶的钢琴集体演奏和太空人；汉城的奥林匹克五环及其吉祥物虎多力；莫斯科火炬手组成的人梯等。

通常，非常独特和非常普遍的景象都共存于特殊的记忆中，而且可能与仪式导演的初衷并不那么相符，或者观众并不会那么十分积极地来评价这些景象（这一点我稍后还要谈谈）。但是，对任何一个严肃地看待这一传统和讲述的人来说——这包括社会科学工作者和将奥林匹克运动的价值和传统当作一项真正的社会活动来保护的人——这些仪式景象的持续，通常是比谁赢得比

scientifically responsible audience estimate would be a maximum of 1 billion viewers (Moragas; Rivenburgh; Larson, 1995:209-221).

Anthropologists' direct observations of collective Olympic viewing in technologically impoverished areas of Africa, Southeast Asia, and South America—the phenomenon of forty people around one television set in a village, apartment plaza, or corner store—lead me to believe this number is conservative, by perhaps 25%. But the main point upon which all researchers agree is that even one in five people alive on the earth represents far and away the greatest documented, more or less simultaneous attention to a single scheduled event in human history. Moreover, only in rare cases in particular viewing markets, and never in aggregate global telespectatorship, do any of the Olympic sports events command the same degree of viewer interest as do the Olympic Opening and Closing Ceremonies. Finally, to remember Coubertin's remark, the television audience for the World Cup final may perhaps outstrip many individual Olympic sports finals, but no World Cup audience comes even close to the aggregate attention commanded by the Olympic Opening and Closing Ceremonies. Certainly not the audience for any other world championship much less for the World Cup opening ceremonies, pale copies of the Olympic ceremonies.

Therefore, what does Mr. Samaranch possess that Mr. Nebiolo, Mr. Havelange, and Mr. Titov do not and will not? The answer is globally powerful and evocative ceremonials. You might also say a movement with an ideology beyond just the making of sport, and this is certainly true. For all its elusive vagueness, there is "Olympism," whereas the notion of a social ideology of IAAFism, or footballism, or gymnasticism is self-evidently absurd. But where does the abstract conception of Olympic ideology as a movement for peace and international understanding take on human flesh and blood? Where does it most materialize into living representations for the vast majority of people outside the Olympic family who encounter the Olympic phenomenon from their living rooms or corner bars every two years? The answer is in the ceremonies, and

Olympic sports events only insofar as they are contextualized, encased within, and punctuated by the flame relay, Opening, Victory, and Closing Ceremonies. Otherwise, as wonderful as they are, these sports contests would be, as Coubertin said, mere world championships, and the IOC would be just another organization of sports officials and entrepreneurs, just another, and perhaps in fact a relatively powerless international federation. Without the ceremonies, the worst fears of the Samaranch regime, at least as manifest in its conduct of the Paris Centennial Congress, could come true: the international federations might eventually succeed in putting the IOC out of business.

CEREMONIES IN OLYMPIC HISTORY AND GEOPOLITICS

With respect to popular as opposed to official historical memories composing "Olympic tradition," researchers have no difficulty demonstrating that for many audiences in many parts of the world ceremonies images are among the most enduring and stable representations of past Games. Sometimes these are much generalized imageries: Seoul, "colorful folklore"; Los Angeles (LA): "Hollywood pizzazz"; Moscow: "solemn choreography"; Albertville: "avant-garde artistic energy"; Lillehammer: "boreal legend and myth." Sometimes very particular images of specific performances remain in collective memory: opera singers and the archer in Barcelona; underworld spirits and the ski-jumping torch bearer in Lillehammer; bubble girls and bungee-cord acrobats in Albertville; grand pianos and a spaceman in Los Angeles; the skydivers' Olympic rings and the cosmic konori battle in Seoul; the torch bearer's human staircase in Moscow.

Often very specific and very generalized imageries coexist in popular memory, and often they do not match up with what the ceremonies designers intended or are not necessarily positively evaluated images at all (a fact to which I will return). But for anyone who takes seriously popular

赛还要来得长久，这进一步证明了奥林匹克仪式无论是与单纯奥林匹克竞技水平表现相比还是与其它世界性的仪式、景观和节日等相比，都具备自己的独特性。

总而言之，没有任何一项奥林匹克运动项目，没有任何一项其他的体育节日，没有任何一个其他的文化事件，没有任何其他的一项艺术表演，没有任何一个教堂或者政治事件，没有任何一个包括联合国在内的国际组织，实际上没有任何其他事情能够产生出像奥林匹克仪式这样的两年一度如此规律的和可以预见的表演所能引起的全球范围的同时关注。因此，我们可以说这是一种“仪式妒忌”，其他的世界团体也想要加入到这种活动中。比如，上个世纪70年代联合国教科文组织（UNESCO）的某些党派就试图控制奥林匹克运动；1992年的冬季和夏季奥运会过程中，欧共体也进行过许多费时费力又引起争议的斗争，试图以自身来代表这些仪式。

在这些情况背后，全世界差不多所有重要的政治、宗教、商业和社会活动和机构都试图将自己与奥林匹克仪式有所联系，我们都知道，一直存在着的那些斗争——从1917年俄国被驱逐，到巴塞罗那奥运会上巴勒斯坦人和加泰罗尼亚闹独立，到亚特兰大人——一直致力于没有边界的国家或者政府（正式的，没

有国家奥委会的)来获得其在开幕式上的能见的自治。在国家政府这个层面上,奥运会开幕式在其一个多世纪的征程中显得像全球这一国家体系的中心仪式表演。

想一下这些事实,比如说台湾为了能够参加开幕式,接受了“中华台北”的名称、旗帜和代表团歌曲。新的国家——无论是因为前苏联解体产生的新国家还是在大洋洲、非洲和东南亚因为民主过程新建立起来的国家——都积极地建立了国家奥委会,招募运动员,在奥运会开幕式上争得一席之地,哪怕当时其宪法还没有颁布或者政府尚未组阁。与美国的会员资格一样,在奥运会开幕式上入场似乎已经成为一个国家或者地区得到国际认可的必要条件之一。如果富有的和具备高水平运动员的国家更多地停下来去想为什么那么多穷国家甚至那些其运动员大多会在第一轮比赛就惨遭淘汰的国家为什么还要花费那么多钱派出代表团来参加奥运会的时候,他们也许会在开幕式中找到答案。同样的,正如我们所知道的那样,被驱逐出奥林匹克仪式之外,无论是南非被驱逐出去20年还是1992年的塞黑,都成为了当时典型的世界事件,这些事情在王权国家和稳定的国家或许会被低估,但是在其他地方不会。

traditions and discourses about the Games - and that surely must include both social scientists and the custodians of the values and traditions of the Olympic Games as a real social movement - the persistence of ceremonies imageries, often long after anyone can remember who won this or that sport contest, offers further evidence of the comparative uniqueness of Olympic Ceremonies among other Olympic performances and other world rituals, spectacles, and festivals.

In sum, no other Olympic event, no other sports festival, no other cultural event, no arts performance, no church, no political movement, no other international organization, including the United Nations, indeed no other anything has ever managed to generate regularly scheduled and predictable performances which command anywhere near the same focused global attention as do the Olympic Ceremonies. Therefore, suffering we may say from "ceremonies envy," other world bodies try repeatedly to get into the act. For example, the power of the Olympic Ceremonies was a key incentive for efforts by some UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) partisans in the 1970s to win control over the Olympic Movement, and the two Games of 1992 saw the considerable, expensive, and controversial efforts of the European Community to get itself represented in the ceremony.

Behind the scenes, nearly every important political, religious, commercial, and social movement and agency in the world tries to bring itself into some contact with the Olympic Ceremonies, and we all know of the perpetual struggles--from Russian exiles in 1917, to the Palestinians and Catalan independentistas in Barcelona, to Native Americans in Atlanta--of nations without territories or states (officially, without NOCs - National Olympic Committees) to win autonomous visibility for themselves in the opening ceremony. On the level of nation-states alone, the Olympic Opening Ceremony has emerged over the course of one century as the central ritual performance of the entire global system of nation-states.

Recall the fact that whole nations like Taiwan have been willing to forego their own name, flag, and anthem in order to continue to march. New nations--whether those re-emerging from the collapse of the Soviet Union or the final nations generated by the decolonization process in Oceania, Africa, and Southeast Asia--often succeed in constituting an NOC, rounding up athletes, and claiming a place in the Olympic Opening Ceremonies even before they have settled on a constitution or form of government. Together with membership in the United Nations, marching in the Olympic Opening Ceremonies is the sine qua non of world recognition as a bona fide nation-state. If the rich and athletically developed countries paused more often to wonder why countries that are poor and all of whose athletes will be eliminated in their first moments of competition still invest so heavily in sending a delegation to the Olympic Games, they would find here in the Opening Ceremonies their answer. Also, as we know, expulsion from the Olympic Ceremonies, whether for South Africa for twenty years or Serbia-Montenegro in 1992, has become a principled sanction in world affairs, perhaps under-estimated in sovereign and stable countries, but not so elsewhere, as one only has to ask Mr. Nelson Mandela to learn.

THE ORGANIZATION OF OLYMPIC CEREMONIES

The Olympic Ceremonies' intellectually challenging, emotionally moving, and politically mobilizing linkages of bodily practice and social identity, human feeling and technological power, civil society and state authority, cultural history and commercial struggle, popular interest and world system structure into a single performative composition have contributed to making the Olympic Ceremony--from the standpoint of raw attention, and for better or worse--into the closest approximation to a truly global ritual of humanity that our species has yet managed to devise.

One would therefore logically expect that the issue of Olympic Ceremonies would be continuously front and center in the minds of

三种奥林匹克仪式模型

如果把复杂的东西简化为一个简单的模型，我们就可以发现，近些年来大概有三种开幕式的组织模式，它们的组织截然不同，分别是：主办人模式、文化专家模式和电影导演模式。下面我将其作为普遍的理想化类型，然后再增加其细节和变化，以更精确地描述出三种类型明确的具体情况。

如果你是1984年洛杉矶的尤伯罗斯先生和Usher先生，或者1992年巴塞罗那的Maragall先生和Abad先生，或者1996年亚特兰大的Payne先生和Watkins夫人，那么你首先要从电影界、电视界和广告界雇佣一大批主办人也就是观众的主宰者并赋予他们极大的权力：洛杉矶的David Wolper、巴塞罗那的Lluís Bassat以及亚特兰大的Don Mischer（虽然来自洛杉矶）。因为你是你自己，无论是次要的或者是中产阶级的背景，并不经常与这些人有联系，你会担心他们是否能了解并尊重国际和多元文化力量，以及是否对你希望他们呈现和生产出来的东西具有足够的敏感性，更不用说在金钱上带给你的或多或少的利益了。通过许多年的申办之路，你（有时不是他们）都会学到这些并使其内化。在奥林匹克仪式这一大型生产过程中，你需要他们的理念和经验，但是你也担心他们是否只是单纯地

将其之前做过的小范围工作按比例扩大为奥林匹克仪式。你也会感到一些危险，比如说，与服务于奥林匹克赛事不同，他们为达到成功所进行的投入或许更主要是受到其名声以及其私人公司在奥运会后财务状况的驱动或者左右。

所以，为了减轻你的恐惧，恢复国际奥委会和奥林匹克大家庭的信心，你要做这么三件事情。第一，你要保证他们雇佣的是有天赋和才华的、脚踏实地的生产者而不是生活在浮躁世界之中的，他们应该更接近于艺术家、管理者和文化会计师：洛杉矶的Tommy Walker和Ric Birch、巴塞罗那的Pepo Sol和Manuel Huerga、亚特兰大的David Goldberg。第二，你在这个大的制作过程中，你需要有一个有经验的、实际的、逻辑的各种仪式的主管，他是组委会的一个组成部分，并向你汇报情况，他还应该知道其职责就是直到最后一天都要保证这个大的生产团队能够正常运作。如果他不是一个“文科类型”的人，并且是一个当地人：比如说巴塞罗那的Josep Roca和亚特兰大的Kenneth Dollar，那就更好不过了。第三，你要力求这些演出主办人保证其工作绝对都是世界水平的、独立的和严肃的艺术，而不允许出现非常明显的流行歌手或者用一种与他们各自的公司或者工

Olympic authorities. In fact, as our researchers have shown, attention to Olympic Ceremonies is highly discontinuous and variable across Olympic organizational time and space and in the different countries and cultures providing Olympic personnel and resources. The first international symposium dedicated exclusively to reflection on Olympic Ceremonies with IOC patronage and participation has awaited 1995 to accomplish. Ceremonies researchers, producers, and practitioners have had to wait their turn until sports governance, television, biomedical, legal, marketing, geopolitical, educational, fine arts, museological, and even memorabilia collection groups have received their IOC-patronized international symposia.

Each of these concerns, moreover, now merits its own IOC standing commission, whereas the ceremonies no longer do. Even the former IOC Protocol Commission, whose formal dossier included the ceremonies, mostly concerned itself with other matters. To take another example, during a 1991 international Olympic Congress in Quebec, the IOC President, Vice-President, and Director General were kind enough to hold a small meeting with a few scholars to explore ways of bringing the social science and humanities academic community into better and more useful relation with the IOC Executive, perhaps including a new commission. When it was suggested that the topic of ceremonies was a terrain which joined the interests and knowledge of scholars in several fields with those of the IOC, the President dismissed the suggestion because "the subject was not important enough." Of course, the IOC Executive appreciates the significance of Olympic Ceremonies. (How could they not, when the ceremonies are crucial to their own legitimacy and public existence?). What the president meant, I believe, is that IOC Commissions are today for pressing unsolved problems, not for "solved problems" or confident successes like the Olympic Ceremonies.

Moreover, ceremonies have long since become primarily OCOG not IOC preoccupations and responsibilities, that is beyond the simple guard-

ianship of the specific Olympic "protocol" or "ritual" segments. As often as they have been grateful for IOC distance from ceremonies planning, OCOG ceremonies designers and directors have periodically complained of the IOC's "benign neglect" of their efforts until the Games are about to open. Sometimes, this ambivalent attitude is combined in ceremonies officials' reactions to what seem to them to be arbitrary and last-minute interventions by IOC officials in their scenarios and designs. One thinks of the last minute IOC-OCOG88 struggles over the "recognition ceremonies" in Calgary, and of several recent torch relay imbroglios.

Perhaps there are some beginnings of a change in this attitude of benign neglect. Olympic candidatures now more regularly include prospectuses for the ceremonies in their bid books and presentations, usually in the context of the world-historical significances and city images they promise for their Games. As I believe our colleagues from Atlanta, Nagano and Sydney will confirm, reports on ceremonies development more frequently figure in OCOG progress reports to the IOC Executive than in the past. But still, from the candidature process through the build-up to an edition of the Olympic Games, issues of finance and construction, sports programs and international federation relations, telecommunications, and international diplomacy take precedence over ceremonies development for both IOC and OCOGs, sometimes until the very last minute. This is despite the fact that in the end the ceremonies will play a more crucial role in the lasting imagery of the Games than perhaps anything but geopolitical disruptions (boycotts, terrorism, etc.). I will later suggest that such "benevolent neglect" is not only understandable but perhaps even wise and useful. But faced with their awesome, indeed from our perspective terrifying responsibilities, Olympic Ceremonies designers and directors may be forgiven for not thinking so.

All OCOGs, in my experience, generally understand the burdens, responsibilities, and opportunities offered by the ceremonies entrusted to them. At the same time, OCOGs differ greatly in the absolute quantity

作网络有着某种契约关系的表演者：比如洛杉矶的Philip Glass、巴塞罗那的La Fura del Baus、El Tricicle和Montserrat Caballé以及我们目前还不知道的亚特兰大的这位。

在韩国，这样的筹办模式被其组委会（SL00C）否决。因为韩国人更加尊重这个过程中国家文化传统的学习和培养，最初的团队包括13个人，由独立的艺术家领导、6位教授和教育家以及各有一位画家和剧作家组成。只有三位政府和组委会官员，一位电视转播主管。第二个顾问队伍有37人，包括几位经理人和媒体工作人员，但是大多数的构成人员还是学者、教育家、文化历史学家和“国家文化宝藏”的艺术家、文学工作人员、诗人、剧场和音乐方面的专家、舞蹈家、民俗学家和宗教权威。只有一个分组是由媒体人领导。只有当他们的脚本或多或少地完成并得到艺术家、教授和官员的同意后，138人组成的视觉和舞台技术、电视转播专家、流行文化艺术家和生产者以及评论员团队才开展工作。

那么，谁是最关键的单独的伟大的作者和这些韩国奥林匹克仪式的实现者呢？我们根本给不出这个问题的答案，因为在韩国这种模式和文化背景下，这是不可能完成的任

务。实际上，几乎如果任何人把自己放在这样一个位置上，那都是不道德的。在这里，全民的辉煌和痛苦历史都被放在了一个全球的舞台上，国家的未来也命悬于此，因此不允许有任何的主办人或者个人明星。在韩国的词汇中，这叫“不诚恳”。在任何公共场合，外国人和公众出现的地方，绝对不会听到参与仪式的主要人员为工资和谁的功劳大等闹起了纠纷这类事情。

第三个模式是由阿尔贝维尔创造的早已得到世界认同的法国批判主义电影制作的理论和模型，被称为“电影导演”方式。其主要的结果是既不是选出一个主办人生产者也不是一个文化专家的团队，而是一个独立的、有创造力的、多媒体技术高超的艺术家，他最好是年轻一点的、先锋派的，能够打破国家和国际上的名声所限，足以代表新一代的艺术世界。他被寄予厚望，大家希望他提供给大家的不仅仅是理念或者一个由他人来实现的幻想，而是因为他是艺术家，所以他要自己脚踏实地地完成工作。导演被选出来提供一个视觉、主题、基调、形式、标识主义和实现的综合体，并且没有任何的现成模型可以参照。在奥运会的最后，你会希望能够说这些仪式是Decouflé，而Decouflé就是这些仪式。实际上，阿尔贝维尔就是这么

and the timing of financial and human resources they are able or willing to commit to the ceremonies. They also differ significantly, and in patterned ways, as to the selection and composition of their ceremonies team. The realization of successful Opening and Closing Ceremonies now everywhere requires the contributions of: creative artists; culture, history, and folklore scholars and specialists; producers with experience in both live and film and television performances; scenarists, writers, and composers; big operations managers; marketing, public relations, and other professional "image" managers; technical and electronic specialists in such areas as wiring, light, sound, and computer production; designers and trainers in choreography, costuming, set production, and musical scoring; professional and volunteer performers; media guide writers and publicists; and an army of support staff willing to feed, house, medicate, and answer the phones for all these others.

But, as recent ceremonies have shown there are extreme differences among host OCOGs in the hierarchies of authority and commission among these various specialists, differences which respond to the educational, social, and professional backgrounds of OCOG leaders--who after all, have obtained the Games--but above all to the deeper contextual cultural structures of the host national cultures and subcultures they issue from.

PRODUCTION OF THREE MODELS OF CEREMONIES

Reducing a wonderful complexity to simple typology, we can recognize three distinct organizational models in recent years: the impresario model, the cultural experts model, and the auteur model. I present them first as general ideal types, then add details and variations more accurately depicting the actualities of the concrete cases.

If you are Mr. Ueberroth and Mr. Usher in Los Angeles for 1984, or Mr. Maragall and Mr. Abad for Barcelona in 1992, or Mr. Payne and Mrs.

Watkins for 1996, you first hire and give general authority to a big impresario from the world of film, television, and advertising production, a master, in other words, of the spectacle: David Wolper in LA, Lluís Bassat in Barcelona, or Don Mischer (from LA but) for Atlanta. Because you are yourselves from either petit or moyen bourgeois backgrounds, and do not usually associate with such people, you worry a great deal about whether they will understand and respect the international and multicultural power and sensitivities of what you have asked them to imagine and produce, not to mention the practical need to bring you in more or less on budget. All of this you (and sometimes not they) have learned and internalized through the long years of the Olympic bid process. You need their ideas and experience in large productions, but you also worry that they will see the Olympic Ceremonies as just a bigger version of what they have already done for more parochial "markets". You also sense some danger that, instead of serving the Olympic cause, their devotion to success might be chiefly driven by marketing their own reputations and the financial well-being of their private companies after the Games.

So to allay your fears and to reassure the IOC and the world Olympic family, you make certain of three things. First of all, you insure that they hire gifted and realistic on-the-ground producers who do not live (at least not yet) in the inflated impresario world, and who are perhaps closer to both artists, managers, and accountants of culture: Tommy Walker and Ric Birch in Los Angeles, Pepo Sol and Manuel Huerga in Barcelona, David Goldberg in Atlanta. Second, you insist that there is a Director of Ceremonies who is a proven, practical, logistical manager of big operations and who lives within your OCOG and reports to you, and who knows that his responsibilities at the end of the day are to insure that the big visions of the producers and scenarists actually come off. All the better if he is not an "artsy type" and is a native of the local community: say a Josep Roca in Barcelona, or a Kenneth Dollar in Atlanta. Thirdly, you pressure the impresarios to make sure that individual commissions go to truly world-class, independent, and serious artists, not just to obvious

做的，法国媒体甚至为此发明了一个新的词语“decouflante”。当然，Decouflé先生有Messrs的协助。Jacques Hinstin和Pasquale Henrot以及其他各合作者、经理人、表演者和技术人员在另一个奥运会中也有所作为。但是，由于制作者和接收者的公众文化不同，所以不同的主导模式和部署调度的确带来了很大的区别。

此外，在总结出的这些模式或者它们之间还有一些重要的异同点，它们隐含在内。比如，David Wolper是洛杉矶奥运会组委会（LAOOC）官员，但是后来他成为了其仪式的生产者，Ovideo-Bassat-Sport是巴塞罗那奥运会组委会（COOB）建立并控制的公司。因此，如果我们知道这些重要的组织和经营细节，那么我们也就会明白亚特兰大奥运会组委会（ACOG）选择了理想的外主办者类型，就必然要承担其风险。

奥林匹克仪式、文化和交流

如果将这些仪式说成是单一的“美国文化”或者“法国文化”或者“韩国文化”，那么，无论在什么背景下说出这样的话，都是不负责任的、危险的和国家浪漫主义的。这样的讲话不过是又一次跨文化的陈词滥调，与顾拜旦终身为之奋斗的

真正的跨文化教育截然不同，顾拜旦及其真正的接班人一直相信奥林匹克运动的持久度及其最终目的（麦克阿隆，1981）

默拉嘎斯教授、里文博格教授及其同事们已经非常准确地向我们展示了现代电视传媒在对这些奥林匹克仪式的转播中是如何倾向于继续制造这些陈词滥调和漠视、无辜和害怕。当这些研究者得出“实际上，电视不是一个有助于跨文化学习和理解的载体”（默拉嘎斯、里文博格、拉尔森，1995:143-161）的结论时，他们也提供了许多文本和暗示，这些暗示正如其科学研究揭示出的事实一样，告诉我们，在观众接受水平和电视所提供信息的转变等方面有着很多复杂的信息。像我这样的社会文化人类学家希望将注意力从转播转移到真正的设计者、景观布置者、生产者以及真正的他们生产出来的文化符号意义上。我们相信通过记录、探索和比较不同国家的不同模式，可以得出在文化上更敏感的解释，最终得到国家和国际形象的认同，这是对文化交流研究的重要补充。

再次，关键的问题是，在奥林匹克仪式的艺术和组织的选择上，没有东西是“韩国的”或者“西班牙——加泰罗尼亚的”或者“美国的”。就奥林匹克仪式需要哪些领域的专家来说，并没有完全适合的

pop stars or to performers with interlocking contractual relations with the producers' own companies and personal networks: a Philip Glass in Los Angeles; a La Fura del Baus, El Tricicle, and Montserrat Caballé in Barcelona; a--well, we do not know yet--in Atlanta.

In Korea, such a model for assembling a ceremonies team was utterly rejected by the SLOOC (Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee). Given Korean respect for learning and the cultivation of national cultural tradition involved, the initial planning group of 13 was led by an independent arts intellectual and dominated by six professors and educators and one painter and one dramaturge. Only three government and SLOOC officials and only one television production director were included. The second advisory group of 37 included a few more managers and media types, but again it contained a majority of scholars, educators, cultural historians, and "National Cultural Treasure" artists, literary people, poets, theater and music specialists, dancers, folklorists and religious authorities. Only one of its subcommittees was led by a media producer. This aggregate of around 50 persons was to work for almost six years on the ceremonies. Only when their scenario was more or less finished and agreed to by the artists, professors and officials was a production team of 138 audiovisual and stage technicians, television specialists, pop culture artists and producers, and publicists assembled to carry out the work.

And who in the end was the key individual, the single great author and realizer of these extraordinary Korean Olympic Ceremonies? Such a person cannot be named because in this formation and context of Korean culture, it is impossible, indeed almost immoral that any one person be put forward or put himself forward in such a way. Where a whole civilization's glorious and tortured history is felt to be in play on a global stage, and the nation's future seems also to be at stake, there can be no, there must be no impresarios or individual stars. That would be, in Korean public vocabulary, "insincere." After the Games, key individuals involved in the ceremonies have waged struggles with one another over

credit and reward so intense they might make even a Wolper or a Bassat blush. But never on the public stage, where foreigners and the mass of fellow citizens might overhear and be embarrassed for everyone concerned (Dilling, 1990).

The third model, represented by Albertville, can be called the “auteur” approach after the theory and model of film-making French criticism has been introduced to the world. The key decision here is to pick not an impresario-producer or a committee of cultural experts, but rather a single, creative and accomplished multi-media artist, preferably young, avant-garde, just about to break out in national and international reputation and a representative of a new generation just coming into its own in the arts world.

He is expected to provide not just ideas or an overall vision for others to realize, but, because he is the artist, to engage himself in every detail of the work. The auteur is selected to provide a unity of vision, theme, tone, style, symbolism, and realization that no other model of work could achieve. At the end of the Olympic Games, you wish to be able to say that the ceremonies were Decouflé, and that Decouflé became the ceremonies. And indeed, this is how it went for Albertville, the French press even inventing a new word for it: in their magic, the Albertville ceremonies were said to be “decouflante”. Again, of course, Mr. Decouflé had Messrs. Jacques Hinstin and Pasquale Henrot and all the other kinds of collaborators, managers, performers and technicians in action at the other Games. But the different model of authority and deployment made a great difference, precisely because the public cultures of the producers and the receivers in all these Games are different.

Moreover, there are significant hidden similarities and differences contained within and across the ideal types I have outlined. For example, David Wolper was an LAOOC (Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee) officer before he became its Ceremonies Producer, and Ovideo-Bassat-Sport was a new company created at COOB (Barcelona Olympic Organizing Committee) initiative and over which the organizing commit-

多文化的责任、机构和要求。同时，这些举办奥运会的社会和文化内部也存在着高度地多元化和各种各样的矛盾。

比如说，如果你是个外国人，通过了解法国文化精华，你可以对阿尔贝维尔进行解释，认为每一个法国人，无论是巴黎的贵族、里昂的劳工头还是Savoyard的商店店主都一样，热衷于各种各样的舞会、崇拜Nijinsky时代、喜欢大革命一百周年的游行表演，这些解释使得他们接近了Decouflé先生。或者，你可以拒绝这样的谬论，并认识到Messrs Barnier和 Killy及其顾问会简单地选择主办人或者文化专家模式来组织奥林匹克仪式。这种认识将使你真正想知道、探索并且可能研究其背景及其特定历史和社会条件。或许，正是由于这届奥运会是在法国某个特殊时期举行的，所以他们选择了导演模式。

或者看一下韩国汉城奥运会组委会（SL00C）。如果你是个欧洲人的话，你极有可能会将其仪式的组织内容归因于韩国文化传统上的保守主义、古代和神秘的东方哲学和仪式，或者是亚洲集体利益高于个人利益这一价值体系。因此，很自然的，就像你的归因所指出的方向一样，汉城奥运会组委会（SL00C）将其仪式主要交给了教授、经典的艺术家和其他文化生态保护者。但

是如果这么去认为了，你会错过大部分甚至全部的事实和有意思的事情。请直接去问问这些文化保护主义者当今的韩国人是否都献身于韩国传统文化的保护呢。（他们大概会出于礼貌而不会直接取笑你）。你也不能想象你的老掉牙的帝国主义的问话，而这正是这50人的制作团队在其奥林匹克仪式中极力避免的事情。

汉城奥运会组委会（SL00C）或许会选择第一种模式。你不能理解为什么他们不去获得从Roh Tae-woo、Park Seh-jik和Kim Un-yong显露出来的军事化特殊社会现状的信息，也不会理解为什么他们的计划那么需要来自学者的支持和保护。因为你的解读，你将不会再能够去学习或者是被一个事实吸引，这一事实就是文化权威大多援引了50人委员会6年来的研究，这不是King Sejong或者Monk Won-sen或者是韩国传统的任何其他阶段的东西，而是更异质的和个人的法国的后现代的理论家Baudrillard和Lyotard的！你不会抓住这么远离传统的东西，或者甚至是传统的虚构或者创造，汉城的景观设计者旨在寻找一些富有创造性的综合，更好地将韩国文化符号（不是传统的）和国际后现代风格结合起来。相比之下，Decouflé设计的阿尔贝维尔的创造性的开幕式是现成的欧洲现

tee retained majority control. Hence, when these important organizational and managerial details are understood, ACOG (Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games) looks far more radical in embodying the ideal type of the outside impresario model, with all its attendant risks and dangers.

CEREMONIES, CULTURE, AND COMMUNICATION

To speak of “American culture,” or “French Culture,” or “Korean culture” as monolithic wholes in this or any other context is sheer and very dangerous and very nationalistic romanticism. Such speech can never be anything more than the reproduction of intercultural stereotypes, that is, the exact opposite of the true intercultural education that Coubertin fought for all his life and that he and his truest successors have believed to be the abiding and ultimate purpose of the Olympic Movement (MacAloon, 1981).

Professors Moragas, Rivenburgh, and their colleagues have demonstrated very precisely how, in their coverage of Olympic Ceremonies, the routines and practices of modern television tend toward such stereotyping and reproduction of ignorances, some innocent, some frightening. While these researchers generally conclude that “in practice television is not a forum conducive to intercultural learning and understanding” (Moragas; Rivenburgh; Larson, 1995:143-161), they also provide texts and hints, as does their science, of how much more complicated things may be at the level of audience reception and transformation of the messages television provides.

- A sociocultural anthropologist like myself wishes to shift attention from broadcasters to the actual designers, scenarists, and producers and to the actual cultural codes of meaning they work with. We believe that through documenting, exploring and comparing different models of mobilization of different sorts of persons in different host communities, a more culturally sensitive account of production and eventually of reception of national and international imageries can be provided, an important complement to results of communications research.

Again, the key thing is to grasp that there is nothing homogeneously “Korean”, or “Spanish-Catalan,” or “American” about these artistic and organizational choices. Not only are there fully transcultural responsibilities, allegiances, and requirements for the range of specialists needed to make Olympic Ceremonies, but each of these host societies and cultures is highly variegated and conflicted within itself.

For example, if you are a foreigner, you can interpret Albertville by appealing to some supposed essence of French culture which suggests that every French person, Parisian elite, Lyon labor leader, and Savoyard shopkeeper alike, frequents progressive dance cabarets, admires the Nijinsky era, and adored the Revolutionary Bicentennial parade which helped launch Mr. Decouffé. Or you can reject such absurdities and recognize that Messrs. Barnier and Killy and their advisers could just as easily have chosen the impresario or the cultural experts model of ceremonies organization. This recognition will lead you to truly wonder, explore and perhaps to learn what it was in their backgrounds and in the specific historical and social contexts of these groups and Games in the very particular France of the time that led them to pursue the auteur model instead.

Or take SLOOC in South Korea. You can, and if you are a European, you most likely did, chalk up their ceremonies organization and content to Korean conservatism about cultural tradition, ancient and mysterious Eastern philosophies and rites, or Asian values of the group over the individual. So, naturally, as your reasoning will go, SLOOC placed the ceremonies chiefly in the hands of professors, classical artists and other cultural conservationists. But in doing this, you will miss most of the truth and nearly everything interesting that was really going on. Just ask these same cultural conservators if they believe everyone in Korea is today devoted to preserving tradition. You will also fail to imagine that you are uttering the very imperialist Orientalist stereotypes that the committee of fifty struggled not to encourage through their ceremonies.

SLOOC could have picked the first model of a ceremonies team. You cannot understand why it didn't without learning about the specific social

代主义（麦克阿隆，1995b）。（有人猜测，King Sejong 从未被阿尔贝维尔制作会议提及过！）如果你在做人种志这一人类学家的工作，那么你应该学会在仪式中使用的韩国文化语法——“Dae Dae”，就像我们著名的姜信朴教授所解读的那样，汉城奥运会组委会（SLOOC）主席朴太植，一位南加州大学毕业的基督教徒，用了很长时间来向西方记者保证，在韩国没有真正的萨满教徒的遗留。他坚持说，那些用萨满服装和行为进行的仪式表演，只是“演员们”在做出“怀旧的民俗”和剧院效果而已，这样在电视转播中会更加“好看”（麦克阿隆，1992b）。

最后再举一个例子，美国有着Peter Sellars一样的艺术形象，也能够亚特兰大奥运会的仪式上采取导演模式。但是亚特兰大奥运会组委会（ACOG）选择了第一种而不是第三种模式。不论阶层、性别、语言、年龄、种族、社会地位、宗教信仰和教育水平，这是在建议所有的美国人，去自动地选择好莱坞——沃尔特·迪士尼的大景观方式。然而，这一选择不仅仅是荒谬的经验主义，也忽略了许多美国人对这些选择的持续批判。它还未能指出，组委会决策者的独特背景和人格，以及其主要的顾问，并且首先，它没能理解真正给美国的组织者和景观

设计者造成压力的社会逻辑和文化动力，所以不是遵循规律地选择了第一种模式而不是第二种或者第三种，尽管事实是他们将为美国公众观点的部分花费大量的金钱。

然而，如果你熟悉Payne先生和Watkins夫人甚至（从不同的角度来看）杨大使及其主要顾问的社会和教育背景以及个人口味，那么你就会开始明白，在文化更精准和特殊的方式上，为什么他们选择Mischer先生和第一种模式。更者，如果你了解这种民族志的领导方式，你就会欣赏他们那持续的甚至首先是（以我美国人类学家的态度来看）英雄主义的承诺，即首先要对不同文化有着高度的国际敏感，从而避免在不同或者是内部高度政治化的社会文化团队以及美国外部产生很多不愉快，哪怕代价是牺牲“彰显南部”的渴望和预期。

对于在美国奥林匹克仪式的公众表演中出现了这种有规律的历史抹杀、抽象的和文化的中性表达，如果是这样或者如果你没有读过Tocqueville或者Durkheim，那么你就会认为其原因不是——或者不经常是——一些认为美国将“迪士尼视角”视为根本的假想，而是一种必要的甚至是进步的应对，尤其是对于美国这么一个生活条件多元化、意识形态上主张平等、并且是危险的按照经济状况进行社会分层

status of the military class from which Roh Tae-woo, Park Seh-jik, and Kim Un-yong emerged, and why their own class project of legitimation required apparent deference to scholars. Because of your interpretation, you will never be able to learn and perhaps be amazed by the fact that the cultural authorities most quoted over the committee of fifty's six years of deliberation were not King Sejong or Monk Won-sen or any other sage of Korean tradition but rather those most idiosyncratic and individualist French theorists of post-modernity, Baudrillard and Lyotard! You will not be able to grasp that far from tradition, or even the invention of tradition, the project of the Seoul scenarists was to find some creative synthesis between Korean cultural codes (not traditions) and international post-modernity. This in a way which by comparison makes Mr. Decouflé's creation in Albertville the height of established European modernism (MacAloon, 1995). (One guesses that King Sejong was never mentioned in the Albertville production meetings!) And if you were there doing ethnography, the anthropologist's job, you would know and perhaps be instructed by the fact that for as much as he learned to speak the Korean cultural grammar embedded in the ceremonies - the grammar of "Dae Dae", as its most distinguished interpreter our colleague Kang Shin-pyo calls it - SLOOC President Park Seh-jik, a devoted Christian with a Southern California degree, spent much more of his time assuring Western reporters that there were no real shamans left in Korea. Those ceremonies performers in shamanic garb and movement, he insisted, were only "actors" producing "nostalgic folklore" and theater simulacra that "looked nice on television" (MacAloon, 1992).

Or to take a final example, which is again upon us, the United States has artistic figures like Peter Sellars, who could have played out the auteur model for the Atlanta Ceremonies. But ACOG chose the first model and not the third. To suggest that all Americans - regardless of class, gender, language, age, ethnicity, social status, religious affiliation and educational level - automatically prefer the Hollywood-Walt Disney-big spectacle version of things is not only empirically absurd, it ignores

the sustained criticism of these choices by many American sectors of opinion. It also fails to address the specific backgrounds and personalities of OCOG decision-makers and their key advisers, and, above all, it fails to understand the real social logics and cultural dynamics which pressure American organizers and scenarists to regularly choose the first model over the second and the third, despite the fact that they will pay a very great price in sectors of American public opinion.

Whereas, if you have become familiar with the social and educational backgrounds and personal tastes of Mr. Payne and Mrs. Watkins, and (from a different angle) of Ambassador Young and of their key advisers, then you begin to understand in a more culturally accurate and specific way why they have chosen Mr. Mischer and the first model of composing a ceremonies team. Moreover, if you study ethnographically this leadership, you will come to appreciate their sustained, even their heroic commitment above all to be internationally sensitive to very different cultures and to avoid offending highly diverse and highly politicized social and cultural groups inside as well as outside the United States, even at the cost of sacrificing local “Southern” desires and expectations.

If so, and even if you have not read your Tocqueville or Durkheim, then you will begin to grasp that what drives the regular production of historically deracinated, abstract, and culturally neutered representations in American public performances of Olympic rituals is not, or not usually, some supposed essentialism of American taste for the “Disney version”, but rather a necessary and even progressive response to conditions of life in a radically pluralistic, ideologically egalitarian, and dangerously economically stratified social system. And knowing this, you will in turn be able to make much better interpretations of why receivers of these Olympic Ceremonies images in more homogeneous countries and cultures (real or imagined) regularly miss what is most important to their American producers in their own cultural context, for example the celebration of African-American cultural history in the Los Angeles Cer-

的社会系统来说。如果知道这些，你就将反过来更好地去解读为什么来自不同类型国家和文化（无论是真实的还是假想的）的那些奥林匹克仪式形象的接收者会错过对美国生产者来说在其文化背景中最重要的东西，比如说，在洛杉矶奥运会的仪式表演中对印第安文化历史的庆祝或者是在巴塞罗那闭幕式中亚特兰大表演中突出的多元文化代表性（麦克阿隆，1992a）。

仪式创作者的奥林匹克主义

当然，你可能“喜欢”亚特兰大的仪式，但是你可能永远不会理解更不用说是欣赏我们亚特兰大的设计者们现在正在所进行的极端的斗争，这些斗争要决定谁的奥林匹克历史用来完成100周年庆典，或者仅仅是通过没有离间的表演来构成了美国南方文化，或者甚至是引起一个或者几个其他选区不满的。

我有着20年的与奥林匹克仪式组织者的谈话、工作和描述经历，我可以告诉大家，他们一直都很乐意接受赞扬。如果能听到有人说他们消除了人们对这个国家的刻板印象——西班牙是斗牛士和午休的地方，说韩国是政治暴力和专权的地方，说挪威是自取灭亡、福利的和镇压个人主义的，说美国是未受到良好教育的、粗野的和国际敏感

的，那么他们将会非常骄傲。但是当听到观众继续说他们的产品是老生常谈的固有模式，尽管是更加友好，他们就会感到很难过，心里也会觉得这些观众并不知道他们的身份，也不知道他们经历了怎样的磨难才到达这一步，更不知道他们是如何创造了观众看到的、或者以为他们看到了、或者假定因为电视转播没有看到的表演，要知道，这些表演可是花费他们多少年的心血。仪式的设计者和官员可能不会那么直接熟悉顾拜旦“空的世界性”的含义，更不用说Marcuse的“镇压的宽容”等。但是因为其奥林匹克仪式的经历，从实践中他们仍然会隐约地理解民族优越感的方案和真正的注重历史文化差异的跨文化交流的不同。

如果你是跨文化研究的学者，并且你冒失地指出了你的研究发现了在世界偏远角落的一些观众误解或者甚至是深深地被这些仪式的某些部分激怒，那么仪式设计者和生产者通常想要拧断你的脖子或者冲你尖叫说，你根本不知道他们的计划几乎是多么得不可思议。

这是真的，如果研究者们系统地回顾多种多样的文化中的仪式的形象和评论。作为文化研究学者，我们因此必须用文字记录下来这些，比如：一些观众——尤其是盎格鲁-萨

emonies or the multi-cultural representation of Atlanta in their segment of the Barcelona Closing Ceremonies (MacAloon, 1992).

THE OLYMPISM OF CEREMONIES AUTHORS

Certainly, you may “like” the Atlanta Ceremonies, but you will never be able to understand much less to appreciate the extreme struggles our Atlanta colleagues are now going through to determine whose Olympic histories to centennially celebrate, or just how to constitute American Southern culture for compelling performance without alienating, or even outraging one or another of their constituencies.

After twenty years of talking to, working with and writing about the creations of Olympic Ceremonies organizers, I can say that they will always be happy to accept compliments. They will be proud to hear that they have helped to destroy foreign stereotypes: that Spain is the land of bullfights and siesta; that Koreans are all politically violent and authoritarian; that Norway is suicide, welfare dependency, and suppression of individuality; that Americans are by definition uneducated, crude, and internationally insensitive. But when they hear audiences go on to address their productions only in terms of other, albeit friendlier, stereotypes, they will feel saddened in their hearts to realize that these audiences do not have a clue about who they are and what they have suffered to arrive at and to create the performances audiences saw, or thought they saw, or - given the practices of television - did not see, and to create which these persons devoted years of their lives to. Ceremonies designers and officials may not be directly familiar with Coubertin’s concept of “empty cosmopolitanism,” much less with Marcuse’s concept of “repressive tolerance.” But because of their experience with Olympic Ceremonies, they will nevertheless implicitly understand the difference between the masquerade of projected ethnocentric similarities and true intercultural learning about real, and really important, and really vexing historical and cultural differences.

If you are a scholar of world intercultural relations and you have the temerity to point out your research discoveries that audiences in some distant parts of the world misconstrued or even were deeply offended by some portion of their productions, ceremonies designers and producers will usually want to wring your neck or to scream at you that you have no idea of how impossible their project is.

It is true that it falls to researchers to systematically review the images and commentaries on ceremonies in multiple cultures. As cultural scientists, we therefore do document, for example, that some audiences - notably Anglo-Saxon and IOC ones - were offended not by the absolute presence of opera divas and “top models” in the Barcelona Opening but by their placement in what should be the exclusive moments of the athletes; or that Muslim editorialists in Malaysia interpreted La Fura del Baus’s performance to offensively represent “the defeat of the Muslim ‘evil’ in Spain”; or that many thoughtful visitors in the stadium and observers around the world were absolutely frightened by the spirit of the Los Angeles Ceremonies, comparing them to Berlin in 1936; or that the national placard-carrying and semi-nude “bubble girls” of Albertville created a scandal in certain North African countries that reinforced the power of fundamentalist hatred; or that the images of “negritude” in these performances alienated African-Americans; or that Norwegians abroad were astonished and depressed to find foreigners interpreting the Lillehammer Ceremonies to mean that all Norwegians are happy ecologists who live in small villages, “believe their myths” and spend their time on “sparks”, without cars or a national state, political parties or big industries to trouble them.

But speaking not just for myself, but I believe for all the ceremonies researchers, I have worked with, the effect of such discoveries is exactly the opposite of what Olympic Ceremonies designers and officials may think. It only increases our respect for the task Olympic Ceremonies makers confront. Perhaps it is only anthropologists, specialists in the extremity of cultural differences and the real bases for intercultural miscommunication,

克逊或者一些国际奥委会官员，会被巴塞罗那开幕式中的歌剧女主角或者“顶级名模”尤其是他们时刻把运动员刨除在外等行为所激怒；或者马来西亚的穆斯林编辑会将La Fura del Baus的表演攻击性地解读为“西班牙穆斯林‘魔鬼’的失败”；或者体育场内许多有思想的人和全世界的观察者对比一下1936年柏林奥运会的开幕式，就会对洛杉矶奥林匹克仪式所传达的精神产生恐惧；或者阿尔贝维尔那些张贴了国家广告的和半裸体的“泡泡女孩”引起了北非国家的反感，也就增强了信奉正统派基督教教堂的憎恶感；或者是小“negritude”形象的表演疏远了印第安美国人；或者是国外的挪威人惊讶于并悲伤地发现外国人关于利勒哈默尔奥林匹克仪式的解读是认为所有居住在小山村的人都是环保主义者，“相信他们的童话”并为此花费时间，而没有那些令人头疼的汽车或者国家的政府、政治党派或者是大工业。

但是，不仅是对我自己，而且我相信对于所有我与其共事过的仪式研究者来说，这些影响与奥林匹克仪式设计者和官员想到的都是截然不同的。它只是增加了我们对奥林匹克仪式制造者所面临的任务的期望值。或许，它只是人类学家、文化极为不同的专家以及真正的引起国际跨文化误解的基础而已，真

地欣赏奥林匹克仪式设计者所被赋予的不可能完成的任务。地球上没有人能够真正想像——更不用说知道——和期望所有197个国家互相交流的排序和困难，以及真正解读数不胜数的跨国和国内亚文化信息。然而，仪式的设计者们担负着吸引力、荣誉、教育和感动所有人的重担，不能违背奥林匹克精神。通过观察，我可以很确切地说，当今世界中其他地方没有任何一种文化生产工作和国际教育会像奥林匹克仪式一样，同时具备高尚的挑战和不可能责任感。在人类历史上，没有什么像奥林匹克仪式一样。

学术和专业成就

我知道，所有严肃的研究奥林匹克仪式多元文化概念的学者都这样看待其任务，认为可以给仪式设计者和评论员提供信息，因为他们可能预感到会因为对某种文化不熟悉而产生潜在的交流障碍。比方说，如果汉城的和利勒哈默尔仪式生产团队能够在这里，他们就可以评价跨文化交流专家提供给他们的建议是多么的重要。你也可以问问我们巴塞罗那的同事，读一下奥林匹克研究中心的研究报告。当然，决策通常是组委会的官员做出的，生产者不过是来完成它。他们是创造方面的专家，完成一届美轮美奂的奥林

who can truly appreciate what an impossible task Olympic Ceremonies designers are given. There is no person on Earth who can truly imagine, much less know, and anticipate all the permutations and difficulties of mutual understanding among 197 national and literally uncountable trans-national and sub-national cultural formations on this planet. And yet ceremonies designers are charged with engaging, honoring, educating, and moving all of them, without offending any of them: the Olympic Spirit. I believe I can say with empirical certainty that there is no job anywhere in contemporary world cultural production and international education like this one, in both its noble challenges and its impossible responsibilities. For nothing like these ceremonies has ever existed in human history.

SCHOLARSHIP AND PROFESSIONAL EXCELLENCE

I know first-hand that all serious researchers on the multicultural reception of Olympic Ceremonies see their task as providing information that can help ceremonies designers and publicists anticipate potential miscommunications in cultures they may not be familiar with. If our colleagues, for example, in the Seoul and Lillehammer Ceremonies production teams had been able to be here, they would evaluate for you how helpful the advice of intercultural communications specialists was to them. And you can ask our Barcelona colleagues and read the Centre d'Estudis Olímpics research reports for yourselves. Of course, the decisions are always for OCOG officials and ceremonies producers to make. They are the experts in the practice of performance, and the awesome responsibility for Olympic Ceremonies falls on their shoulders alone.

LES RITES DE PASSAGE

At the same time there are powerful forces, unconscious forces of structure which array themselves on the side of all who make and perform Olympic Ceremonies. I believe it was this which Coubertin

tacitly realized, and which allowed him to make his strangely accurate prophecy about Olympic Ceremonies. Of course, he had no way of imagining our contemporary electronic environment, which provides at least the illusion of interconnection among so many millions of people. Neither could he picture a world in which there are no peoples left who are not self-conscious about possessing something they call a “culture,” which they articulate and defend as their right and means to human value and visibility, even, and perhaps especially in the absence of political and economic power (Sahlins, 1990). But Coubertin did come to grasp the logic of the modern “world system”, in which ‘this good kind of internationalism, based upon the cult of national cultures, is the best guarantee of a strong and thoughtful peace.’ We should only wish to add “trans-national,” “post-national” and “sub-national” to this formula, in order to recognize the challenges to the dominance of the nation-state in the so-called postmodern world of today (Coubertin, 1901).

Far from necessarily opposing forces, interconnection and diversification, and the celebration of sameness and difference are two sides of the same intercultural coin and are absolutely dependent upon one another. Despite its contrast to the main streams of professional and popular social thought - which spoke so glibly then and still speak today about generic “modernization,” “Westernization,” “global capitalism” and so on, Coubertin had begun to sense the actual logic of intercultural relations.

“That which distinguishes our modern Olympiads, based upon an absolute internationalism, is the effort of the successive nationalisms called upon to organize them. It would be a very great pity if this effort appeared to tend toward something homogenous and identical ... But every danger of this sort has been avoided. The third Olympiad preserved a clearly American tone ... and the fourth was as British as it could have been ... Sweden gave

匹克仪式的重担就落在了他们肩膀上。

通过仪式

结构对制作和表演奥林匹克仪式的人来说同时具有强作用力和未察觉的力量。我相信顾拜旦认识到的就是这些，这也使得他很精准地预言了奥林匹克仪式。当然，他没有办法想象我们当今的电子环境，这提供了至少可以联系数以亿计的人的可能。他也不能描绘出一个世界的画卷，没有人是对其所具有的所谓“文化”是不自知的，他们总是清晰地表达和保卫着，好像这就是他们对人类的价值的权利和意义所在，甚至哪怕是在政治和经济力量不在场的情况下（Sahlins, 1990）。但是顾拜旦的确抓住了现代“世界体系”的逻辑，那就是“这种好的国际主义，建立在对国家文化狂热的基础之上，是最好的保证强壮和思考的和平的方法”。我们只需要在这一准则中加上“跨国的”、“后国家的”和“亚国家的”的字眼即可，因为我们的确认识到了在当今所谓后现代社会中，国家所起的决定性作用（顾拜旦，1901）。

不仅不是互相敌对，互相联络和多样化以及对异同点的庆祝都是跨文化硬币的两面，并且绝对是相互依存的。尽管它与主流和流行的社会思想——

说得如此油腔滑调的并且今天仍然提到一般的“现代化”、“西方化”和“全球资本主义化”等——不同的是，顾拜旦从一开始就提到了跨文化联系的实际逻辑。

对那些使我们现代奥林匹亚德扬名的事情，建立在绝对的跨国主义的基础上的，是连续的号召组织起它们来的国家主义的努力。如果这种努力指向同质的或者同一的，那么这将是非常遗憾的事情……但是这种所有的危险都可以避免。第三届奥林匹亚德保持了非常明显的美国味……第四届则是浓厚的英国味……瑞典人则赋予了1912年奥运会瑞典味道，就像1896年充满了希腊味道一样。结果就是第五届奥林匹亚德会充满浓重的斯堪的纳维亚主义气息。这就是奥运会的创始人所希望看到的东西……如果你想让这棵大树常青，那么你必须经常注入新的东西。”（顾拜旦，1912）

从有着最多观众的奥林匹克表演的视角来看，是仪式让我们看到了其大部分影响。这些仪式是表演和代表文化差异性的特殊空间，同时是主要的跨文化交流的可能性和局限所面临的巨大挑战。就体育比赛自身来说，几乎所有事情都走向了反面，向着标准化和文化淡漠走去。运动员和国际体育单项联合会说到，他们最想要的比赛条件是所有地方的田径场或者游泳池都一样，

itself over entirely to the [1912] celebration, just as Greece had in 1896. The result was a Vth Olympiad draped in the purest Scandinavianism. This is exactly what the founder of the Games wished for.... You have to often transplant the tree if you wish to keep it youthful.” (Coubertin, 1912)

From the standpoint of Olympic performances with the largest audiences, it is to the ceremonies which we look most for this effect. They are the special space of performed and represented cultural differences and the chief mass challenges to the possibility and the limits of intercultural communications. With the sports contests themselves, nearly everything tends in the opposite direction, toward standardization and culture-defying homogeneity. What the athletes and the international federations want when they speak of ideal performance conditions is a track or swimming pool that is exactly the same everywhere, and might just as well be in Birmingham, Beijing, or Burkina Faso, as in Barcelona, a performance space where exactly the same rules and procedures and practices will apply. The parts of the ceremonies closest to the athletes and to the most powerful Olympic and national symbols - the Victory Ceremonies and the official “protocol” segments of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies - likewise tend in their forms at least to certain standardization. But even within these most regular and standardized segments of the ceremonies, for example, the march of athletic delegations/nations, the same dialectic between identity and difference is manifest very clearly. The rest of the ceremonies, the so-called artistic or cultural performance parts, not only can but must cultivate and display difference, within the boundaries set by the main purposes of Olympism, of course.

Each ethos requires the other. Without cultural differentiation there is nothing to interconnect, just as without interconnection cultural differences have no possibility of making themselves progressively manifest and occasionally comprehensible to one another. We regularly discover,

when we look at the meanings actual audiences supply (and not just at technology itself or disembodied mass media texts), that people mostly use new media and new broadcast receptions not to transform themselves in the direction of some homogenized modernity, but as new resources to reproduce their valued and familiar environments. In turn, they know that if they wish or need to make their own cultural oikos visible and interesting to others, they will have to interconnect with them through these same media.

Among these global media are the Olympic Ceremonies. As the greatest anthropological theorist of our time has pointed it, “the diversity of human cultures ... depends less on the isolation of the various groups than on the relations between them” (Lévi-Strauss, 1969). Speaking at least of the important world of intercultural performance and of the powers of the raw demography of attention, where in the world is this fact more systematically and vibrantly demonstrated than in the case of Olympic Ceremonies?

Elsewhere I have stressed, and wish to continue to stress the universal structure of rites of passage, which is one of the surest areas of 20th-century social scientific knowledge, and which has worked its power through Olympic Ceremonies designers, whether they have been conscious of it or not (MacAloon, 1983). Indeed, scientific knowledge of the universal properties of rites of passage, and forewarning where there is danger of running afoul of them, is the chief resource anthropologists and other cultural scholars can contribute to the authorities and makers of Olympic Ceremonies.

Nothing less than a better understanding, and therefore a better practice, of the total dynamics of the world system today are at stake here. And if you believe with Coubertin that the point of the Olympic Movement is intercultural education and not just the making of glorious sport events and entertaining spectacles, then you already know that it is the soul of the Olympic Movement that we are discussing when we address together the question of Olympic Ceremonies.

并且就象伯明翰、北京或者布吉纳法索、巴塞罗那等那样的完美，并且提供给他们相同的规则、程序和练习。与运动员关系最密切的，同时也是最具有奥林匹克和国家象征意义的仪式——颁奖典礼和开闭幕式关于国家的程序部分——也日益走向了程式化。但是，即便是在这些仪式的如此规范和标准化的部分中，比如说代表团的入场仪式，辨证的异同点还是非常之清楚。仪式的其他部分，即文化艺术表演部分，不仅能够而且必须是在奥林匹克主义主要目的范围内的培养和表现文化差异的地方。

每一种文化特质都需要其它的文化特质。如果没有文化的差异，那么也就不会有所谓的互相联系，就好像如果没有不同文化的互相联系也就不可能会使得他们自己日益清楚地得以表现并被其他文化所了解。当我们看到观众所提供的意义（并不只是技术本身或者没有实体的大众传媒文本）时，我们发现，人们多半是使用新媒介，但并不是将其自身改变到一些同质的现代性中，而是作为一种新的再生产其独特价值和熟悉环境的资源来改变的。反过来，他们知道如果他们希望或者需要使其自己的文化对其他人来说是看得到的或者有趣的，它们就不得不通过相同的媒介与其他文化进行联系。

奥林匹克仪式就在这些媒介之中。正如我们这个时代最伟大的人类学家指出的那样，“人类文化的差异性……并不太依赖于不同文化的孤立存在，反而更依赖于其联系”（列维·施特劳斯，1969）。仅仅就是拿跨文化的文艺表演的重要性和单纯的引起注意的人口统计学来说，世界上还有什么能够比奥林匹克仪式更系统并且充满生气地表现了出来呢？

我曾经在别的地方强调过，在这里我还想继续强调通过仪式的普遍结构，这是20世纪社会科学领域的研究领域之一，并且通过对奥林匹克仪式设计者发挥作用而产生了效果，无论他们自己是否认识到了这一点（麦克阿隆，1983）。实际上，关于通过仪式的普遍道具的科学知识，以及对哪里会出现冲突的危险预警，正是人类学家和其他文化学者对奥林匹克仪式的专家和制作者所能提供的最主要的建议。

对整个世界系统的全部动力的更好的理解进而更好的实践就存在于这些奥林匹克仪式之中。如果你相信顾拜旦所提出的奥林匹克运动是跨文化教育而不仅仅是辉煌的体育赛事和娱乐景观的话，那么你就已经知道，我们所讨论的关于奥林匹克仪式是奥林匹克运动的灵魂

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KOREAN CULTURE, THE SEOUL OLYMPIC GAMES AND THE WORLD ORDER

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As the world grows politically and economically more interdependent and as transnational meaning-flows increase, the social sciences struggle to contend with the resulting complexity. Many social scientists have taken the lead in analyzing the world system, but typically from a Western viewpoint and with little attention to the role of culture and context in constituting and mediating these processes. Some social scientists take culture and context as critical variables, but have only just begun to expand their focus to include multinational institutions and performances. The traditional anthropological-sociological problems of translation of culture are being reconfigured around studies of actual interactions and concrete exchanges among different societies and cultures. There is a growing need for the various paths of inquiry to join hands in order to complement each other's strengths. To meet this need, under the auspices of the Seoul Organizing Committee for International Olympic Cultural Performance and Research and through the generosity of the Paek-Sang Foundation and The Hankook Ilbo (daily in Korean, in Seoul) and The Korea Times (daily in English, Seoul) newspapers, the First International Conference on the Olympic Games and East/West and South/North Cultural Exchange in the World System is being held in Seoul.

As host of the 1986 Asian Games and of the 1988 Olympic Games, Seoul and the rest of Korea have experienced an almost total social and

韩国文化、汉城奥运会和世界秩序

姜信朴

随着政治经济日益全球化，国家间的交流越来越多，社会科学也开始积极探索其带来的复杂后果。虽然许多社会科学家已经身先士卒，分析过了世界体系，但其中大多是从西方的观点出发，并很少注意到文化及其背景在构成和调节这些过程中所起到的作用。有些社会科学家虽然考虑到了文化及其背景，但也不过是扩大了其聚焦范围从而将多国的制度和行为包括了进去而已。围绕着对不同社会和文化互动交流的研究，人类社会学中的传统问题即文化的解释再次进入到人们的视野。为了取长补短，人们日益需要不同调查方法和研究途径之间的密切合作。为了满足这种需要，在汉城国际奥林匹克文化行动和研究组委会的支持和帮助下，在百想基金会和《韩国日报》（韩语日报，汉城）和《韩国时报》（英文日报，汉城）的慷慨赞助下，第一届奥林匹克国际大会暨东西南北文化交流大会得以在汉城举行。

作为1986年亚运会和1988年奥运会的举办地，韩国尤其是汉城都经历了几乎是彻头彻尾的社会和文化的现代化过程。这发生在韩国历史上颇为关键的时期。韩国的经济奇迹使其跻身于世界领先的工业国家之列。同时，在这个有着5000年历史的富饶国度中所进行的政治民主

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— 奥林匹克研究读本

化进程以及西方技术和价值体系的韩国化过程也正在产生着积极的后果。全球事务中亚洲的复苏及其发展成为领先工业社会的努力都是世界历史中非常重要的事件。它们同样渗透到了汉城亚运会和奥运会中来，又通过这样超大规模的文化事件引起了世界范围的关注。

多元文化事件——奥运会就是一个全球范围的很好范例——对文化研究和诠释有着特别重要的意义。在现代化进程中举办这样的大型国际事件，并由此尝试着去与全世界交流，韩国无疑是这次会议最为合适的地点。

来自五大洲的大约50位著名人类学家、社会学家、交流专家、哲学家和历史学家参加了会议，讨论了奥林匹克运动这一跨国文化交流的前景和局限，并参与了探索传统韩国文化根源的短途旅行。这次会议主要关注的是不同的历史、宗教和国家的实践以及在不同的文化背景下，如何使用现有社会科学概念和模式来理解它们的适用性。与会者的报告主要建立在各种各样的文化撞击以及不同国家文化建构和解构的案例和形式的基础上。同时，国际体育也成为了讨论文化交流和正在发展的世界体系的议题。将社会文化领域的学者和奥运会的联系起来，的确激发了观点的交流，从而带来了丰硕的成果。

韩国文化

一个世纪之前，韩国人生活在传统的东亚文化环境之中，其社会是自治的和农业的。后来，在落败而导致的平不平等关

cultural mobilization. This is occurring at a critical moment in Korean history. Her economic miracle has placed Korea on the threshold of joining the advanced industrial nations. At the same time the processes of political democratization and domestication of Western technology and values within a 5,000-year-old civilization of great richness are working themselves out. The resurgence of Asia in world affairs and the struggles to develop a fourth path to becoming an advanced industrial society are events of world historical significance. They permeate Seoul, Asia and the Olympic Games and, in turn, are brought to global attention by these huge cultural events.

Multicultural performances, of which the Olympic Games serve as global exemplar, appear to offer particularly significant loci of research and interpretation. In the midst of its national mobilization to stage these mammoth international events, and thereby, to attempt to communicate itself to the world, Korea offers an especially appropriate venue for this conference.

Some fifty distinguished anthropologists, sociologists, communication specialists, philosophers and historians representing five continents have convened to discuss the prospects and limits of intercultural exchange as inscribed within Olympic-style multinational performances and to participate in a field excursion to search for the roots of traditional Korean culture. Comparative historical, regional, and national experiences and the appropriateness of existing social scientific concepts and models for understanding them in very different cultural contexts will be central concerns of the conference. Participants will report on a variety of cases and forms of intercultural encounter and national culture construction and deconstruction. At the same time, international sport will offer a common point of reference and contrast for discussions of conceptual and theoretical approaches to intercultural relations. The synergy of assembling scholars of inter-societal cultural systems and the Olympic Games promises a fruitful and stimulating exchange of ideas.

KOREAN CULTURE

A century ago Koreans lived in a traditional East Asian cultural milieu. Their society was autonomous and agrarian. Korea opened its society to outside influences, often on the losing end of an unequal relationship. Koreans were obliged to accept and adjust to a new world order. The process of understanding is still ongoing today. It is not easy for Koreans to understand this new social order. The variation between the East and West is so great that the management of differences is quite difficult for Korea, but she must undertake the hard task of transforming herself. The more Koreans understand the Western order, the more Koreans come to understand the unique aspects of their own traditions. The Asian Games and the Olympic Games offer Korea an opportunity to reflect and understand its position in the world system.

Historically, Korea has been relatively homogeneous, both ethnically and culturally. Since the three-Kingdoms Era, Korea has maintained a relatively stable territorial boundary and a centralized bureaucratic system. The sharing of the East Asian Confucian world order with China and Japan has provided a framework for establishing relations with each other (Griffis, 1882). Traditional foreign relationship with China and others reflect the two world views once held by Koreans. One world was the all-encompassing world of China. The tributary relationship between China and Korea was the manifestation of this world view.

The other world, as seen by Koreans, was the 'barbaric' world. At the time it was considered impossible to imagine establishing any formal relationships with foreign 'barbarians'. Isolationism was the natural result of this xenophobic world perspective. As Korean society broke out of isolationism, these traditional world views had to be reconstructed. This cultural transformation has taken several generations, and is not yet complete.

Since the mid-nineteenth century the existing world order among East Asians has been challenged by Western powers. The cultural

系的作用下, 韩国打开国门接受了外界的影响, 被迫接受了新的世界秩序, 并不得不做出调整。对他们来说, 理解这个新的社会秩序并不容易。东西方之间的不同是如此巨大, 单是让韩国人来理顺这些差别都很困难, 但是整个国家又必须完成改变自己的艰巨任务。韩国人对西方秩序了解得越多, 就越理解自己传统的独特所在。回想起来, 韩国大约是用100多年来理解建立在西方传统上的这一新的社会秩序。亚运会和奥运会给韩国提供了理解、表达和反映其在世界上处于何种位置的机会。

韩国的种族和文化历史都是相对同类质的。从三国时代开始, 韩国就保持着相对稳定的领土疆界和中央集权制。与中日两国共享的东亚儒家世界秩序为三方的关系提供了最基本的基石 (Griffis, 1882)。与中国和其他国家的传统外交关系反映了韩国人一贯持有的两个世界的观点: 第一种世界是围绕着中国的世界。中韩之间的附庸关系是这种世界观点的表现。第二种世界, 就像韩国人所看到的, 是“原始的、野蛮的”世界。在那个时候, 人们认为去跟外边的“蛮夷之邦”建立任何正式的关系简直就是不可能的事情。孤立主义是这种盲目排外世界观的自然结果。如果韩国社会想要从孤立之中走出来, 那么就必须打破其传统的世界观并重建之。这种文化的转变历经了数代人, 至今仍未完成。

从19世纪中叶起, 年代久远的东亚世界秩序就不得不迎接来自西方力量的挑战。从孤立主义到外交关系的建立, 从中国中心到西方中心的改变等都使得韩

国社会发生了巨大的变化。韩国与外部世界的第一次联系发生在1876年，是与日本。这是韩国第一次出现在世人面前，也由此开始了其随后参与到西方中心的世界秩序的进程。从这之后，韩国人就不不得不从政治和文化上来重新定义其在世界秩序中的位置。1882年，韩国与美国建立了正式的外交关系，标志着其与西方社会秩序的第一次亲密接触。之后，与西方建立了越来越多的外交关系。然而，由于东西方之间存在的巨大政治和文化差距，与外界日益增加的联系对韩国建立一个全新体制的国家并没有多大的帮助。同时，中日俄三国之间对朝鲜半岛的争夺又使其显得更为复杂。

在过去的50年中，韩国人付出了巨大的努力来改组其社会和文化。结构上的变化主要是从君主制向共和制转变，从农业社会向商业和工业社会转变，从农村向城市转变，从大家族向小家庭——甚至在某种程度上是从家庭中心向个人中心——的转变，从等级制度向平等关系的转变，从被赋予状态向创造状态的转变。这种种变化之间密切相关，因此能够全面实现。在这一点上，我们应该花些时间来研究一下这一重组过程的各个阶段。

我们可以将现代韩国历史划分为如下三个阶段：第一阶段，从1876年韩国全面打开国门到1905年的保护国条款，直到1910年成为日本的附属国；第二阶段，是1910年到1945年，被日本占领的殖民地时期；第三阶段，从1945年到现在，是“后解放”时期。三个阶段的社会文化背景，可以被分别定义

transformation of isolationism into the establishment of official diplomatic ties and from China-centered to Western-centered relationships have produced immense change in Korea. Korea's first official contact with the outside world occurred in 1876 with Japan. This was to be the beginning of Korea's external outlook and subsequent participation in the Western-dominated world order. From this point on, Koreans had to politically and culturally redefine their role in the world system. In 1882, Korea established official contacts with the United States, thus marking its first exposure to the Western social order. Official contact with the West increased. However, due to the political and cultural gaps between the two worlds, the increased ties did little to help Korea build a nation-state in the style of the new world community. This was further complicated by the relentless struggle for control of the Korean Peninsula among the Chinese, Japanese and Russians.

The past 50 years have seen great efforts of the Koreans to reorganize their society and culture. The directions of the structural changes are from dynasty to republic, from agriculture to commerce and industry, from rural to urban, from extended family to nuclear family—even to some extent from family-centered to individual-centered, from hierarchical to egalitarian relationships, and from ascribed status to achieved status. These various characteristics of change are intimately interrelated and have therefore been carried out collectively. We should at this point take time to examine the stages in this process of reorganization.

Tentatively we can divide modern Korean history into three stages: first, the opening-up of Korean society in 1876 until the 1905 protectorate agreement and subsequent annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910; second, the 1910-1945 colonial period under Japanese occupation; and third, the period 1945-to-present 'post-liberation' era. Each of these stages of socio-cultural context can be respectively defined as 'Korea in East Asia', 'Korea in transition' and 'Korea and the world'.

The context of the first stage, 'Korea in East Asia', may be more appropriately termed as Korea in China (Kang, 1983). Relative isolation of the 'Hermit Kingdom' allowed the continuation of the Confucian order with China. The majority of the Korean people could not understand the new, emerging world order and looked to the Chinese as their big brothers for guidance. The conception of a sovereign state as it exists in Western international law was new to Koreans, who lived within the Confucian world of East Asia. Modern civilization's science and technology, capitalistic traditions of commerce, and the Christian concept of humans were alien to Korean consciousness. Moreover, the Confucian emphasis on filial piety was not compatible with Western individualism.

To the Korean mind, Western society symbolized 'Wealthy nation and strong military'. They saw an instrumental value in the Western way that should be complemented by the Eastern spirit. By the end of the Yi'dynasty, which effectively occurred in 1905, Korean leaders were strongly opposed to the Western way and Western learning spirit, but welcomed Western material. In other words, Koreans could accept the Western 'instrument', but they could not understand the Western spirit. Cultural accommodation to the Western 'instrument', however, could not be successful unless the Western spirit was fully understood. Since opposition was strong, the 'Wealthy nation and strong military' could not be achieved. Moreover, competitive struggle between China and Japan on the Korean Peninsula pre-empted the opportunity for Koreans to accommodate the Western 'instrument' by themselves.

The establishment of contacts with Japan and the West during this period, however, laid the groundwork for the third stage, "Korea and the world". The Japanese colonial period served as a transitional period with declining Chinese influence and increasing international exposure. The Allied victory in World War II brought an abrupt end to this stage of modern Korean history. In many ways Korea was reborn on August 15, 1945. For 36 years Koreans had been subjected to 'crawling' and then,

为：“韩国在东亚”、“韩国的变迁”和“韩国与世界”。

第一阶段“韩国在东亚”或许更适合被定义为“中国化的韩国”（姜信朴，1983）。相对孤立的“遁世帝国”持续着中国的儒家思想及对其的依赖。大多数的韩国人不能理解突然出现的新世界秩序，因此转而向中国寻求兄长般的帮助和指导。在西方国际法中业已存在的主权国的概念对生活在东亚儒家世界中的韩国人来说非常新鲜。现代文明的科学技术、资本主义的商业传统和基督教概念对韩国人的观念来说是全新的。更者，儒家思想强调的孝顺再也不能与西方强调的个人主义相抗衡。

在韩国人的思想中，西方社会是“财富国家和强力军事”的象征。他们看到了西方方式的某些价值，并认为其可以成为东方精神的有益补充。在李氏王朝的末期，实际上是发生在1905年，韩国的领导人依然非常强烈地反对西方方式和西方学术精神，但却对西方的物品赞赏有加。换言之，韩国人接受西方的“器物”层，却不能理解西方的精神。然而，如果不能对西方精神全面理解，那么要把文化单单嫁接到“器物层面”几乎是不可能的。因为反对势力非常强大，所以在韩国实现“财富国家和强力军事”的愿望并未实现。同时，中日两国对朝鲜半岛的争夺比韩国人本身更早地抢占了将西方的“器物层面”嫁接到自己身上的机会。

然而，这一时期与日本和西方签订的条约为第三阶段“韩国和世界”打下了基础。在被日本殖民的时代，中国的影响渐渐降低了，韩国的国际开放程度得以

增强。世界大战中同盟国的胜利使得韩国历史上的这一时期戛然而止。从许多方面来看，在遭受了36年苟延残喘的“爬行生活”后，随着日本的投降，韩国终于于1945年8月15日获得了新生，能够重新昂首挺胸地再次阔步向前。在过去的42年中，韩国不但学会了走路，甚至也学会了跟随世界主要力量跑步前进。

韩国的解放给了早在70年前就开始的开放进程以更大的动力。这种解放因为朝鲜半岛被人为分割成南北两部分和随后破坏了整个国家的朝鲜内战而显得复杂起来。1960年的学生运动和次年军方力量的侥幸获胜使得混乱得以继续。更近一点的，1980年的光州暴乱事件使得政府与人民之间的隔阂越来越宽。然而，随着韩国经济以位居世界前列的增长水平的良好发展，从20世纪60年代开始的这些混乱最终得以完结。将1988年奥运会举办权这一殊荣授予汉城市对韩国社会经济变革的最好承认，这使得韩国得到了世界的关注。

韩国未来的年轻人在回头看看历史的时候，一定会将1987年的夏天看作是韩国历史上一个重要时刻。韩国正在努力将其政治发展得如其经济发展得一样，因此倍受世界瞩目。正如我们所言，关系韩国未来的对话正在位于汉江南岸的国民大会大厦中进行。虽然有很多工作需要做，但是在空气中弥漫着一种让人耳目一新的气氛。韩国当然正在努力奋斗以获得世界的承认，但是如果朝鲜半岛不重新统一起来，那么这一过程就无法完成。统一的先决条件是西方价值体系在韩国的本土化，我们似乎不能期望这个问题在短期之内得到解决。

following the Japanese surrender, Korea was reborn and free to walk proudly once again. For the past 42 years Korea has learned to walk and even to run alongside the major powers of the world.

Korea's liberation gave impetus to the opening-up process that had begun some seven decades earlier. The liberation was complicated by the arbitrary division of the Korean Peninsula and the subsequent Korean civil war that devastated the nation. Turmoil continued with the 1960 Student Revolution and the military coup of the following year. More recently, the 1980 conflict in Kwangju caused widening of the communication gap between the government and the people. All of this has been accompanied, since the mid-1960s, by one of the most remarkable economic growth rates in the world. The selection of Seoul as Olympic host was a confirmation of Korea's socioeconomic transformation. The sum of these events has brought Korea to the attention of the world.

Future generations of Koreans will, of course, look back on the summer of 1987 as being a crucial period in Korea's history. The world is watching as Korea is now attempting to develop politically as well as economically. As we speak, political dialogue concerning Korea's future is taking place at the National Assembly building, located just south of the Han River. Although many things need to be worked out, there is a refreshing feeling in the air. Korea is certainly striving hard to be fully accepted in the world system, but this process cannot be completed until the Peninsula is reunified. The prerequisite to reunification is the resolution of conflicting Western ideologies, which cannot be expected in the near future.

The post-liberation period through the present may be better described as "Korea in America". The American connection was first suggested by the Chinese. In the 1870s, Hwang Chong-Heun, the second-secretary at the Chinese consulate in Japan, advised Korea to "be friends with China, to be associated with Japan, and to make alliance

with America”. Following this advice, the Korean leaders within the last dynasty started to build Korea in the world context. Missionary groups took an active role in introducing Western learning through such organizations as schools, hospitals, and the YMCA. Through missionary activities, Christian thought, democratic principles and even Western sports were made part of Korean society. American influence was strongest immediately following World War II. Thousands of Americans were among the two million who died during the Korean War. For the past four decades American influence has been significant. At present, the Western influences on the Korean peninsula are pervasive. Indeed, to a great extent the city of Seoul has been ‘westernized’.

Just as children need to be nurtured, Korea at one point was dependent on others. Koreans have learned much from the West, but now it is the time for Korea to ‘leave the nest’ and venture out into the world without American and Soviet restraints. Korea is ready to construct a dynamic society utilizing the best of both worlds. The Olympic Games can be a symbolic starting point for Korea’s search for its identity.

THE OLYMPIC GAMES

John MacAloon, the conference’s first keynote speaker and scholar of the modern Olympic Movement, has frequently observed that it is astonishing that people meeting every four years and running around in ‘short pants’ can contribute to world peace and international understanding. In ancient Greece, the Olympic festival was not only a religious ritual and national sports gathering, but it was also at times the setting for celebrations of dance, song and poetry. This event provided the people of various city-states with both an avenue of communication and the potentiality of Greek solidarity. Today, an

持续到现在的“后解放时代”或许更应该被描述为“美国化的韩国”。与美国的联系最早是由中国人建议的。在1870年，中国驻日本领事馆第二秘书黄重痕（音译）先生就建议韩国“与中国为友，与日本保持联系，与美国联盟”。根据这一建议，韩国最后几个王朝的领导人开始建立韩国的国际网络。在通过学校、医院和基督教青年会等组织来介绍西方文化和学识方面，传教士起到了积极的作用。通过他们的活动，基督教思想、民主道义，甚至西方体育运动日益成为了韩国社会的有机组成部分。美国的影响在二战之后迅速成为最大的一股力量。在朝鲜战争中阵亡的200万人中有着数以千计的美人。在过去的40年中，美国的影响可以说是压倒性的。现在，西方对朝鲜半岛的影响更是无处不在。实际上，在很大程度上，汉城就是一座被“西方化”了的城市。

就好像儿童需要被培养一样，韩国是依赖别人的。韩国人从西方学到了很多，但是现在是韩国“离开母巢”，摆脱美国或者苏维埃的约束，到外边的世界放手闯荡的时候了。韩国准备好了要取两方之长，加以充分利用和整合，建设一个欣欣向荣的社会。汉城奥运会就是韩国探索这种身份认证的一个标志性的开始。

奥运会

本次会议的第一主题发言人是现代奥林匹克运动研究著名学者约翰·麦克阿隆，他经常讲，人们每四年相聚一次，穿着短裤进行赛跑比赛，居然能够促进

世界的和平和国际的理解，这是多么惊人的一件事情啊。在古希腊，奥林匹克节不仅仅是一个宗教仪式和国家运动会，更是专门的舞蹈、歌曲和诗歌的欢庆时刻。这一事件给不同城邦的人们提供了一个交流的场所，从而促进了希腊的团结和安定。今天，奥运会更是成为了全球通用的一种语言。

麦克阿隆（1981）认为，现代奥林匹克运动之父皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦的想法和贡献都是非比寻常的。德·顾拜旦首先关心的是教育改革。正是因为这个原因，他走访了英国和美国。旅途中，人们对体育运动日益增长的热情给他留下了深刻的印象，于是他设想将这种热情与古代希腊奥运会的不朽精神结合在一起。从一开始他就强调，奥运会如何能带来社会变革、互相的理解和世界和平。德·顾拜旦的重点是在国际主义而不是当时盛行的单纯的世界主义。我们所有人都能从他的理想中学到些什么。我们生活在同一个世界中，但是我们必须要知道彼此间存在的不同。我们不能来克服社会上的不同。因此，我们所能做的就是认识到它并且尊重这些不同。奥运会就提供了这样一个合适的机会。

奥运会从开幕式开始，不知道比赛结果的所有参加者平等地步入体育场。参与和比赛都建立在已经制度化了的一套规则之上，在其效力之内，所有个人都平等地参赛。一旦比赛开始，胜利者和失败者立见分晓。这里的结果非常直白：胜者或者败者。一段时间之后，比赛在相同的情况下进行着重复。然而，胜利和失败都不是仅仅如外在表现的那般。比赛结束后，举行闭幕式。不管输赢，

Olympic sport is a physical competition that serves as one type of universal human language.

- According to MacAloon (1981), the ideas and commitment of Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic Movement, were quite extraordinary. De Coubertin's first concern was with educational reform. For this reason, he visited England and the United States. On his travels he was impressed by the growing enthusiasm for sports and envisioned the potential of combining that enthusiasm with the spirit of the ancient Greek Olympic Games. From the outset he stressed how the Olympic Games could bring social reform, mutual understanding and world peace. De Coubertin's emphasis was on internationalism rather than on the cosmopolitanism so prevalent at the time. All of us can learn from his ideas. We are living together in one world, but we must acknowledge the differences among us. There is no way to overcome the existence of social distance. Therefore, what we can do is recognize and respect these differences. The Olympic Games provide an appropriate opportunity.

The Olympic Games commence with the opening ceremonies as participants march into the stadium equally, not knowing the outcome of competition. Participation and competition are based on an institutionalized set of rules, under which all individuals participate equally. Once competition begins, the winners and losers are ranked accordingly. There is a clear result: winner or loser. After a certain period of time, competition repeats itself under the same conditions. And yet there is neither external winner nor lower. When the Games are over, the closing ceremonies follow. Regardless of winning or losing, all participants come to feel a sense of oneness among themselves and with the audience. This is reaffirmation that we are living together peacefully.

Olympic competition is based on the individual, regardless of religious, ethnic and class background. One's victory is praised as an

individual achievement. An individual, however, cannot exist apart from the group. As a hero or heroine of the group, the athlete may be stripped of his or her individuality. For example, the Chalips have shown that in the American identity. The American athlete is not popularly perceived to have any non-sport agendas or ideals. Rather, the athlete is perceived to be filled with, and thus made symbolic of, the traits that the group prescribes for identity. This is not unproblematic, as the Chalips clearly show. An athlete who represents what the group is cannot represent what the group might become. Thus, the athlete cannot become a symbol of emergent values; the athlete cannot represent our aspirations for an enhanced world system.

As MacAloon (1984) suggests in “Olympic Games and Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies”, the significance of the Olympic Games lies in the symbolic domain. Human beings are symbolic creatures and the Olympic Games have symbolic meaning to the humankind. According to him, human activities of creating, sharing and interpreting meaning are autonomous. The participation of all in keeping with the Olympic symbol can be observed in various dimensions, such as the giant playground, marketplace, theater, world field, church, arena, festival, and various symbols of a ‘Broadway show’. In the 20th century, life is dominated by this symbolic life. The Olympic gathering also confirms this symbolic power. Various aspects of Games require people to see, think and talk about these aspects. This is the challenge of meeting people with various cultural backgrounds; it is a necessary challenge for mutual understanding. In order to understand one’s own identity, one must confront others. If we are hesitant to participate in this encounter, we can not survive on the world stage. Since life is an endless challenge we need courage to endure. The Seoul Olympic Games offer us an opportunity to display our courage.

Following the successful hosting of the 1986 Asian Games, the city of Seoul and the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee (SLO-OC) are

所有的参加者都是来体会他们和观众心中共同存在的同一种感觉。这里需要重申一下，那就是我们和平地生活在一起。

奥林匹克比赛是不考虑任何宗教、种族和社会阶层背景的完全基于个人的比赛。胜利是被认为是个人的成就。然而，一个个体怎么可能脱离集体存在呢？作为该集体的英雄，运动员们可能被剥夺了其个体性。查理普斯的研究就表明了美国身份认证中的这一问题。我们从来不认为美国的运动员没有赛程安排或者理想。相反，我们理解的美国运动员也充满着团体所赋予他或她的特殊身份特征，因此也就使这些个体成为了团体的标志。毫无疑问，正如查理普斯所清楚展示的那样，一名代表其团体是什么的运动员不能代表其团体或许会成为什么。因此，运动员不能变成自发价值的象征；运动员不能代表我们更高世界秩序的志向。

正如麦克阿隆（1984）在《奥运会和现代社会的景观理论》中所说的那样，奥运会的意义在于其符号的象征领域。人类是符号动物，奥运会对全人类来说都有着符号意义。根据这一论断，人类的创造、分享和解释意义的活动都是自发的。与奥林匹克实密切联系的参与充斥着各个方面，比如巨大的田径场、商场、剧院、教堂、竞技场、节日和各种各样的“百老汇表演”的标志上。20世纪的生活就是这样地被符号化着。奥林匹克的集会则加强和巩固了其标识的符号力量。各种各样的比赛需要人们来看、思考，并讨论其方方面面。如何满足人们各种各样的文化背景就成为一个

很大的挑战；而要达到相互理解就更是一个必需面临的挑战了。如果要完成自己的身份确认，那么首先必须要面对其他人。如果我们对这样的会面犹豫不决，那么我们就难以生存在当今的世界舞台上。因为生活就是一个接一个的挑战，我们必须有勇气去面对和承受。汉城奥运会就给了我们这样一个机会来充分展示我们的勇气。

在1986年成功举办了亚运会之后，汉城和汉城奥运会组委会（SL0-0C）都焦急不安地等待着激动人心的1988年奥林匹克节日的到来。体育赛事和文化表演是最为常见的连接纽带，能够将人数最为众多的奥林匹克参与者聚集在一起。我们有信心汉城奥运会不会出现大规模的抵制运动，从而使其成为了一届真正的全球嘉年华。

世界秩序：佛教的观点

奥林匹克标识和符号是西方传统的一部分。这一标识存在矛盾之处。因为奥林匹克理想代表着神圣，而奥林匹克运动是西方现状的典型代表。然而，正如玛格丽特·里格的研究所认为的那样，现在这里的神圣已经消失了，其中心已被扰乱。布斯丁和德鲍德对西方社会的研究结论相似。他们强调说，对形象和符号标识的加工导致了与真实事物的分离。在西方，人们对完美的追求是“显性”的。但在东方，对完美的追求相对隐晦。前者代表了对发展的追求，而后者反映了对安静和谐的追求，这就是，在人和自然间寻求一种没有止境的“同一”与和谐。后者这种对“中

anxiously awaiting the excitement of this year's Olympic festival. The athletic events and cultural performances will be the common bond, bringing together the largest number of Olympic participants ever. There is confidence that another major boycott will be avoided, making the Seoul Games a truly global festival.

WORLD ORDER: A BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVE

The Olympic symbol is part of Western Tradition. In this symbol lies a contradiction. While the Olympic ideals represent sacredness, Olympic sport exemplifies the present situation of the West where, as Margaret Rigg observes, the sense of sacredness is lost and the center is disturbed. Boorstin and Debord provide similar diagnoses of Western society. They stress the separation from reality caused by manipulation of images and symbols. In the West, excellence is sought for in 'obviousness'. But the East seeks excellence in 'non-obviousness'. The former represents the search for progress, while the latter reflects the search for silence and harmony- that is, the 'oneness in infinite harmony between man and nature'. This latter search for 'center' is sometimes referred to as 'enlightenment'.

Enlightenment, in the Buddhist, sense, can be achieved through the proper use of just one of the 1,700 recorded Hwa-tous. A Hwa-tou is a question for which the rational mind cannot find an answer. The Hwa-tou has the effect of heightening the intensity, power of concentration and centeredness of the mind's and the body's activity. When used in combination with a mantra (a particular sound repeated mentally), the human mind can transcend the limits of the intellect and foster spiritual growth. One standard Hwa-tou employed is 'Yimoko', which is derived from a Korean dialect and means 'What am I?' or 'What is the true self?' Yimoko is the search for oneself, search for the center, search for the sacred. This tradition is related to the Buddhist tradition.

Both must pass through a transitional stage before attempting to answer their initial questions. There is also a close relation between the conception of personality in anthropology and the examination of self in Buddhism. Margaret Mead's work clearly shows that culture modifies the personality of those who live within it. Self-reflection in Buddhism also recognizes the cultural determinants, one manifestation being the use of mantras and Hwa-tous in transcending the 'idle chatter' of one's mind, thus freeing the spirit from culturally-determined preconceptions.

There are two kinds of culture in the world: the culture of making and elaboration, and the culture of becoming. Painting and dance provide examples. In Western painting, the artist elaborates, refines and adds detail to the work until it is finished. But in Eastern calligraphy, no stroke is refined, corrected or elaborated: one touch. And if the touch is successful, fine; if not, throw it away. In western dance, we observe dramatic movements. Non-dramatic movements simply magnify other actions. In observing Korean dance, one finds an emphasis on subtleness, almost on non-movement. It consists of 'movement in non-movement and non-movement in movement'.

'Movement in non-movement' and 'non-movement in movement' are 'yin in yang' and 'yang in yin'. The Changmu Theatre here in Korea had a workshop on Western dance. The workshop emphasized how to maximize expression using the body. When the Korean participants were asked how Western dance was different from Korean dance, the answer is on "obtaining expression by minimizing movement".

The culture of making and elaboration is verbal, whereas the culture of becoming is non-verbal. In the culture of making we find endless elaboration, new methods, 'research and development'. In the culture of becoming, no elaborate method is necessary - one simply confronts the self, repeating the methods of one's forefathers. Sport is an example of

心”的探求有时被认为是“觉（佛教用语）”。

在佛教中，“觉”的意思是能够通过正确的应用1700多种有记录的Hwa-tous中的一种来有所收获。一个Hwa-tous 就是一个依靠正常的理性思维难以找到答案的问题。Hwa-tous 有着提高专注力、脑力和身体活动中心的强度和力度的效果。如果与语音祷告（内心上一种特别的声音重复）相结合，那么人的心灵就能够突破智力的局限，从而获得并促进精神上的成长。一个规范又常用的Hwa-tous是“Yimoko”，这源自一个韩国方言，意思是“我是谁？”或者“真正的自己是什么？”Yimoko是自我的一种探寻，是对中心的一种探寻，是对神圣的一种探寻。这一传统与佛教有着密切的联系。

儒家思想与佛教是东亚两种伟大的宗教传统，代表了一种文化的两个方面，一个是实践，一个是理论。儒家思想关注的是人类的社会生活，而佛教关注人类如何理解他们自身。作为一名韩国的人类学家，佛教和人类学的相似之处激起了我强烈的好奇心。佛教对人性的深入研究和人类学对人类本质问题的关心有着密切的关系。而且，两者主要的兴趣点都是在探索最基本未知问题的解决方式上。佛教的Yimoko练习与人类学家在陌生的文化中进行田野调查也有着异曲同工之妙。人类学家的田野调查都是从一定的问题假设开始的，佛教徒则通过把注意力集中在koan或者Hwa-tou上来练习Yimoko以寻求真理。

二者在试图回答其最初的问题的时候都必须经过一个过渡期。人类学的人格概

念与佛教的自我反省方面也有着密切的联系。玛格丽特·米德的研究表明，文化可以改变生活在其中的个体的人格。佛教中的自我反省也承认了文化的决定因素，一个表现就是使用语音祷告和Hwa-tous来超越在每个人头脑中的“虚无”，通过这种方法，可以将精神从文化的先入为主中解放出来，使其重获自由。

世界上有两种文化，一种是制造和详尽的文化，一种是关于正在变化的文化。绘画和舞蹈就是一个很好的例子。在西方绘画中，艺术家们精心制作和提炼、给画作增加细节，使其完美，直到完成。但是在东方的美术中，没有一笔一画是被定义过了的、修正了的或者详细说明了的：只有笔端对纸张的轻轻地触碰。如果这次触碰是成功的，那么这就是一幅很好的画作；如果不成功，那么扔掉它。在西方的舞蹈中，我们发现了戏剧性的动作。非戏剧化动作的作用仅仅是增强其他的动作。而在对韩国舞蹈的研究中，我们发现，演员们的重点在细微之间，几乎没有动作，正所谓“动中有静，静中有动”。

这里的“动中有静”和“静中有动”是“阴中有阳”和“阳中有阴”的反映。座落在韩国的长慕剧院有一间西方舞蹈的工作间，就十分强调如何最大限度地通过身体进行表达。当韩国参加者被问及西方舞蹈和韩国舞蹈的区别在什么地方时，回答是“（韩国舞蹈）用最小的动作来进行表达。”

制造和详尽的文化是能够诉诸语言的，而关于正在变化的文化则无法用语言来

the culture of making while Zen serves as an example of the culture of becoming. Sport seeks the faster, higher and stronger. Zen seeks non-movement, silence and passivity (Shin-Pyo Kang, 1984).

Western sport emphasizes excellence in obviousness, in ‘overtness’. Conversely, Buddhism finds excellence in silence, non-movement and non-visual domains. The search for ‘center’ is not a matter of body, but of mind. The mind is important in the Olympic movement, but recent development of Olympic sport stresses ‘obviousness’. The ‘center’ is closely related to awakening or ‘enlightenment’. There is no criterion or standard by which excellence in the search for ‘center’ can be measured. Only those who have experienced ‘enlightenment’ can understand.

Rules in sport are based on ‘obviousness’. Sports excellence is pursued and assessed via the highly rationalized worlds of science, technology and measurability. However, rules in the ‘search for center’ are not so clear and tangible. Our advances in modern science have not enabled us to understand the peculiar processes of the human mind. Our mind consists of not only five senses- seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, and touching- but also of others. The Buddhist philosophy refers to sixth, seventh and eighth senses. Ordinary Koreans frequently utilize this sixth sense, which is not as tangible as the first five. The sixth sense, however intangible, is the most important in our daily lives. It cannot be discussed in an empirical way, nor is it verifiable through the scientific method. Instead, it is ‘brewed’ in a culture through its living history. Its focus can best be explained as a meta-message, rather than a message in the traditional sense. We say that the ‘real’ message is between the lines of the spoken or written message. We Koreans say “Ishim-chunshim”- ‘through mind, mind understands’. Ishim-chunshim has nothing to do with obvious verbal communication but with the inner workings of our minds.

Excellence in ‘non-obviousness’ is no less important than excellence in ‘obviousness’. Each serves to counterbalance the other. Together they become yin and yang. Culture requires both sides to obtain a balance. This, in turn, requires agency-the practitioner, the self. Reality is created via perception, and thus via the individual. Awakening in Buddhism is to face reality as it is. The first step is to face the self. If one wakes the self, reality can be properly perceived.

Chuang Tzu once wrote a famous story about a butterfly. In the story he was dreaming about flying like a butterfly. At midday he awoke and began to think - if a few minutes ago I was a man dreaming of being a butterfly, then am I not now a butterfly dreaming of being a man? We are not certain which one is ‘real’. It is not a matter of actuality but a way of thinking, of constructing experiences as well as deconstructing them. In stressing the meta-message rather than the obvious message, Koreans understand ‘yes and no’ rather than ‘yes or no’. In other words, ‘yes’ sometimes means ‘no’ and ‘no’ sometimes means ‘yes’.

Korean culture has three major aspects: (i) hierarchy; (ii) ‘groupness’, and (iii) drama-ritualism. The hierarchical aspect entails an emphasis on orderliness in rank position-seniority. ‘Groupness’ emphasizes membership in the group. For example, during the New Year, everyone who had been born the previous year becomes one-year old, regardless of the actual date of birth. This creates the age set. In Korea, one’s group is a kind of family. This, in turn, generates particular responsibilities. The drama-ritualism aspect requires that for the sake of group harmony, one should behave dramatically and ritually toward other members of the group. For example, in order to avoid unnecessary worry on the part of the father, the son has a right to deceive the father - even if that means lying to the father. In the drama-ritualism aspect ‘yes’ and ‘no’ go together.

表达。在制造的文化中，有着无数详尽的新方法以及“研究和发展”。但在关于正在变化的文化中，并不需要复杂的方法，一个人要做的就是去面对自己，重复其祖先传下来的方法。体育运动就是一个制作文化的例子，而禅宗是一个关于正在变化的文化的例子。体育运动追求更快、更高和更强。而禅宗追求不动、安静和被动性（姜信朴，1984）。

西方体育显而易见地强调完美和卓越。而佛教在安静、不动和看不到的方面寻求完美。对“中心”的追求并不是身体的事情，而是一个心灵的问题。在奥林匹克运动中，心灵是如此的重要，但是晚近奥林匹克运动的发展却单纯强调了“外在”。“中心”与觉醒或者“觉”密切相关。在寻找“中心”的过程中，完美的标准或者规范并不存在。只有那些能够经历“觉”的人才能够理解。

体育运动的规则是建立在“显见”的基础上的。人们通过高度理性化的科技和测量来追求和评价体育中的完美。然而，现代科学的高度发展并不能使我们理解人类意识的独特进程，因为意识并不是仅仅由视觉、听觉、味觉、嗅觉和触觉五种感觉组成的，还有其他的很多东西。佛教哲学有所谓的第六感、第七感、第八感。普通的韩国人会经常使用第六感，这可并不像之前的五种那么明确。然而，它虽然并不明确，但却是我们日常生活中最为重要的。它不能通过实验的方法来讨论，亦不能通过科学的方法来验证。相反的，它是通过长时间的生活经历，在一种文化中“酝酿”产生的一种集体无意识。其中心最好被解

释为信息隐含的意思，而不是传统感觉能感受到的信息。我们通常会说“真正的”信息是藏在说写的字里行间。我们韩国人讲“Ishim-chunshim”——“通过心灵，用心灵来理解”。Ishim-chunshim与任何明显的语言交流都没有关系，但又的确是我们思维和心灵内在的工作。

“隐性”的完美与“显性”的完美同样重要。二者都需要从对方那里找到更好的平衡点。合在一起，就形成了所谓的阴阳。文化需要这两个方面，来达到完美的平衡。因此，这也就有赖于机构-个体和自我。真实是通过认知，继而通过个体实现的。佛教中的觉醒就是面对现实。第一步就是面对自己。如果一个人能够让自我觉醒，那么就on能够适当地感受到真实了。

有个庄生梦蝶的著名故事。在这个故事中，庄子梦见自己变成了一只翩翩飞舞的蝴蝶。他醒了后就在思考，如果几分钟之前我是一个梦见自己变成了蝴蝶的人，那么现在我不是一个梦见自己变成了人的蝴蝶呢？我们不知道哪一个是真实的。这不是一个现实的问题，而是一个关于思考方式的问题，是构建和解构经验的方式的问题。强调信息中的隐性含义而不仅仅是显性含义，对韩国人而言，就是他们更容易理解“既是又非”而不是“非是即非”。换言之，“是”有时候意味着“不是”，而“不是”有时候意味着“是”。

韩国文化包括三个主要方面：(i) 等级制度；(ii) 集体；(iii) 戏剧-仪式。等级制度强调等级方面的秩

In sports, there are clear winners and losers, but in the Korean tradition, winners are also losers and losers are also winners. The winter can be a winner in some situations, but the winner is also a loser in other subsequent situations. Similarly, for the sake of another group we can take the loser position. And vice-versa. This kind of logic is not feasible in the Western, Aristotelian tradition, but it is a fundamental aspect of Korean practice and performance.

Performance thus becomes transformative, with its own particular grammar. The three aspects of Korean culture -hierarchy, ‘groupness’, and drama-ritualism - are each implicated in the transformation. Practice and performance - drama and ritual - generate the transformation. In the process, the group can become small and big; the group’s position in the hierarchy can become high and low. These transformations are obtained through the practices and performances of the human being, who is agency, who is the practitioner, and who is awakened human being. Human being must have body, mind and the awakening of Yimoko. One who has Yimoko knows what to do in a given time and space with the ‘reality’, dream, vision and ideal. One who has Yimoko also knows how to perform- how to ‘praxis’ without fear of its failure because failure is not the matter of the given moment. Eventually, failure in praxis is a stepping stone in the process of pursuing, endless practice toward its own completion. Life becomes an infinitely evolving transformation. This transformative grammar is illustrated in the attached diagram.

CONCLUSION

As part of the preparations for the 1986 Asian Games in Seoul, the Hankook Ilbo (a vernacular daily newspaper) sponsored an essay contest for youth from throughout Asia. Over 140 submissions were received. Various aspects of the Asian Games were considered.

It is reassuring to know that the young generation is hopeful despite world events which often cast dark shadows over their dreams. It is also admirable that some of our participants have tempered their somewhat idealistic perspective with recognition of problems to be solved. Let me share with you some of what we heard from young Asians.

From the Philippines we heard of confidence that the Asian Games serve as a foundation of interaction upon which friendships, cultural respect and mutual understanding grow. From Malaysia we heard about the importance of resultant interaction. That is, the Asian Games act as a bridge, similar to the great ice bridges that once spanned oceans and linked continents. The Games can help overcome the colonial legacy of disarticulated societies by establishing national identities of which to be proud.

A youth from Japan explained that misunderstanding is a cancer disabling communication. As leaders of the 21st century, Asians need to develop teamwork. Therefore, communication is essential, including communication via sport.

From India we learned that without mutual trust, no strong foundation for peace is possible. The greatest enemy of trust is fear. The Asian Games help us break down feeling of fear and misunderstanding. We also heard from India about the importance of the Asiad (Asian Games) for women. Through their athletic accomplishments, Asian women have asserted their existence and earned respect.

A youth from Sri Lanka reminded us of the blend of fine arts and sport at the Asian Games, and of their significance in raising the spirit and unity of Asian peoples. Also, from Sri Lanka, we learned about benefits to the participating athletes. The Asian Games have revealed the hidden potentiality of Asian athletes who, up until the Asiad's inauguration, had no opportunity to succeed apart

序以及社会上的长尊位置。“集体”则强调集体内部的成员身份。比如说，在新年，不管前一年实际的出生日期是哪天，他们都长大了一岁，这就形成了一套关于年龄的机制。在韩国，其集体就是一类家庭。这也反过来，生成了个体所要承担的某些特定责任。而为了集体的和谐，每个人都需要向集体内的人进行一些戏剧化的和仪式化的行为，这就是戏剧-仪式部分。比如，为了避免父亲某些不必要的担忧，儿子有权力来欺骗父亲——即便这意味着对父亲说谎。在戏剧-仪式方面，是非是混合在一起的。

在体育运动中，胜者和败者区分得很明显，但是在韩国的传统中，胜利者与失败者的界限就很模糊。胜利者在某些情况下是胜利者，但是在其他随后的一些情况下则可能就是失败者。同样的，为了另一个集体，我们可以成为失败者。反之亦然。这种逻辑在西方亚里士多德传统那就不那么灵便了，但却是韩国人实践和表演的基础。

因为其独特的方式，表演变得富有变革能力。韩国文化的三个方面——等级制度、集体和戏剧-仪式在变革过程中都有所涉及。在这个过程中，集体可以很小，也可以很大；集体在等级制度中的位置可以很高，也可以很低。这些变革能够通过人类的练习和表演获得，在这里，人类既是机构，又是参与者和被唤醒的人。人类必须有身体、意识和Yimoko的觉醒。一个Yimoko的三人知道在特定的时空该如何应对“真实”、梦、看到的和理想。他同时也知道如何去做，并且不带有对失败的恐惧，

因为失败在当时根本不算什么。最后，走向最终完成的道路是永无止境的，失败不过是这个过程上的垫脚石。生活因为展开的种种变革而变得无限。

结论

展望21世纪奥林匹克运动重要意义的时候，大胆地去问一下未来亚洲的领导者——年轻一代他们关于亚洲在未来世界的角色和意义或许是一个明智的做法。

作为1986年汉城亚运会的准备活动之一，《韩国日报》发起了一个面向全亚洲年轻人的散文比赛，收到了超过140份投稿，内容涉及亚运会的各个方面。尽管现实的世界事务经常地将阴影投到年轻一代的梦想上，但我们非常确信，他们是非常有希望的一代。同样令人称赞的是随着对即将解决的问题的了解，有些参与者修正了其过于理想化的观点。让我们一起来分享一些我们从年轻的亚洲人身上听到的东西吧。

菲律宾的来稿认为亚运会是友谊、文化尊重和互相理解的互动的基础，从中我们不难看出自信心的痕迹。马来西亚的来稿突出了合作的重要性。他们认为，亚运会作为一座好像连接了海洋和大陆的冰桥，能够帮助克服作为殖民地受到的影响，使这些有缺陷的社会重新建立其国家的身份认证，继而获得自豪感。

一位来自日本的年轻人认为，误解是影响正常交流的顽疾。作为21世纪的领导人，亚洲需要发展团队工作。因此，交

from competition with stronger athletes from the more developed nations.

From Pakistan we heard about a belief in sport as an ideal arena for the cooperation among Asian people, providing shelter and clothing, and learning from each other. Another Pakistani youth, Miss Kamila Hyatt, our selection as top essayist, may have stated it best by observing that events such as the Asian Games “can help to heal the ever-widening rifts caused by long years of misunderstanding and a shameful impatience with beliefs different than our own”. For millions of Asians, “the Games will be a reminder of the wonderful richness and beauty of the culture belonging to other Asian countries. In a world encouraging selfish motives, and leaving little time to think of others, they will learn that humans all over the globe are largely the same with an identical love of dance, song, color and sport”.

These ideas expressed by our Asian youth warm my heart and assure me that the 21st century will be in good hands. However, the processes of cultural exchange can only be placed in a global context if investigators from throughout the world cooperatively embark on intensive study of the Olympic Movement in the four corners of the World.

In this context, an international research team is being organized to engage in anthropological fieldwork during the Seoul Olympic Games. Our research team will continue the work begun by the International anthropology Project at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games, which was directed by John MacAloon. However, like the 1984 project, our group for 1988 is only a nucleus. The Olympic Games are too large - both in their performance and in their audience - for any single research team to attain an adequate comprehension of them. The contributions of social scientists from throughout the world will still be required. I hope that scholars again seize this

opportunity for study, and then bring their findings to Barcelona for our second conference in 1991.

In closing, I would note three concerns of mine. First, scholars and researchers have to redouble their efforts to understand world cultures and to promote exchanges among peaceful people. Second, within the Olympic realm, more effort has to be expended to understand the cultural traditions of the host city. Finally, we the people of this small world have to put more effort not only into constructing and deconstructing current international cultures but also helping to lead the culture of the future toward “harmony and progress”.

NOTE

This paper is based on a keynote address read at the First International Conference on the Olympic Games and East/West and South/North Cultural Exchange in the World System held in Seoul, Korea, during August 17-19, 1987. I am much indebted to those scholars who helped me in various ways, including John MacAloon, Laurence Chalip and Craig Mulling. This research was financially supported by the Pack-Sang Foundation, the Hankook Ilbo Newspaper Group, Hanyang University, and the Ministry of Education.

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流就显得尤为重要，这当然也就包括通过体育运动进行的交流。

来自印度的参加者认为，如果没有互相之间的信任，就不会建立起达到和平的稳固根基。信任最大的敌人就是畏惧。亚运会帮助我们消除了畏惧和误解。来自印度的投稿还强调了亚洲妇女的重要性。通过其运动成就，亚洲的女性证明了其存在的价值，并获得了应有的尊重。

来自斯里兰卡年轻人的投稿使我们想起了亚运会上完美艺术与体育运动的有机结合及其在提高亚洲人民的精神和团结方面起到的重要作用。我们还从他们的投稿中了解到了亚运会对运动员的好处。亚运会激发和释放了亚洲运动员的潜能，如果没有亚运会，他们可能没有机会在与发达国家运动员的比赛中获得成功。

巴基斯坦的投稿强调了对体育的信念和信仰，为了促进亚洲人民团结合作的体育场给人们提供了保护和衣物，从而能够从彼此那里学到很多。另一位巴基斯坦年轻人卡米拉·亚特小姐是我们的头奖获得者，她认为，长期误解和对不同信仰缺乏耐心会带来日益增大的交流裂缝，而类似亚运会之类的赛事能够帮助消除这些隔阂。对亚洲人来说，“亚运会能够让我们想起属于亚洲其他国家文化的美丽与富饶。在一个鼓励自我的世界中，人们很少拿出时间去考虑别人，他们在这里会发现全世界的人们其实一样，都那么喜欢舞蹈、歌唱、色彩和运动。”

亚洲年轻人所表达的思想和理念让我倍感温暖，并有理由相信21世纪将是一个团结合作的世纪。然而，如果全世界研究者合作进行关于奥林匹克运动研究

的话，那么我们就必须把文化交流放在全球背景下来看。

在这样的背景下，我们组织了一个国际研究团队来进行汉城奥运会的人类学田野调查。我们团队的工作将继续从1984年洛杉矶奥运会开始的国际人类学研究计划，领导人是约翰·麦克阿隆。然而，就像1984年的计划一样，我们1988年的团队也只是一个中心。奥运会太庞大了——无论是其比赛表演还是其观众——任何一个单一的研究团队想要获得对其足够的理解都不太实际。因此，我们仍然需要来自全世界的社会科学家的贡献，我希望学者们再次抓住这样大好的研究机会，并将其成果带到1991年在巴塞罗那举行的第二次大会上。

最后，我想提及三个我关心的问题。第一，学者和研究者们必须付出双倍的努力来理解世界文化，并促进人类的和平交流。第二，在奥林匹克范围内，我们应该付出更多的努力来理解举办城市的文化传统。最后，我们应该付出更多的努力来建构和解构当前的国际文化，帮助引领未来的文化，使其走向“和谐和进步”。

本文基于1987年8月17日到19日在韩国首尔举行的首届奥运会国际大会暨东西南北文化交流大会上的主题发言。我本人非常感激那些通过各种方式对我进行帮助的人，包括约翰·麦克阿隆、Laurence Chalip、Craig Mulling等。本研究由百想基金会、《韩国日报》报业集团、汉阳大学和教育部协力赞助和支持。

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综合学科研究方法

MULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES

CONFLICTS IN THE PARIS OLYMPIC GAMES 1924 – A HISTORICAL REVIEW

THIERRY TERRET

University of Lyon 1 – Claude Bernard

Before the 1924 Olympic Games, the city of Paris underwent a difficult situation because the people in charge of the French capital had to face the necessity to build sport facilities, which had not been originally included in their budget. The two main facilities available at the time were a stadium to host the contests in track and field, football, rugby, gymnastics and equestrian sports, and a pool for the contests in swimming, diving and water polo¹. The aim of this paper is to explore some of the conditions in which the final decisions were made in order to solve the problems and conflicts that appeared at sport, political and economic levels to make the Games possible.

THE AIMS OF THE PARIS CANDIDACY

In the aftermath of the Olympic Games of Antwerp, Gaston Vidal, Deputy and former president of the main sport body in France, the Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques, was able to claim after Clémenceau and French President Millerand: “The Olympic Games must be in Paris in 1924”². Such a political position was relatively unusual since the French political authorities had a relatively low opinion toward sport and had favored gymnastics for half a century. However, this new attitude could be explained by several reasons.

The Inter-Allied Games of 1919, organized in Paris with American initiative, created a sort of shock as it showed a link between sport success – especially because Americans finished first, far ahead of the Frenchmen, who arrived second – and education through sport and military efficiency³. A few months after the Inter-Allied Games, considering the decisive role Americans had played in the War and the importance they gave to sport, the French Government became more conscious that sport was also a matter of international prestige. This is why a special department, the Service des Œuvres Françaises à l’Étranger⁴, was soon created in order to use sport as a tool for propaganda abroad.

1924年巴黎奥运会的 冲突——历史的 观点

蒂里埃·铁烈

克洛德·贝纳尔-里昂第一大学

在1924年奥运会之前，巴黎正面临着一种窘迫的境界，因为巴黎当局面临着修建体育设施等问题，而这压根不在其财政预算之列。当时需要两个主要的体育场馆，一个是用来进行田径、足球、橄榄球、体操和马术比赛的体育场，另一个是用来进行游泳、跳水和水球比赛的泳池。在筹办过程中，人们遇到了体育、政治和经济发展水平等方面的许多问题和冲突。为了使得奥运会得以顺利举办，人们必须找到解决的办法。本文的目的就在于探讨这些解决之道的相关条件和背景。

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巴黎申奥的目的

安特卫普奥运会之后，法国主要体育团体——法国体育运动联合会——的前主席和代表加斯顿·维达尔先生在法国总理克莱门梭先生和法国总统米勒兰先生之后表示：“1924年的奥运会一定要在巴黎举办。”相对来说，这样的政治立场在当时并不寻常，因为半个世纪以来，法国当权派对体育的热情并不高涨，而通常是优先考虑体操。然而，这一新的对待体育的态度可以从如下几个原因来获得解释：

跟皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦先生的安排并没有太大的关系，法国政府做出这一申办1924年奥运会的决定的原因好像是跟国际声望和民族自豪感有关，而没有真正花时间去跟当地的组织者来协商和计划。G. 维达尔指出，一部分原因是因为比利时，所以法国才在那个时候提出举办本来应该于1916年在柏林举办的奥运会的申請。因为这关系到法国的国际声望。虽然之前里昂的竞争也非

The right to stage the 1920 Games was given to Belgium in order to compensate and reward this country for the so much suffering it had gone through during the four years of war⁵. However, as France reckoned that it could also receive the same consideration from the international community, the city of Lyon was presented as an alternative to take the place of Antwerp in case the latter could not organize the Games⁶.

Without the clear positioning of Pierre de Coubertin himself, the French government seemed to have made its decision to apply for the Games of 1924 for reasons related to international prestige and pride⁷, without really taking the time to negotiate and plan with the local organizers how the project could be developed. G. Vidal pointed out that it was partly because of Belgium that France could apply at that time to host the Games that should have been staged in Berlin in 1916⁸. And since it was a matter of prestige, only Paris could really represent the country in the mind of the political leaders, despite the previous challenging proposal of the rival city of Lyon⁹: Vidal added that the responsible French people were sufficiently aware of sport to perceive the immense moral and material benefit that the choice of Paris as the location for the Olympic Games of 1924 could give to the Capital¹⁰. The new attitude of the public authorities led the French Olympic Committee (COF), which was mainly constituted of Parisian personalities, to support the candidacy of Paris to stage the 8th Olympic Games and to support it during the meeting of the IOC (International Olympic Committee) members in Lausanne on June 21, 1921.

However, despite the positive answer given to France, the enthusiasm of the applicants had rapidly to face reality once the political leaders of Paris discovered that the considerable cost of the Olympic event hardly fitted the budget of the city. A financial arrangement was then rapidly found: the Government was ready to support the organization for an amount of 20 million francs, in addition to the 10 million francs and the free disposal of ground that the city of Paris could offer. However, the authorities had to change their mind when the first objective estimates were displayed. All the conditions were there, the expected and the unexpected, and they triggered a strong conflict between the decision makers of the COF and the Parisian organizers. At the heart of the debates was the cost of the sport facilities that had been promised to the IOC members: the stadium and the swimming pool.

CONFLICTS AROUND THE STADIUM OF COLOMBES

At the time the application of Paris was made, France had three stadiums, and only two available in the French capital¹¹. The first one to be thought of for the Games of 1924 was the Pershing Stadium, and the second one was the Stadium of Colombes, a small city in the Parisian suburb. The Pershing Stadium was built by the Americans in 1919 for the Inter-Allied Games. It had been designed by two Parisian architects, Buisson and Giffard, and approved by the YMCA (Young Men Christian Association) on February 24, 1919¹². The tribunes could host 25,000 seated people. The central ground was 144 meters long and 70 meters wide, and it was ringed by a 500-meter track. The initial budget of the Pershing Stadium indicated a cost of 450,000 francs, but the final expenses went up to 2 million francs. It was symbolically given to France during the ceremonies of the Inter-Allied Games¹³. In the official Act, it was explicitly mentioned that the use of the stadium should be exclusively to the promotion of sport for all and mass sport, just like the YMCA tried to define it.¹⁴ In a sense, this allowed the use of the stadium for the Olympic Games since they still were a popular spectacle. However, the stadium had been built for a limited project, the Inter-Allied Games, and its size and general conception were not really adapted to larger events.

The other stadium, which could be available for the Games, was that of Colombes, used since 1893 only for horse racing but gradually remodeled by the newspaper *Le Matin* after 1907 to host athletic contests. With a very modest tribune, the whole stadium was not entirely ready for an international sport event after World War I¹⁵, in spite of an agreement with the famous Racing Club de France to rent and use it exclusively for its own sport goal.

A few days after the IOC decision to give the Games to Paris, the City Council members asked two special commissions to technically and financially analyze the situation, which included a set of hypotheses related to the different locations where the contests could be organized according to the requirements of the French Olympic Committee¹⁶. Before the results of these studies were known, the debates focused mainly on the interest of having the Pershing Stadium as the main location for the Games, provoking a strong and scandalized reaction of the specialized press in July 1921.

According to the newspaper *Le Miroir des Sports*, the IOC meeting in Lausanne conceded the 8th Olympic Games to France because the French delegates had taken to the IOC monumental projects and

常具有挑战性，但在政治领导者的眼中，只有巴黎能够代表法兰西，担此重任。维达尔还说，颇具责任心的法国民众非常了解，如果选择巴黎作为1924年奥运会的申办城市，体育运动能够回报给他们的首都以巨大道德和物质利益。公众的新态度使得主要由巴黎的社会名流们组成的法国奥委会（COF）积极支持巴黎申办是届奥运会，尤其是在1921年6月21日举行的国际奥委会会议期间。

科隆博体育场面临的矛盾

在巴黎申奥的时候，法国有三座体育场，其中有两座坐落在巴黎。被人们认为奥运会主体育场第一选择的是珀欣体育场，第二座则是座落于巴黎市郊的科隆博体育场。珀欣体育场是1919年为了举办协约国运动会而由美国人建造的，由两名巴黎的建筑师布松和基弗德设计，经基督教青年会于1919年2月24日核准，可容纳2万5千名观众。中心场地

有144米长、70米宽，跑道为500米。该体育场最初的预算为45万法郎，但是最后的实际花费达到了惊人的200万。在协约国运动会期间，它为法国争足了面子，成为了标志性建筑。官方法案明确表示，正如同基督教青年会在最初给该体育场的定位一样，其使用应该是用来开展体育运动，尤其是大众体育的。一定程度上，这有利于该体育馆作为奥运场馆使用，因为它依然是一个城市坐标。然而，体育馆毕竟是为协约国运动会专门度身定作的，所以它的规格和总体的设计理念并不能真正适用于更大规模的运动会。

为了解决体育馆的问题，法国奥组委、科隆博市政府、巴黎市政府和法国竞赛俱乐部之间达成了一项协议。1924年奥运会的主要比赛是在科隆博而不是巴黎举行。具有讽刺意味的是，法国竞赛俱乐部的建筑师是巴黎建筑设计大赛的获胜者路易斯·弗雷-杜亚克。当时，路易斯·弗雷-杜亚克正倾力反对建筑的大型化和过

magnificent plans of an Olympic stadium, which should be built in Paris. Moreover, as Frantz Reichel successfully argued in favor of the project, and as the memories of France during the war came to mind, the foreign delegates agreed to give to France, more precisely, Paris, the right to stage the 1924 Games. That happened also because of two other additional aspects: (i) the foreign delegates did not want to have to disapprove of bad organization and (ii) they were certain that Paris would meet the deadlines. However, the 3rd commission of the City Council did not share the need to build a stadium, and its members, changed their mind and ended up not claiming the excellence of the Pershing Stadium. It would have been more honest to declare that Paris would not organize the 8th Olympiad if it did not have the financial conditions for that.”¹⁷

The work of the commissions seemed to have been contaminated by the negative atmosphere developed by the press¹⁸. As a result, the remodeling of the Pershing Stadium had to be rapidly cancelled due not only to the lack of many technical requirements but also to the cost of the numerous adaptations that would have to be planned to meet the expected results, which in the end would not be entirely satisfying. However, to rebuild the stadium in another location or to plan a totally new building in another site would create a problem of cost and location. These two criteria were crucial in the way the City Council members discussed costs, which was explored by the technical commissions and reported to the City Council members and to the COF representatives in October 1921.¹⁹

As the discussion did not result in a consensual decision, the COF decided to organize a public competition in Paris in order to select the architect to conduct the project to renovate the Pershing Stadium. The results of the competition were presented in February 1921.²⁰ The winner was Louis Faure-Dujarric, the official architect of the Racing Club de France, a former rugby player and runner.²¹

However, at the same time this competition was taking place in Paris, another initiative was happening in Colombes. The Mayor of the city of Colombes, M. Chavany, sent a letter to the City of Paris in which he proposed that his city’s stadium could host the Games in 1924. The reasons for that were related to important changes in the current facilities of the Colombes stadium, the modification of the general access to the place, and the building of a swimming pool.²² The proposal was first considered by Jean de Castellane, the president of the Sport Group within the City Council of Paris. The results of the technical commissions were not known at that time. Jean de Castellane

was relatively open to this second alternative, but the negotiations with the COF leaders appeared to be much harder than had been expected because they had a totally opposite position on the subject based on the following arguments: (i) Colombes was too far from Paris; (ii) if selected, Colombes could not count on the 10 million francs that had been promised by Paris and (iii) new facilities in the convenient location of the Bois de Boulogne would be preferred. The COF leaders then waited for the results of the competition for the selection of architects to appreciate the viability of this option.

The Parisian Councilors were divided on this point. But, they had just engaged the city in a vast program of urban rearrangement and built huge prestigious facilities such as the Palais des Expositions Agricoles et Hippiques, the Palais des Arts Décoratifs and the Exposition Coloniale (Colonial Fair). The French Government was even willing to give the famous site of the Parc des Princes to the city of Paris, but it had to face economic lobbying and ecological reactions.²³ In such conditions, the choice of a site for the 1924 Olympic Games could have chain effects on the other main projects. This is probably why the competition for the selection of architects could not sufficiently modify the position of the majority in the city Council members. Moreover, the Councilors were aware of the monumental dimensions (and the afferent costs) of the different projects they had to rank, especially because the municipal budget of Paris underwent a difficult path in 1922. Therefore, on March 11, it was surprisingly decided, against the COF's position, to reduce the subvention promised to support the Games from 10 to 1 million francs, and to use this sum to prepare... the Pershing Stadium. As a result, the Parliament also reduced the State support for the Games from 20 to 6 million francs.

Two years before the opening of the Games, the situation was dramatic. The COF's leaders refused the choice of the Pershing Stadium and claimed that they were ready to let the Games be organized in another foreign city. However, this assumption was simply perceived as an ultimatum by the Parisian Councilors, resulting in a still more delicate situation. Despite the prevarication of Gaston Vidal and the opposition of the COF, the only compromise that could be financially acceptable for Paris and technically satisfying for the COF was undoubtedly the project which had been presented by the city of Colombes earlier. However, it is important to remember that the Stadium of Colombes was still rented by the Racing Club de France. Therefore, the final consensus took the form of a very

分美学特征，而坚持走功能主义和节约路线。然而，他也可以改造陈旧的科隆博体育场，使其变成一个拥有2万座席和4万4千站席的体育场。但是，游泳池的建设规划却需要再次更改了。泳池的建设早已于1922年开始，巴黎的组织者们却突然决定停工……

关于土列尔游泳池的争端

对正在建设的科隆博游泳池的紧急叫停引发了奥运会组织准备工作的一系列争端，包括这一过程牵扯到的权威人士。在这一事件的中心，我们非常有必要来考虑让·德·卡斯特拉内所扮演的角色，他是巴黎议员，更关键的是，他是在迈克·米索菲之前议会的体育团体的掌门人之一。除此之外，他还是法国游泳和救生联合会的主席。根据早些时候在议会上提出的议案，我们可以看出，让·德·卡斯特拉内及其继任者迈克·米索菲都非常看重体育运动的人文和社会文化作用。他们都更看重卫生学的积极作用而

不是比赛本身，并且想在巴黎市内多修建几个小的游泳池而不是一两个名声在外又花费不菲的游泳设施。在巴黎申办奥运会前的几个月，他们刚向巴黎议会提交了一份完整的计划，内容为总共修建20个小游泳池，比方说每年在每个区修建一个。完成这一计划需要几年的时间，其财政预算大约为2500万法郎，该计划在1921年3月21日被投票通过，这恰恰是国际奥委会在洛桑举行会议前的3个月。同时，让·德·卡斯特拉内和迈克·米索菲两人又声称非常乐意巴黎来申办1924年的奥运会。可是，当时他们并没有意识到，奥运会的准备工体会使其游泳池计划就此泡汤，尤其是当计划在1922年上半年被修改后。1922年7月7日，第一批6个游泳池的计划被递交到了巴黎市议会。

面对如此多的反应，塞纳河的长官承认其管理的技术支持可能是错误的。1923年12月，奥运会开幕前的几个月，他承诺更换建筑师，但他同时也请求巴黎市议

unusual financial agreement. The leaders of the Racing Club de France would expect to have the currently best French sport facilities at their disposal once the Games were finished.²⁴ For this reason, they were ready to enlarge the capacity of their stadium according to the IOC requirements, and to add new facilities, including a swimming pool, for a budget of 4 million francs. The Racing Club de France asked to receive 50% of the fees paid by the spectators during the Games and to be financially covered by the State in the sense that the Government would pay the possible difference between the amount of the fee and the sum of 4 million francs used to prepare the location.²⁵ Finally, the agreement would include a point allowing the COF to use the stadium 15 Sundays per year, free of charge, for its own national and international competitions, from February 1925 onwards.

This agreement between the French Olympic Committee, the city of Colombes, the city of Paris, and the Racing Club de France was the solution found to save the problem of the stadium. It was in Colombes, and not in Paris, that the main contests of the Olympic Games took place in 1924. Ironically enough, the architect of the Racing Club de France was Louis Faure-Dujarric, the winner of the architect's competition launched by the City of Paris, as it had been mentioned before. At that time, Louis Faure-Dujarric favored functional and cheap solutions in opposition to gigantism and esthetics.²⁶ However, he was able to adapt the timeworn facilities of Colombes and to convert them into a stadium that could hold 20,000 spectators seated and 44,000 standing. However, the first plans had to be suddenly re-examined, especially related to the swimming pool. The construction of the pool had already begun, when the Parisian organizers decided to halt it in December 1922...

CONFLICTS ABOUT THE SWIMMING POOL OF THE TOURELLES

The hasty decision to halt the construction of the swimming pool in Colombes generated a series of conflicts around the preparation for the Olympic Games, including some of the authorities involved in the process. At the heart of this new story, it is essential to consider the role played by Jean de Castellane, who was one of the Parisian Councilors, more particularly, the one in charge of the Sport Group of the Council before Michel Missofe. In addition to this position, Castellane was also the president of the French Federation of Swimming and Life-Saving.

According to their earlier proposal within the Council, both Jean de Castellane and Michel Missoffe shared a humanist and social view of sport. They favored hygiene rather than competitive activities and wanted to build several small pools on the entire Parisian urban space instead of one or two more prestigious and expensive facilities.²⁷ Several months before the choice of Paris, they proposed a whole program to the Paris Councilors consisting of the building of 20 small swimming pools, i.e. one per district and per year.²⁸ According to a financial deal of 25 million francs planned for several years, this project was accepted and voted on March 21, 1921, exactly three months before the congress of the IOC in Lausanne. Yet, Jean de Castellane and Michel Missoffe claimed to be glad with the application of Paris for the Olympic Games of 1924.²⁹ However, at that time they did not think that the preparation for the Olympic Games would invalidate their own project, especially because the project was modified during the first six months of 1922. The plan for the first six swimming pools was presented to the City Council on July 7, 1922.

The swimming pools located on Ledru-Rollin Avenue, La Butte-aux-Cailles Street, Buzenval Street, Blomet Street, Deux-Ponts Street, and Bouvet Street never met the requirements for international sport events, even though they were favorably considered by the swimming leaders in France. On July 22, 1922, when the conflict between the COF and Paris on the candidacy of Paris to stage the Olympic Games was still open, and just after the Racing Club de France had signed the agreement to adapt the Stadium of Colombes and build new facilities including a swimming pool, the Parisian Councillor Teveneau proposed the Council to build a real “aquatic stadium” that could fit more with the ambitions of their city. The new project was supposed to be in the northern part of Paris, on the so-called site of the Tourelles. Such a proposal was astonishing, but the fact that the City Council of Paris accepted it was even more. After debates on March 28 and July 9, the Council gave it financial guaranties for the amount of 6 million francs. With such local support, the work began soon, on June 15, without waiting for the agreement between the COF and the IOC!

How can this decision be understood when Paris had just refused the 10 million francs that the COF was asking for to build entirely new facilities in Paris? The answer to this question has two parts. First, the sum of 10 million francs was beyond the limit that the Councilors could accept. Second, the political authorities were more aware that Paris could not organize alone any of the main sport competitions during the

会寻求新的可靠的人选来完成未完成的工作。议会接受了这一请求。土列尔的水上场馆，作为全世界享有盛誉的游泳设施之一，其花费大约相当于一个国家年度体育财政拨款的全部。因为田径比赛和团体比赛等项目都在科隆博体育场举行，水上项目就在土列尔举行，这给了法国队为数不多的获得金牌的机会，他们最终获得了水球金牌。

结论

巴黎并不是历史上唯一的一座在奥运会前几年一直处于当地政府、体育传统势力和政要们诸多矛盾、谈判之中的奥运会举办城市。然而，其解决争端的方式却非常独特：一座体育馆最终的归属是一个体育俱乐部；游泳池的位置和建筑没有顾及到多数人的意愿；奥运会之前几个月才做出的决定等等。让当时的观察家们来下结论说巴黎奥运会将是一届成功的奥运会好像非常困难，当

然，组委会自己在后来的官方报告中给出了如此的结论。

Olympic Games. Since the decision for having the stadium in Colombes had been made and it was irreversible, at least the pool would be in Paris. Without any surprise, such considerations of prestige were developed by a few members of the Government such as Gaston Vidal and Henri Paté, who could hardly digest the choice of Colombes instead Paris for the location of the Games. This is why an official – yet not really politically correct – question was asked by Councilor Tastes toward the Paris City Council on December 19, 1923, suggesting that “the influence of some important megalomaniac people” could have resulted in the new decision. The one who was really targeted here was the Prefet of the Department of the Seine³⁰, who was ready to support the project of the Tourelles with a sum of 1,750,000 francs.³¹

It was true that the decision to build the swimming pool of the Tourelles was totally in opposition to the plans of Colombes, which were already in process, and to the perspectives of the Castellane-Missoffe plan of the small pools. The criticism not only concerned the cost, but also the dimensions of the Tourelles (10,000 seats) and its relatively unusual architecture since the pool itself was sustained. Councilor Tastes thought that this choice was outrageous as there was an administrative fault, which would have to be confirmed. Apart from the Prefet, Tastes also targeted the architects, who would receive 5% of the total expenses as official payment. Such a regulation resulted in the search for monumental and expensive buildings.

The architect was not really under the pressure of the Parisian Councilors because the political lobby of the Prefet and of the Government was strong enough to let him plan relatively prestigious facilities. On top of that, the architect, Bévères, in charge of the project was the one who had made higher estimated costs within the technical commissions of the City. These estimates were refused at the time they were presented to the City Council, in 1921, especially because the dimensions and cost of the facilities were beyond the budget possibilities. The fact that architectural choices of some of these earlier projects could be found in the Tourelles Project was therefore technically logical, but very amazing in political terms only if it is considered that the pressure of the Government had been too strong for the Parisian Councilors.

The attitude of the COF leaders was ambiguous. On the one hand, they were glad to have part of the Olympic contests back in Paris. On the other hand, the IOC wanted all the competitions to be organized in the same site as much as possible.³² This regulation could explain why

some of the COF members were paradoxically hardly convinced by the new choice of the Tourelles.

The result was nevertheless dramatic for the financial state of Paris. The confusion between a “swimming pool” and an “aquatic stadium” resulted in a overspending far from the 6 million francs that had been initially planned because the open pool would have to be later transformed into a closed and heated swimming pool. Moreover, in 1923 and 1924, it was not possible to know whether the new facility was technically functional or financially feasible. Yet, the engineers consulted the French experts in swimming, especially E. G. Drigny, who was the secretary general of the French federation of swimming (FFNS) and the “thinker” of this federation. However, his recommendations were not followed by actions when he argued that the planned swimming pool could not be thoroughly exploited. Frèrejacques, one of the FFNS leaders, commented that for the same costs, it would have been better to build four swimming pools.³³ Later he added that the architects did exactly the opposite of what Drigny had said.³⁴

One year before the opening of the Olympic Games, the situation went from dramatic to catastrophic. In July 1923, the COF had not yet officially accepted the transfer of the swimming pool from Colombes to Paris. The leaders of the French federation of swimming³⁵ together with, more generally, all sport circles, were appalled. The popular journalist Gabriel Hanot asked in *Le Miroir des Sports* if France had thought of the Olympic Games of 1924.³⁶ Councilors Tastes, de Castellane and Missoffe claimed that the city would be bankrupted and that there could be a change in the just launched policy for the construction of small pools if they let the work begin.³⁷

As he faced so many reactions, the Prefet of the Seine admitted that the technical services of the Administration were probably wrong. In December 1923, a few months before the opening of the Games, he promised to modify the system of honoraries of the architects, but asked the Paris Council to vote new credits to finish the work in process.³⁸ The Councilors accepted that and the aquatic stadium of the Tourelles, one of the most prestigious in the world, was built for a cost that almost reached the amount of the national annual budget for physical education. As the contests in track and field and team sports were located in Colombes, the aquatic contests of the 8th Olympiad were held in the Tourelles, giving to France one of its rare gold medals, earned by the water-polo team.

CONCLUSION

Paris is not the only case in the history of the Olympic Games to have undergone many conflicts and negotiations between the local organizers, the institutional sport powers and the political authorities during the years prior to the event. However, the solutions that were found here were relatively unique: a stadium whose building was left to a sport club and a swimming pool whose location and architecture were imposed against most people's desires, decisions made only a few months before the Olympic event. It would have been hard for an observer of the time to bet on the success of the Paris Olympic Games, which were later self-proclaimed in the Official Report.³⁹

NOTES

- ¹ REICHEL, F.: Rapport sur les conditions des stades et installations sportives, [Archives of Paris, VR 152].
- ² VIDAL, G.: *Le Miroir des Sports* (21.10.1920)16, as well as BRAUN, D.: "Le sport français entre les deux guerres et les Jeux Olympiques de 1924", in: *Relations internationales* (Summer 1984)38.
- ³ TERRET, T.: *Les Jeux interalliés de 1919. Sport, guerre et relations internationales*, Paris 2002.
- ⁴ ARNAUD, P.: „Des Jeux de la Guerre aux Jeux de la Paix“, in: ⁵ ARNAUD, P./ WAHL, A.: *Sport et relations internationales dans l'entre-deux-guerres*, (Feb. 1993) [Report to CNRS-PPSH 65].
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- ⁸ PFEFFERKORN, M.: *Le Miroir des Sports* (18.1.1923)133.
- ⁹ VIDAL: *Miroir*.
- ¹⁰ TERRET: *Lyon*.
- ¹¹ VIDAL: *.Miroir*.
- ¹² The Fird stadium was built in Lyon. The works began in 1913 and the official inauguration occurred the 14th of June 1919. See LÉ-GERMAIN, E.: *La politique sportive de la Ville de Lyon au temps d'Edouard Herriot, 1905-1957*, 2000, p. 242-250 [unpublished Ph. D., University Lyon 1].
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- ¹⁴ WYTHE, G. [Compiled by Major]/ HANSON, J. [Edited by Captain]: *The Inter-Allied Games. Paris 22 June to 6 July 1919*, in: *THE GAMES*

- ¹⁵ TERRET, T.: Les Jeux interalliés de 1919. Sport, guerre et relations internationales, Paris 2002 [in particular the chapter 19].
- ¹⁶ WYTHE/ HANSON: Inter-Allied Games, p. 176, l et m.
- ¹⁷ PIZZORNI-ITTIÉ, F.: “Flâneries dans les Archives communales”, in: PIZZORNI-ITTIÉ, F. (ed.): Les yeux du stade. Colombes, le temple du sport français, Thonon, éd. de l’Albaron, 1993.
- ¹⁸ Exposé chronologique des Jeux Olympiques de 1924, Archives of Paris, VR 156.
- ¹⁹ Le Miroir des Sports (21.7.1921)55.
- ²⁰ Minutes of the first meeting of the first sub-commission (26.7.1921) [Archives of Paris, VR 154].
- ²¹ Archives of Paris, VR 153, 155 et 158.
- ²² Archives of Paris, VR 156 and L’Auto (14.2.1922).
- ²³ DELANNOY, A.: “Les Jeux olympiques de 1924 et l’architecture : la construction du stade athlétique”, in: PIZZORNI-ITTIÉ: yeux, p. 73.
- ²⁴ Letter sent the 7th Dec. 1921 [Archives of Colombes].
- ²⁵ L’Œuvre (1./3.3.1922).
- ²⁶ FAURE-DUJARRIC, L.: “Comment et pourquoi le Racing Club de France organise les Jeux olympiques”, in: Le Racing Club de France (31.12.1922)22.
- ²⁷ The amount of the fees reached finally the sum of six million francs, i.e. two more millions than expected.
- ²⁸ DELANNOY: Jeux, p. 86-87.
- ²⁹ More developments can be found in TERRET, T.: L’institution et le nageur. Histoire de la Fédération Française de Natation, Lyon 1998.
- ³⁰ CASTELLANE, J. de/ MISSOFFE, M.: Proposition relative à la création de piscines, Paris 1920 [Conseil de Paris, projet n°135]. See also Le Miroir des Sports (23.12.1920)25.
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- ³³ Conseil général du département de la Seine, T. 153, 1924, p. 104-105.
- ³⁴ Le Miroir des Sports (24.5.1923)151.
- ³⁵ Natation (1.12.1923)86.
- ³⁶ Natation (22.12.1923)89.
- ³⁷ Le scandale des piscines parisiennes, in: Natation (8.12.1923)87.
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ANCIENT HELLENIC IDEALS AND THE MODERN OLYMPIC GAMES

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INTRODUCTION: QUESTIONS OF RELEVANCE

As is known the modern Olympic Games trace their origins back to ancient Greece. The official Olympic flame is ignited in Olympia by the rays of the same sun that used to caress the bodies of ancient athletes. Then the flame is transported by torch from the ancient sanctuary to the Games' modern home—wherever in the world that may be. The torch-relay links the ancient and modern games, but it is unclear whether anything of value underlies this symbolic transmission of the Olympic spirit. We know that the 19th century revivalists often idealized or distorted ancient history and literature to suit their goals. For instance, such cherished Olympic ideals as amateurism, sound minds in strong bodies, even the Olympic Creed's emphasis on participation over victory, are probably not reflective of ancient reality. Furthermore, the Olympic Movement's 21st century path toward multiculturalism would seem to render its Hellenic heritage an irrelevant relic of the Eurocentric past. Given these past abuses and present aims, the question naturally arises: Should Olympic scholars continue to study the ancient Games?

Our answer to this question is an emphatic "Yes." In fact, scholars must do more than simply study the history and archaeology of the ancient Olympic Games; we must also come to understand and appreciate their philosophical ideals. It may turn out that a more philosophical understanding of the Olympic Games' Hellenic heritage is especially relevant now as the movement strives for multiculturalism and diversity. We contend that the alleged Eurocentrism of Olympic ideals is itself a product of Eurocentric bias; born of a desire among modern Europeans to claim Classical Greece as their heritage. In fact, the history and geography of ancient Olympia place it between Europe, Africa, and Asia (and within that triangle, more East than West). The Olympic Games functioned politically as an effort to unify and pacify various groups of people in that region. Indeed recent research suggests that Hellenic

古希腊理想和现代 奥运会

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导言: 中肯的问题

众所周知, 现代奥运会的源头可以追溯到古希腊。我们今天的奥林匹克圣火就是在奥林匹亚点燃的, 聚焦成火种的万丈阳光, 也曾经照耀着古代运动员那健美的身体。然后, 火炬便跨越千山万水, 从古代的圣殿来到了它现在的家——某届奥运会的举办地, 无论是地球上哪个地方。圣火传递连接了古今的奥运会, 但是人们并不十分清楚, 这种标志着奥林匹克精神传递的根基到底有着何种的价值取向。我们知道, 在19世纪, 宗教复兴主义者为了达到自己的目的, 对古代历史和文化通常不是过分地加以理想化, 就是加以扭曲。我们珍视的那些

奥林匹克理想比如业余原则、健全的精神寓于健全的身体、甚至被作为奥林匹克信条的重在参与等，可能都不是古代历史的真实反映。更者，21世纪，奥林匹克运动走向多元文化主义，似乎更像是给古希腊传统扣上了一顶导致了过去的欧洲中心论的帽子，而其实，这跟古希腊并没有什么关系。这些过去的陋习以及当今的目标，通常会使得人们提出这样的问题：奥林匹克运动的研究者们还有继续研究古代奥运会的必要时吗？

我们的答案简单又明确：有。事实上，学者们不仅仅要研究古代奥运会的历史和考古学领域的问题，更应该理解并试图去欣赏其哲学理念。事实可能会证明，对古希腊奥林匹克遗产进行更多的哲学阐释对正处于当今这种走向多元文化和多样化的背景下的奥林匹克运动来说，可能更为紧要。我们认为，所谓的奥林匹克理想欧洲中心论本身就是以欧洲中心的偏见之一，是声称自己是古希腊后继者的现代欧洲人的观念。实际上，古代奥林匹亚所在地无论从历史上还是从地理

philosophy and athletics stem partly from early contacts with the peoples of Asia and Africa. The specifically Olympic ideals of humanism, justice, and peace derive less from a particular cultural mythology or ethnic heritage than from the communal experience of diverse peoples finding common ground via the practice of sport.

The purpose of this paper is to identify and articulate the philosophical ideals that, in our view, underpinned the ancient Olympic Games and may serve the modern Olympic Movement in its quest for global harmony. Although the claim of the ancient Games to unite the far corners of Hellas may appear quaint when compared to our worldwide festivals, the political and logistical challenges were arguably no less formidable than ours. Furthermore, the ancient Games' more than 1,000 year span makes the modern Games' single-century history look like a flash in the pan. Big and strong as the modern Games seem, they should humbly acknowledge their infancy and look to their venerable ancestor for advice as they face an uncertain future. It was the ideals associated with Olympia that secured the ancient Games' long-enduring success. We believe that only if the modern Olympic Movement actively understands and consciously preserves its ancient heritage, can the Games remain a beacon of idealism amid the headlong pursuit of worldly wealth and power.

IDEALISM AND AGŌNISM

To unleash the power of ancient Olympic ideals, we must first understand the meaning of Hellenic idealism and its connection to Hellenic agōn (contest or struggle). Idealism is traditionally associated with Plato's "theory of forms," which holds that universal ideas or "forms" such as "the good" and "the beautiful" exist in a metaphysical realm beyond our worldly reality. Their status is akin to that of numbers, that is, universal concepts that can be grasped by human minds and applied in diverse worldly circumstances, but which nevertheless exist independently and eternally. Beings in this world are always imperfect copies or approximations of corresponding ideas, and they are better or worse according to how they live up to their archetypal ideals.

Thus, for example, a knife is good insofar as it approximates the ideal knife—which is not a knife found in a Japanese kitchen or British museum, but rather a perfect pattern, paradigm, or idea that exists in the realm of forms. The knife, however, is just a convenient illustration. There are also moral ideals such as justice, courage, and piety, which stipulate how the ideal character of a human being should be shaped.

Close approximation of ideals, for humans and other things, is called aretē (excellence, virtue), an important concept in Hellenic ethics as well as athletics. But these ideals are not considered products of a particular culture or authority; they are thought to be applicable to everyone and everywhere. It is the task of ethical agents, therefore, to try to understand these ideals through right reason, and then to approximate them as much as possible in their choices and actions.

Olympism, as described in the “Fundamental Principles” of the Olympic Charter, offers its own ideal vision of humanity towards which the Olympic Movement is expected to move and strive. As thinking athletes know, however, the achievement of ideals is rarely easy or automatic. It requires constant struggle and striving, that is, agōn. Agōn is characteristic of ancient Greek culture generally; but it is associated closely with athletics. Indeed the Olympic Games were and still are called in Greek Olympiakoi Agōnes. Understood in terms of the Hellenic contrast between the human and the divine, agōn characterizes the basic human condition. If we were gods, we would already have perfect understanding and strength; so there would be no need for struggle.

Although human beings rarely achieve divine perfection, we are nonetheless encouraged to strive towards an ideal of excellence, whatever the particular endeavor may be. In ancient Greek literature and mythology such strivings are supported and rewarded by the gods themselves. Indeed agōn underpins the very concept of heroism. Hellenic heroes, such as Heracles, Pelops, who were associated with Olympia, and even Socrates, the gadfly of Athens, were mortals who achieved semi-divine status through their extraordinary striving for excellence. They were “first in their struggle” or “prōtagōnistēs.” Like Olympic victors, they came closer to the gods, but only through struggle and striving toward their respective ideals.

Although Hellenic agōn is often individual, true idealists strive not only for personal perfection, but also for the koinon agathon or common good of the community. Hellenic heroes are lauded ultimately for their social service: Heracles liberates his people from horrible monsters, Pelops frees Elis from a brutal tyrant, and Socrates tries to release Athens from archaic modes of thinking. In fact Socrates views his struggles quite explicitly as public service, and asks to be rewarded like an Olympic victor. This comparison made sense to ancient Hellenes because the Olympic festival, like so many other athletic festivals in the ancient world, was a symbolic form of religious service and sacrifice. Olympic victors were thought to serve their own cities and families, as well as the Panhellenic community, by at-

上，都是地处亚欧非三者交界的地带（在这里三角地带中，甚至更多东方而不是西方）。奥运会政治方面的功能就在于其试图联合和安抚这一地区多样化人群的努力。晚近的研究也的确认为，希腊的哲学体系和运动体系部分是根源于与亚非人民的早期接触。诸如人文主义、公平竞争、和平等这些明确的奥林匹克理念更多地是来源于不同的人借助体育来寻找共同点的公共经验，而不是某种特定的文化或者人种的遗产。

本文旨在确定和澄清那些我们认为古代奥运会基础和支柱的哲学理念，这些理念对现代奥运会追求全球和谐或许也会有所帮助。虽然古代奥运会宣称要联合希腊的各个城邦这点跟我们现在全球范围内的奥运盛典相比有点幼稚，但是我们可以证明，其面临的政治和后勤方面的挑战丝毫不必我们现在的容易。

理想主义和竞赛主义

要释放古代奥运会种种理念的现实能量，我们必须首先理解希腊

理想主义及其与希腊竞赛主义的关系。理想主义传统上与柏拉图的“形式理论”相联系，其基本概念是存在于超越现实的形而上学领域的诸如“善”、“美”等普世理念或“形式”。它们的状态同“数”的状态类似，人可以凭借自己的智力和精神抓住这些普世概念，并在世界范围内将其应用于不同状况，但是它们又不会独立和永久存在。

对人类和其他物种来说，最接近理想的状态就是aretē（好，或者善），这也是希腊道德规范和运动领域的重要概念和至高境界。但是，这些理想并不是某种文化或者权威的产物，而是适用于任何地方和任何人。

作为《奥林匹克宪章》基本原则的奥林匹克主义，具有理解人文精神的独特视角，它所指出的发展和努力方向也正是人们期望奥林匹克运动所能带给全世界的。

虽然人类很少达到至臻的完美境界，我们从未放弃对自己的鼓励，不管遇到什么困难，都要向着这个方向不懈地努力。在

tracting divine favor and hence answered prayers for harvests, healing, or peace. In this way the Games mixed ethnic rivalry with common benefit. Just as a polytheistic Athenian could worship both his patron goddess Athena and the Panhellenic god Zeus, the agonistic struggle toward universal ideals can accommodate group and individual rivalry even as it serves a greater common good.

OLYMPIC IDEALS

Evidently, then, idealism and agonism are as much a part of the Olympic Games' Hellenic heritage as the particular ideals of humanism, justice, and peace. It matters little that Olympic reality, ancient or modern, rarely manages to achieve these ideals because in Hellenic idealism, the struggle for victory outweighs the victory itself. Nor does the Hellenic origin of these ideals discount their relevance to the modern Olympic Movement's multicultural mission. This is so because the Olympic ideals derive less from cultural peculiarities than from multicultural challenges, specifically the challenge of bringing together diverse peoples from Asia and Africa as well as Europe to live, eat, and compete together in peace. There were shared linguistic and religious traditions, of course, but the ancient Olympic Games worked primarily to bridge political and cultural differences through the common practice of athletics. Insofar as the ancient Olympic ideals of humanism, justice, and peace reflect the unifying function of Pan-Hellenic athletics rather than a distinctively ethnic mindset, we believe that they can also function as Pan-anthropocentric models appropriate to the modern Olympic Movement's global aims.

HUMANISM

In the context of ancient Hellas, our modern Olympic flame recalls the mythical torch of Prometheus and his fiery gift to humanity—the gift that elevated us above mere animals and illuminated a path toward divinity. In our modern world the term 'humanism' is often saddled with the prefix 'secular' and used by certain religious leaders to identify and demonize non-believers who may challenge the powers of the Church. But Hellenic humanism was neither a serious challenge to religion nor a rejection of the supernatural; rather it was an appreciation of the potential of human beings. The ancient Hellenic esteem for humankind was rooted in an understanding of our imperfection with respect to the divine---an understanding that makes our struggle and possible achievement all the more worthwhile.

Furthermore, they recognized that Prometheus' gift of fire and reason elevated mankind above the animals and made us capable of more than

survival and other pragmatic tasks. In other words, it made us capable—and even worthy—of doing things for their own sake. As Aristotle suggests, it is not those arts invented for utility, but rather those created for recreation that represent humanity's highest achievement. By associating humanity's divine potential with the universal quality of human reason, Hellenic humanism avoids allegiance to any particular culture or religion. Like the playful and tolerant polytheism of ancient Hellas, it simultaneously embraces commonality while it celebrates cultural differences.

Hellenic humanism champions human reason and its virtues as tools of liberation from ignorance and servitude to unworthy masters. Ancient athletics and philosophy both reflect this ideal. The pre-Socratic philosophers employed reason to liberate themselves from (often worrying) mythological explanations of the natural world. Next to them, the Platonic Socrates insisted on the rational examination of human life, making reason and not tradition or worldly power the key to piety, ethics, and social reform. Aristotle in his turn classified human beings as rational and political animals, while Cynics and Stoics used reason to liberate themselves from social convention and moral corruption. In short, Hellenic humanism sees reason as the tool of our potential independence from forces that would deny human dignity; it gives us the power and possibility to learn for ourselves about ourselves and about the world, and to take control of our lives to be lived in the pursuit of excellence.

Sport, too, developed in the ancient Hellenic world as a means for testing and evaluating human excellence against rational and objective parameters rather than worldly authorities. For example, in Homer's *Iliad*, the funeral games settled questions of social merit, and in Olympia athletic contests selected worthy victors for symbolic sacrifice on the basis of performance rather than social status. This religious function may explain why the objectivity of judging standards and corresponding fairness of results was a key value at ancient Olympia, and crucial for the Games' Pan-Hellenic prestige. It is no accident that athletic contests show structural similarities to Socratic method and to scientific inquiry. After all, to stand on a starting line is to risk the possibility of failure, admitting that the outcome of the contest is unknown and undetermined at that point of time. So, it is akin to the Socratic admission of imperfection that prompts and motivates philosophical inquiry.

Finally, by setting up specific rules and objective testing conditions that independently validate results, athletic contests respect all contestants' claim to victory. In this sense, the athlete who survives the challenge of his competitors resembles the hypothesis that survives scientific testing. The driving motivation of the athlete and fan,

古希腊文化和神话传说中，这种努力的目的是为了接近神，并且得到他们的恩赐。实际上，竞赛（agōn）乃是英雄主义的基础。古希腊的那些英雄们，比如赫拉克勒斯、与奥运会的起源密切相关的珀罗普斯，甚至希腊最讨厌的人苏格拉底，都是通过他们对至善境界的不断追求才成为半神的楷模的。

虽然希腊的体育竞赛（agōn）通常是个体行为，但是真正的理想主义者为之努力的时候并不仅仅是出于达到个人完美境界的考虑，而是同时也考虑到了全社会的和谐和完美（koinon agathon）。他们所得到的赞美在根本上也主要是因为其对社会做出的贡献。

人们认为，奥林匹克获胜者会通过讨得诸神的喜爱和欢心，从而诸神会给予人们诸如丰收、康复和和平等的恩赐作为答谢，获胜者们通过这种方式来为自己的城邦和家庭、尤其是全希腊社会有所贡献。这样，奥运会就把种族的竞争和其共同利益有机地联系在了一起。就好比多神教的雅典人同时崇拜女神雅典娜和众神之神宙斯一样，通向普

世理想的竞技比赛可以提供给个人或者团体竞争的机会，哪怕这种竞争的最终目的是要达到更普遍的共同的善。

奥林匹克理念

于是，非常明显，理想主义和竞赛主义如同人文主义、公平竞争和和平理念一样，都是古希腊奥林匹克遗产的一部分。虽然的确存在一些语言学和宗教学上的传统，但是古代奥运会首先是通过运动员的共同训练来连接不同政治和文化、消除其差异的桥梁。在这样的范围中，古代奥运会人文主义、公平竞争和和平理念反应了泛希腊的体育运动会的联合作用，而不是单独某个特定人种的意志。我们相信，对于面向全人类的现代奥运会来说，它们仍然会起到相应的作用，成为典范。

人文精神

如果回想一下古希腊的文化语境，我们会发现，现代奥林匹克圣火使人们回忆起了普罗米

因此，is not so different from that of the philosopher or scientist. To use Aristotle's phrase, they all desire to know, and they set up rational testing conditions in order to achieve this precious knowledge. Ancient and modern peoples alike are attracted to the Olympic Games because they want to see what humanity might be capable of achieving. Thus the Olympic Games express Hellenic humanism by using reason and virtue to liberate our potential. They make us dream now as then about what we can achieve as human beings when we compete for the wreath of victory in the pursuit of excellence, whether athletic, artistic, or intellectual.

JUSTICE

The Hellenic heritage of the Olympic Games also exalts an ideal of justice that privileges the authority of reason rather than the worldly rule of "might makes right," and promises the peaceful thriving of diverse human communities. At least since Homer's description of the power struggle between King Agamemnon and the brilliant warrior Achilles, the just and proper distribution of honor and power within communities was a key concern for the ancient Hellenes. So, it is no coincidence that the Iliad's athletic games effected the reunification of the Achaean army. According to the logic of sport, might can be "right" when and only when there is equal opportunity and reward according to proven merit. It is perhaps no coincidence either that these fundamental principles of social justice reflect the athletic ideal of fair play.

Despite the social stratification of their societies, the principle of equal opportunity was essential to the Greeks at their athletic competitions. An athlete's strength may win him victory in the wrestling match, but his military rank, social class, and worldly wealth provided no advantage to him, under the rules of the games. Reflecting his awareness of such principles, Alexander the Great said he would run in the Olympic Games only if his opponents were limited to other kings. According to the principles of fair play, an accurate determination of contest-relevant inequalities, such as running speed, depends on the elimination of irrelevant inequalities, such as ethnic origin, noble birth, and even wealth. Contest rules strive to provide equal opportunity for all competitors, going beyond the basic principle of a common starting line even to the point of drawing lots for particular lanes on the track or switching sides of the basketball court or playing field. Ancient boxing matches, for example, were held at high noon to be sure that neither competitor would have the sun in his eyes.

Most symbolic of all was the fact that ancient athletes were literally stripped of their worldly differences: they competed in the nude without shame. Indeed, entering an athletic contest meant relinquishing any and all social privileges. Although the distinction between a free Greek and a barbarian slave had huge legal consequences in Greek society, a free man who competed as an athlete at the Games had to be willing to accept even the servile punishment of public flogging. Stephen Miller takes this fact to be a paradigmatic example for his argument that Greek athletics actually created the concept of isonomia or equality before the law—the foundational principle of democracy. For the Greeks, the need to provide equal opportunity in athletics was directly connected to their religious obligation to select the most worthy victor as a symbolic offering to the god. But the Hellenes also saw athletics as a means of education. The experience of competing on equal terms with one's peers was certainly good preparation for the challenges of citizenship. Competing on equal terms with athletes from around the world is an experience no less valuable today.

This ancient ideal of justice will serve the Olympic Games well as it confronts global diversity in the present era. Modern sports can preserve the educational benefit of equality before the law among diverse peoples. When we watch an Olympic event, we encounter a group of people who speak different languages, have vastly different personal incomes, live under different legal systems, and are subject to governments who may be concurrently at odds or at war with one another—yet we witness these people competing for a common prize under a single set of rules that treats them all as equals and demands that they treat each other accordingly. At the Olympic Games we witness thus a kind of world community guided by a universal ideal of justice expressed in the form of set and known game rules, which are comprehended and freely accepted by a diverse set of competitors. Here justice is simultaneously a right and duty for every member of the community, not a matter of charity or benevolence granted by the most powerful. It may be only a temporary glimpse of the ideal, but it is certainly one that provides much-needed hope and guidance for a better and hopefully more humane future.

PEACE

Justice is often considered a precondition for peace, which is the Modern Olympic Movement's most venerable goal. The association between Olympic Games and Pan-Hellenic peace is reflected in ancient mythology

修斯的火炬以及他带给人类的礼物——火种，这使得人类摆脱了单纯的动物性，指引我们走向神性。古希腊对人类的尊重根源于对我们与神相比时的不完美状态——这种理解使得我们的奋斗和可能取得的成就显得更加值得，也更加有意义。

古希腊的人文精神将理智及其价值作为是将人类从无知和被奴役状态解放出来的工具。古代的运动和哲学体系无一不反映了这种理想。

体育运动之所以会在古希腊社会发展起来，是因为人们把它看作是测试和评价人类在对抗理性和客观因素而不是世俗的权威时所能展现的完美程度的手段。比如，在荷马的《伊利亚特》中，葬礼游戏就提出了社会价值的问题，而奥林匹亚的体育比赛也是根据比赛的表现而不是社会地位挑选杰出的胜利者作为讨好诸神的象征性祭品。

最后，通过确立不受其他因素影响的、便于确认比赛结果的特定规则和客观比赛条件，体育比赛平等地

看对待任何人取得胜利的意愿。
在这个意义上，赢得比赛的运动员就像是科学试验的幸存者。

公平竞争

古希腊奥运会的遗产也升华为公平竞争的理想，它赋予了理性而不是世间“可能会正确”的规则以更加权威的地位，许诺不同社会团体可以达到和平的境界。

所有这些标志中的绝大部分刻画出了这样一个事实，那就是古代运动员的世间差异已经被极度淡化或者抹杀掉了：他们即使裸体竞技都不会觉得羞耻。实际上，进入到比赛之中就意味着放弃了部分或者全部基本社会权力。虽然希腊社会的法律中，自由人和奴隶有着巨大的差别，参加奥运会的自由人必须自愿接受作为奴隶般的惩罚，哪怕是公开的鞭刑。斯蒂芬·米勒以此来证明其观点——早在法律出现之前，希腊运动员实际上就创造了出了平等（isonomia）的概念，而这正是民主的基础。同全世界的运动员在平等的情况下比赛，在今天来

and rhetoric, but its true source was more likely the effects of athletic competition itself. Who would propose competition as a means to friendship and good will? No other authority than the Delphic Oracle, which was famous for its paradoxical proclamations. Greek city-states were almost constantly at war and the Olympic sanctuary itself was full of captured booty. Nevertheless Olympia in time became a beacon of peace. Orators, including Gorgias, Lysias, and Isocrates, preached Panhellenism to festival crowds; Olympic officials were used as ambassadors of peace, and there is evidence of a court being set up at Olympia to mediate disputes among Greek city-states. Olympic sports must have helped the ancient Hellenes to cultivate peace by obliging them to set aside their conflicts and political disagreements, treat others as equals, and tolerate their differences. Since modern Olympic sport requires participants to do the same, there is some hope that these lessons may endure through the 21st century—but first we must strive to understand them.

Although the ancient Olympic Games clearly failed to eradicate war and enmity in the ancient world, they tirelessly declared their truce and regularly brought diverse people together to engage in rule-governed, non-violent competition. The original cause of ancient Olympic festival was religious, but the effects of the gathering transcended that purpose and apparently resulted in feelings of peace and solidarity among those gathered. Like religion, peace develops in “sanctuaries” – spaces and times specifically marked off from the realm of everyday life (and hostilities). Athletic space can also be interpreted as a kind of sanctuary, set apart from the everyday. Basketball courts in turbulent neighborhoods often provide an oasis where interpersonal quarrels are suspended, enough at least to make the game possible. The Greeks’ ability to compete peacefully, even with their temporary enemies, may have roots in the venerable Hellenic tradition of *xenia* or hospitality. *Xenia* requires that one welcome the stranger and provide for his basic needs—all before knowing anything about him. It reflects the enduring importance of overcoming such common human sentiments as fear and hostility in the face of a total stranger. No doubt inspired by their early contact with foreign tribes, the Hellenic practice of *xenia* habitually and effectively creates sanctuaries where the roots of friendship and brotherhood can take hold.

As a Panhellenic event attracting participants from a variety of city-states, the ancient Olympic festival took the religious, athletic, and cultural idea of sanctuary to an “inter-state” level. The vehicle necessary for such a gathering was an official truce, known as *ekecheiria*, which allowed people from all over the Hellenic world to travel safely to and from Olympia. The Olympic truce did not, as is sometimes claimed, put

an end to wars permanently. Its main function was the protection of pilgrims traveling to and from the festival. But even this limited function makes it clear that the communal festival was regarded as more important than the power politics and worldly conflicts between city-states. The truce shows that the Pan-Hellenic festival effectively trumped war by rendering it a baser activity (at least in the imagined opinion of the-all-watching gods). In practice, the large and diverse gatherings at Olympia provided unparalleled opportunities for social, artistic, and intellectual interaction. Of course the truce was not fail-safe, but violations were notable for their rarity. Therefore, the effectiveness and duration of the ancient Olympic Games and their truce stand as a monument to the perennial human struggle for peace on Earth.

However, it was not enough to provide a time and space for peaceful gathering; as it was not enough to observe the laws of justice by treating athletes as equals. The Olympic festival also had to respect difference and diversity. Respect for diversity has deep Olympic roots. Long before the first race was run at the site, Olympia hosted altars to an immense variety of gods and heroes. Further, it was a Panhellenic site, serving not just a single city or region, but the diverse panorama of peoples and cultures within a world that covered the shores of both the Mediterranean and the Black seas. Every four years during the Games, the small valley space was packed with a huge variety of strange visitors. By coming to Olympia for common worship, feasting, and athletic competition, this selected group created a new Panhellenic community—one more culturally and politically diverse than the communities from which they traveled. The Games themselves must have facilitated the unification by dispelling stereotypes and confirming their common Hellenic humanity, but also by helping those gathered to tolerate and even appreciate their dialectical differences.

A post-modern person might call this Olympic community ‘multicultural’, but the ancients had their own word for the phenomenon: ‘cosmopolitan’. The conception of cosmopolitanism or world-citizenship bloomed when the Socratically-inspired philosophy of Greek Stoicism faced the unprecedented racial and religious diversity of the Roman Empire. Stoic cosmopolitanism, like the Olympic revivalist Pierre de Coubertin’s internationalism, did not advocate a withdrawal from particular communities; nor did it encourage insulation from or imposition of one culture over another, rather, it sought to engage different cultures on common ground, forming a higher human community to be held together by the bond of shared habits, ideas and ideals.

说依然是一项颇有价值的社会经历。

在现代奥运会面临全球多样化的情况下，古代的公平理念必将为其发展做出了重大的贡献。现代体育运动也能够同古代一样，在法律发生作用之前，有效地保存平等理念的教育价值。当我们观看奥运会比赛时，我们遇到的是完全不同的人，彼此之间说着不同的语言，收入水平大相径庭，生活在不同的法律体系下，甚至所在国家或地区的政府间正在闹矛盾甚至正在打仗。然而，我们就是在这样的背景下，见证了运动员们如何为了共同的奖品，且是在同一规则下进行比赛的。这些规则一方面将其视为完全平等的人，另一方面也对参赛者提出了相应的要求。

和平

公平常常被认为是现代奥林匹克运动最庄严的目标——和平的前提。古代奥运会和全希腊和平的关系在神话和文字游戏中处处可见，但是连接二者的真正根源却

更象是体育比赛本身。那么，谁会将体育作为友谊和表达好意的手段呢？当然就是因为其对立统一的断言而著名的权威的德尔菲神谕了。

虽然古代奥运会没有根除战争的祸患，也未能消除彼此之间的敌对，它却不屈不挠地宣告了神圣的休战，并周期性地将人们聚集起来参加根据共同的规则、没有暴力意味的体育比赛。古代奥运会最初是源于宗教的，但是这种相聚显然超越了宗教的目的。当人们聚在一起的时候，自然而然地就会产生和平和团结的感情。就好像宗教一样，和平的理念产生于“避难所”——从每天的日常生活（和敌对的）领域中专门分离出来的时空——之中。

因为古代奥运会吸引了各个城邦的参加者，这一泛希腊的赛事就将宗教的、体育运动的和文化的“避难所”理想提升到了一个“全国”水平。这一盛会的官方休战，这就是我们熟知的ekecheiria（神圣休战），这使得全希腊人可以安全地往返奥林匹亚。神圣休战并不像有时

Athletic arenas are one such common ground, the valley of Olympia was another, our modern Olympic villages are yet one more. It may be daunting to imagine a true worldwide community, but the Olympic Games have been remarkably successful at presenting at least the image one—especially in the closing ceremonies when athletes abandon national ranks and march as one world made of many diverse individuals united for a precious moment by the bond of the Olympic spirit.

CONCLUSION

In Plato's allegory of the cave, a blazing fire lit manipulators' puppets and cast shadows on the wall, which the shackled prisoners took for reality. Eventually, however, some prisoners escaped from the cave and ascended into the authentic light of the sun where they gazed upon true ideal forms. These escapees were then obliged to re-enter the cave and inform the other prisoners that the images they were watching were a sham.

One day we may discover that the modern Olympic Movement has worked with political and corporate interests to sell false images of the Olympic ideal to an unsuspecting public. Before that day comes, we escaped philosophers must return to the cave and make sure that the Olympic Movement does its best to understand and promote the ancient Hellenic ideals that fuel its flame in the first place. The Hellenic heritage of agonism and idealism, as well as the ancient Olympic ideals of humanism, justice, and peace are particularly relevant now as the Movement cultivates a multicultural identity consonant with the spirit of our time. Understood in their historical, geographical, and philosophical context, we can see that these ideals belong not just to the West or to Europe, but to humanity as a whole. As long as the Olympic Games keep striving to achieve their own ancient and Hellenic ideals, the Olympic flame can unite the world and live up to its promise to “Celebrate Humanity.”

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所宣称的那样，永久地使得战争销声匿迹了。它的主要作用只不过是保证朝圣者安全地往返奥林匹亚。但是，即便是这点有限的作用，也明确了这样一点，那就是，这一全希腊的盛会被认为是比强权政治和城邦间存在的争端重要得多得多的事情。

体育场都大同小异，奥林匹亚山谷是，我们现代的运动员村也是。去想象一个大同世界或许令人畏惧，但是尤其象在闭幕式上，当所有的运动员不分国家和代表团，而只是作为奥林匹克精神在特定时刻连接起来的同一个世界的不同个体时，奥运会至少在代表和体现这一假想目标时是相当成功的。

结论

也许有一天，我们会发现现代奥林匹克运动出于政治和经济利益的驱使正在将歪曲了的奥林匹克理想出卖给完全信任它的公众。在这天到来之前，我们这些哲学家必须回到策源地，以保证奥林匹克运动正在尽其所能来理解和

实践那些来自点燃其圣火第一束火焰的地方——古希腊的理想和理念。古希腊的竞赛主义和理想主义的遗产，与古代奥林匹克的人文精神、公平竞争和和平理念密切相关，因为奥林匹克运动确认了与我们时代精神协调一致的多元文化身份。理解这些理想和理念的历史、地理和哲学语境，我们会发现，其发源并不仅仅是来自西方或者欧洲，而是来自全人类。只要奥林匹克一日为其自身的理念和古希腊的理想奋斗，奥林匹克圣火就能连接起全世界，并且实现其成为“人类庆典”的诺言。

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THE GENESIS OF SACRED FIRE IN OLYMPIC CEREMONY: A NEW INTERPRETATION

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In the striking world of contemporary sport, one can hardly argue against the fact that the Olympic Games present the most elaborate and glorious sport spectacle known to us in modern times, indeed, as the erudite Olympic anthropologist John MacAloon tells us, a spectacle par excellence.¹ Dwell for a moment on those things reflective of an Olympic festival experience: protracted rectangles of human action attendant to the Games--huge crowds streaming en masse towards stadium and event venues, hawkers of Olympic memorabilia, scalpers of Olympic events tickets, thousands of uniformed Olympic volunteers, masses of humanity clothed in costumes of every imaginable distinction, conversing in dozens of languages, all negotiating the environs of a city and the concourses of an Olympic precinct clothed in banners, pennants, and trappings of multiple hue and design. Watching all this on television nowadays from the near and far corners of the global village are almost four billion folks, nearly three quarters of the world's population.² Exciting? Absolutely, as anyone who has ever attended an Olympic Games, winter or summer, agrees – a once-in-lifetime experience!

A major part of the world's rapture with the Games is fascination with its celebratory rituals and institutions that normally unfold during the course of the great festival. A central component laden with pregnant on-site spectator and television viewer expectation is the now universally-familiar Olympic protocol surrounding what the International Olympic Committee sometimes refers to as sacred fire, or, at times, eternal flame. Indeed, of all the ceremonial rites surrounding an Olympic festival, the finale of the torch relay and subsequent lighting of the Olympic flame, consecrating all that subsequently unfolds over the course of the Games, are perhaps the epitome ritual events.³ Both episodes, the lighting of the flame and the preceding torch relay, are both now firmly institutionalized

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在当代令人惊奇的体育世界中，几乎没有人能够否认奥运会是我们所能知道的最精心制作的和光辉的体育景观了。实际上，博学的奥林匹克人类学家约翰·麦克隆就曾告诉过我们，这是最卓越的景观。让我们用一点时间再来回味一下奥林匹克节日的场景吧：涌入体育场的人群宛若长龙一般——人们都朝着体育场和比赛地点走去、叫卖奥运商品的小贩、倒卖奥运门票的黄牛党、成千上万的奥林匹克志愿者、身着各种各样衣服的人们、数十种的交流语言、插满了旗帜、横幅、标语的城市、装饰得各式各样的奥运比赛区域。现在，通过电视观看到这些场景的地球村村民大约有40亿，占全球总人口四分之三。兴奋么？当然，任何一个参

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加过无论夏季奥运会还是冬季奥运会的人都会点头称是——这是一生中一旦拥有就别无所求的时刻。

全世界关注的奥运会的主要部分是其充满美丽的欢庆仪式及其徐徐展开的既定程序。其中，一个满载无论是现场观众还是电视机前观众期望的核心组成要素就是“奥林匹克圣火”，目前这已经成为国际奥委会要求的全球一致的奥林匹克程序了。实际上，在所有奥林匹克仪式中，圣火传递和圣火点燃使得之后展开的整个奥运过程镶嵌上了一层神圣的金边，因此俨然成为了最重要的仪式事件。无论是最后的圣火点燃还是之前的圣火传递，如今都是严格按照奥运会相关规定和协议所进行的制度化活动。圣火传递——从奥林匹克运动的发源地奥林匹亚到当届奥运会主体育场的火炬台——已然发展成为了标志性的仪式事件，能够激起人们像古代奥林匹亚人一样的对奥运会的热情，通过全球范围的电视直播——虽然如今转播权是被出

in Olympic Games protocol. The sacred fire journey, from its ignition in Olympia to its final resting place in the cauldron high above the Olympic stadium is, of course, a symbol-rite that arouses an Olympian-like fervor for the Games and enlists an impressively-expanding world-wide television viewing audience for which even broadcast rights are now sold. Even many in the world who label themselves “Olympic cynics” are fascinated and “caught up” in the mystique of sacred fire events.⁴

Most Olympic historians and pundits today harbor the idea that sacred fire in Modern Olympic context sprang from the genius of Germany’s Carl Diem, whose idea it was to organize a torch relay that would bear a flame lit at Olympia, the site of the ancient Olympic Games, to the stadium-site in the modern global host city. Though much is known about him, a definitive biography of Carl Diem, athlete, educator, sport history scholar, and sport administrator during the Weimar Republic, Nazi regime, and post-World War II German Federal Republic, has yet to be written.⁵ This is a pity, as Diem remains one of the most noted figures, if not the most noted figure, in German Olympic history. Born in 1882, he was an avid athlete as a young man. Denigrating the values of his country’s powerful but archaic Turner Sport Movement, a “gymnastic-political” institution entrenched in the Fatherland for over a century, Diem instead became a dedicated enthusiast and advocator of a German sporting movement parallel to those developing rapidly in fin de siècle Anglo-Saxon nations. Diem’s formal education was limited to high school, and, even then, he did not finish. His “academic” life was interrupted when his father abandoned the Diem family and took up residence in America. A teenage Carl Diem left school and subsequently worked as an apprentice, later a merchant, and, by 1906, an aspiring journalist. Diem, a patriot of the first order, enlisted in the German army on 1 August 1914, the first day of The Great War. Ultimately, he served in Belgium and France until the armistice in 1918 brought the horrific conflict to an end. He was seriously wounded at St. Quentin, recovered, and fought courageously in the bitter battles of Champagne and the Argonne.⁶ Following the war, he pursued a career path in teaching and sport administration, rising rapidly to “prorektor” of what eventually became known as the German National Sports University, founded in Berlin in 1920 and re-established in Köln following World War II. Diem traveled widely, became a prolific lecturer and writer later in his life, and was often consulted on sport and Olympic matters, particularly in Europe. He served as Secretary General of the Organizing Committee for the Berlin Games in 1936, deservedly earning distinction for their

intricate organization and flamboyant execution. Indeed, the Games proved to be an event that demonstrated “the glory of a new Germany,” a nation destined to lead, as Diem himself put it, “a victory charge for a better Europe.”⁷ Though retained briefly by Allied authorities following the end of World War II, Diem was exonerated from being a part of the Nazi regime. Subsequently, he “retired” to a life of teaching and writing at the Deutsche Sporthochschule, a storied institution to this day, and one with which, of course, Diem was associated in Berlin in the 1920s. When Germany sought to restore a National Olympic Committee during the chaotic political atmosphere of post-World War II Germany, Diem aided the early process, though clearly, by then, his “day had passed” in high-level German Olympic affairs.

Diem’s concept of a torch relay, we are told by Walter Borgers, the definitive historian of the phenomenon, may have sprouted from his knowledge of sport in antiquity,⁸ where a somewhat similar exercise may have occurred at some festivals (but not at Olympia) in religious-ceremonial perspective, and by “on-site observation,” in 1922, of a student-organized torch relay at the Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen⁹ as part of the opening ceremonies of the Deutsche Kampfspiele, which, coincidentally, occurred on Diem’s 40th birthday.¹⁰ Carl Diem himself left few clues towards revealing what exactly brought him to his idea of constructing the now world-renowned torch relay. Given the lack of definitive written evidence, we challenge the conclusion of Borgers. Rather than from those events described by Borgers, we argue that a stronger and more precise interpretation is in order. Thus, we hypothesize that Diem’s torch relay concept more likely evolved from events more contemporary with Germany’s return to the Modern Olympic Movement in 1928 and Berlin’s award, in May 1931, of the opportunity to host the Games of the Eleventh Olympiad.

Though the history of the torch relay is well known, far less is understood relative to the evolution of sacred fire in modern Olympic context. The question thus arises: where to begin - with Diem’s torch relay, which is popularly held as the “genesis component” in the history of Olympic sacred fire; or with the stadium flame, a phenomenon far less perceived as the primary instrument in the history of Olympic fire than the torch? We select “the flame,” or in this case, the first graphic appearance of an Olympic flame in a stadium context. There can be no other commencement point – all other Olympic sacred fire developments evolved from the flame’s first appearance in 1928. This includes, I argue, Diem’s inspiration for the torch relay, which, in effect, might be more appropriately

售的——观看这一场景的观众数量也越来越庞大。哪怕是许多宣称是“奥林匹克反对者”的人也都被奥林匹克圣火的相关事件所深深吸引。

大多数奥林匹克历史学家和博学家都认为，现代奥林匹克圣火的想法产生自德国的卡尔·迪姆先生，是他建议组织火炬接力，并且火炬要在古代奥运会的举办地奥林匹亚点燃，通过手手相传，传递到当届奥运会的主会场。虽然关于卡尔·迪姆这位魏玛共和国期间、纳粹统治时期以及二战后联邦德国的运动员、教育家、运动史学家和体育管理者的资料已经很多，但是权威的传记还有待继续完成。这是一件让人遗憾的事情，因为迪姆即便不是德国奥林匹克历史上最著名的角色，那么也是最著名的角色之一。卡尔·迪姆出生于1882年，早在年轻的时候就梦想成为一名运动员。迪姆并不看重德国强大但陈旧的特氏体育运动——这是一种已经扎根于德国有一个世纪的时间，并且有着牢固基础的“体操—政

治”制度——的价值，反而是变成了一位专注和献身于跟英国迅速发展起来的现代体育运动类似的德国体育运动的狂热追随者和鼓吹者。迪姆的正规教育就到高中，即便如此，他还是没有完成高中学业。他的“学校”生涯因为其父亲抛弃了整个家庭、移民美国而被迫终止。年少的迪姆离开了学校，之后做过学徒和商人，在1906年左右，成为一位热心的记者。作为彻头彻尾的爱国者，迪姆在一战第一天1914年8月1日参军。之后，他在比利时和法国服役直到1918年战争结束。他在圣康丁受过伤，之后复原，并在香槟和阿贡等艰苦卓绝的战役中勇敢作战。战后，他积极追求一条教学和体育管理的职业道路，很快成为建于1920年柏林的德国国家体育大学的副校长，该校在二战后在科隆重建，就是著名的科隆体院。迪姆旅游甚广，后来成为一位多产的演讲家和作家，常常作为——尤其是在欧洲——体育运动和奥林匹克事务的顾问。他是1936年

called a “flame relay.”¹¹ The progression of Olympic sacred fire rituals from flame to torch relay is a subject worthy of investigation, especially since the torch relay pioneer, Carl Diem, remains glorified to this day, while the conceivers and practical innovators of sacred fire in Olympic context have passed through history’s filter largely unnoticed. With that in mind, I place before you the names of two men from the Netherlands: Jan Wils, designer/architect of the 1928 Amsterdam Olympic stadium and conceiver of the original Olympic flame idea; and Johan Wienecke, medallic artist and designer of the 1928 Olympic Games commemorative medal. Few who study and research Olympic history can confidently relate who either of these men was in the greater scheme of Olympic events. Yet each deserves a place directly beside Diem as members of a trio of sacred fire founders. And finally, still another “ideas” individual played a role in the thought process leading to a concept of sacred fire in Olympic context. That person, it may surprise some to learn, was the grand renovateur himself, the Baron Pierre de Coubertin.

THE IDEA OF SACRED FIRE IN OLYMPIC GAMES

If, as MacAloon argues, the Olympic Games are “the closest approximation to a truly global ritual symbol system that humankind has yet generated,”¹² then the Olympic flame and torch relay rituals stand as “pre-eminent rites within the pre-eminent symbols of world community” (although we should never underestimate Nike or Coca-Cola in this regard).¹³ Oddly enough, sacred fire ceremonial ritual symbols created in the first half-century of modern Olympic history, specifically, the Olympic flame and the torch relay, knew no parallels at the ancient Olympic Games at Olympia. Classical scholars of ancient Greek history are familiar with the red-figured 5th century B.C. vase painting scenes of naked runners handing torches to relay running colleagues. A modified version reflective of that scene in antiquity may have been associated with what Philostratus tells us was the origin of the stade race, a running contest for boys at Olympia, where runners raced to a priest holding a torch standing next to an altar. The first competitor to reach the altar was rewarded by the right to light the “divine flame,” and further, depart “as an Olympic victor.”¹⁴ But, Philostratus’ passage, for which there is no other confirming evidence, is the only antiquity reference to a torch at Olympia. Indeed, Philostratus is a questionable source on matters athletic, as opposed to his more creditable reflections on matters concerning physical education. In all probability, the ancient “relay running” vase painting scenes, hundreds of which we have at our disposal to contem-

plate, are reflective of Athenian Panathenaic and other ancient Greek festival rituals. There is, however, no evidence to support the assumption made by some Greek Olympic historians and other romantically-inspired authors that the ancient Olympic Games in Olympia were the scene of a “Torch Run” or that the ancient Olympic precinct harbored a sacred altar from which an “Olympic flame” burned throughout the great festival proceedings.¹⁵ Nevertheless, in a notable recent publication, we hear a rhapsody in which J. Lynch exclaims:

During the quadrennial festival of Zeus, when all of Greece gathered at the altis, competitors and spectators alike were drawn to the Olympic flame. It served as an unequivocal touchstone of their civilization’s and their gods’ permanence. It represented generation after generation of Greek youth in their athletic prime, an unbroken line stretching back into the mists of time to the semi-divine heroes from those who now stood before the flame drew their inspiration. Gallant champions came and went, city states rose and fell, and even the stoutest buildings crumbled to dust, but the flame burned on, providing hopes in times of hardship or hostilities that the spirit and ideals symbolized by the Olympic Games would never be extinguished.¹⁶

More authentic towards explaining sacred fire in ancient Greek context, of course, is the Greek mythology that informs us that Prometheus brought a spark of heavenly fire to earth as a symbol of reason and enlightenment, of freedom and creativity, of progress underscored by the advancement of human-kind. And finally, MacAloon reflects on the context of “heavenly fire” in Modern Olympic Games ritual: “. . . the lighting of the sacred flame at Archaia Olympia and its relay to the ‘New Olympia’ are rites of separation from ordinary life, initiating a period of public liminality.”¹⁷

Though fire in a sacred ritual context did not make its way into Olympic festival proceedings for more than three decades after the celebration in 1896 of the first modern Olympic Games, that first festival in Athens revealed to Pierre de Coubertin the prospect of an association between flaming torches and the Games. Charalambos Anninos, in his eloquent first-hand account of a magnificent torch procession to close the end of the 7th day of the Games, relates: “At nine o’clock two bugle calls are heard . . . a procession commences (it literally stretches from Omonia Square up Stadiou Street to Syntagma Square) . . . ten thousand men . . . a fiery river of torches . . . a sight of magic phantasmagory . . . an illuminated flood of fire.”¹⁸ Coubertin witnessed all this, and more. We have no word from the Baron as to what impression it may have made on him, but some remnant memory of the event must have remained in his consciousness.

柏林奥运会组委会的秘书长，并因为其这届奥运会的优秀组织和精心制作获得了极高的声望。实际上，这届奥运会被证实是一届用来展示“新生德国的光辉”的一届奥运会，正如迪姆自己表示的那样，宣扬的主旨是德国天生就应该成为掌管更美好的欧洲的领导者。虽然二战后被盟军暂时监管，迪姆还是被证明并非是纳粹政权的一部分。随后，他“退休”到了德国体育大学，在那里从事教书和写作。该校至今都是一个非常著名的体育院校，并且与20世纪20年代正在柏林的迪姆关系密切。当德国在二战后混乱的政治环境中，谋求重建其国家奥委会的时候，虽然迪姆在德国奥林匹克事务中的地位已经远远不是当初那番如日中天，他还是对德国奥委会的重建给予了极大帮助，尤其是在初期阶段。

从沃尔特·博格斯这位历史学家所做的研究中，我们得知迪姆关于奥运圣火传递的想法可能是从其古代体育知识中萌芽的，在古代的某些宗教意味浓厚的仪式中

的庆典上（但不是在奥林匹亚），有些类似的活动。而且，迪姆还对1922年德国体育大学学生组织的火炬传递进行过“现场观察”，这是德国体育运动会开幕式的一部分，恰恰就发生在迪姆的40岁生日那天。卡尔·迪姆本人方面留下了很少的线索或证据来证明圣火传递这一如今举世瞩目的事件的想法是如何产生的。因为缺乏确定的文字证据，我们不由得想挑战博格斯的说法。如果事情不是像博格斯所描述的那样，我们就需要更有力和更简明的解读。这样，我们就假设迪姆圣火传递的想法更像是从更当代的事件——如德国1928年重返现代奥林匹克运动和柏林在1931年5月获得第11届奥运会的举办权等——中逐渐演变发展演进而来。

虽然大家都已经知道了火炬传递的历史，现代奥林匹克背景下圣火的演变却鲜为人知。因此，我们产生了这样的问题：迪姆圣火传递的想法从哪里开始？在奥林匹克圣火的历史上，其普遍的“

Sixteen years later, in his speech closing the Stockholm Games of the Fifth Olympiad in 1912, Coubertin opened his remarks with the following: “And now, gentlemen, see how a great people [the Swedes] has, by our arrangement, received from your hands the Olympic flame and has undertaken to protect it and, if possible, enhance the radiance of the precious flame. A custom has been established that the last word spoken in the evening of the Olympic Games is to greet the dawn of the next Games.”¹⁹ From this, one might grasp the concept of a flame lit to open Games and extinguished to close them, exactly the case in contemporary circumstance. But, of course, there was no Olympic flame in Stockholm. In fact, it took a further sixteen years of modern Olympic history for the Olympic Games to establish beyond simple words, a link with fire in sacred context. And, even then, the flame scene in the great Olympic stadium in Amsterdam in the summer of 1928 was without fanfare – no rite, no ritual, no ceremony.

A major thesis of this essay focuses on the prospect that the “on-site” memory of Olympic-associated events in Amsterdam in 1928 provided Carl Diem’s “memory file” with its primary data towards eventually constructing the idea of an Olympic torch relay. After all, without a flame to light at the end of a torch relay, what reason could one argue for proposing a relay exercise at all? We do not denigrate the value of Diem’s contribution to Olympic ritual. That contribution with regard to the torch relay has been deservedly recognized and celebrated. Not widely known, however, is the fact that the Olympic flame idea sprang from the mind of the Amsterdam stadium’s designer, the celebrated Dutch architect Jan Wils, whose idea it was for an Olympic flame to rise from a cauldron located atop his stadium’s “marathon tower.”

On the afternoon of 28 July 1928, Carl Diem, Chef de Mission of the first German Olympic team to participate in post-World War I Olympic Games, marched at the head of the German delegation into the Amsterdam Stadium for the opening ceremonies of the Games of the Ninth Olympiad. The sight that greeted his gaze included some 35,000 spectators assembled in the stadium, an edifice dominated by Wils’s marathon tower capped with cauldron. From the cauldron emerged history’s first Olympic flame. No one person in the stadium that day of those who had previously attended an Olympic Games, including Diem,²⁰ could have missed the significance of the altered atmosphere. Indeed, it was a landmark event, a “first” in modern Olympic history. In his final report following the conclusion of the Games, Frederick W. Rubien, Secretary of the American Olympic Committee, was moved to comment on the presence of sacred fire: “. . . during the [Games] fire was lit in the marathon tower . . . to announce to all people of the world that peace,

harmony and understanding must now reign, and thoughts of discord, discontent and misunderstanding must be put aside and that every one must concentrate on this as the attitude to be assumed.”²¹

JAN WILS AND THE OLYMPIC FLAME IDEA

The name Jan Wils is one of prominence in the history of Dutch architecture. Wils was well suited to execute the most important task in Amsterdam's preparation for the 1928 Olympic Games--designing and supervising the construction of the main stadium venue and its accompanying Olympic facility precinct. Wils was born in Alkmaar on 22 February 1891. His father owned and operated a construction contracting firm, exposing young Wils very early in his life to the intricacies of engineering and the building of various types of edifices. Almost from the start of his high school days in Alkmaar, he was convinced that his future lay in architecture. At the age of 18 he won his first competition in architecture. Following high school he studied architecture at the Technical University in Delft. His first professional experience was in the Municipal Planning Offices of the City of Alkmaar, where he worked for two years. Moving to The Hague, Wils secured a position as a draughtsman in the offices of the famous Dutch architect H. P. Berlage. There is little doubt that the influence of Berlage on Wils and his career was significant. In effect, Berlage was Wils's mentor, a fact that Wils himself proudly substantiated throughout his life.

In 1915, at age 25, Wils opened his own architecture firm in the city of Voorburg. Wils had little trouble in securing commissions, designing structures that ranged from villas for the rich to farmhouses for folks less wealthy. Shortly after opening his own business, Wils met Piet Mondriaan, the famous painter, as well as Vilmos Huszár and Theo van Doesburg, co-founders of the periodical *De Stijl*, a journal that derived its name from the radically distinctive architectural movement of the 1920s.²² Wils was also an active author and critic, writing in both *De Stijl* and *Wendingen*, the publication of the Expressionist Amsterdam School. Finally, Wils was a prominent member of The Hague's art circle.

Even though Wils left the *De Stijl* Movement in 1919, his most innovative works continued to be influenced by its principles. His complex of town houses built in Alkmaar in 1919, designed in accordance with *De Stijl* principles, a project that enlisted Vilmos Huszár as color consultant, constituted his first buildings to incorporate flat roofs. As Wils's stature in the profession of architecture grew, he was often referred to as “Frank Lloyd Wils,” chiefly because his admiration for and sometimes imitation of the

起源因素”是什么？或者，比起圣火传递的火炬，体育场内的火炬盆在奥林匹克圣火历史中出现得更早而且更根本，但是我们对这一现象的关注显然比较少。我们选择了“火焰”作为在体育场背景下奥林匹克圣火的第一个形象。所有其他的奥林匹克圣火都是从1928年首先出现在体育场的圣火形象发展出来的。笔者认为，这可能是激发关于圣火传递灵感的一个来源，确切点说，或许叫它“火焰的传递”更恰当一些。

奥林匹克圣火仪式从火焰到圣火传递的演进是一个值得研究的问题，尤其是因为火炬传递的鼻祖卡尔·迪姆至今都保持着其在奥林匹克运动领域的名声和威望，而奥林匹克圣火的构想者和革新者却被历史冲走，几乎不被注意。考虑到这些，笔者在读者能够想起这两位荷兰人之前，就先把他们的名字列出来：詹·维尔斯，1928年阿姆斯特丹体育场的设计者和建筑师，最初产生奥林匹克圣火想法的人；另一位是奖

章艺术家乔汉·维奈克，他是这届奥运会的纪念章设计者。研究奥林匹克历史的人们都会认为，他们俩在奥林匹克事件的计划 and 设计中地位重大。他们俩的地位应该与迪姆相同，组成奥林匹克圣火建立者的三叉戟。最后，还有一个人的“想法”也在奥林匹克圣火这一概念形成和实现的过程中发挥着重要的作用。这个人，可能有些人听来会觉得很好奇，那就是现代奥林匹克的复兴者——皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦男爵。

奥运会圣火的想法

虽然仪式中的“火”在1896年第一届现代奥运会后的30多年都没有进入奥林匹克庆典的进程，这届奥运会上的“火”的庆典却的确向顾拜旦展示了火炬和奥运会之间存在的某种密切联系的光明前景。哈拉兰波斯·安尼诺斯在其关于首届奥运会第七日盛大华丽的火炬游行的生动描写中这么说：“九点的时候，我们就听到了两个号角传来的声音……

work and design style of Frank Lloyd Wright, the world-famous American architect, was evident. Although, in fact, most of Wils's designs were too original to be judged “derivative,” one of his earliest and most successful commissions, a housing development in Daal en Berg, built in The Hague in 1920, echoed designs by Wright. In the early 1920s Wils's business experienced a quiescent period – commissions were scarce. Nevertheless, he developed several concepts during this period that would later buttress his eventual Olympic facility designs. Chief among them were designs featuring horizontal, flat roofed buildings with large steel-framed windows and detailed ornamentation. His later works, particularly those designed between 1925 and 1935 reflected the influence of functionalism. The eventual Amsterdam stadium design, with its heavy walled appearance, was an example, as were Wils's Citroen Buildings (built in Amsterdam in 1931 and 1959) and Cinema Theater (built in Amsterdam in 1935).

There was little activity in either building design or construction during World War II as the Netherlands suffered under German occupation. Most Dutch citizens struggled to survive, reduced to a daily food consumption of less than 1500 calories, in some cases as low as 900. Following the war, however, Wils became active in designing post-war construction projects, among the most prominent of which were the Hotel Bouwes in Zandvoort (1952), and the Chamber of Commerce Building in The Hague (1956). Wils passed away in Voorburg on 11 February 1972.²³

Of inestimable importance to Jan Wils and his architectural designs for athletic facilities, was the fact that he himself was a keen athlete in his youth, particularly in the sports of yachting, fencing, rowing, and gymnastics. He remained an enthusiastic yachtsman for most of his life, not at all unusual for men and women of the sea-oriented Netherlands.

Wils's first brush with “matters Olympic” occurred in 1923. His visits to some of the leading cities in Europe, where he studied modern forms of “city-building,” including provision for sports facilities, led him to write a book. *Gebouwen en Terreinen voor Gymnastiek, Spel en Sport*, co-authored with P.W. Scharroo, was greeted with critical acclaim and translated into German. Pierre de Coubertin wrote a “foreword” for the book, a passage of which expressed the thought that it was important that architects should “. . . occupy themselves with the construction and architecture for buildings and sites intended to be used for gymnastics, play and sports . . . not in order to create impractical plans for ugly looking buildings with overlarge fronts, but rather to give athletes the buildings and sites which they need and to take into consideration the three major conditions with which such building and sites must cope: a careful technical layout, low costs, and an aesthetic and neat finishing appearance.”²⁴

Gebouwen en Terreinen voor Gymnastiek, Spel en Sport Peter Scharroo, Wils's co-author, was a distinguished member of the Netherlands Olympic Committee (NOC), a member of the International Olympic Committee from 1924 to 1957 (member of the IOC Executive board from 1946 to 1953), for many years President of the Dutch Athletic Federation, and finally, Colonel in the Corps of Royal Engineers. From the publication of this important book sprang Wils's first steps on a five-year journey into the realm of the Modern Olympic Games. Chiefly because of Scharroo's influence, Wils's name and architecture reputation were placed before the attention of the Dutch NOC, which subsequently appointed him to represent the Netherlands on the International Jury for Architecture in the Arts Competitions associated with the Games of the Eighth Olympiad in Paris in 1924. Actually, Wils became somewhat of a fixture on the international juries judging the architecture competitions at Olympic Games held in Europe. Beyond Paris in 1924, he served in Berlin-1936 (where he chaired the jury council), and London-1948.²⁵

In June 1921 Amsterdam was awarded the Olympic Games scheduled to be celebrated in 1928. Wils was eventually considered as a candidate to steer the design of Olympic facilities. Through Scharroo, George van Rossem, Secretary-General of the Organizing Committee for the Amsterdam Games, became acquainted with Wils and his architecture capabilities. Following discourse between Wils and NOC officials, Wils convinced the Dutch organizing committee of the necessary requirements for an Olympic stadium and other supporting facilities needed to carry out the Olympic Games. Consequently, he was given sole responsibility for designing the necessary venues. By 1926 Wils had completed some 1200 technical drawings on which building contractors might base their construction calculations.²⁶

Wils's initial design of the Amsterdam Olympic stadium, a plan that sprang from his original concepts graphically presented in *Gebouwen en Terreinen voor Gymnastiek, Spel en Sport*, was completed in September 1925. One of the central features of the design was the stadium's entrance, dominated by a so-called "Marathon Gate," arranged between two towers of modest dimensions. The design presented a problem to Wils. A request presented to him by the Dutch NOC called for erecting a monument of noteworthy size dedicated to the Netherlands' most storied early Olympic figure, IOC member F. W. C. H. "Frits" van Tuijll van Serooskerken, the first Dutch member of the IOC and initiator of Amsterdam's bid to host the 1928 Games. The monument's site, just outside the stadium, was planned for a location adjacent to and slightly to the right side of the stadium's main entrance. With the monument in

游行的队伍开始了（它从欧摩尼亚广场到体育馆路到宪法广场蜿蜒前进）……上万的民众……火炬连成了一条流动的火海……宛如奇异的幻灯……整个世界都被火炬照亮了。”顾拜旦见证了这些，乃至更多的场景。我们找不到顾拜旦关于这些火炬游行印象的只言片语，但是毫无疑问，他的意识里一定留下了一些相关的记忆碎片。

16年后，在1912年斯德哥尔摩奥运会闭幕式上，顾拜旦才展开了其评论：“现在，先生们，在我们的安排下，让我们看看伟大的瑞典人民如何从你们手中接过奥林匹克的圣火，保护着它，使最初火种得以燎原。按照传统，在奥运会最后一个夜晚的最后一句话应该是期待下一届奥运会的曙光。”从这里，人们或许可以发现点燃圣火标志奥运会开幕，熄灭它意味着奥运会结束的端倪，如同我们当代的情况一样。但是，当然，在斯德哥尔摩还没有奥林匹克圣火。实际上，现代奥林匹克运动的历史用了远远超过

16年来建立火与神圣意味的联系，而不是仅仅说说而已。即使如此，1928年体育场点燃的火炬并没有号角，没有仪式和典礼，也没有庆典。

本文的主要论题集中探讨的是，在与1928年阿姆斯特丹奥运会有关的“现场”记忆提供给卡尔·迪姆的“记忆资料”，这可能使他最终建立起了关于奥林匹克圣火传递想法的最主要信息。毕竟，如果没有圣火点燃，那么单纯的接力有什么意义呢？我们没有诋毁迪姆对奥林匹克仪式巨大贡献的意思。这种关于圣火传递的贡献当然被认识到而且被赞颂。然而，很多人还不知道奥林匹克圣火的概念实际上来源于阿姆斯特丹奥运会主会场的设计者、优秀的荷兰建筑师詹·维尔斯的想法，那就是从位于体育场“马拉松塔”上的火炬盆中点燃奥林匹克圣火。

1928年7月28日，一战后第一支参加奥运会的德国代表团在其团长卡尔·迪姆的带领下，步入

part superimposed against the entrance, Wils thought the resulting perspective to be unpleasant. To put it bluntly, it was in the way of entry and egress foot-traffic. The Van Tuijll monument would have to be relocated.

Several months later, as announced in the official NOC publication *De Olympiade* of 5 May 1926, Jan Wils presented a new plan, one featuring a modification that he hoped would solve the problem. The stadium's entrance was no longer dominated by his original plan's two modest twin towers. Rather, one great tower, a minaret-like concrete and brick structure, rose some 40 meters in height, featuring an imposing cauldron (3.5 meters in diameter) on its pinnacle, from which a searchlight lit up at night was designed to cast a giant beam heavenward into the darkness.²⁷ Wils's tower specifications featured an interior winding staircase that led from the base to the top. And the Van Tuijll monument? Wils moved it to a position out of the way of entrance and exit foot traffic, that is, well to the left of the "Marathon-Poort," as Wils termed the stadium's entrance.²⁸

In May 1926 the design of the Olympic stadium was approved by the City Council of Amsterdam. Immediately, the first steps were taken to invite tenders from building contractors. It was exactly at this point that Olympic history took a precise and noteworthy turn. On 30 June 1926 Wils returned to City Council and presented a slightly modified stadium tower design; one basic feature of his original plan had been altered. The large cauldron atop the tower no longer emitted a searchlight beam. Instead, a great flame, an Olympic flame, if you will, rose from the depths of the cauldron to cast its brilliance over the stadium. There is no doubt that the idea and the "new" sketch was the vision and work of Wils. He personally presided over even the smallest design and construction detail of the entire Olympic precinct. Indeed, his confirming signature appeared on the bottom right-hand margin of the new design. Two vertical shafts of electric light were configured on each side of the tower itself, in such a way that the entire effect (tower and flame together) would appear at night as one continuous skyscraping pillar of light. Indeed, the finished result of this thinking was everything Wils had hoped it would be.²⁹

JAN WILS AND SACRED FIRE

But what of Wils and sacred fire? What was it about "light" and "fire" that captivated Jan Wils's imagination? There is nothing in Wils's "makeup" that tells us he harbored any knowledge of sport in ancient times, a legacy that may have led him to contemplate the place of "light" and "fire" in the ceremonial ritual of Greeks of yesteryear. Thus, we cannot, as in many cases, look to antiquity for sources of Wils's inspira-

tion. We must, out of necessity, turn elsewhere. And so my attention is drawn to other components indelible in Wils's life that might have been of inspiration to him.

Before turning to my major thesis in this regard, one important detail, largely overlooked in Olympic history, should be noted. Shortly following the 1921 award of the Games of the Ninth Olympiad to Amsterdam, Dutch organizers weighed the formidable task of preparing for the great festival. In order to “inform” the IOC, the NOCs of “Olympic nations” worldwide and interested “other parties” in the Netherlands and abroad on preparation matters as they unfolded, the Netherlands Olympic Committee began to publish a weekly “news-letter.” Called *De Olympiade*, the first issue appeared in early July 1924, just three days before the Games of the Eighth Olympiad opened in Paris. The second issue of *De Olympiade*, published on July 9th, featured two articles germane to our investigation. The first item of note appeared in the form of an article on “Sport and Architecture” by Jan Wils.³⁰ The second appeared in the form of an interview with Pierre de Coubertin, conducted by a popular Dutch journalist of the day, the celebrated Jan Feith. Feith's quotation of a Coubertin statement during the interview, and his own comment on that statement are important to consider. Said the Baron near the end of the interview: “I (Coubertin) have talked with you about a symbolic Olympic torch, which will be handed over by the country where the games of an Olympiad were held, to the country where four years later the next games of an Olympiad will be organized. So, in this case France would be handing over the torch to The Netherlands, where in 1928 the Ninth Olympiad will be held . . .”³¹ Feith, subsequently, closed his article with the statement: “An enthusiastic sportsman, who in all his plans for sport has been inspired by beauty; that has been the lifework of Baron Pierre de Coubertin. And that was also the core of the interview we had with him – ennoblement by sport, rapprochement of the sporting nations, sport and art, serving each other and with the symbol of the everlasting torch relay, the Olympic ideal taken by the one nation and handed over to the other.”³² Coubertin, of course, never implemented his idea of an “Olympic torch” handed from country-to-country as each Olympic Games passed to the next. But, one must ponder that it was entirely possible, indeed probable, that both Jan Wils and Carl Diem read the Coubertin/Feith statements; Wils, because his own article abutted the Feith interview with Coubertin; and Diem, because the Dutch Olympic Games were the first for Germany since 1912 and Amsterdam “Olympic details” expressed in *De Olympiade* most certainly were followed closely by German sports officials.³³

了阿姆斯特丹奥运会的体育场。映入迪姆和在场的35,000多观众眼帘的正是维尔斯设计修建的巨大体育场上,位于高耸入云的马拉松塔上的火炬盆里,第一支奥林匹克圣火正在熊熊燃烧。当天现场那些参加过奥运会的人,都真真切切地感受到了现场气氛的转变。实际上,这是一个标志性事件,是现代奥林匹克历史上的“第一次”。美国奥委会主席弗雷德里克·W. 鲁宾在其最后总结这次奥运会的报告中,对圣火所带给他的感受,这么评论:“……在整个奥运会期间,圣火一直在马拉松塔上熊熊燃烧……向全世界宣告着现在和平、和谐和理解正在主宰着世界,不和谐、不满和误解则被扔在了一边,每个人都心怀此念。”

詹·维尔斯 和奥林匹克圣火的想法

詹·维尔斯是荷兰建筑史上一个熠熠生辉的名字,非常适合来

承担1928年阿姆斯特丹最终要的工作——主体育场及相关设施区域的设计和建筑顾问。维尔斯出生在1891年2月22日的阿克马。他的父亲拥有并经营着建筑包工合同公司，从而使得小维尔斯很早就开始涉足复杂的工程设计和各种各样建筑物的建筑。几乎是从高中开始，他就坚信自己未来的发展在于建筑领域。18岁的时候他赢得了有生第一个建筑设计比赛的胜利。高中后，他在代夫特技术大学学习建筑学。他的第一份专业作品是故乡阿克马的市政计划办公室，他曾经在那里工作过两年。搬到海牙之后，维尔斯成为了荷兰著名设计师H. P. 贝拉罕工作室的一员。我们毫不怀疑职业生涯一片辉煌的H. P. 贝拉罕对维尔斯的影响。确切点说，H. P. 贝拉罕就是维尔斯的导师，这是维尔斯一生都为之自豪和骄傲的事情。

维尔斯与奥运会的第一次亲密接触发生在1923年。他去了几个欧洲的顶尖城市，从那里他学到了“城市建筑”的现代化形式，

But, it would take more than that probability to explain the possible inspirations present for shaping Jan Wils's historic Olympic stadium flame concept. More important than any other factor, I argue, is the fact that Wils was an active member of the Order of Free Masons for most of his adult life. He rose through the various degrees in the Dutch Order of Free Masons, a movement that, despite a Dutch clergy generally hostile to the institution, originated in the Netherlands as early as the first quarter of the 18th century. It flourished thereafter. More than any profession, Freemasonry appealed to the architect and the builder. Jan Wils was representative of both.

One of the important and long-traditional aspects of Masonic life and celebration, to this day, is the use of light in ritualistic substance. The word light has a number of meanings for Freemasons, which, when taken collectively, form a “network of meaning” expressing the breadth and depth of Freemason thinking.³⁴ When a new member becomes a Freemason he is “given the light” during the ceremony of initiation to the degree of Entered Apprentice. The three-branched candelabra with flaming candles are fixtures in opening each lodge meeting, including Dutch freemason lodges. To early Free Masons, light and darkness evoked “spirits of good” and “spirits of evil,” light the benefactor, darkness the destroyer.³⁵ Indeed, a worship of light penetrated deeply into Masonic philosophy. In Europe, at least, Free Masonry evolved from the “darkness” of medieval times into the “light” of the Age of Enlightenment. “Light is everywhere the symbol of intelligence, information, knowledge, and truth as opposed to darkness which symbolizes ignorance and evil.”³⁶ In Masonic ceremony, degree candidates are said to be brought from darkness to light. As George Oliver, the distinguished 19th century Masonic historian/philosopher tells us: “Emblematic darkness of Masonry is but the precursor of superior illumination, and hence our science is aptly dominated [by] Lux or Light. Because it removes the mists of error and prejudice from the understanding, and leaves the soul open to impressions which awaken all the energies of Faith, and Hope, and Charity.”³⁷ To prolong the point, light is “the source of goodness, darkness, which is the negation of light, was abhorred, hence arose the doctrine which prevailed among the ancients, that there were two antagonistic principles continually contending for the government of the world.”³⁸ Further, a fundamental aspect of Free Masonry ritual is so-called “living fire,” or “regenerative fire,” as the sacred books sometimes referred to it, “a universal spirit permeating all nature, it is the essence and the vital spark of all that it animates, of all orders of beings, classes

and races in which it is incarnated, and is profoundly modified by all through which it passes.”³⁹

For Wils, then, “regenerative fire” in Free Mason context, became his sacred fire in Olympic context. Wils would have been imbued with this and other fundamental ritual light symbols of Freemasonry as he made his way through the various degrees of the Order. When Jan Wils needed psychic stimulation for sacred fire in his Olympic stadium marathon tower design he had only to turn to his Freemasonry knowledge and experience. Wils’s close association and harmony with light in Masonic ritual, we argue, fell on fertile ground and provided the final urge for his transfer of ideas from searchlight to cauldron flame atop his stadium marathon tower.

It will be remembered that Wils’s original design called for a giant searchlight to cast its beam into the atmosphere above the stadium. Well known to Freemasons in the historical art and literature of the Order, of course, is the 1784 Book of Constitutions, the famous “frontispiece” of which depicts Truth holding a mirror reflecting rays like searchlight beams that illuminate the interior of the Freemason Hall.⁴⁰ Did this well-known painting offer inspiration for Wils’ original searchlight concept? We argue that it did. And, not to be lost in a scrutiny of the same scene, is the angelic, striding torchbearer carrying aloft a blazing torch (an Olympic torch?).

Finally, in the transformation of Wils’s thinking from searchlight beam to flaming cauldron, Wils might well have been inspired by the 1648 painting Chalice with Host painted by the celebrated 15th century Dutch artist Jan Davids de Heem, a work regularly appearing in Freemason literature to illustrate the commanding presence of light and fire in the metaphysics of Freemasonry.⁴¹

Was Wils’s stadium cauldron with flame, then, but a modern celebratory version of de Heem’s Chalice with Host? I argue that it was. The connection between Wils’s ideas pertinent to “light” and “flame” and freemasonry ritual are too powerful to dismiss. In view of the fact, then, that the first appearance of sacred fire in Olympic context burned from Jan Wils’s Olympic stadium marathon tower cauldron in 1928, and further, because there is most certainly no clue whatsoever that Wils was ever stimulated by any powerful imagery from the aura of antiquity, there is every bit as much credence to the possibility that Modern Olympic sacred fire evolves from Freemason imagery drawn from Medieval ritual rather than from anything related to antiquity that might have, as some have argued, stimulated Diem before 1931.

其中包括了许多体育设施，从而促使他写了一本书《体操、游戏和体育比赛的建筑与场地》，合作者为P. W. 沙龙。此书的出版引起了评论界的密切关注，被翻译为德文。皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦为此书撰写了“前言”：“对建筑师来说，想为体操、锻炼和体育运动建设场馆和场地是非常重要的……这并不是说建造一些不切实际的有着庞大外表的丑陋建筑，而是要给运动员们活动的建筑和场地，因此有三个方面需要被考虑到：仔细的技术布局、低廉的价格和优美整洁的完整外形。”Gebouwen en Terreinen voor Gymnastiek, Spel en Sport Peter Scharroo, 维尔斯’s co-

此书的另一位作者彼得·沙龙是荷兰奥委会（NOC）的资深委员，1924年至1957年担任国际奥委会委员（其中1946年到1953年担任执委），并多年担任荷兰运动联合会主席，同时是皇家工兵团的团长。这本重要的著作的面世是维尔斯走向现代奥林匹克领

域的第一步。也正是因为沙龙的关系，维尔斯的名字及其在建筑领域的声望引起了荷兰奥委会的注意，并委派他代表荷兰参加1924年奥运会艺术比赛中建筑比赛的国际评审团。这样，维尔斯就成为了在欧洲举行的奥运会上建筑比赛的固定裁判。除了1924年巴黎奥运会，他还作为裁判参加了1936年柏林奥运会（裁判长）和1948年伦敦奥运会。

詹·维尔斯 和圣火

但是，维尔斯跟圣火之间的关系是什么呢？是“光”和“火”的什么特质激发了詹·维尔斯的想象呢？从我们对维尔斯的了解看，他并不了解古代体育运动的知识，所以谈不上是这些遗产导致他产生了对刚过去不久的第一届现代奥运会庆典仪式上“光”和“火”的沉思。这样，我们就不能从古代来寻找维尔斯的灵感来源而只能是从别的地方入手。维尔斯生活中的诸多其他因素可能是其灵感的来源。

JOHAN WIENECKE AND THE 1928 OLYMPIC GAMES COMMEMORATION MEDAL

Aside from Jan Wils's Olympic flame atop the Marathon Tower that Carl Diem observed in the Amsterdam Olympic Stadium in the summer of 1928, the venerable German Olympic official's "memory file" received a second "data entry" for stimulus towards his eventual torch relay idea. Beyond doubt, Diem, as the Chef de Mission of the German Olympic delegation, was presented with one of the Amsterdam Olympic Organizing Committee's commemorative participation medals, given to all athletes, team and event officials, and selected dignitaries.⁴² Germane to my argument, the Participation Commemorative Medal, designed by Johan Wienecke, featured qualities that surely meshed with Diem's observation of the stadium's Olympic flame, ultimately to produce in his mind's-eye, the fundamental structure of his eventual torch relay concept—a cauldron flame, a torch flame to light it, an athlete to convey the torch, indeed, a triumphal moment of opening.

Johan Wienecke not only designed and crafted celebratory medals, he was also awarded them for his work. Wienecke was born in 1872 in Heiligenstadt, Germany of Dutch parents. Though thus far Wienecke has escaped the notice of a biographer, there have been small synopses composed of his life.⁴³ At 16 years of age he matriculated at the Quelinusschool in Amsterdam, studying there until 1891, after which time he studied at the Academie voor beeldende kunsten in both Antwerp and in Brussels. In late 1895 he left Belgium for Paris, where he studied for a period of five years at the Académie Libre Julian, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, and the Académie Libre Cola Rossi. In Paris, too, Wienecke studied for a time with Auguste Patey, chief designer at the Paris Mint and guru of the medallic art genre of his era.⁴⁴ In 1900 Wienecke returned to the Netherlands and became a member of the design staff at the Royal Mint of Utrecht, where he rapidly rose in the ranks to become the mint's chief engraver. Although many of Wienecke's early medal designs reflected the influence of his French schooling, particularly in his emulation of Louis Oscar Roty's rectangular portraits, he soon developed a style characterized by "very delicate modeling and symmetrical complex composition," qualities that reflected a Dutch medallic tradition dating to the 17th Century.⁴⁵ Wienecke debuted his distinctive style in 1906 in a medal commissioned by the Syndicate of Sugar Manufacturers in Java. This effort was soon followed by his commemorative medals for the birth of Princess Juliana (1909) and the Anonymous Society of Blaauwhoedenveen (1910). In the years following he designed many plaques and commemorative

medals; they can be seen on the pages of various catalogs published to illustrate the history of medallic art in the Netherlands. Among his more notable design works was the “famous” Dutch five cents piece, which was an uncharacteristically square object, a design that endured on Dutch coinage until after World War II. Among other celebrated early design masterpiece works attributed to Wienecke was a medallion of pure gold commissioned by Queen Wilhelmina for presentation to Tsar Nicholas of Russia. Wienecke received many awards and distinctions during his career, among them a silver medal of distinction awarded at the St. Louis Louisiana Purchase World’s Fair Exposition in 1904. In 1907 Queen Wilhelmina made him a Knight in the Order of Oranje-Nassau.

I return to Wienecke’s 1928 Olympic Games Commemorative Medal design. First, Wienecke’s relationship with his superiors at the Royal Mint was at times testy. Though the Amsterdam Olympic Games Organizing Committee, in the end, awarded the contract for the production of the gold, silver, and bronze medals for the Olympic competitions to the Royal Mint, Johan Wienecke was “passed over” for executing the design. Instead, the Italian artist Giuseppe Cassioli was commissioned.⁴⁶ The contract for the bronze commemoration medals, however, was won on a lower bid than that of the Royal Mint by the firm Gerritsen & Van Kempen in Zeist, which, in turn, commissioned Wienecke to execute the design.⁴⁷

Consider, for a moment, the distinct properties representing the ideas featured on Wienecke’s medal. On the “reverse” of the medal, one can behold a relief of what is undoubtedly Wils’s stadium design, complete with marathon tower and Olympic flame. From the flame rises a winged goddess Nike, who in turn raises in exultation symbolic trophies of ancient Greek sporting victory—olive wreath and palm frond. The “obverse” of the medal depicts two nude athletes, male and female, standing on a podium. Between them stands an altar, upon which a cauldron is arranged. From the cauldron rises sacred fire in the form of an Olympic flame. The two athletes jointly hold aloft a blazing “Olympic torch.”⁴⁸ The “moment” is, of all things, triumphal. This particular “medal moment” is the first time in Olympic medal history that a torch theme appeared. Prior to 1928 the wreath was the most common medallic art theme.

What guides, then, might have inspired Johan Wienecke to create a “torch moment” on the obverse of his commemoration medal design? There is little doubt that he must have surveyed the past history (graphic designs) of Olympic medals, 1896 to 1924. In none would he be led to consider a torch theme in his design. Prior to 1928 the torch was absent from Olympic medallic art; the dominant theme reflected on Olympic medals was the wreath, or victory garland. There is, however, one excep-

在回到笔者的主要论题之前，我们应该注意到一个在奥林匹克运动史上很大程度上被忽略了的重要细节。1921年阿姆斯特丹获得奥运会举办权之后，组织者们衡量了一下准备奥运会这一重要任务。为了与国际奥委会、其他国家/地区奥委会、对此很有兴趣的荷兰或国外的“其他方面”等“沟通信息”，及时公开准备工作的进程，荷兰奥委会出版了每周一期的《奥林匹亚》，创刊号在7月上旬1924年巴黎奥运会开幕前三天出版。第二期在7月9日出版，其中两篇文章与我们的研究关系密切。第一篇文章是詹·维尔斯的《体育运动与建筑》；第二篇是一篇由荷兰著名记者詹·费斯采写的对顾拜旦的访谈。费斯在这篇访谈中引用的顾拜旦的陈述及其独到的评论对本文都非常重要。顾拜旦在采访快结束的时候说：“我跟你说过了奥林匹克火炬的标志性，将由这一届的举办国传到四年后举办下一届奥运会的地方。因此，法国将会把火炬传给第9届奥运

会的举办地荷兰……” 费斯随后用下文结束了他的文章：“这是一位极为热情的体育家，在其所有关于体育的计划中，都是由美来驱使的，这是顾拜旦毕生的工作。这也是这篇访谈的核心——通过运动使人高贵、国家之间和睦相处、体育和艺术联姻、通过传递作为神灵标志的火炬，奥林匹克理想从一个国家传递到另一个国家。” 顾拜旦当然并未表述过将火炬像奥运会一样从一个国家传递到另一个国家，从一个举办地传递到下一个举办地的想法。但是，我们应该想到詹·维尔斯和卡尔·迪姆完全有可能读过费斯对顾拜旦的这篇访谈。对维尔斯来说，这篇访谈与他的文章在同一期上刊登；对迪姆来说，因为阿姆斯特丹奥运会是德国自1912年之后参加的第一届奥运会，作为德国体育官员的他当然会密切关注刊登阿姆斯特丹奥运会准备工作细节的《奥林匹亚》小册子。

共济会会员生活和庆典的重要传统之一就是在仪式场合中对

tion. Not really “Olympic” in context, the “obverse” of the 1900 Paris Exposition Commemoration Medal, given en masse to Exposition participants and dignitaries, reflected a nude youth representing the 20th century taking a torch from a sleeping woman representing the 19th century. That design was the work of the celebrated and renowned Jules-Clément Chaplain, who Pierre de Coubertin commissioned to design the “first-ever” Olympic winner’s medal, in effect, the one bestowed on Olympic champions in Athens 1896.⁴⁹ Chaplain, of course, was the teacher of Louis Oscar Roty, who had such a pronounced influence on the early work of Johan Wienecke. Together, Chaplain and Roty all but dominated French medallic art production in the last quarter of the 19th century.⁵⁰

The triumphal sacred fire moment on the 1928 Commemoration Medal could not have escaped Diem’s scrutiny. He could not have missed its symbolism – sacred fire in the context of stadium cauldron and flame, athletes triumphantly raising a blazing torch after having lit the cauldron flame. Most assuredly, nothing, neither Diem’s knowledge of ancient Greek sport history, whatever it might have been at the time,⁵¹ nor his witness of a student torch relay through the streets of Berlin in 1922, could have been more indelible than the Dutch stadium and medal scenarios towards helping him in the germination of his eventual torch relay idea.

CARL DIEM AND HIS TORCH RELAY

In one of the most elaborate publications on the history of the Olympic Flame,⁵² Conrado Durántez dismisses the 1928 Olympic flame event as “assuredly local . . . without international cooperation or participation.”⁵³ Further, Durántez perpetuates Diem as the father of the “practical execution and aesthetic dimension of both lighting the Olympic flame and its conveyance . . . with admirable precision and perfection.” Astoundingly, not once in his long and romanticized treatment of the history of the Olympic flame (195 pages) does Durántez note the names and contributions of the pioneers from whom Diem most certainly drew for his conceptual design of sacred fire in Olympic Games.

The first concrete evidence of Diem’s idea to create a torch relay is gleaned from the guestbook of his friend Walther F. Kleffel. We are told by Walter Borgers that on 25 August 1931, just three months following the IOC’s award to Berlin of the Eleventh Olympiad Games, discussion between the two old friends on the subject of a proposed torch relay prompted Kleffel to enter a notation next to Diem’s signature: “On the birthday of a new plan . . . Olympis Fackellauf.”⁵⁴ The 1928 Amsterdam Olympic Games, of course, were still fresh in Diem’s memory. Torch re-

lay planning events occurred rapidly after that initial notation. Jan Wils's Olympic flame idea, without IOC sanction, was replicated in the huge Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum when the Games of the Tenth Olympiad opened on 30 July 1932.⁵⁵ Carl Diem was present there to witness the sacred fire a second time. In every subsequent Olympic Games, summer and winter, Wils's Olympic flame concept has been celebrated.⁵⁶

In the early summer of 1933, Diem's torch relay idea was laid before both the Baron Pierre de Coubertin and Count Henri Baillet-Latour, at the time the immediate past and current presidents of the IOC, respectively. Each was receptive. In Athens in the late spring of 1934 the IOC met on a variety of Olympic matters, including arrangement for the 1936 Games scheduled for Berlin.⁵⁷ It was there in Athens that Diem's torch relay concept was introduced to the IOC assembly by Theodore Lewald, the senior German IOC member. The idea was approved. Diem immediately set to work on the particulars. Between translating his torch relay idea into practical logistics and his duties as Secretary General of the Berlin Organizing Committee, Diem was indeed a busy man.

CONCLUSION

If, in effect, the first written inkling we have of Carl Diem's plan for the transfer of sacred fire from Olympia to Berlin via a torch relay lies buried in the notation of his visit to Walther Kleffel in late August 1931, then we must, out of necessity, work backwards historically from that event. Surely, the idea could not have occurred to him by way of a so-called immaculate conception. No, Diem had to be struck by events experienced prior to the Kleffel record. Thus, we have for our cerebral contemplation, in order of their occurrence: (1) the 1922 torch relay run "staged by students of the Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen, which, as Borgers tells us, commemorated Diem's "40th birthday and simultaneously the beginning of the Deutsche Kampfspiele;" (2) Pierre de Coubertin's statement in 1924 of "passing an Olympic torch" from host city to host city, and Jan Feith's allusion to Coubertin's idea as "a torch relay;" (3) Jan Wils's 1928 Amsterdam "landmark" Olympic stadium flame, which, of course, Carl Diem observed on site; (4) Johann Wienecke's 1928 Amsterdam Olympic Games commemorative medal, which, as Chef de Mission of the German team, Diem most assuredly received; and (5) the award of the 1936 Games to Berlin by the IOC in the spring of 1931. It would logically seem, then, that the concept of mounting a torch relay would never have occurred to Diem if Berlin

光的应用。“光”(light)这个词对共济会会员来说有很多种含义,总体而言,形成了一个“意义的网”表达了其思想的广度和深度。新成员在入会仪式上要被“授予光”。三角烛台上的燃烧的蜡烛是所有重要集会的固定摆设,这当然就包括荷兰的共济会集会。对共济会会员来说,光和黑暗代表了“善的灵魂”和“恶的灵魂”,光是维护者,黑暗是破坏者。实际上,对光的崇拜渗透于共济会会员的哲学体系中。至少在欧洲,共济会会员是从中世纪的“黑暗”慢慢进化到启蒙时代的“光明”中的。“光是在各处都是智力、信息、知识和真理的象征,而黑暗则代表了漠视和罪恶。在共济会的仪式中,新会员被认为是从黑暗中被带到了光明中来。正如乔治·奥利弗这位著名的19世纪共济会的历史学家和哲学家告诉我们的那样:“共济会会员的黑暗是其光明的前身,因此,我们的科学是依据勒克斯或者光的程度来划分的。因为它拨开了影响相互理解

的错误和偏见的迷雾，使得灵魂迎向苏醒了信仰、希望和慈善等。”延伸来理解，光就是“善的根源；而光的背面——黑暗，则是令人憎恶的，千百年来流行于古代的学说就是，这两条对立的原则一直在持续地斗争着，争夺这个世界的统治权。”更者，共济会仪式的一个基本方面就是所谓的“生存之火”，或者叫“再生之火”，正如同圣书有时提到的那样，“一种普世的精神渗透在了万物之中，并成为其本质和精神，它生气勃勃地化身于所有的物种、阶层和种族，并且深深地改变着它所经过的一切。”

对维尔斯来说，共济会背景下的“再生之火”变为了奥林匹克背景下的圣火。维尔斯的脑海中充满了共济会的这种和其他仪式中的象征之光的想法，从而使其按照这种昭示一直向前。当詹·维尔斯在奥运会主体育场马拉松塔的设计中想到圣火时，其精神刺激的来源只能是其共济会知识和经验。我们相信，维尔斯与共济会仪式中光的密切又和谐的关系

had not been awarded the Games of the Eleventh Olympiad. The award stimulated his conceptual juices, so to speak. Just as important to Diem was the fact that Wils's Olympic flame provided him with a fundamental *raison d'être* for his torch relay concept. I argue that it is entirely unlikely that Diem would ever have harbored his idea for the torch relay without a necessary and fitting climax to occur, the lighting of sacred fire. Bearing the flame along its journey, of course, a succession of torches. And so there they were, squarely in the center of his mind's eye. What could be more vision-inducing--Wils's Olympic stadium with marathon tower and flame, and Wienecke's commemorative medal with two athletic figures holding aloft between them a blazing torch? "I will light my flame at Olympia," Diem reflected, "and my athletes will bear that flame to Berlin, where the sacred fire will burn resplendently in the stadium, sanctifying the glorious occasion of the Reich's celebration of the Eleventh Olympiad Games." Diem, of course, never put that thought into words, but that which one leaves unsaid but nevertheless thinks is the grist by which much of history is interpreted. We argue that the final form of Diem's sacred fire torch relay was in large measure a product of his "Olympian muses," those being, Jan Wils, Johannes Wienecke, Alexander Philadelphus, and, yes, even Pierre de Coubertin himself.

Finally, and with particular respect to the 1928 Amsterdam festival, Diem's last "live" Olympic Games experience before the formalization of his torch relay idea, a final notation is in order. Both Carl Diem and Jan Wils appeared before Queen Wilhelmina at the closing ceremonies on the evening of August 12th; Diem, to collect the Olympic medals won by German athletes no longer resident in the Olympic precinct; Wils to accept the Olympic gold medal for Architecture in the Olympic Art Competition of the Games of the Ninth Olympiad.⁵⁸ Illuminated against the night sky in brilliant perspective presided a new and glorious symbol, Olympic sacred fire. Immediately prior to the final closing celebratory rituals---a trumpet fanfare, lowering the Olympic flag to the accompaniment of a five-gun salute, and a cantata sung by a massed choir---IOC President Count Henri de Baillet-Latour enunciated a message of farewell. The record indicates that Baillet-Latour's proclamation was not missed by Diem. In effect, it provided a punctuation mark data entry to his 1928 memory bank experience:

"Au nom du Comité International Olympique après avoir offert à Sa Majesté la Reine et au peuple hollandaise, aux autorités de la ville d'Amsterdam et aux organisateurs des Jeux le tribut de notre profonde gratitude, nous proclamons la clôture des concours de la IXe Olympiade et, selon la tradition, nous convions la jeunesse de tous les pays

à s'assembler dans quatre ans à Los Angeles pour célébrer avec nous les Jeux de la Xe Olympiade. Puissent-ils se dérouler dans l'allégresse et la concorde et puisse de la sorte le flambeau Olympique poursuivre sa course à travers les âges pour le bien d'une humanité toujours plus ardente, plus courageuse et plus pure . . .”

NOTES

¹John J. MacAloon, “Olympic Games and the Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies,” in *Rite, Drama, Festival: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, John J. MacAloon, ed. (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), p. 252.

²This figure, at least as announced by Jacques Rogge, IOC President, is reported in “Athens Smashes World TV Records,” <sportbusiness.com>, 16 November 2004.

³According to Henri Pouret, former Laureate of the French Academy, Pierre de Coubertin, one year before his death in 1937, sent a message to the athletes participating at the Berlin Games: “. . . And you, Athletes, remember the flame which lit by the rays of the sun has come from Olympia in order to light and warn our epoch... Keep the sacred flame burning.” *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Session of the International Olympic Academy* (Athens: Hellenic Olympic Committee, 1976), p. 123. Indeed, Pouret claims, that the flame, at least to Coubertin, represented the union of the ancient sanctuary of Olympia with the host city of the Games . . . “it was the link between the Ancient and the Modern and the Youth of the world.”

⁴Pertinent to the Summer Games in 2004, more Olympic torchbearers took part in the process of relaying the flame from Olympia, on an “around-the-world” journey through all five of the “Olympic ring” continents, eventually to arrive in Athens, than the number of athletes who actually competed in the sports events of the Games (about 11,000 torchbearers vs. approximately 10,500 athletes). For more on this, see Alan Abrahamson, “Allure of the Flame: Appeal of Olympic relay, arriving today in L. A., is linked to ‘spirit of humanity,’” *Los Angeles Times*, 16 June 2004.

⁵According to Karl Lennartz, Head of the Carl and Liselott Diem Archives at the Deutsche Sporthochschule-Köln, some 90,000 letters; 18,000 pages of Diem’s diaries; several thousand pages of minutes of meetings of sport, Olympic, and university organizations; and 3,000 manuscripts of Diem’s published and unpublished material are but part of this important research repository. There is little doubt that there is most probably more primary research material on Carl Diem than any other sport figure of which we are aware. Despite this, a definitive biography has never been written, mainly, according to Lennartz, because the mass of material is simply too overwhelming.

⁶See George C. Daniels, *The Olympic Century: V and VI Olympiads*, Stockholm – The Inter-Allied Games, Volume 6 (Los Angeles: World Sport Research and Publications, Inc., 2000), p. 99.

系，正是促进其想法最终从探照灯转向体育场马拉松塔火炬盆的丰富灵感土壤。

我们应该记住，维尔斯最初的设计是一个大的探照灯，其灯光可以投射到体育场上空的地方。共济会会员众所周知的关于秩序的艺术和文学的历史，尤其是1784年的《共济会宪章》，其“卷首插画”画的就是真理正持有一面镜子反射出像探照灯灯光一样的光线，照亮了共济会会堂内部。是不是这幅著名的画卷给了维尔斯最初的关于使用探照灯的灵感呢？我们认为的确如此。而且，我们不要仅仅迷失在这同一场景的详细审查中，还有的就是天使一般的、大步走过的高举闪耀火炬的火炬手（奥林匹克火炬？）最后，在维尔斯的思想从探照灯灯光转到燃烧的火盆时，他也可能是从15世纪著名的荷兰艺术家詹·戴维·德·赫尔姆于1648年创作的（因为与15世纪貌似矛盾）名画《查理斯与主》得到了灵感

和启示，因为这是一副在共济会文化中经常出现的用以阐明光和火对共济会哲学作用的画卷。维尔斯的体育场那燃烧火炬盆因此是德·赫尔姆那幅名画的现代版本？笔者认为的确如此。维尔斯有关“光”和“火”的想法与共济会的仪式密切相关，不能被忽视。考虑到这个事实，加之根本没有证据或者线索显示维尔斯的想法是来自古代某些有影响力的图像的影响，那么就几乎可以完全确认，历史上首次出现的1928年詹·维尔斯设计的奥运会主体育场马拉松塔上的火炬盆中燃烧的圣火，是从共济会仪式中的而不是任何与古代有关的图像中发展而来。正如同有人认为的，这在1931年之前就激励过了迪姆。

卡尔·迪姆和火炬接力

在关于奥林匹克圣火历史最详实之一的著作中，康多拉·杜兰特认为1928年的奥林匹克圣火“

⁷The phrase and feeling were enunciated by Diem shortly following Germany's blitzkrieg into France in the spring of 1940. See Carl Diem, "The Battle Charge through France," Reichssportsblatt (Official sports organ of the Nazi Party), June 1940. Reprinted in Volume 1 of Diem's three volume *Olympische Flamme* (Berlin: Deutscher Archiv, 1942), pp. 127-129, as cited by Richard D. Mandell, "Carl Diem on Sport and War," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, Volume 5, Number 1, May 1974, p. 13.

⁸Diem's breadth of knowledge of sport in antiquity is unclear before the late summer of 1931, the first date of written evidence surrounding his torch relay idea. According to Borgers, Diem's knowledge was buttressed greatly later, after Berlin was awarded the Games of the 11th Olympiad, by the work of the noted archaeologist, Alfred Schiff, a Jew who rapidly fell out of favor when the National Socialists came to power. Diem employed Schiff after 1933 "to do smaller jobs for the Organizing Committee . . . until August 1936." In fact, Borgers notes that Schiff, in preparing material for large exhibitions, amassed volumes of written material pertinent to sport in antiquity, in which "vague" records of ancient torch relays appeared. See Walter Borgers, *Olympic Torch Relays: 1936-1994* (Kassel: AGON Sport Verlag, 1996), pp. 20-22. Diem eventually wrote one of the first and most authoritative world histories of sport. Even today, that mammoth work remains a classic. See Carl Diem, *Weltgeschichte des Sports und der Leibeserziehung* (Stuttgart: Cotta Verlag, 1960). It contains 1216 pages. Plate #133 (Fackel Staffellauf) of Diem's book displays one of the more familiar vase painting scenes of naked Greek runners of antiquity passing the torch (p. 167). As well, Diem's book also displays a group of youthful runners seemingly being counseled by an official who is himself holding a torch aloft (plate #133, p. 168). But, this evidence of Diem's knowledge of sport in antiquity comes well after the earliest evidence of his torch relay idea.

⁹Literally, German National Sports Institute.

¹⁰The *Deutsche Kampfspiele*, so-called "German National Games," were designed to fill the void caused by Germany's temporary disqualification from Olympic Games participation following its defeat in World War I. Excluded from the Antwerp Games in 1920 and those in Paris in 1924, Germany returned to Olympic participation in 1928 at the Games of the Ninth Olympiad in Amsterdam. Borgers tells us that the opening ceremonies of the *Kampfspiele* included a torch relay. See Borgers, p. 16.

¹¹The idea that the relay might be better called a "flame relay" is not mine. It is advanced by Athanassios Kritsinelis, current director of matters concerning the technical lighting of the Olympic flame in Olympia at the start of its journey to the host city. Kritsinelis presents an exemplary historical examination of the ceremony surrounding the Olympic flame's lighting in Olympia. His argument, passionately rendered, is that if the Modern Olympic Movement is to remain "true to history and respectful of tradition and truth," then the name of the exercise should be changed to "flame relay," because, in fact, it is "the flame

that is carried from torch to torch” to the final lighting of the stadium cauldron flame. Kritsinelis interprets the torch as simply a conveyance prop in the prime scenario of the entire exercise. See Athanassios Kritsinelis, “Lighting Ceremony of the Olympic Flame: Technical Specifications of the Olympic Torch Relay,” Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth Session of the International Olympic Academy (Athens: International Olympic Academy/International Olympic Committee, 1998), p. 149.

¹²J. MacAloon, “La Pitada Olympica: Puerto Rico, International Sport, and the Constitution of Politics,” in Text, Play, and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society, E. Bruner, ed. (Washington, D.C.: American Ethnological Society, 1984), pp. 315-316.

¹³Jeffrey O. Segrave and Robert K. Barney, “From Ritual Invention to Ritual Entrepreneurship,” Stadion: International Journal of the History of Sport, Volume XXIX, 2003, p. 326.

¹⁴Philostratus (translated and annotated by Rachael Robinson) refers to the origin of the stade race in the ancient Olympic Games: “The one stade race was invented thus: when the people of Elis were making the appointed sacrifice the offering was laid upon the sacred altar but fire was not for the moment applied to it. Runners were lined up a stated way from the altar and a priest, torch in hand, took his stand in front of it as umpire; the one who ran to the altar first lighted the fire, and departed as an Olympic victor.” See R. Robinson, Sources for the History of Greek Athletics (Cincinnati: Published by the author, 1955), p. 214. No doubt, torch races in antiquity may have evolved from such stade race incidents, but not at Olympia where there were never any of record.

¹⁵It would appear that some Greek historians (and followers of their mould from other parts of the world), have romantically transmogrified the fire that burned in the prytaneion (see endnote #16) or on the altars where sacrificial offerings were dedicated, towards becoming, instead, a fancified ancient Olympic flame, and even a fancified Olympic torch run, prompting us to “hearken back,” falsely, to Olympia for sacred fire models to apply in modern context. For a recent example of this: “. . . the allegorical aspect of the ancient Olympic torch run was pictured as a race of life . . .” (italics ours), see Vassiliki Tzachrista, “The Olympic Torch Run,” in Archives and History of the Hellenic Olympic Committee, Christina Koulouri, ed. (Athens: International Olympic Academy, 2002), p. 106. For another example: “. . . The set date in the sweltering month of Hecatombion having arrived, at the summer solstice, pilgrims came to Olympia to worship Zeus. In order to confer on one of them the privilege of lighting the flame of the great sacrifice which was to take place in Zeus’ Honour, a race was held amongst the most youthful and nimble of the pilgrims. They sprinted a distance of about 200 meters (which was later to become the stadium race) to a spot where the High Priest stood torch in hand. The first runner to reach him was granted the honour of lighting the altar fire with the torch to be presented to him,” see Conrado Durantez, The Olympic Flame: The Great Olympic Symbol (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 1988), pp. 31-32.

当然是地方性质的，没有任何国际合作或者参与。”而迪姆才是当之无愧的圣火之父，是他“使得圣火的点燃和传递，无论在实践还是审美纬度都得以成形和发展……并且是令人称颂的精确和完美。”令人惊讶的是，在其长达195页的关于奥林匹克圣火的传奇描写中，杜兰特斯不止一次地提到那些迪姆从中汲取灵感设计了奥林匹克圣火及其传递想法的名字和贡献。

第一个确实的证据来自迪姆的好朋友瓦尔特·F. 克勒菲尔的访客留言簿。沃尔特·博格斯的研究告诉我们，在1931年8月15日，在国际奥委会将第11届奥运会的举办权授予柏林之前三个月，迪姆和瓦尔特·F. 克勒菲尔两位老朋友间关于火炬传递的提议和讨论促使克勒菲尔在迪姆的签名下面加了一句注释：“一项新计划的诞生之日……奥林匹克的火炬传递。”1928年阿姆斯特丹奥运会当然也在迪姆的脑海中留下了鲜活的印象。火炬传递的计

划在此之后迅速成形。詹·维尔斯的奥林匹克圣火想法，虽然未经国际奥会的同意和批准，在1932年7月30日开幕的洛杉矶奥运会的主体育场纪念体育场再次得以复制。卡尔·迪姆参加了这届奥运会，第二次见证了圣火。从此之后的每一届夏季和冬季奥运会，从维尔斯那发端的奥林匹克圣火都成为了最为人们称道的部分。

在1933年初夏，迪姆将其火炬传递计划分别向皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦男爵和亨利·巴耶一拉图尔伯爵两位前后任国际奥委会主席做了陈述。在1934年晚春的雅典全会上，国际奥委会处理了一些奥林匹克事务，其中就包括为1936年的柏林奥运会制定日程。正是在这里，西奥多·莱瓦尔德这位资深的德国国际奥委会委员把迪姆的火炬传递计划介绍给了国际奥委会，并得到了认同。迪姆很快就开始着手具体的准备工作。在将其火炬传递想法付诸实践的同时，还要担任柏林奥组委的秘

¹⁶J. Lynch, *The Ancient Olympiads & Bridges to the Modern Era*, Volume 1, *The Olympic Century Series* (Los Angeles: World Sport Research & Publications, Inc., 2000), p. 58. Lynch seems oblivious of the fact that at Olympia no “Olympic flame,” per se, burned. What definitely did burn at Olympia was a flame similar to those that burned in most villages, towns, and cities in Greece, an “eternal flame” on a hearth dedicated to Hestia. The hearth was housed in a public building called a *prytaneion*, a sort of “town hall”, which served as a meeting place, library, public dining hall, and archival record storage facility. The practice of the “eternal flame” may extend back to prehistoric times when communal groups maintained one fire that was never extinguished, a fire from which individual household hearths might be kindled. For more on this, see John M. Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 27. We are grateful to Classics Professor Nigel Crowther of the University of Western Ontario for bringing this source to our attention.

¹⁷See MacAloon, *Rite, Drama, Festival*, p. 252.

¹⁸See P. de Coubertin, T. Philemon, N. Politis, and C. Anninos, *The Olympic Games of 1896* (Athens: Charles Beck Publisher, 1896), p. 149-150. This volume stands as the Official Report of the Modern Era’s first Olympic Games.

¹⁹In its original French: “Et maintenant, Messieurs, voici qu’un grand peuple a, par notre entremise, recu de vos mains le flambeau des Olympiades et s’est engagé par là à en préserver et, si possible, à en aviver la flamme précieuse. Une coutume s’est établie que la dernière parole dite au soir des Jeux Olympiques fut pour saluer l’aurore de Jeux suivants . . .” As cited by Bill Mallon and Ture Widlund, *The 1912 Olympic Games* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company Publishers, 2002), p.25.

²⁰Diem first attended Olympic Games in Stockholm in 1912. But, in fact, as a journalist, he was also present at the so-called Intercalary Games in Athens in 1906. By the eve of World War I, Diem’s stock in German sports matters had advanced to the point where he was named “Generalsekretär” of Berlin’s Olympic Games planned for 1916. For a condensed, “time line” treatment of Diem’s career, appointments, and accomplishments, see Karl Lennartz, Jürgen Buschmann, and Michael Winter (eds.), “Leben und Werk Carl Diems,” in *40 Jahre Carl und Liselott Diem-Archiv* (Köln: Deutchen Sporthochschule, 2004), pp. 8-10.

²¹See Frederick W. Rubien, “Ninth Olympiad: Report of the Secretary,” in *American Olympic Committee Report: Ninth Olympic Games, Amsterdam, Holland, 1928*, p. 29. Rubien, of course, like many, demonstrated some confusion between the terms “Olympic Games” and “Olympiad.” He was incorrect in naming the Dutch Games the “Ninth Olympic Games;” they were, instead, the “Eighth” in the sequence of Modern Olympic Games celebrated since the first rendition in 1896. The 1928 Games, however, are correctly called the Games of the Ninth Olympiad. Cause for this confusion rests in the fact that the Games of the Sixth Olympiad scheduled for Berlin in 1916 were cancelled due to the global events surrounding World War I.

²²One of the goals of the Stijl movement was to establish a working collaboration between painters and architects, a collaboration that Wils himself consistently put into practice. For example, van Doesburg acted as color consultant for Wils in his design of De Lange House built in Alkmaar in 1917, and his Hotel De Dubbele Sleutel built in 1918. See The Grove Dictionary of Art: <www.groveart.com>.

²³For biographical information on the life and career of Jan Wils, see De Olympiade (Newsletter of the Dutch Organizing Committee for the 1928 Olympic Games), No. 33, February 1926 (in English); De Olympiade, No. 45, May 1926 (in Dutch); and The Grove Dictionary of Art: <www.groveart.com>. At this point, I would like to recognize the valuable help of Anthony Th. Bijkerk of the Netherlands in the translation of Dutch documents pertinent to this study. As well, I am grateful to “Tony” Bijkerk for reading the final document for both content and argument, and for adding helpful suggestions for improvement of each.

²⁴See “Foreword,” in P. W. Scharroo and Jan Wils, *Gebouwen en Terreinen voor Gymnastiek, Spel en Sport: Handleiding voor den Bouw, den Aanleg en de inrichting* (Amsterdam: N.V. Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1925).

²⁵For confirmation of Wils’s membership on Olympic Games International Juries for Architecture, see Richard Stanton’s admirable study of the history of Olympic art contests: *The Forgotten Olympic Art Competitions* (Victoria, British Columbia: Trafford, 2000), p. 83 (Paris), p. 176 (Berlin), p. 198 (London). See also, Bernhard Kraemer, *Die Olympischen Kunstwettbewerbwerke – Von 1912 bis 1948 – Ergebnisse einer Spurensuche* (Weimer, Germany: Galla Verlag, 2004), p. 103 (1924), p. 171 (1936), p. 200 (1948).

²⁶See addendum to the Official Magazine De Olympiade, Number 33, February 10, 1926 with an article in four languages on “The Architect of the New Stadium at Amsterdam, Jan Wils.”

²⁷Wils’s marathon tower design, the “essence-symbol” of the 1928 Amsterdam Olympic stadium, very quickly was replicated in design plans for other European stadiums built in Montevideo (1930), Florence (1932), Turin (1933), Bordeaux (1938), and La Coruna (1944). See T. Tummers and B. Sorgedragter, *Het Olympische Stadion* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bart Lubberhuizen, 2000), p. 29.

²⁸When the landmark 1928 Amsterdam Olympic stadium was renovated in the 1990s, the Van Tuijll Monument was relocated to a position directly in front of the tower. On Wils’s original design (September 1925) the terminology “Marathon-Poort” for the stadium’s entrance obviously extended from the fact that in the crowning event of the Games, the marathon, athletes exited the stadium at that point, and later, entered through the gate into the stadium to begin the final phase of the race to the finish line.

²⁹In effect, during the proceedings of the Amsterdam Games, the flame, except for special occasions (closing ceremonies and photographic purposes), burned

书长，迪姆当时可真是一个大忙人了呢。

结 论

如果我们所拥有的第一个证明卡尔·迪姆通过火炬接力从奥林匹亚向柏林传递圣火计划的书面证据存在于其在1931年8月底拜访瓦尔特·克勒菲尔时主人留下的注释，那么我们必须从这件事情开始往后溯源。当然，如果不是有所谓的灵感突现，迪姆或许不会产生这样的想法。不，迪姆肯定是被在克勒菲尔之前的某些事件打动过了，才可能产生这样的想法。这样，我们就要动脑想一想他们是如何产生的：（1）1922年德国体育大学学生组织的火炬传递——正如博格斯特告诉我们的那样——给当天40岁生日的迪姆留下了深刻的印象，这也是德国体育大学的开始；（2）皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦1924年关于从举办城市到下一个举办城市“传递奥林匹克火炬”的陈述以及詹·费斯暗示顾拜旦的想法是“

火炬接力”；（3）詹·维尔斯1928年阿姆斯特丹体育场的“里程碑”似的奥林匹克圣火，当然逃不过迪姆的观察；（4）乔汉·维奈克为1928年阿姆斯特丹奥运会设计的纪念章，作为德国代表团团长，迪姆肯定也得到了一枚；（5）1931年国际奥委会将1936年奥运会的举办权授予柏林。因此，在逻辑上，我们可以认为，如果柏林没有被授予第11届奥运会的举办权，迪姆可能不会产生火炬接力这个想法。我们甚至可以说，是举办权的授予直接刺激了迪姆的灵感。对迪姆来说同样重要的是维尔斯的奥林匹克圣火，这是其火炬传递想法的根本原因。笔者认为，如果没有必要的和合适的气候，迪姆不会产生这种火炬传递的想法，这种必要和合适的背景就是圣火的点燃。要想将圣火沿着路线行进，那就是火炬传递啦。这种想法因此就进入了他的脑海中。除了维尔斯奥运会主体育场马拉松塔上的圣火和维奈克纪念章上两名运动员高举火

in the stadium only during the daytime when the opening ceremonies and athletic events were occurring. Each morning and evening (except for those “special occasions” noted above), two Amsterdam “city energy department” employees mounted the Marathon tower’s internal staircases to ignite and extinguish Olympic history’s first sacred fire.

³⁰Jan Wils, “‘Sport en de Bouwkunst’ (Sport and Architecture), *De Olympiade*, No. 2, July 9, 1924, p. 3

³¹*Ibid.*, Jan Feith, “Een Onderhoud met Baron De Coubertin” (A Conversation with Baron De Coubertin), p. 2.

³²*Ibid.* p. 2.

³³The question of Germany’s return to the Modern Olympic Movement after World War I was first raised at the IOC Session held in Rome in 1923. The decision taken at that time was that Germany “May not participate 1924; No IOC member to be elected yet; Matter to be discussed 1925.” See “Minutes of the 21st IOC Session, Rome, 7-12 April 1923” – Volume I, edited and annotated by Wolf Lyberg (Lausanne: IOC, undated), p. 112. Germany gained “defacto” readmission to the Olympic Movement with the cooption of Theodore Lewald to the IOC in 1925. See “Minutes of the 23rd IOC Session, Prague, 26-28 May 1925” – Volume I, edited and annotated by Wolf Lyberg (Lausanne: IOC, undated), p. 123.

³⁴See Daniel Berésniak, *Symbols of Freemasonry* (New York: Assouline Publishing, 2000), p. 40.

³⁵See Emmanuel Rebold, *A General History of Free Masonry in Europe* (Cincinnati: American Masonic Publishing Association, 1868), p. 28. For a brief evolutionary history of Free Masonry in the Netherlands, see pp. 123-128.

³⁶Henry Wilson Coil, *Coil’s Masonic Encyclopedia* (New York: Macoy Publishing and Masonic Supply Company, 1961), p. 375.

³⁷George Oliver, *Signs and Symbols: Illustrated and Explained, in a Course of Twelve Lectures on Freemasonry* (New York: Masonic Publishing and Manufacturing Company, 1866), pp. 73-74.

³⁸Albert G. Mackey, *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry* (Chicago: The Masonic History Company, 1909), p. 594.

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁰This well-known “Allegorical Plate,” drawn by G. B. Cipriani and P. Sandby and engraved by F. Bartolozzi, can be seen in W. Kirk McNulty, *Freemasonry: A Journey Through Ritual and Symbol* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), p. 46.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 43. Despite the prominence given to de Heem’s 1648 Chalice with Host in Freemason halls and ritual, de Heem himself appears to have had no direct connection with Freemasonry belief or practice.

⁴²According to the best sources, a total of 5,139 participation/commemoration medals in bronze were given “to people who were entitled to receive one according to IOC protocol (athletes and team officials).” In addition, 762 commemoration medals were bestowed on individuals who rendered special services to the Organizing Committee. For this information, see L. M. J. Boegheim, “Olympiade Medailles Amsterdam 1928,” *Muntkoerier*, No. 8, August 1997, pp. 4-7; and J. R. Voute, “Nogmaals de IXe Olympiade, Amsterdam 1928,” *Muntkoerier*, No. 12, December 1997, pp. 16. According to a conflicting statement (Jim Greensfelder, Oleg Vorontsov, and Jim Lally, *Olympic Medals: A Reference Guide, 1896-1998*, Cincinnati, Ohio: GVL Enterprises, 1998, pp. 43-44, citing Victor Gadoury, *Olympic Coins and Medals*, Monaco, 1996), a total of 6,678 Commemorative Medals were struck in “Gilt Bronze, Silver, and Bronze” and presented to “Athletes, Dignitaries, and Officials.” A strong analysis of the questionability of the Gadoury source is offered by Anthony Bijkerk, “The Commemorative Medal From Amsterdam, 1928,” *Journal of Olympic History*, Vol. 9, No. 2, Spring 2001, pp. 24-25, and “The 1928 Commemorative Medal – Again,” *Journal of Olympic History*, Vol. 10, No. 2, May 2002, pp. 35-37.

⁴³For two examples, see U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildende Künste von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart – Volume 35* (Leipzig: E. A. Semann, 1950), p. 535; and Pieter A. Scheen, *Lexikon Beeldende Kunstenaars, 1750-1950* (The Hague: Privately published, 1970), p. 595. See also, Karl Lennartz, Walter Borgers, Andreas Höfer (eds.), *Olympische Siege: Medaillen – Diplome – Ehrungen* (Berlin: Sport Verlag, 2000) p. 194.

⁴⁴See Peter G. van Alfen, *A Simple Souvenir: Coins and Medals of the Olympic Games* (New York: Published by the American Numismatic Society, 2004), p. 103.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Cassioli’s Olympic medals commissioned for the 1928 Games mark an anomaly in his career. His work normally concentrated on painting and sculpting religious subjects commissioned by churches throughout Italy. Nevertheless, following the use of his medal designs for the 1928 Games, Cassioli entered them in an IOC-sponsored competition to find a suitable design for the winner’s medal of the Summer Games. Cassioli won the competition and his 1928 design was in constant use for seven decades. In 1972 the IOC allowed the “reverse” of the medal to be changed for the first time since 1928. The “obverse” of the 1928 medal saw no significant change until 2004. See van Alfen, p. 102.

⁴⁷For more on this, see Voute, p. 16.

⁴⁸Although other publications dealing with Olympic medals have pictured Wienecke’s 1928 medal, our interest was first aroused over the striking symbolism of the 1928 Participation Commemoration Medal, with respect to what must have been fundamental in Diem’s inspirational torch relay creation, in Peter G. van Alfen’s, *A Simple Souvenir: Coins and Medals of the Olympic Games*, p. 22. Of note, is the fact no medallist repeated Wienecke’s torch theme on Olympic medals until 1952, when the Greek medallist, V. Falireus, created

炬，还有什么图像更加具有诱导性质呢？“我将在奥林匹亚点燃我自己的火焰，”迪姆说，“我的运动员们将把这个火焰传递到柏林，在那里的体育场上，圣火将熊熊燃烧，以表达德意志帝国欢庆第11届奥运会这一光荣时刻的欣喜。”迪姆当然并没有将这番话说出来，但是就是这种虽然没说过但是肯定想过了的话，恰恰是人们解释历史的方式。我们认为，迪姆圣火传递想法的最终形式是其“奥林匹克沉思”的综合结果，这其中包括了詹·维尔斯、乔汉·维奈克、亚历山大·费兰德尔弗尤斯甚至是皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦先生。

最后，出于对1928年阿姆斯特丹奥运会——迪姆形成其圣火传递计划前的最后一届“现场”奥运会——的尊敬，还需要加一点注释。卡尔·迪姆和詹·维尔斯两人都于1928年8月12日晚间出现在过威廉敏娜女王主持的闭幕式；迪姆，是为了替已经不在荷兰的运动员带回奖牌，而维尔斯是为了接受本届奥运会艺术比赛

中建筑比赛的金牌。夜空映衬下熊熊燃烧的奥林匹克圣火是一个崭新和光辉的形象。在最后的庆祝仪式——喇叭声中，奥林匹克会旗伴随着5声礼炮声缓缓落下，唱诗班表演了大合唱，国际奥委会主席亨利·巴耶—拉图尔伯爵宣布了奥运会的闭幕。历史纪录显示，巴耶—拉图尔的讲话中并没有忘记迪姆。迪姆为其1928年奥运会的记忆画上了一记着重号：

我谨代表国际奥委会，向女王和荷兰人民，尤其是阿姆斯特丹这座城市和奥运会组织者表达我们深深的谢意，根据传统，我宣布第9届现代奥林匹克运动会闭幕，并邀请全世界所有的年轻人在四年后的洛杉矶，再度聚首，共同庆祝第10届夏季奥运会。那将是另一场欢快与和谐的盛会，只有如此，奥林匹克火炬才能穿越时空的障碍，更热情、更勇敢、更纯洁地惠及全人类……

the “obverse” of the gold, silver, and bronze winner’s medals for the Oslo Olympic Winter Games, a design that featured a large flaming torch. See Greensfelder, Vorontsov, and Lally, pp. 69-71. For the Summer Games some six months later, Finland’s Kauko Räsänen designed a male and a female athlete brandishing torches on the “reverse” of his Helsinki Olympic Games Commemoration Medal. See van Alfen, p. 127.

⁴⁹Aside from his winner’s silver medal theme, Chaplain’s design was duplicated on the copper medal given to the second-place finisher in each event. See Greensfelder, Vorontsov, and Lally, *Olympic Medals: A Reference Guide*, p. 6.

⁵⁰See Van Alfen, p. 63.

⁵¹Diem’s knowledge of sport in ancient Greece, most of it gleaned from the exhaustive research and writing of the German archeologist Alfred Schiff, led him, in time, to write much on the subject. One of his treatises was a romanticized treatment of Alexander the Great, “blue eyed . . . and the product of the vitality of still undepleted primitive stock.” Of Diem’s extant sources for his short Alexander work (*Alexander Der Grosse: als Sportsmann*, Frankfurt am Main: Wilhelm Limpert-Verlag, 1957), Arrian’s history (*Anabasis of Alexander*) was certainly the most powerful. In dissecting Arrian, Diem could not have missed the prominence of torch relay races in the spectrum of activities organized by Alexander to celebrate noted victories, or as part of rest and relaxation entertainment. The torch relay race was a recurring theme in Alexandrian celebrations. For more on this, see Winthrop Lindsay Adams, “Alexander the Great, the Olympics and the Greek AGONA,” Paper presented at the 32nd Annual Convention of the North American Society for Sport History, Pacific Grove, California, May 2004; and his “Other People’s Games: The Olympics, Macedonia, and Greek Athletics,” *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 30, No. 2, Summer 2003, pp. 205-217. Diem’s assessment of Alexander as a sportsman is obviously a romantic vision. For a challenge to Diem’s view of Alexander, see Ingomar Weiler, “War Alexander der Grosse wirklich ein Sportmann?” in *Signale Der Zeit: Festschrift for Prof. Dr. Josef Recla, Franz Thaller and Heinz Recla*, eds. (Stuttgart: Hofmann-Verlag, 1975) pp. 271-279. Diem’s preoccupation with research and writing on antiquity matters appear to have evolved well after the late 1920s/early 1930s, the time of the genesis of his torch relay idea. Therefore, we might assign less influence from antiquity for Diem’s idea, and more from events contemporary to the evolution of his concept, namely the investigated 1928 Amsterdam arguments.

⁵²Conrado Durántez, *The Olympic Flame: The Great Olympic Symbol* (Lausanne: IOC, 1988).

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵⁴Walther Kleffel’s *Guestbook*, August 25, 1931, Carl Diem Archives, Köln. As cited by Borgers, p. 16. Beyond the notation in Kleffel’s *Guestbook*, Diem’s earliest written recognition of sacred fire in Olympic context appears in a collection of his writings assembled and published by the Carl Diem Institute in Köln -- *Carl Diem, The Olympic Idea: Discourses and Essays* (Stuttgart:

Verlag Karl Hofmann, 1970), p. 8. In Diem's essay, "Die Olympischen Spiele in Altertum und Gegenwart" (Discourse 1933, pp.13-16), we find: "In classical times the Olympic victors had the right to kindle the fire on the altars, in order that it might burn until the next Games – a fine symbol of youthful strength enduring until it is kindled anew in future contests." Here, Diem is obviously romanticizing; he cites no sources for this pronouncement and, indeed, there is no concrete evidence that this act took place. Diem continues, "The modern contest ends with the announcement of the city chosen for the next Games, and an invitation to join them in celebration. As the wording runs 'May they take place in gladness and harmony, and the Olympic flame thus shine through all coming generations for the well-being of an ever more highly aspiring, bolder and purer humanity.'" Diem's phrase: "As the wording runs," refers to the closing ceremony of the Los Angeles Games in 1932, an event at which he was present. After 1933 Diem often refers to Olympic fire in his writings.

⁵⁵Zack Farmer, Secretary of the Organizing Committee for the 1932 Olympic Games, was present in Amsterdam for the duration of the 1928 festival. The idea for replication of sacred fire in Los Angeles obviously sprang from Farmer's flame-viewing experience in Wils's stadium, and, as well, from the presence of George van Rossem on the Los Angeles Organizing Committee as a special advisor. Indeed, the Los Angeles Games Official Programs note the presence of the flame on two occasions: the Opening Ceremonies—"A fanfare of trumpets from the peristyle was followed by a salute of ten guns, and the Olympic torch flamed high from the peristyle;" and the Closing Ceremonies, as Van Rossem presented the Olympic flag to Mayor John C. Porter for four years of safekeeping—"Amsterdam greets Los Angeles and expresses its great admiration for the splendid way in which that city has carried on the flaming torch of Olympism." For the Opening Ceremonies statement, see "Program of Sunday, July 31, 1932," in Complete Collection of the 39 Official Programs: Games of the Xth Olympiad. Los Angeles, U.S.A. 1932 (Los Angeles: Times Mirror Press, 1933, p.3). For the Closing Ceremonies statement, see "Program of Sunday, August 14, 1932 (Ibid., p. 31). For more on the Los Angeles "flame episode," see Robert K. Barney, "Resistance, Persistence, Providence: The 1932 Los Angeles Games in Perspective," Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, Vol. 67, No. 2 (June 1996), pp. 148-160.

⁵⁶There is one exception pertinent to the Olympic Winter Games after 1932. No sacred fire burned at St. Moritz in 1948 at the first post-World War II Olympic winter festival.

⁵⁷See "Minutes of the 33rd IOC Session, Athens, 17-19 May 1934" - Volume I, edited and annotated by Wolf Lyberg (Lausanne: IOC, undated), p. 181. During the IOC Session (17-19 May 1934) official approval from the IOC for the torch relay exercise occurred on 18 May 1934. Germany's senior IOC member Theodore Lewald presented the concept. Diem attended the Session. According to the memory of Ioannis (John) Ketses, Secretary General of the Hellenic Olympic Committee, an interesting footnote to the Athens torch

原文系法语，通过google翻译的英语为：On behalf of the International Olympic Committee after offering to Her Majesty the Queen and the Dutch people, the authorities of the city of Amsterdam and the Games organizers of the tribute to our deep gratitude, we proclaim the end of the contest and ninth Olympiad according to tradition, we invite all the youth of the country to assemble in four years in Los Angeles to celebrate with us the Games of the Xth Olympiad. Would that take place in joy and harmony and in this way can the Olympic torch its course through the ages for the benefit of humanity ever more ardent, more courageous and more pure. . .

relay deliberations in Athens occurred directly following the 1934 Session as IOC members, invited by the mayor of Olympia and the Hellenic Olympic Committee, journeyed from Athens to Olympia on 20-21 May 1934. “As far as I remember,” reminisced Ketseas, he, Diem, and Lewald discussed torch relay organizational matters “over lunch in Tegea on 22 May 1934, before reaching Olympia.” See Henri Pouret, “The Olympic Flame,” in *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Session of the International Olympic Academy* (Athens: Hellenic Olympic Committee, 1976), pp. 120-121. Ketseas related that the torch relay idea was unanimously adopted at meetings in Olympia the next day, 23 May 1934. The IOC minutes, however, beyond any doubt, establish 18 May as the IOC approval date. One must exhibit some caution in assessing the recollections of John Ketseas. For instance, in opposition to what Ketseas has left us, consider the ruminations of Athanassios Kritsinelis. Kritsinelis relates that the mayor of Tripolis, one Th. Petrinos, “gave a dinner” (lunch?) on 22 May 1934 in honour of the IOC officials, “on their way back” from Olympia (to Athens), at “Episkop of Tegea, a beautiful park, 8 km outside Tripolis.” There, reported Kritsinelis, several officials gave toasts, among them, Petrinos, IOC members Baillet-Latour, Jigoro Kano, Peter Scharoo, Sigfrid Edstrom, and “the Englishman Lord Amphthill.” According to Kritsinelis, the most lasting impressions rendered were from speeches by German IOC members, the Duke of Magdeburg and Karl Ritter von Halt. The “Duke of Magedburg,” of course, is Adolf Friedrich, Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, a German IOC member from 1926 to 1956. Adolf Friedrich’s oration words are germane here: “Gentlemen. One hundred years ago, a member of my [sic.] family came to Greece and died fighting for its freedom. I, who have come here one hundred years later, after getting to know the place and its people can truly say that any sacrifice would be justified for such a nation. Participants. A thought has just come to my mind, and I swear before you that I shall implement it before the beginning of the next 11th Olympiad to be celebrated, in 1936, in my hometown, Berlin. I want to organize a grandiose relay race between adjacent states during which athletes from these countries will carry to our stadium the Olympic light from the sanctuary of Olympia. It is only right that Greece should once again bring the light to the West.” Apparently, more personalities than simply Carl Diem sought credit for association with the torch relay idea. See Athanassios Kritsinelis, “Lighting Ceremony of the Olympic Flame: Technical Specifications of the Olympic Torch Relay,” in *Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth Session of the International Olympic Academy* (Athens: International Olympic Academy/International Olympic Committee, 1998), pp. 149-150. Kritsinelis’s sources for his pronouncements were the archival records of Professor Peristerakis of the University of Athens, supervisor of the technical arrangements for kindling the first flame at Olympia in July 1936. Peristerakis served in that position until 1980, at which time Kritsinelis became his successor, responsible for the technical portion of the flame lighting ceremony. Which account is correct? We believe the Kritsinelis’s account because: (1) the dates noted in his account, citing Peristerakis’s records, coincide best with “history,” (2) his account has no

“self serving tone,” as does Keteseas’s, and (3) his elaboration is documented by stronger source material. It becomes obvious that the Tegea event in May 1934 provided the impetus for local Greeks to establish a handsome marble plaque some two years later, inscribed with the message that the entire torch relay idea was fomented then and there, on 22 May 1934, in Tegea. One can now see the weakness of the Keteseas argument, that the discussions overheard by Greeks at Tegea occurred on the way to Olympia. It would hardly have taken the IOC/Hellenic Olympic Committee party some two and a half days to journey from Athens to Tegea (May 20, 21, and 22). Then, too, the whole Greek idea of the torch relay concept having originated in this way, of course, is simply not so, commemorative plaque or no commemorative plaque. Carl Diem himself viewed the plaque in late 1936 when he was in Greece shortly after the Berlin Games closed. Needless to say, he was “amused.” The commemorative plaque can be viewed in Tegea to this day.

⁵⁸For Wils’s distinction as gold medallist in architecture, see *The Ninth Olympiad – Amsterdam 1928 – Official Report* (Amsterdam: Published by the Organizing Committee of the 1928 Olympic Games, 1930), p. 906. The page notation, 906, is not a typographical error. The report, two full years in the making, is massive, particularly with respect to former Olympic Games reports or the publications that “posed” for them. See also, Richard Stanton, *The Forgotten Olympic Arts Competitions*, p. 127; and Bernhard Kramer, *Die Olympischen Kunstwettbewerbe – Von 1912 bis 1928 – Ergebnisse einer Spurensuche* (Weimer: Gallas Verlag, 2004), p. 119.

⁵⁹To wit (the highlighted passage): “May they (the Olympic Games) continue to unfold with joy and peace, and may this kind of Olympic torch pursue its way through the ages for the good of humanity, always more passionate, more courageous, more pure.” See *The Ninth Olympiad – Amsterdam 1928 – Official Report* (Amsterdam: Published by the Organizing Committee of the 1928 Olympic Games, 1930), p. 914. Parentheses ours. There can be no doubt about the fact that Diem understood Baillet-Latour’s French. He was facile in several languages, most especially French, having attended a French Huguenot high school established in Berlin in the 17th century, an institution at which all the “lessons” were taught in French. There in Berlin, Diem also learned English, Latin, and Classical Greek. We are indebted to Karl Lennartz for information on Diem’s early education. Of interest here, too, is the fact that although at least one contemporary author states that Baillet-Latour’s enunciation was “flashed” on the Amsterdam stadium scoreboard (see Gayle Bodin Petty, *Journey of the Olympic Flame: Igniting the Olympic Spirit*, Irvine, California, Griffin Publishing Group, 2002, p. 18), it was not—his words were instead broadcast over the stadium’s loudspeaker system. Dutch Olympic authorities in 1928 did not have the technology to execute what now occurs instantaneously. In effect, the Amsterdam stadium scoreboard was operated manually by a team of naval seamen, commanded by an officer (see *The Ninth Olympiad – Amsterdam 1928 – Official Report*, p. 132). But, most importantly to this discus-

sion is the proof that Diem heard and understood Baillet-Latour's commanding message. In what appears to be the single best work on Diem's career, his own autobiographical treatise (*Ein Leben Für Den Sport*), he writes at some length on the various "saga chapters" of his life. In the discussion of his visit to the Los Angeles Games in the summer of 1932, Diem speaks about the continuity between the original modern Olympic Games in 1896, and those occurring in Los Angeles, and hence, 1936 in Berlin. To demonstrate the point, he states: "May the Olympic Torch pursue its way through the ages. Darüber wehten die drei Fahnen von Deutschland, Amerika, und Griechenland im Winde." Diem's statement, "May the Olympic Torch pursue its way through the ages" (in English, in an otherwise completely German text), of course, is taken verbatim from Baillet-Latour's words (noted above). See Carl Diem, "Kapitel III – Olympiareise nach Los Angeles 1932," in *Ein Leben Für Den Sport* (Ratingen, Kastellaun, Düsseldorf: A. Henn Verlag, undated), pp. 124-125.

THE OLYMPIC WINTER GAMES: A SHORT OVERVIEW

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Beginning in 1924, the games that usually took place during the winter months and those that had been reserved for sports on snow or ice came to complete the Summer Olympic Games. The Winter Games are on a much smaller scale than the “Games of the Olympiad”. Despite this, their role and size is increasing regularly and their parallel history constitutes an interesting perspective regarding the Olympic movement as a whole. They certainly constitute a worthy topic of Olympic studies. This paper introduces this topic and charts some themes for further research.

ORIGINS OF THE OLYMPIC WINTER GAMES

The Congress held in 1894 with a view to reviving the Olympic Games had included ice-skating among the desirable sports to be included on the programme of the new competitions. In fact, the International Skating Union, created in 1892, was one of the few International Federations that had already been founded. In addition, the sport benefited from a certain degree of enthusiasm linked to the construction of ‘ice palaces’ in the major European capitals. Since it had no such installation, however, Athens was unable to organise skating competitions in 1896 and Paris 1900; besides, Saint-Louis 1904 also decided to abstain from their inclusion. A prize for mountaineering was nevertheless awarded in 1900 for the most remarkable ascent during the Olympiad. It was thus not until the London Games in 1908 that the first gold medal for figure skating was awarded. The recipient was the famous Ulrich Salkow, a

冬季奥运会概述

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从1924年开始，在冬日举行的专为冰雪项目而设的冬奥会就开始弥补夏季奥运会的缺陷，使奥林匹克运动更加完美了。虽然冬奥会的规模要小得多，但也正在不断扩大，角色正变得日益重要。同时，如果将奥林匹克运动视为一个整体，那么，冬奥会与夏季奥运会相似的历史会使人们对其前景颇为关注。冬奥会理所当然地是奥林匹克研究的一个重要方面，本文主要介绍了这一主题并勾画出了未来研究的某些议题。

1. 冬奥会溯源

早在1894年召开的复兴奥运会的会议上，滑冰就被列为了现代奥运会令人期待的比赛项目之一。实际上，建于1892年的国际滑冰联合会是当时已经建立的为数不多的国际体育单项联合会之一；而且，随着欧洲几个主要国家首都“冰场”的建立，人们对这项运动产生了相当的热情，促进了这项运动的发展。然而，因为没有相应的设施，1896年雅典奥运会和1900年巴黎奥运会都没有组织滑冰比赛；1904年圣路易斯奥运会也决定不设置此项。不过，1900年奥运会期间颁发了登山的奖项。因此，直到1908年的伦敦奥运会，才产生了第一面花样滑冰的金牌。获得者是著名的尤里奇·

索尔克，她当时已经获得了10项世界冠军头衔，该分项的形象得以充分展示。

人们本来期望滑冰能够成为1912年斯德哥尔摩奥运会上的一部分，但是瑞典人最终还是决定放弃（要知道，比赛项目在在当时是由组织者决定和取舍的）。原因无疑是因为“北欧运动会”。斯堪的纳维亚人举行的这一赛事从1901年开始，每4年在瑞典和挪威的首都轮流举行一次。象越野滑雪、跳台滑雪、速度滑冰甚至冰上滑艇（冰上驶帆）等冰雪项目在这些国家非常流行。北欧运动会在二战前曾考虑加入到奥林匹克周期中，但因为斯堪的纳维亚人总希望冬季运动会能够在他们国家轮番举行，所以这一计划被国际奥委会无限期地搁浅了。因为洞悉奥运会和北欧运动会的相似之处，所以顾拜旦也并不赞成分出独立的冬季奥运会。

1920年，安特卫普奥运会再次设立了在伦敦奥运会上出现过的三个花样滑冰项目（男单、女单和双人滑），并增加了冰球。次年，在中欧和加拿大的压力下，国际奥委会决定在1924年巴黎奥运会的规划中追加一个单独的“冬季项目周”。这一活动在当时法国最为著名的冬季项目胜地夏蒙尼举行，时间是从1924年的1月24日到2月4日，主要包括下列项目：越野滑雪、花样滑冰、速度滑冰、雪橇和冰球，冰壶和当时称为“军事巡狩”（现在称为冬季两项）的两个项目是表演赛。除了没有当时尚未出现的高山滑雪、自由式滑雪、雪板和雪橇外，这样的设置与现代的冬季奥运会已经是比较接近了。

skater who had already obtained ten world titles and after whom a figure in the discipline was named.

It could have been expected that skating would once more be a part of the 1912 Games in Stockholm, but the Swedes decided not to include it on the programme (which at the time was at the discretion of the organisers). The reason for the non-inclusion was doubtless the “Nordic Games”. These competitions among Scandinavians were held every four years as of 1901, alternating the capital cities of Sweden and Norway as hosts. The disciplines featured were very popular in these countries, such as cross-country skiing, ski jumping, speed skating and even ice yachting. The Nordic Games had been thought of to be added to the Olympic cycle before the First World War, but the idea was always postponed by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to the relief of the Scandinavians, who preferred to have winter games taking turns in their own nations. Couberlin, while acknowledging the resemblance between the Olympic and the Nordic Games, did not favour the idea of separate Winter Games.

In 1920, the Antwerp Games re-introduced the three figure skating events (men, women and pairs) organised in London and added an ice hockey tournament. In the following year, under pressure from Central Europe and Canada, the IOC decided to attach a “Winter Sports Week” to the Paris Games planned for the summer of 1924. This event was held in the most well known French winter resort at the time, Chamonix, from January 24 until February 4, 1924. It comprised the following sports: cross-country skiing and ski jumping, figure and speed skating, bobsleigh, ice hockey, plus demonstrations of curling and what was at the time called the “military patrol” (nowadays the biathlon). This corresponds to today’s programme for the Winter Games with the exception of alpine and freestyle skiing, snowboarding and luge, which did not exist at that time.

Sixteen nations took part in the week’s events, which in fact lasted twelve days and which were competently organised by a local hero and novelist, Roger Frison-Roche. The Finns, the Norwegians and the Swedes carried off virtually all the medals. In 1925, there was

no opposition regarding the attribution of genuine Winter Games to St. Moritz, Switzerland, for February 1928. It was only in 1926, however, the year of the last Nordic Games, when the IOC officially recognised the week event in Chamonix as the first Olympic Winter Games. From that moment onwards, the Winter Games have been numbered according to when they take place, unlike the Summer Games, which bear the number of their Olympiad whether they have taken place or not.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE OLYMPIC WINTER GAMES

The history of the “White Olympiads” is less turbulent than that of their summer counterparts. First, it is closely linked to the saga of its heroes, such as Sonja Henie, who won the figure skating gold medal in 1928, 1932 and 1936 and was the flag-bearer for the Norwegian delegation in Chamonix in 1924. The Goitschel sisters exchanged their first and second places on the podium for the special and giant slalom events in 1964. Then, there was Toni Sailer of Austria in 1956 and Jean-Claude Killy of France in 1968, who won three individual medals in alpine skiing.

Rosi Mittermaier, of Germany, nearly equalled this exploit in Innsbruck, in 1976, with two gold medals and one silver medal. Kasaya, Konno and Aochi of Japan swept the board ahead of their compatriots for the 70-metre ski jump in 1972. Eric Heiden of the U.S.A. collected all five gold medals for speed skating in 1980. The English couple Jane Torvill and Christopher Dean danced Ravel’s Bolero on ice and enchanted spectators at the 1984 Games. Matti Nykänen of Finland completely dominated ski jumping in 1988. Hermann Maier from Austria won the men’s super G in Nagano 1998 three days after a terrible fall in the downhill race. In 2002, the Canadian pair Jamie Sale and David Pelletier was awarded an exceptional tied gold medal in figure skating following a judging scandal. In 2006, American

16个国家参加了这一周的冬季项目比赛，在极为称职的当地英雄和小说家罗杰·弗里森-罗切的领导组织下，比赛实际上持续了12天。芬兰人、挪威人和瑞典人瓜分了所有的奖牌。在1925年，国际奥委会将1928年2月冬奥会的举办权授予瑞士的圣莫里茨。然而，直到1926年最后一次北欧运动会时，国际奥委会才官方正式承认在夏蒙尼的举行的一周的冬季运动会为首届冬季奥运会。从此之后，冬奥会按照实际举行届数开始计算，而夏季奥运会无论是否真正举行，都按照4年一度的奥林匹克周期进行届数计算。

2. 冬季奥运会的发展

“冬季奥林匹亚德”的历史比起夏季奥运会的历史来说似乎少了几分喧闹。首先，它与其传奇英雄们的关系极为密切，比如索尼娅·海尼，她获得了1928年、1932年和1936年三届奥运会的花样滑冰金牌，并成为挪威代表团参加1924年夏蒙尼冬奥会的棋手。1964年，因斯布鲁克冬奥会上，戈瓦切尔姐妹分别在回转和大回转项目上包揽前两名，各获一金一银。1956年冬奥会上的奥地利选手托尼·塞勒和1968年冬奥会上来自法国的简-克劳德-基利都获得了三枚高山滑雪金牌。

德国选手罗西·米特迈尔在1976年冬奥会上差点追平了这一记录，获得了两枚金牌和一枚银牌。1972年冬奥会，来自日本的选手雪雄笠屋、见次今野和喜代次青地包揽了70米跳台滑雪的前三名。美国的埃里克·海登在1980年冬奥会上包揽

了速度滑冰全部5枚金牌。英国的冰上情侣简·托维尔和克里斯多弗·迪安则以一曲拉维尔的波利乐舞征服了裁判和观众。来自芬兰的马蒂·尼凯宁在1988年的跳台滑雪中独领风骚。奥地利的赫尔曼·迈耶在1988年冬奥会上获得了男子超级大回转的金牌，要知道，三天前他刚刚在高山速降比赛中狠狠地摔下了山坡。2002年，加拿大组合加米·萨列和大卫·佩雷蒂埃在裁判丑闻后如愿获得花样滑冰双人滑金牌。2006年，美国速度滑冰运动员沙尼·戴维斯成为了冬奥会上第一位获得金牌的黑人选手。

最初，冬奥会是于同年在夏季奥运会举办国举行，夏季奥运会的组委会负责选择一个合适的冬季运动胜地。因此，当法国巴黎获得1924年夏季奥运会举办权的时候，夏蒙尼被选作了冬季项目举办地；1932年洛杉矶获得举办权时，普莱西德湖获得了冬奥会的举办权；1936年的夏季和冬季奥运会分别在柏林和加米施-帕滕基兴举行，东京和札幌获得了1940年夏季奥运会和冬奥会的举办权（后因战争取消）

在1928年和1948年，瑞士圣莫里茨两次举办了冬奥会，因为无论在荷兰还是英国举办夏季奥运会，在这里举行冬季项目比赛都很合适。为了让更多的国家和城市举办冬季奥运会，国际奥委会后来取消了这一规定。在1952年的奥斯陆冬奥会之后长达40年的时间里，冬奥会再未在夏季奥运会举行的同一大洲举行过。实际上，除了1972年札幌和1998年长野外，冬奥会基本上都是在欧洲举行的（截至2006年，一共是13次，主要集中在阿尔卑斯山地区）或者是在北美

speed skater Shani Davis was the first black athlete to win gold at the Winter Games.

Originally, it was decided to hold the Winter Games during the same year and in the same country as the Summer Games, and the committee in charge of organising the Games of the Olympiad was expected to propose a suitable winter sports resort. Hence, Chamonix was chosen when the Games were awarded to Paris, and then Lake Placid (New York State) with Los Angeles in 1932, Garmisch-Partenkirchen with Berlin in 1936 and finally Sapporo with Tokyo in 1940 (which was cancelled).

In 1928 and 1948, St. Moritz applied to hold Winter Games because it was impossible to hold the skiing events in either the Netherlands or Great Britain. This rule was finally abandoned by the IOC with the aim of creating a greater number of possible venues for the Winter Games. After those in Oslo in 1952 and for 40 years afterwards, the Winter Games were never held on the same continent as the Summer Games during any given Olympiad. In fact, apart from Sapporo and Nagano, Japan— where the 1972 and 1998 Games took place — the Games have always been held in Europe (thirteen times until 2006, almost always in the Alps) or in North America (six times including Vancouver in 2010). From 1924 to 2006, twenty editions of the Winter Games were organised, half of them in the Alps. In the 21st century, the Winter Games will certainly be awarded to Asian countries other than Japan such as China (Harbin was already a candidate for 2010), Kazakhstan (Almaty bid for 2014) and Korea (twice candidate with Pyeongchang for 2010 and 2014).

The progression for the participation in the Winter Games, in terms of athletes and nations, is constant as shown by the statistics below. (Please, see Table at the end of this chapter)

A major and sudden increase in the number of participating countries (ten more) took place in 1984 because as of this year the IOC financed travel and accommodation for a small number of athletes and officials from each NOC. In this way, the Virgin Islands, Senegal, Fiji and other

nations with no winter sports traditions whatsoever were able to send representatives to the Winter Games in Sarajevo and Calgary. Although citizens of their country, most of the athletes concerned lived and trained in regions with a harsher climate.

Unlike the Summer Games, there is no drop in the participation figures for certain years but only a certain slowing down in the rise when the venue was at a considerable distance from Europe. In fact, the Winter Games have never suffered from any political boycotts, but at most various controversies concerning the exclusion of East Germany in 1968 and of Taiwan in 1980. This, however, could change given the growing size of the “White Olympiads” and the fact that “new” nations are now taking part in them. On the other hand, the Winter Games have often been shaken by problems of amateurism (see below).

In 1986, and to general surprise, the IOC decided to discontinue the tradition of organising the Winter Games and the Games of the Olympiad during the same year and to alternate them on even-numbered years. The XVII Winter Games thus took place in 1994, in Lillehammer, two years after those of Albertville; the XVIII Games followed in 1998 in Nagano, and thereafter the Winter Games have been organised every four years. The cycle of the Summer Games remained unchanged, and their centenary was celebrated at the 1996 Atlanta Games. The reasons for this change were economic. Because of this move, the IOC’s income – closely linked to that from the Games – became more regular and the television companies that purchased broadcasting rights could distribute their expenditure better over two Olympic years than only one. Indeed, the idea of making this change came from the head of an American television network. For similar reasons, and also to permit a larger number of events to be staged, the duration of the Winter Games was extended from twelve to sixteen days as of 1988 (twelve days before), with their opening on a Saturday in order for television advertisers to have three weekends available for advertisers instead of two. As from 2002 the Winter Games will begin on a Friday and last seventeen days (like the Summer Games). Youth Olympic Winter Games will be organised from 2012 for young athletes under 18 years of age.

（包括2010年温哥华在内是6次）。从1924年到2006年，总共举行了20届冬奥会，一半在阿尔卑斯山举行。在21世纪，冬奥会无疑将在亚洲除日本之外的地方举行，比如中国（哈尔滨申办了2010年冬奥会）、哈萨克斯坦（阿拉木图申办了2014年冬奥会）和韩国（平昌申办了2010年和2014年冬奥会）。历届冬奥会基本情况详见文后附表。

由于国际奥委会为各国少量的运动员和官员提供旅费和住宿，参加1984年冬奥会的国家的数量发生了激增。通过这种方式，维京群岛、塞内加尔、斐济和其他一些没有冬季项目传统的国家得以派出代表前往在萨拉热窝和卡尔加里举行的冬奥会。当然，这些国家的大部分运动员真正关心的是在如此寒冷的地方居住和训练的问题。

不象夏季奥运会，冬季奥运会很多年来都没有出现过参赛国家数量减少的情况，但是当举办地离欧洲远的时候，在增长速度方面有所放慢。实际上，冬奥会从未受到过任何政治抵制的影响，但是不允许东德参加1968年冬奥会和不允许台湾参加1980年冬奥会的争论却一度非常热烈。然而，随着“白色奥林匹亚德”和“新”国家越来越多地参与进来，这些可能会改变。另一方面，冬季奥运会倒是经常因为业余主义问题发生震荡（见下文）。

1986年，在大家的震惊中，国际奥委会决定改变在同一年举行夏季和冬季奥运会的传统，而是改为了偶数年。因此，在阿尔贝维尔冬奥会之后的两年，第17届冬奥会于1994年在利勒哈默尔举行；第18届冬奥会于1998年在日本长野举

行，冬奥会以这样的年份间隔每四年举行一届。夏季奥运会的日期没有变化，在1996年的亚特兰大，举行了百年华诞。这种变化的根本原因是经济。因为电视公司购买两次转播权的花费总比一个要高，国际奥委会从奥运会上获得的收入自然就会增加。实际上，这一变化的始作俑者是美国电视网络机构的头头们。因为相同的原因，为了使更多的项目被推上舞台，冬奥会的时间从12天发展到1988年及其之后的16天（之前都是12天），开幕式安排在周六晚上以保证广告商的利益，这样他们就可以有三个周末而不是两个来做广告。从2002年冬奥会开始，冬奥会跟夏奥会一样从周五开始，持续17天。首届少年冬奥会也将于2012年举行，运动员均为18岁以下。

3. 冬奥会举办地

研究冬奥会举办城市，我们不难发现从1964年开始，举办冬奥会这一殊荣就不在给予山上的小城镇了，而是代之以有着大量人口，甚至是远离滑雪道的城市：因斯布鲁克、格勒诺布尔、札幌、萨拉热窝、卡尔加里、长野、盐湖城、都灵和温哥华。另外的大城镇象歌德堡（瑞典）、安克雷奇（美国）和索非亚（保加利亚）等都申办过，但都没有成功。阿尔贝维尔之所以获胜，是因为它尝试着在城市和雪山之间取得了很好的平衡。1980年的普莱西德湖是个例外，人们可以想象在阿迪朗代克（纽约州东北）中心一个只有2500人的小镇举办冬奥会的后勤难度。当然，这或许是因为普莱西德湖是1980年唯一的申办城市。当时，如果加拿大的温哥华参与了

OLYMPIC WINTER GAMES LOCATIONS

When observing the list of host cities for the Winter Games, we note that since 1964 these have no longer been awarded to small towns in the mountains but to cities with several thousand inhabitants, sometimes at a fair distance from the ski runs: Innsbruck, Grenoble, Sapporo, Sarajevo, Calgary, Nagano, Salt Lake City, Turin and Vancouver. Other large towns such as Gothenburg (Sweden), Anchorage (U.S.A.) and Sofia (Bulgaria) also presented candidatures, but were unsuccessful. Albertville attempted a compromise between city and mountains. The exception to this list – Lake Placid in 1980 – amply revealed the logistical difficulties of organising such an event in a village of 2,500 inhabitants in the heart of the Adirondacks (north-east of New York State). However, Lake Placid was the only candidate for 1980, and if the Canadian metropolis of Vancouver had maintained its bid, it is probable that it would have been chosen. The selection of the small snowy town of Lillehammer (15,000 inhabitants) for 1994 was an exception and proved to be very successful from an image point of view but also led to logistical difficulties.

Like their summer counterparts, the Winter Games suffered from the impact of the oil crisis and the environmentalist movement during the 1970s. In both Sapporo and Lake Placid, protest from ecologists hampered the organisers. A unique incident in the history of recent Olympic Games concerned the city of Denver, which in 1972 was forced to withdraw from the Games that had been awarded to it for 1976 following a hostile referendum that mixed financial concerns and those regarding the preservation of nature. The organisers of these Games had planned to hold some of the ski competitions in an area called Evergreen, where – as its name indicated – it would have been necessary to produce snow artificially (based on this experience, moreover, the IOC decided to impose a contract and a financial deposit on future Winter as well as Summer OCOGs in the case of unexpected withdrawal). Finally, the Mont Blanc region around Chamonix, Tampere (Finland), Lake Placid and Innsbruck all hurried forward, offering to replace Denver. The capital of the Tyrol was designated by the IOC Executive Board in the hope that the investments made for 1964

would limit this city's new Olympic budget. In fact, and as it was the case for Montreal during the same Olympiad, the financial forecasts were considerably exceeded. This partly explains Vancouver's decision to withdraw its candidature for 1980 and Lake Placid being thus the only candidate for that year. Vancouver was finally awarded the 2010 Winter Games in 2003. For 2014, the IOC chose the Russian sea resort of Sochi against PyeongChang (Korea) and Salzburg (Austria) after intense lobbying from the Kremlin and despite planning several venues in a national park. The environmental issue is particularly important at the Winter Games and would need further research.

OLYMPIC WINTER GAMES AND AMATEURISM

The Winter Games overcame obstacles greater than financial or environmental difficulties. On several occasions during the 1960s, President Brundage considered cancelling them permanently. He found them too closely linked to the ski industry in terms of both the equipment that was so blatantly highlighted and of the booming real estate sector around skiing areas. The resort of Squaw Valley did not even exist when it was awarded the 1960 Winter Games – on the basis of plans alone! In Grenoble, in 1968, Brundage refused to attend the Alpine skiing events. In Sapporo, four years later, he insisted that the Austrian skier Karl Schranz be disqualified for carelessly – or perhaps unwisely – admitting during an interview at the Olympic village that he had received subsidies from ski manufacturers. If Brundage had still been the IOC President at the end of 1972, he would probably have taken advantage of Denver's withdrawal and attempted to cancel the winter cycle.

The unfortunate Schranz incident was only the last twist to discussions that had been taking part within the IOC since the foundation of the International Ski Federation in Chamonix in 1924. Were ski instructors amateurs, and could they take part in the Games? Was it possible to allow commercial brands on material? Did national federations have the right to be associated with suppliers' pools? Figure skating and its lucrative post-Olympic contracts, plus ice hockey and its professional

申办，那么可能获胜的就是温哥华了。选择利勒哈默尔（人口15,000人）作为1994年冬奥会的举办城市也是一个例外，这一方面证明了相关形象的成功，但是同时也导致了很多后勤方面的困难。

与夏季奥运会相似，冬季奥运会也受到了上世纪70年代石油危机和环境保护运动的影响。在札幌和普莱西德湖，来自环保主义者的抗议甚至阻碍了筹备和组织工作的正常进行。在最近几次奥运会中，最夸张的要数丹佛市，它成功地申办了1976年的冬奥会，但是迫于财政利害关系和环境保护方面的反对，出于对公民投票结果的尊重，不得不在1972年放弃举办。这次奥运会的组织者原本计划在一个叫Evergreen的的方举办部分滑雪比赛，这里如其名字所显示的，很有可能需要人工造雪（基于这次经历，国际奥委会决定与之后的冬奥会举办地增加一份在跟夏季奥运会一样的合同和财务保证金以备类似的取消状况）。于是，夏蒙尼附近的勃朗峰地区、坦佩雷（芬兰）、普莱西德湖和因斯布鲁克都仓促上阵，以代替丹佛。蒂罗尔首府因斯布鲁克最终获胜，因为这里曾经举办过冬奥会，原有的一些场地设施会使其新的奥运财务预算相对少一点。实际上，则可能是因为与1976年的财务支出大大超出预算的蒙特利尔奥运会在同一奥林匹克周期中。这或许可以解释为什么温哥华取消了其对1980年冬奥会的申办，从而使得普莱西德湖成为了当年唯一的申办城市。温哥华最终在2003年获得了2010年冬奥会的举办权。国际奥委会在克林姆林宫方面的有效游说后，将2014年冬奥会的举办

权授予了俄罗斯海边胜地索契而不是韩国的平昌或奥地利的萨尔茨堡，尽管甚至可能要在国家公园中开辟几个比赛场地。环境问题在冬奥会来说尤其重要，这需要进一步的研究。

4. 冬奥会和业余主义

冬奥会克服了比财政或化境问题更为巨大的困难。在上个世纪60年代，布伦戴奇主席几次三番地都打算永久取消冬奥会，因为他发现，无论是一眼就能看穿二者关系的滑雪设备，还是滑雪区域附近急速发展的房地产，都证明了冬奥会与滑雪工业极度密切的关系。如果这样，那么被授予1960年冬奥会的举办权时，斯阔谷可能都不存在了。1968年在格勒诺布，布伦戴奇拒绝参加高山滑雪项目。在四年后的札幌，奥地利滑雪运动员卡尔·施兰茨因为无意——或者是不明智地——在运动员村的一次访谈中接受了滑雪产品制造商的补助金，布伦戴奇主席坚持取消其资格。如果布伦戴奇在1972年底还担任国际奥委会主席的话，他很有可能借着丹佛市取消冬奥会的契机，就取消了冬季奥运会。

· 可怜的施兰茨只不过是1924年国际滑雪联合会建立以来在国际奥委会内部就持续不断地进行的争论中的冰山一角。滑雪教练是不是业余选手？能否参加奥运会呢？器具上的商标能否被允许呢？国家体育联合会有权与厂商联合么？花样滑冰及其奥运会后获利的关系，加上冰球和其职业联盟等问题，都引起了广泛的激烈争论。集中了北美职业运动员的冰壶项目，直到1988年冬奥

leagues, were similarly debated. Curling, which focused on professional athletes in North America, only regained its Olympic status in 1988 (as a demonstration) and ten years later as a full Olympic sport. Similarly, President Samaranch was to return a Sapporo participant's medal to Karl Schrantz 16 years later in Vienna, the city where the disqualified champion had been acclaimed as a hero – and where the IOC had been harshly criticised – by an entire nation.

Because of these problems of amateurism, the Winter Games were long considered unworthy of the Olympic flame. One burned in Garmisch-Partenkirchen in 1936 and in St. Moritz in 1948, but this had been lit at the site. In 1952, the Norwegians chose to kindle it in the fireplace of the birth house of their skiing pioneer Sondre Nordheim. The flame for Cortina d'Ampezzo arrived from the Capitol in Rome, and that of Squaw Valley again came from Norway, via the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum. It was only as of Innsbruck, in 1964, that the Hellenic Olympic Committee agreed to organise a ceremony in Olympia similar to the one that has been held for the Summer Games since 1936. Since then, the winter flame relay has been a chance to warm up each host country to the Olympic celebration. In 2006 – for the first time – it was attacked by protesters against a high speed train route through the Alps.

TODAY'S OLYMPIC WINTER GAMES

In Innsbruck 1964, the Winter Games came of age. Luge was the sixth sport added to the programme. The biathlon had been introduced four years before, in Squaw Valley, under the responsibility of the International Federation for the modern pentathlon (nowadays two separate federations exist.) Alpine skiing, in the form of the combined event (slalom and downhill) dates from Garmisch in 1936 and has since diversified into three disciplines: downhill, giant slalom and special slalom, to which the super-G was added in 1988. From 16 in Chamonix, the number of events rose to 34 in Innsbruck 1964. They became 46 twenty-four years later in Calgary and 57 in Albertville in 1992. In 2006 the total number

of events rose to 84, thanks to the introduction of a new sport (curling) and several new disciplines (freestyle skiing, snowboarding, short-track) and events for women athletes in all disciplines (from 2002), except for ski jumping and Nordic combined.

Television made its appearance in Cortina d'Ampezzo 1956 and Squaw Valley 1960, but the first live broadcasts took place in Innsbruck 1976 for the first time and crossed the Atlantic thanks to the Early Bird satellite. It was in 1964, then, that the number of journalists and commentators exceeded that of the athletes for the first time. For the Summer Games, this phenomenon only took place in 1972. High Definition television was first tried at the Winter Games in Albertville. Dedicated coverage of the Salt Lake City Games (10,416 hours for all broadcasters) reached 2.1 billion viewers in 2002.

Although the organisation of the Games of the Olympiad is strongly linked to the prestige of the host country and often of its capital, the Winter Games above all concern a region. The aim is above all to develop and promote winter sports resorts. This objective strongly influenced the candidatures by Innsbruck, Grenoble, Lake Placid, Sarajevo, Albertville, Nagano and Sochi. Thanks to the double Games in Innsbruck, ski resorts in the Tyrol became world famous. For 1968, the city of Grenoble was equipped with installations that turned it into a major congress venue and university town. Its region today still benefits from infrastructures, notably regarding transport, which gave the resorts in the area an advantage over those in the Savoie until the Albertville Games of 1992. Thanks to the Games in Sarajevo, an entire zone of the Balkans was opened up to skiing with the hope – partially in vain – of attracting numerous foreign tourists. As far as Lake Placid was concerned, this was a brand new resort in 1932, and it was necessary to renovate the infrastructures in 1980 in order to restore Lake Placid, to some extent, to its former glory.

In 1988, Calgary without doubt represented the beginning of a new era for the Winter Games. Economic development overtook tourism. The petrochemicals industry in Alberta subsidised the Olympic effort,

会才作为表演项目回到了奥运会，10年后，才成为正式比赛项目。同样的，萨马兰奇主席16年后在维也纳将一位来自札幌的参与者的奖牌归还给了卡尔·施兰茨，因为就是在这里，一位国家英雄被剥夺了冠军的资格，也正是在这里，国际奥委会饱受批评。

因为业余主义的这些问题，冬奥会很长时间以来都被认为不太适合使用奥林匹克圣火。1936年在加米施-帕滕基兴和1948年在圣莫里茨都点燃过圣火，但都是在举办场所被采集的。1952年，挪威人选择在滑雪前辈桑德拉·努尔海姆出生的小屋的壁炉中点燃。1956年，为科蒂纳丹佩佐点燃的圣火从罗马的国会到达了美国的斯阔谷，又从挪威经过洛杉矶纪念体育场。直到1964年的因斯布鲁克冬奥会，希腊奥委会才同意为冬奥会举行一个类似于1936年为夏季奥运会举行的采火仪式。从此，冬季奥运会的圣火传递也成为了每一个举办国对冬奥会的最好热身。在2006年，这一活动第一次遭到了强烈反对修建通往阿尔卑斯山的高速铁路的攻击者的攻击。

5. 今天的冬奥会

在1964年的因斯布鲁克，冬奥会发展成熟。雪橇成为第6个正式比赛项目；北欧两项在4年前的斯阔谷冬奥会上加入，当时该项目是由国际现代五项联合会负责的（现在二者已经分开）。从1936年加米施开始组合了回转和速降的高山滑雪项目，此后分为三部分：速降、大回转和回转，超级大回转则在1988年增加。从夏蒙尼的16个小项，到

1964年的因斯布鲁克，已经发展为34个。24年后的卡尔加里，这个数目变成了46个，在1992年的阿尔贝维尔则增加至了57个。在2006年都灵，由于增加了新项目（冰壶）和几个新的分项（自由式滑雪、雪板、短道速滑）和以及除了跳台滑雪和北欧两项外的其他所有分项中的女子小项项目（从2002年开始），小项数达84个。

电视转播出现在1956年的科蒂纳丹佩佐和1960年的斯阔谷，但是第一次直播直到1976年因斯布鲁克冬奥会通过晨鸟美国国际通信卫星才得以完成，信号传过了大西洋。在1964年，记者和评论员的数量第一次超过了运动员的数量。在夏季运动会，这一现象直到1972年才出现。高清电视在冬奥会的尝试首次出现在阿尔贝维尔。盐湖城冬奥会的转播（10, 416小时）则使得21亿人看到了比赛实况。

虽然奥林匹亚德的组织与举办国尤其是其首都的声望密切相关，冬奥会却首先关系到某一地区。冬奥会的目的首先是促进冬季运动胜地的的发展，这一目标强有力地影响了象因斯布鲁克、格勒诺布、普莱西德湖、萨拉热窝、阿尔贝维尔、长野和索契等地。因为因斯布鲁克两次举办了冬奥会，蒂罗尔地区俨然已经成为了世界著名的滑雪胜地。在1968年，格勒诺布装备一新，摇身一变成为了主要的会议举办地和大学城。该地区至今仍从奥运会带来的基础建设、讲究的运输系统中获益，这给了这一地区其他景点以超过法国萨瓦地区的好处，后者直到1992年阿尔贝维尔冬奥会才改观。由于萨拉热窝冬奥会，整个巴尔干

hoping to attract new companies, and the city grew to almost 700,000 inhabitants.

The distances between the competition venues were considerable. These, however, were the first Winter Games to make a profit for several Olympiads. A record number of countries, athletes and spectators took part. As was the case for Los Angeles, in the same North American context, a private OCOG led by businessmen accumulated revenues from sponsors while keeping a firm control over expenditure. The difference between these Games and those held in California, however, was that most installations were new constructions, built thanks to subsidies from the city, the province and the Canadian government.

They were to be reimbursed with the help of an astonishing contract for television rights (US\$ 305 million for the U.S. rights alone!) and governmental subsidies. As had often been the case for other Winter Games, however, bad weather affected the Calgary events so adversely that all events took place on artificial snow (and ice) for the first time. Nagano, Salt Lake City and Turin followed. The trend had started with Calgary to organise the Winter Games in large cities, and so will Vancouver in 2010, and to some extent Sochi (300,000 inhabitants), which hopes to double its population by 2014.

Table 1 gives some key figures of the development of the Winter Games for the last thirty years (please, see Table 1 at the end of this chapter).

To date, the Winter Games have rarely been affected by international politics, but they have frequently been an opportunity for economic and tourist promotion. Their ‘white’ aspect, in both practical and figurative terms, represents an ideal framework for sponsorship. This has also given rise to their new importance and the fact that medium-sized nations are becoming increasingly interested in staging them – they are seeking a certain prestige at a much lower cost than that incurred by hosting the Summer Games. Alternating the Games

every two years – winter and summer – can only increase the importance of these former Games which will perhaps one day no longer be restricted to sports practised on snow and ice as requested by the Olympic Charter.

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半岛都被满怀希望地——部分或许是徒劳的——开发为滑雪胜地，以吸引成千上万的外国游客。至于普莱西德湖，在1932年这不过是个新兴的场地，在1980年就很有必要重新修葺一新，更新基础设施，以在某种程度上达到其曾经拥有的光辉。

在1988年，卡尔加里毫无疑问地代表了冬奥会一个新时代的开始。经济的发展超过了旅游。阿尔博他地区希望借助奥运会来吸引新公司的石油化工工业积极支持奥运会，城市后来发展到了70万人左右。

比赛场点之间的距离值得考虑。然而，这是第一届获得利润的冬奥会。参赛的国家数、队员数和观众数都创造了记录。至于同样在北美洛杉矶举行的夏季奥运会，由商人领导的组委会从赞助中获利，并严格控制支出。然而，卡尔加里奥运会与之不同，大部分装置都是用城市、州和加拿大政府的补贴来新建的。

这一支出主要通过巨额电视转播权合同（仅美国为购买转播权就花费了高达3.05亿美元）和政府补助来偿还。然而，就像其他冬奥会一样，恶劣天气也影响了卡尔加里的比赛，以致于冬奥会历史上第一次所有的比赛都在人造冰雪中进行。长野、盐湖城和都灵也一样。从卡尔加里开始了在大城市举行冬奥会的趋势，2010年的温哥华亦然，某种程度上，拥有30万人口的索契也一样，这一人口数到2014年恐怕还要翻番。文后附表给出了最近30年冬奥会发展的一些重要指标的数据。

总而言之，冬奥会很少受到国际政治的影响，但是它们经常成为促进经济和旅游的良好机会。无论在实际操作还是形象方面，“白色”都能促成理想的商业赞助。这也使得冬奥会越来越引起重视，中等规模的国家举办冬奥会的兴趣也日益增加——它们需要在比夏季奥运会更低投入的情况下获得一定的声望。夏季奥运会和冬季奥运会每两年一次的更替，只能增加之前举办的奥运会的重要性，因为很有可能有那么一天，冬奥会就不再严格得限制在《奥林匹克宪章》规定的冰雪项目之上了。

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Table1: Participation in the Olympic Winter Games 1924-2006

	Year	Host city	Host country	NOCs	Athletes*	Events
I	1924	Chamonix	France	16	290	16
II	1928	St. Moritz	Switzerland	25	360	14
III	1932	Lake Placid	USA	17	280	14
IV	1936	Garmisch	Germany	28	760	17
V	1948	St. Moritz	Switzerland	28	810	22
VI	1952	Oslo	Norway	32	730	22
VII	1956	Cortina d'Ampezzo	Italy	32	920	24
VIII	1960	Squaw Valley	U.S.A.	30	650	27
IX	1964	Innsbruck	Austria	36	930	34
X	1968	Grenoble	France	37	1,290	35
XI	1972	Sapporo	Japan	35	1,130	35
XII	1976	Innsbruck	Austria	37	1,260	37
XIII	1980	Lake Placid	USA	39	1,280	38
XIV	1984	Sarajevo	Yugoslavia/Bosnia	49	1,490	39
XV	1988	Calgary	Canada	57	1,550	46
XVI	1992	Albertville	France	64	1,800	57
XVII	1994	Lillehammer	Norway	67	1,730	61
XVIII	1998	Nagano	Japan	72	2,180	68
XIX	2002	Salt Lake City	U.S.A.	77	2400	78
XX	2006	Torino	Italy	80	2500	84

* The number of athletes taking part has been rounded.

1924~2006年冬奥会情况一览表

届数	年份	举办城市	举办国	参赛国家地区	运动员数*	项目数
I	1924	夏蒙尼	法国	16	290	16
II	1928	圣莫里茨	瑞士	25	360	14
III	1932	普莱西德湖	美国	17	280	14
IV	1936	加米施	德国	28	760	17
V	1948	圣莫里茨	瑞士	28	810	22
VI	1952	奥斯陆	挪威	32	730	22
VII	1956	科蒂纳丹佩佐	意大利	32	920	24
VIII	1960	斯阔谷	美国	30	650	27
IX	1964	因斯布鲁克	奥地利	36	930	34
X	1968	格勒诺布尔	法国	37	1,290	35
XI	1972	札幌	日本	35	1,130	35
XII	1976	因斯布鲁克	奥地利	37	1,260	37
XIII	1980	普莱西德湖	美国	39	1,280	38
XIV	1984	萨拉热窝	南斯拉夫	49	1,490	39
XV	1988	卡尔加里	加拿大	57	1,550	46
XVI	1992	阿尔贝维尔	法国	64	1,800	57
XVII	1994	利勒哈默尔	挪威	67	1,730	61
XVIII	1998	长野	日本	72	2,180	68
XIX	2002	盐湖城	美国	77	2400	78
XX	2006	都灵	意大利	80	2500	84

* 运动员数是所有男女运动员的数量

Table 1 (continuation)

	Lake Placid 1980	Sarajevo 1984	Calgary 1988	Albertville 1992	Lillehammer 1994	Nagano 1998	Salt Lake City 2002	Turin 2006
Teams								
NOCs present / recognized	39 / 143	49 / 154	57 / 167	64 / 171	67 / 194	72 / 198	77 / 202	80 / 205
NOCs with medals (gold)	19 (11)	17 (11)	17 (11)	20 (14)	22 (14)	24 (15)	24 (18)	26 (18)
NOC teams without women	10	16	17	19	22	17	19	19
Sports								
Number of sports	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	7
Events on the programme	38	39	46	57	61	68	78	84
Men's events	24	24	28	32	34	37	42	45
Women's events	12	13	16	23	25	29	34	37
Pairs events	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
NOC Teams								
Male athletes	839	1,000	1,110	1,312	1,215	1,389	1,513	1,548
Female athletes	233	274	313	489	522	788	886	960
Team Officials	920	1,417	917	1,888	1,821	1,468	2100	2,704
Doping cases	0	1	1	0	0	0	6	1
Other personnel								
Journalists & photographers	1, 272							
	2,373	1,939	2,091	2,333	2,586	2,661	2,688	
Broadcasting personnel	2,531	4,653	4,361	3,623	5,534	5,737	6,069	6,720
Number of volunteers	6,703	4,040						
	9,526	8,647	9,054	24,000	22,000	16,400		
Revenues								
Tickets sold	433,000	434,000	1,338,000	913,000	1,212,000	1,275,000	1,525,000	930,000
Total TV rights (million US\$)	20.7	102.7	325.5	294	353	513.1	737.8	832
Broadcasting countries	40	33	64	86	120	160	160	162
Worldwide sponsors	0	0	9	11	8	11	10	11
(Grand) National sponsors	included among suppliers	included among suppliers	12	12	9	8	21	5
Official suppliers and providers	228	184	37	25	17	18	31	47
Licence-holders	165	140	40	12	35	127	69	32

Sources: Compiled by J.-L. Chappelet from official OCOG reports and IOC reports and website.

表1: 1980~2006年冬奥会发展概况部分指标数据一览表

	普莱西德湖 1980	萨拉热窝 1984	卡尔加里 1988	阿尔贝维尔 1992	利勒哈默尔 1994	长野1998	盐湖城2002	都灵2006
参赛队伍								
参赛国数目/认可数目	39 / 143	49 / 154	57 / 167	64 / 171	67 / 194	72 / 198	77 / 202	80 / 205
获奖牌国家数(金牌)	19 (11)	17 (11)	17 (11)	20 (14)	22 (14)	24 (15)	24 (18)	26 (18)
没有女运动员的国家数	10	16	17	19	22	17	19	19
项目								
大项数量	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	7
小项数量	38	39	46	57	61	68	78	84
男子小项数	24	24	28	32	34	37	42	45
女子小项数	12	13	16	23	25	29	34	37
双人小项数	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
国家队								
男选手数量	839	1,000	1,110	1,312	1,215	1,389	1,513	1,548
女选手数量	233	274	313	489	522	788	886	960
团队官员数	920	1,417	917	1,888	1,821	1,468	2100	2,704
兴奋剂案	0	1	1	0	0	0	6	1
其他人员								
记者和摄影	1,272	2,373	1,939	2,091	2,333	2,586	2,661	2,688
广播人员	2,531	4,653	4,361	3,623	5,534	5,737	6,069	6,720
志愿者数目	6,703	4,040	9,526	8,647	9,054	24,000	22,000	16,400
收入								
门票	433,000	434,000	1,338,000	913,000	1,212,000	1,275,000	1,525,000	930,000
电视转播权(百万美元)	20.7	102.7	325.5	294	353	513.1	737.8	832
转播国家数	40	33	64	86	120	160	160	162
全球赞助商	0	0	9	11	8	11	10	11
(主要的)国家赞助商	包括在供应商之内	包括在供应商之内	12	12	9	8	21	5
官方供应商	228	184	37	25	17	18	31	47
特许经营商	165	140	40	12	35	127	69	32

资料来源: J.-L. Chappelet汇编自官方报告和国际奥委会报告及其网站

ECONOMICS OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES

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INTRODUCTION

Research about the economics of the Olympic Games has increased tremendously over the past ten years. However, the research is rather a patchwork of individual topics than a comprehensive collection of investigations.

Despite not knowing the real economic outcome of staging mega-events, it can be observed that ever more cities connect the hosting of mega-events to their general city development. As such, this “festivalisation of city politics” (Häußermann & Siebel, 1993) or in other words “event-strategy” should be subjected to a greater interrogation. Olympic Games bear the risk of huge cost overruns, negative externalities, crowding-out effects and immense re-distribution of public resources. Furthermore, not all Olympic legacies are positive, nor can they be entirely planned. Notwithstanding this, politicians follow “event strategies” because mega-events can also spread a general spirit of optimism, create combined visions, attract exogenous resources, accelerate city development and offer a great opportunity for a cheap worldwide public relation campaign.

The aim of this text is to structure the research done on the economics of Olympic Games. After a brief introduction on today's scale of Olympic Games, the focus will first be put on the short-term economic impact. Second, the concept of economic legacy will be explained. Third, one of the most important effects of staging the Olympic Games, the opportunity to send messages to the worldwide population (signalling), will be examined. The conclusion suggests needed research in the future.

奥运会的经济学研究

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前言

众所周知，奥运会的经济学研究在过去的十年中发展尤为迅速。然而，大部分的研究都限于个人观点的简单拼凑而没有全面地包含调查研究的成果。

尽管很难知道举办奥运会的实际经济产出值，我们还是能够通过观察得知，越来越多的城市热衷于将举办奥运会与城市的全面发展结合起来。既然如此，这一“节日化的城市政治”（Häußermann & Siebel, 1993）或者称为“事件策略”的现象，就应该被打上一个大大的问号。举办一届奥运会要面对巨大超额资金支出、消极外在影响、挤出效应和公共资源大范围的重新分配等挑战。更者，并不是所有的奥林匹克遗产都是积极的，人们更是无法将其完全纳入自己的计划之中。然而，尽管如此，政治家们还是愿意遵循这一“事件策略”，因为奥运会这样的超大型事件能够在更普遍的范围和意义上传播乐观主义精神、带来融合的视角、吸引外来资

源、加速城市发展，并且提供一个相对廉价的在世界范围内进行公关活动的大好机会。

本文的目的在于构建奥运会经济学研究的框架。在简要介绍当今奥运会的经济水平后，本文将重点放在了奥运会的短期经济影响方面；其次，将分析奥运会的经济遗产这一概念；第三，论述举办奥运会最重要的影响即拥有向全世界传递信息（信号传递）的机会这一问题；结论部分对未来的研究提出了建议。

奥运会的经济水平

奥运会经济学纬度的研究不能单凭简单的数字或者几届奥运会的比较来进行，而应该依赖于政治家的意图以及城市发展规模和水平这两个因素。为了达到举办奥运会的要求，小的和（或者）欠发达城市必须投入比大城市多得多的资金来进行那些大城市已经完成了的基础建设。加之政治家们有两种取向，一种是想通过奥运会来促进城市基础设施建设；另一种恰恰相反，是想要尽可能多地利用临时或者已有的基础设施。由此，人们可以很容易地区分“昂贵”和“便宜”的奥运会。如果政治家们想要限制奥运会的组织资金，那么奥运会就会很“便宜”。因此，洛杉矶奥运会和亚特兰大奥运会修建的新设施就很少，

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review is limited to some important and basic works. It is structured in the three topics of this paper: economic impact, economic legacy and signalling effects.

The body of literature on mega-sport events investigating the various impacts for a city has grown considerably over the past years. Many of these analyses pay special attention to economic impacts, covering both short and long-term perspectives. Among the economic impact studies, most are dedicated to tourism events (e.g. Getz, 1989, 1991; Hall, 1992; Kang & Perdue, 1994; Carvalhedo, 2003; Dwyer, Forsyth & Spurr, 2004; Chalip & McGuirty, 2004; Preuss, 2005; Solberg & Preuss, 2006). Other studies focus on employment impacts (e.g. Ritchie, 1984; Burns et al., 1986; Mules & Faulkner, 1996; Hotchkiss et al., 2001) and urban development (Hughes, 1993; Meyer-Künzel, 2001; Hiller, 2006). Comparative studies on the economics of the Olympic Games are few (Baade & Matheson, 2002; Preuss, 2004; Sterken, 2006).

While many investigations are done on the legacy of the Olympic Games, little research can be found on the economic legacy. Chalip (2000) and Ritchie (2000) were the first to publish on this topic. They do not use the term legacy, but focus on leveraging the Olympic impact. Later Moragas, Kennett & Puig (2003) initiated an IOC-symposium on Olympic Legacy, where the economic legacy was implied. Cashman (2005) and Chappelet (2006) worked on the variety of legacies from Olympic Games while Preuss (2007b) lately conceived the research on legacy. The huge variety of studies done on single legacies of individual host cities cannot be provided here.

The third body of literature important for the economics of the Olympic Games is related to event-signalling. Clausen (1997) first mentioned “event-signalling” as a strategy to use cultural events to signal information about the image of a destination. Preuss (2007d) focused on the signalling of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games. Kurscheidt (2008) investigated sport-event signalling in greater detail. This subject has not been deeply researched so far although it is a prerequisite for many legacies such as attracting tourists or new businesses to the host city.

THE SCALE OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES

The economic dimension of the Olympic Games cannot be determined either by a single figure or by comparing several Games. It depends on both the intention of politicians and the development of level and size of the city. Smaller and/or less developed cities must invest much more on their infrastructure to meet the Olympic requirements than larger cities having the needed infrastructure in stage. Additionally, politicians may want to use the Olympic Games as an argument for developing new infrastructure or vice versa using as much temporary or existent infrastructure as possible. Therefore, “expensive” and “cheap” Games can be distinguished. Games were rather “cheap” when politicians decided to limit costs to just organising the Games. Therefore, only a few new facilities were constructed in Los Angeles and Atlanta while the utilization of existing and temporary infrastructure was maximized. The basic maxim was to avoid any deficit through the Olympic Games. The Games become “expensive” when investments in traffic infrastructure, communication systems, housing, environmental projects and prestigious sports facilities are wanted or needed. For example, in Beijing 2008, Athens 2004, Sydney 2000, Barcelona 1992 and Seoul 1988, the organizers invested heavily in the construction of sports facilities. The Games of Barcelona 1992 and Seoul 1988 were used for extensive improvements to the entire city infrastructure, while those in Munich 1972, Montreal 1976, and also the recent Games in Athens 2004, and of Beijing 2008 and London 2012 will respectively be used to develop parts of their cities. The politicians saw the basic maxim in compensating short-term Olympic expenditures with long-term benefits.

The past decades clearly show not only increasing costs and revenues for the organization of the Olympic Games but also a growing demand on infrastructure and organization. “Because ever upward is the Olympic creed - that is citius, altius, fortius - the recent Olympic Games experiences have enlightened some limits. These are, for example, negative external effects of oversized sport facilities and ecological effects” (DaCosta 2002, p. 80). Due to the gigantic construction projects in Athens, Beijing and London, the IOC wants to streamline the Games and make them more efficient in the future. One of many suggestions from the IOC Olympic Games Study Commission was: “Maximize temporary installations over permanent construction especially where legacy requirements are lower than Games requirements” (IOC, 2003, p. 44).

而其已有和临时设施的使用则几乎达到了最大限度。其操作的基本准则就是避免奥运会期间的任何财政赤字。而另一方面，如果斥资于无论是政治家们想要的还是奥运会需要的交通基础设施、通讯系统、住房供给、环境保护和优秀体育设施的话，那么奥运会就会变得非常“昂贵”。比方说2008年的北京、2004年的雅典、1992年的巴塞罗那和1988年的汉城，组织者们都 在体育场馆和设施的建设上就投入了巨资。1992年巴塞罗那奥运会和1988年汉城奥运会也都被用来促进城市基础设施的建设和全面发展，而1976年慕尼黑奥运会和最近的2004年雅典奥运会，甚至即将举行的2008年北京奥运会乃至2012年伦敦奥运会都会被用来促进其城市的发展，哪怕是部分的。政治家们用奥运会带来的长期效益来弥补其短期的举办奥运会的支出。

过去的十年，不仅仅见证了组织奥运会无论成本还是收入的递增，更见证了奥运会对基础设施和组织需求的日益增长。“因为不断向上是奥林匹克的信条——更快、更高、更强——所以，最近的奥运会也届届挑战着极限。比方说，超大体育场馆和环境问题带来的消极外部效应。” (DaCosta 2002, p. 80) 鉴于雅典、北京和伦敦的巨型体育场馆，国际奥委会已经在考虑给奥运会实行瘦身，使其在未来的发展更具效率。来自国际奥委会奥运会

研究委员会的建议之一就是：“最大限度地利用临时体育场馆和设施，而尽量减少永久性体育场馆的建立，尤其是在其赛后利用率远低于奥运会需求的地方。”（IOC, 2003, p. 44）

比较几个国家举办奥运会的花费及其经济指标可以阐明某个国家奥运会的经济水平（表1）。

三种经济效果：经济影响、经济遗产和信号传递

通常，人们只评价经济影响，因为它比较实在而且政治家们需要这种切实的数字来证明其利用公共资源的投资行为是正确的。经济影响是一种仅仅在奥运会期间对经济的短期推动力（比如因为奥运会期间旅游者的突然增加而产生的外部经济激增）。虽然这种影响强度非常大，但由于其短期性，所以并不能被看作是奥运会的经济遗产。

奥运会经济遗产的衡量需要考虑的是随着时间的推移奥运会所带来的所有变化。奥运会给奥运城市的定点因素带来了巨大的变化，这种变化促进了生产力的进一步发展，“经济遗产”就是基于这种更大生产力的附加经济活动。

信号传递则与经济影响和经济遗产都密切相关。关于奥运会的讯息和通过奥林匹克传媒传递的其他信息吸引了更多附加的经济活动（比如

The comparison of some national economic indicators with the costs of hosting the Olympic Games illustrates the economic scale of the Olympic Games for a country (Table 1).

Table 1: Games costs in relation to indicators of national accounts (please, see Table at the end of this chapter).

Despite the billions of dollars of investments, the Olympic Games have no considerable economic dimension in relation to national accounts. An industrialized country can finance Olympic Games easily while the investments are huge for a city budget. For the 1976 Olympic Games, a “written guarantee that the federal government would not be called upon to absorb the deficit nor to assume interim financing for organization” left the Organising Committee (OCOG) and the city of Montreal with the sole responsibility to finance the Games (OC Montreal, 1976, p. 55). Municipal and provincial tax dollars eased the burden of the debt with a final payment in 2006. This experience had a major impact on the Olympic Movement because only the city of Los Angeles applied for the Olympic Games in 1984 (the Games for 1980 had already been given to Moscow). IOC President Samaranch and Ueberroth (President of the Los Angeles OCOG) remodelled the financing structure of the OCOG. Due to the liberalization of the amateur paragraph, the growing interest of the media on the Olympic Games and the new ideas on exclusive marketing set important conditions to secure the continuation of the Olympic Games.

THE THREE ECONOMIC EFFECTS: ECONOMIC IMPACT, ECONOMIC LEGACY AND SIGNALLING

Most often, only the economic impact is evaluated because it is tangible and politicians need it to justify investing public resources. The economic impact is a short-term impulse (an exogenous shock for example by the consumption of Olympic visitors) to the economy directly through the Olympic Games. Although the impact is usually strong, it is short-term and, therefore, not a legacy.

The measurement of legacy has to consider all changes caused by the Olympic Games over time. The “economic legacy” is additional

economic activity based on greater productivity due to Olympic-related changes of the host cities' location factors (e.g. post-event tourism due to increased attractiveness of the host city).

Signalling is related to both impact and legacy. The messages about the Games and other information sent piggyback through the Olympic coverage attract additional economic activity (e.g. more tourists and business), which not only increases the impact of the Games but also leverages it.

ECONOMIC IMPACT—THE TRANSITORY EFFECT

Olympic Games preparation triggers many direct and indirect investments and consumption. The challenge to calculate economic impact is a clear differentiation between autonomous and regional expenditures for the Olympic region under investigation. It is important to consider that only the direct and indirect autonomous expenditures (“fresh” money) in a local economy create the economic impact. Therefore, Olympic impacts are strong but short-term.

The direct financial activities stem from the consumption of the OCOG, tourists and exports and the investments in sport facilities. The indirect impact stems from investments in the general infrastructure such as housing, telecommunication or transportation.

1. Consumption of the OCOG: In absolute terms, the OCOGs have been able to continuously increase their revenues from marketing and selling TV rights. In relative terms, both financing sources have remained almost stable since Los Angeles and cover approximately 40% of the OCOG's operational costs. Most of the money is autonomous to the host city. All other revenues of the OCOG depend on specific conditions in the host country. A comparison of the balances of OCOGs from Munich 1972 to Sydney 2000 shows that the operational costs have always been less than the revenues (Preuss, 2004).

2. Tourism and Exports: Both export of goods and tourism bring

说旅游和商业)，这不仅增加了奥运会的经济影响，还对其产生了杠杆作用。

经济影响——短期效果

奥运会引发了许多直接或者间接的投资和消费。计算奥运会经济影响时，我们首先遇到的挑战是奥林匹克地区（举办城市）自发支出和区域支出之间的明显区别。同时，我们还要认识到只有当地经济中的直接或者间接的自发支出（“新鲜的”货币）才能带来经济影响。因此，奥运会经济影响的强度是高的，但是时间上极为短暂。

直接的金融活动来自奥组委的消费、旅游和体育设施的出口和投资。间接的经济影响是指诸如房产、通讯或者交通等基础设施方面的一般投资而言。

1. 奥组委的消费：奥组委能够从电视转播权的出售和营销中持续获利是任何人不会怀疑的事实。另一方面，相对而言，从1984年洛杉矶奥运会开始，奥运会的资金来源几乎都保持平稳，大约占奥组委运作支出的40%左右。这笔钱的大部分都是举办城市自发支配。奥组委的所有其他收入则依赖于举办国的具体情况。从1972年慕尼黑奥运会到2004年雅典奥运会奥组委的收支差额比较

显示，运作资金通常比奥运会的收入要少（普鲁斯，2004）。

2. **旅游和出口：**无论是物品的出口还是旅游资源的出口都能够给当地经济带来“新鲜的”钞票。奥运旅游是奥运会期间自发收入的主要来源。优秀的旅游促销策略可以大大增加其效果，并且也有利于奥运会后该城市甚至举办国旅游的持续发展（Chalip, 2004; Solberg & Preuss, 2006）。然而，后奥运时期的旅游跟奥运会带动的贸易关系一样，理应被纳入“经济遗产”的范畴。
3. **基础设施建设：**奥运会需要高质量的体育设施、运动员村、成千上万的宾馆客房、现代化的通讯系统、大机场、光缆网络和优良的城市公共交通承载能力，以顺畅处理由数以万计的运动员、教练员、记者、旅客、志愿者和安保人员等所带来的额外交通压力的能力。从经济和城市发展角度看，只有当举办城市的长远发展规划与奥运会的这些需求一致时，奥运会的基础建设才有意义和存在价值。对举办城市来说，为奥运会提供良好的基础设施的压力和向世界展示其积极城市形象的渴望混杂在一起，经常会使其过高地估计奥运会基础设施的赛后利用需求。这一所谓的“胜利的魔咒”通常会冲昏举办城市的头脑，使其过低估计奥运

“fresh” money into a local economy. Olympic tourism is a main source of autonomous revenues during the Olympic Games. A good tourism strategy can add to this effect and also increase post Olympic tourism (Chalip, 2004; Solberg & Preuss, 2006). However, post-Olympic tourism has to be counted as “economic legacy” as well as new trade relations triggered by the Olympic Games.

3. **Infrastructure:** The Olympic Games require sport facilities of the highest quality, an Olympic Village, thousands of hotel rooms, a modern telecommunication system, a large airport, a fibre optic cable network and a high capacity public transportation system which can handle the additional demand created by thousands of athletes, coaches, journalists, tourists, volunteers and security personnel. From an economic and urban development perspective, the staging of Olympic Games only makes sense if the long-term city-development plans go along with those of the needed Olympic infrastructure. The pressure to provide the Olympic infrastructure mixed with the desire to positively present the city to the world often lead to overestimate the actual need of post-Olympic infrastructure. This so called “winner’s curse” overtakes bid cities which underestimate the Olympic costs and/or overestimate their benefits from staging the Olympic Games. Due to strained city budgets many investments are subsidised by the federal government. This is positive for the local host economy because it is “fresh” money to the region. Most Olympic Games require so many investments that they need to be financed by both, public and private sources. The financing of the Munich 1972 and Montreal 1976 Games were primarily public (>75%), those of Seoul 1988, Barcelona 1992 and Sydney 2000 were mixed and those of Los Angeles 1984 and Atlanta 1996 were almost entirely private (> 75%) (Preuss, 2004).

Two facts should be addressed when interpreting the obviously huge positive economic peak during the Games year. First, the peak is a net effect which also consists of negative effects because the Olympic activity also causes re-distributions and negative externalities. Externalities are all positive/negative impacts on anyone, not party to a given transaction of the Olympic Games. Second, the general economic situation during the time of major economic activity has an effect on the size of crowding-out. In case there is a strong economic situation during the Olympic year,

crowding-out is likely to occur in sectors of great demand (e.g. tourism and construction). If the post-Olympic phase additionally goes along with a recession, the pulled forward investments for the Olympic Games and the interest payments for debts lower the public investments and additionally weaken the local economy.

The size of the economic impacts differs from city to city depending not only on the existing infrastructure. Two basic conditions determine the dimension of the Olympic economic impact. First, the amount of autonomous money spent in the city (size of primary impact) and second, the strength of the regional economy (size of the multiplier (secondary impact)). The size of the multiplier depends on the amount of autonomous expenditures that remain in the host city/region (and create income) by being spent again and again in various sectors. However, this economic stimulus is weakened by imports, savings and taxes and vanishes completely after a short period of time.

All the above mentioned different conditions and the political intention to stage “cheap” or “expensive” Games make it very difficult to compare several Games from an economic point of view and make it almost impossible to value Olympic Games by their economic dimension.

ECONOMIC LEGACY: THE LONG-TERM EFFECT

Hosting the Olympic Games requires specific ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ structures. Overall there are six types of event-structure that are usually preserved after the Olympic Games. Four of these: infrastructure, know how, networks and culture – are developed almost as a matter of course through the preparation of the Games, while a further two – emotions and image – depend on the development during the 17 Olympic days (Preuss, 2007b). All event-structure that exists before or after the momentum of the event itself will change the quality of a location (site) in a positive or negative way. A specific set of location factors determines the quality of a site for living, industry, fairs, congresses, events, and also as a site for tourism. For example, a tourist destination is affected by the following Olympic structures: new physical tourist attractions, upgraded and new hotels, better public transportation, an image more interesting

会准备和组织的投入并（或）过高估计了举办奥运会的收益。由于市政预算的捉肘见襟，很多投资是由国家政府来进行的。流入举办城市地区的资金显著增加，这对举办城市的当地经济的好处是显而易见的。大多数奥运会都因为所需要的投资实在太多了，所以其资金来源通常是采用官方公共资源和私人投资两条腿走路。1972年慕尼黑奥运会和1976年蒙特利尔奥运会的投资主要来自官方的公共资源（大于75%），1988年汉城奥运会、1992年巴塞罗那奥运会和2000年悉尼奥运会是两种投资的混合，而1984年洛杉矶奥运会和1996年亚特兰大奥运会几乎全是私人投资（大于75%）（普鲁斯，2004）。

在解读奥运年显著又积极的巨大经济高峰值的时候，有两点因素我们必须考虑到。首先，这种经济高峰值是一种净效应，即同时包含有消极因素，因为奥运会也带来了资源的重新分配以及负面影响。这种无论正面还是负面的影响是施加在每一个人身上的，而不是奥运会某一特定事务之上。其次，主要经济活动期间的普遍经济状况会影响到挤出效应中“挤出”的规模。如果奥运年的经济形势很强劲，有极大需求量的方面（比如旅游和建设）就很有可能产生挤出效应。如果后奥运阶段工商业衰退，早前奥运会的投资和债务的利息支付就会降低公共投资，从而使当地经济持续走弱。

不同的城市，其举办奥运会对其经济影响的大小有所不同，这不仅仅取决于该城市已有基础设施的多少，还受到下面两个因素的制约：一是举办城市自发支配资金的数量（决定主要影响的大小），二是地方经济的实力（决定次要影响——增加部分——的大小）。增加部分的大小取决于留在举办城市或地区自发支出的数额和在其他区域反复消费所创造出来的收入。然而，这一经济刺激可以被进口、储蓄和税收弱化，在很短的时间内就会消失。

上述不同情况和政治家们举办一届或“便宜”或“昂贵”的奥运会的不同政治意图使得从经济学角度来比较不同届次的奥运会非常困难，也几乎不太可能通过其经济状况来评价一届奥运会的优劣。

经济遗产——长期效应

举办一届奥运会需要特殊的“硬”组织结构和“软”组织结构。在奥运会后通常有六种类型的事件结构被保存下来。其中的四种——基础设施、专门知识、网络和文化——在奥运会的准备期间自然而然地会得以很好的发展，另外两种——情感和反映——就要看17天的奥运会的造化了（Preuss, 2007b）。奥运会之前或者之后的所有事件结构都会从或积极或消极的方面改变奥运会举办地的地位。一系列的定点因

for tourists and increased knowledge in tourism service industry (see Solberg & Preuss, 2006). The stimulation of the host city economy by additional activity and influx of autonomous money based on the change of location factors is the economic legacy of Olympic Games.

An often discussed legacy is related to infrastructure. Therefore, it will also be discussed here. When a city is chosen to stage the Olympic Games, usually major urban reconstruction is required, which affects the host city in four ways. First, there is a risk that scarce public resources are re-distributed in order to facilitate the preparation of event infrastructure. The re-distribution can slow down the general city development which would be a negative externality (see Baade & Matheson, 2002) and therefore a negative legacy. Secondly, some of the Olympic requirements are part of the host cities' long-term development plan. This cannot be considered as an Olympic legacy. However, interest groups want to see these investments as event-related and consequently account the costs as Olympic-related. Regardless of the controversy on event-related versus non-event-related infrastructure, there are three legacies supplementary to the long-term development plan of the host city:

1. The host city usually develops faster than it would have if it had hosted the Olympic Games. On the one hand, accelerated development is a positive legacy because the city benefits earlier from the infrastructure and can better position itself in the global competition among cities. On the other hand, accelerated development can inherit the risk of ignoring constraints, lower quality and higher costs. Opposing groups, socially unprivileged or minorities are then often losers because a narrowed view can fail to be responsive to wider interests and long-term community needs (Mean et al., 2005; Preuss, 2007a).
2. The consensus of politicians in respect to infrastructure for Olympic Games helps to secure the necessary public resources. On the one hand, this is a positive legacy because the required infrastructure can be financed. On the other hand, the use of scarce resources may slow down the development of non-event-related infrastructure. There is the risk that politicians use the idea of hosting the Olympic Games to justify a project that might not be politically feasible if attempted in the context of everyday politics (Burbank, Andranovich & Heying,

2001, p. 34). This creates considerable opportunity costs.

3. Infrastructure will partly be financed through autonomous resources such as from the federal government or private sector.

Thirdly, any infrastructure needed for the Olympic Games, but not for the long-term development of the city, should be built temporarily in order to avoid non-sustainable infrastructure (“white elephants”). Almost all host cities have to face discrepancies between Olympic requirements and long-term utilization (Searle, 2002). Fourthly, by analysing the requirements to stage the Games, grievances, shortcomings and gaps in the infrastructure of the city loom are revealed, and as a result solutions to overcome these can be embedded in the development strategy. This is a positive legacy.

What makes the measurement of legacy so complex is that some new structures can serve conflicting targets. For example, the improvement of the cities’ attractiveness in order to increase post-Games tourism requires media coverage, perfect organisation and impressive sport facilities. But those facilities not needed in the long-term should be temporary and are therefore not impressive. This is a crucial point in understanding legacy. A positive legacy in one dimension can be a negative legacy in another dimension (Preuss, 2007b).

SIGNALLING—A CHANCE TO LEVERAGE THE IMPACT AND LEGACY

Signalling is “an opportunity to integrate an interaction of symbolic communication and social benefit with materialistic theories of individual strategic action and adaptation [...] by showing how a given pattern of action might signal particular hidden attributes, provide benefits to both signallers and observers” (Bliege Bird/Smith, 2005, p. 221).

The strategic use of signalling is not a new phenomenon to the Olympic Games. Host governments are often interested in using the Games to pass particular messages to different interest groups. The strategic behaviour behind the communication of information through the Olympic media coverage can be explained by two theories. First, the “Principal-

素会决定举办城市生活、工业、市场、会议、事件以及作为旅游景点的地位。比方说，奥运城市作为一个旅游目的地会被下列奥运会结构所影响：对体育旅游者的吸引、全新的住宿环境、更好的交通状况、对旅游者来说更有趣的形象和旅游服务行业知识的增加（参考Solberg & Preuss, 2006）。附加的活动对经济的刺激和基于定点因素变化产生的自发资金的流入就是奥运会的经济遗产。

人们经常提及的奥运遗产是与基础设施密切相关的。本文同样不能回避这点。当一个城市被选中举办奥运会的时候，通常其主要的部分需要被改造，这就从四个方面影响了举办城市。首先，为了满足奥运会基础建设的需要，稀少的公共资源需要被重新分配。这种重新分配会降低整个城市的常规发展速度，成为消极的外部影响（参见Baade & Matheson, 2002），因此是一种消极遗产。其次，如果奥运会的某些要求是举办城市长期发展规划的一部分，那么这就不能被看作是奥运遗产。然而，利益集团想把这些投资与奥运紧密联系起来，因此就会把相关成本看成是与奥运有关的东西。然而，无论是与奥运会有关还是无关的基础建设，都至少有三种遗产补充到了举办城市长期发展规划中：

1. 如果没有举办奥运会，举办城市通常不会发展得如此迅速。一方

面，加速了的发展是一份积极的遗产，因为城市能够更早期地从其更新的基础建设中获益，并在全球的城市竞争中获得更有利的位置；另一方面，加速了的发展也自然而然地会承担忽视相关约束、低质量和过高花费的风险。这一短浅的目光会使其忽略更广大范围公众的利益和社会长远和谐的需求，从而使得反对党、社会底层或者少数民族因此经常成为由于奥运会而导致的失意者 (Mean et al., 2005; Preuss, 2007a)。

2. 政治家们对基础建设之于奥运会的作用有着一致的看法，这有利于保护必需的公共资源。一方面，这是一笔积极的遗产，因为奥运会所需要的基础设施会得到大量资金的鼎力支持；另一方面，稀缺资源的使用可能会降低与奥运会无关的基础设施的发展速度。对政治家们来说，他们会利用举办奥运会的想法来证明那些在日常政治背景下根本行不通的计划的正确性，这就构成了一种风险 (Burbank, Andranovich & Heying, 2001, p. 34)，从而带来了相当多的机会成本。
3. 基础建设的某些部分是通过自筹资源——或来自政府，或来自私人部门——来资助的。

第三，任何奥运会所需要但又不在举办城市长远发展规划中的基础设

Agent-Theory” (Jensen & Meckling, 1976), which helps to understand the signalling to better differentiate cities through, for example, sustainably improved location factors. Second, the “Costly-Signalling-Theory” (Bourdieu, 1990; Veblen, 1994), which helps to understand the signalling to build up “symbolic capital” through demonstrative consumption of a rare good.

When transferring the Principal-Agent-Theory to the case of Olympic Games, the difference is that the organizers are not one individually acting agent with personal interests to produce the signal, but a collective of economic entities (for example, host cities’ tourism industry). Due to the fact that signalling of improved location factors is a public good (for example, better image), the free-rider mentality of the individual actors (for example, hotel owners) hinder the production of a joint signal (market failure). Therefore, “event-signalling” as a strategy to communicate better location factors is a task for the government.

In Asian Olympic history, Seoul used the Olympic Games in 1988 to raise international awareness of Korean manufactured products (Kim et al., 1989). The intention is also notable in China. By delivering a perfectly organised Olympic Games in 2008, labelled with the motto “High Tech Games”, the organizers (agents) hope to signal the high quality of Chinese products. Congruently, with this type of signalling, there are hundreds of general infrastructural projects connected to the upcoming Olympic Games. The Beijing municipal government (agent) can send its signals about upgraded infrastructure (and other improved location factors) piggyback through the media which are in constant search for stories about the Olympic Games. The strategic idea is to use a positively connotated event to add general information with very low marginal costs.

The Olympic Games also create opportunities for public relations. Up to the Olympic Games in Los Angeles 1984, the Games had been often used to signal the superiority of a political system. More recently, the intention to signal is to announce or demonstrate to the world audience major changes in the host country. For example, the organizers in Munich 1972 wanted to show that West Germany had shed its shameful past. Japan 1964 and South Korea 1988 wanted to showcase

their modern, high-tech national industries and project their own image as uprising, fast-developing countries. Australia used the 2000 Olympic Games to enhance the tourist image of Australia as a whole – and not just of Sydney – and was keen to raise its international profile as being more than merely ‘a good source for raw material.’

Beijing is keen to demonstrate the growing importance of China to the world economy. Furthermore, the Olympic Games, being a western concept, will be staged in China and probably directed better than ever before. This signals that China is a central cultural nation not only copying but also developing western patterns.

The Principal-Agent-Theory explains the intention of the agent to communicate given facts (change of location factors, display of culture etc.) to the principal in order to reduce information asymmetry. Sociological theory, in particular anthropology, addresses another intention of signalling. The costly-signalling approach contributes best to explain other benefits from staging the Olympic Games. The Costly-Signalling-Theory is based on the communication of symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is a sign for social recognition and consists of prestige, reputation, positions etc. For Bourdieu (1990) and Veblen (1994), demonstrative consumption is a strategic action to achieve symbolic capital. Its attributes are relatively difficult or expensive to perceive directly (Bliege Bird & Smith, 2005, p.224). For Bourdieu (1990), the accumulation of symbolic capital is just as rational as the accumulation of economic resources. The Olympic Games attract billions of people directing their attention to the Games and its host. Therefore, the organization of the Olympic Games – in itself, an unproductive sport event – is a perfect action to achieve symbolic capital. The highest profits in symbolic capital can be attained when someone acts in ways that reliably demonstrate lack of interest in material acquisition by engaging in conspicuous consumption. Behaviours that appear at first glance to be economically ‘absurd’ simply serve the reason to show that one has surplus resources. The value of the display in terms of its symbolic capital lies in the cost of the investment. Host cities invest billions of dollars into sophisticated prestigious sport arenas such as the “Bird Nest” in Beijing or OAKA Stadium in Athens.

施均应该是临时性质的，以避免变成养不起的设施（“白象”）。几乎所有的举办城市都要面对奥运会使用和长期利用之间的矛盾（Searle, 2002）。第四，通过分析奥运会的需求，举办城市原有基础设施所受的待遇、不足和差距都能得以公开，从而使得解决这些问题的办法被纳入到城市的发展规划之中。这就是积极的遗产。

是什么使得经济遗产的衡量如此复杂以致于一些新的事件结构能够服务于某些甚至是相互矛盾的目标。比如说，为了增加后奥运时期的旅游，要发展这座城市吸引人的地方就需要大众传媒、良好的组织和能给人留下深刻印象的体育设施。但是这些在长远看来并不需要的体育设施又应该是临时的，因此也就不会给人留下多么深刻的印象。这对理解经济遗产是相当重要的一点。一份积极的遗产换个角度看可能就是消极的。（布鲁斯，2007b）

信号传递——调节经济影响和经济遗产的杠杆

信号传递是“一种通过表现已有行为模式如何发信号给特定的隐藏属性，来将符号交流与社会公益的相互作用综合到个人行为及其对如何适应社会的唯物主义理论[……]的机会，这对无论发信号者还是观察者都有帮助（Bliege Bird/Smith, 2005, p. 221）。

对信号传递的战略性运用在奥运会来说已经不是一个什么新现象了。举办国和举办城市的政府历来都对利用奥运会来向不同利益群体传递特殊的信息非常有兴趣。通过奥运传媒来交流信息这一战略行为可以由两种理论来解释。首先，“委托—代理理论”（Jensen & Meckling, 1976）可以帮助我们理解如何利用诸如改进的定点因素等指标来更好地区分各城市信号传递的不同。其次，“高成本信号理论”（Bourdieu, 1990; Veblen, 1994）则有助于我们理解如何通过稀有物品的指导性消费建立起“象征资本”的信号传递。

当我们将“委托—代理理论”应用到奥运会中的时候，与其他领域的一个不同点在于发布信号的奥运会组织者不是个体代理，而是一个经济实体的集合（例如，举办城市的旅游业部门）。根据传递改进的定点因素的信号是公共物品这一事实，个人行为者的搭便车心理（比如说，宾馆老板）就会阻碍联合信号的产生（市场失败）。因此，作为与更好的定点因素交流的“事件信号传递”应该成为政府的一项任务。

在亚洲奥林匹克发展史上，汉城利用1988年的奥运会有效地提高了韩国工业产品的国际认知（Kim等，1989）。这一意图在中国同样非常明显。通过宣扬其贴有“科技奥运”标签的完美组织工作，组织者

RESEARCH

The Olympic Games have economic implications not only during their preparation and staging (measured through the economic impact) but also a long time beyond. The Olympic Games change some location factors in the host city and may thereby attract new and permanent economic activity (economic legacy). Another benefit and a rationale for many legacies is the signalling through the Olympic Games. While studies on the economic impact of Olympic Games are manifold, there is much less investigated about their economic legacy. In respect to event-signalling, the research has just started.

A common discussion is whether the Olympic Games are economically seen as beneficial for the city/country or not. In these discussions two aspects should be considered: the multifaceted target system and the opportunity costs.

Concerning the *target system*, the staging of the Olympic Games cannot be seen as a solely economic driven activity. There are also many non-economic targets connected to the Games which are related to culture, sport, entertainment and values. The targets are manifold—partly conflicting—due to many interest groups. By optimising the outcome of the Olympic Games, the organizers may have to decide on some inefficient investments from one’s point of view while the same investment maximises the benefit for another interest group. For example, it may be inefficient for the cities to construct state-of-the-art sport facilities not needed in the long-term, while it is highly beneficial for the international sport federation.

Opportunity costs of Olympic expenditures have to be accounted only for those that invested in the Games. Especially during the bidding for the Olympic Games, there seems to be constant concern about how taxpayers’ money could be better spent. But who decides what the interest groups’ point of view is? Four facts should be considered in discussions about the opportunity costs of Olympic expenditures:

1. Public resources are only part of the overall expenditures required to stage the Olympic Games. The OCOG and infrastructural investments are partly financed by the subsidies from the IOC, the federal

government and the private sector. In other words, the opportunity costs can only be calculated for that amount of money a particular group spends by considering all benefits of the group from staging the Olympic Games.

2. A city hosting the Olympic Games has to produce the whole event. That may also include inefficient investments with no positive legacy. Single non-sustainable projects cannot be cut off and, therefore, the opportunity costs of the overall event have to be considered, not those of individual projects.
3. Olympic-related investments also affect non-Olympic-related individuals in a negative or positive way. These externalities should also be considered when calculating opportunity costs. For example, the whole industry of the host city may be able to increase its productivity due to an Olympic-related better traffic system.
4. The amount of money that needs to be invested in the Olympic Games depends on the existing infrastructure of the city. Cities that stage several events in a row (so called ‘event-strategy’) build up much event-infrastructure for the first event, but do invest relatively little for the next event. This synergetic effect has to be considered in the calculation of the opportunity costs.

Although the economics of Olympic Games has increasingly been the focus of research, there is lack of knowledge in the following eight fields:

1. *Legacy*: Most studies focus on the economic impact of Olympic Games, but not on the aftermaths. The economic legacy of the Olympic Games needs to be backed by better empirical evidence.
2. *Signalling*: Event signalling is one of the most important basics for positive economic effects from the Olympic Games. In general, factors leveraging the economic impact and maximising positive legacy need to be better investigated.
3. *Olympic Winter Games & Paralympic Games*: Most research concentrates

（代理）希望发出中国产品具备高质量的信号。随着这种信号的适当发出，若干与即将到来的奥运会有关的基础建设纷纷上马。北京市政府（代理）通过随时随地从奥运会挖掘新闻的媒体发出更新城市基础设施建设（和其他改进的定点因素）的信号，其战略就是利用这一积极肯定的暗示性事件达到用很低的边际成本增加信息总量的目的。

奥运会同样能够创造公关机会。回头看看1984年的洛杉矶奥运会，这是一届典型的发出政治制度优越性信号的奥运会。更近一点的奥运会，所发信号的主要意图则在于向全世界宣扬或者展示举办国的主要变化。比如，1972年慕尼黑奥运会的组织者就想表现西德已经摆脱了过去那种不体面的形象。1964年的日本和1988年的韩国都想展示其现代化、高科技的工业，并树立其蒸蒸日上、迅速发展的国家形象。澳大利亚利用2000年的悉尼奥运会来加强澳大利亚——而不仅仅是悉尼——的整体旅游形象，并热衷于提高其国际形象，改变人们仅仅将其看作是“原生资源丰富”的老印象。北京则积极展示中国对世界经济越来越重要的作用。更者，作为西方概念的奥运会将在中国这个大舞台上上演，较之以前，这可能更具有指向性。这一信号显示，中国不仅仅是一个学习西方模式，也更是一个有能力发展西方模式的中心文化国家。

委托—管理理论解释了代理沟通既有事实（定点因素的改善、文化的展示等）和准则以降低信息不对称的意图。社会学理论，尤其是人类学理论，则指出了信号传递的另一种意图。高成本信号解释了举办奥运会的另一些好处。高成本信号理论的基础是象征资本的交流。象征资本是一种社会识别的标记，包括威望、名声、地位等。指向性消费则是一种获得象征资本的战略行为。其贡献相对难以觉察到，或者即使要觉察到，花费也相当不菲（Bliege Bird & Smith, 2005, p. 224）。据Bourdieu（1990），象征资本的计算就像财源的积累那样合理。奥运会吸引了数以亿计的人来关注奥运会及其举办城市与举办国。因此，组织一届奥运会——其本身是一个非生产性的体育事件——是获得象征资本的正确行动。象征资本所能获得的最高利润是有人令人信服地展示其对通过炫耀性的挥霍而获得物质利益丝毫不感兴趣。乍一看“可笑”的经济行为不过是出于炫耀自己占有过剩资源这一事实。展示象征资本的价值在于投资的成本。比如，举办城市投入了数以亿计美元的资金在享有盛誉的场馆——诸如北京的“鸟巢”和雅典的OAKA——建设上。

结论和对未来研究的建议

奥运会的经济价值不仅仅在于其准备和举办期间（通过经济影响来

on the Olympic Games and very few on the economic effects of the Olympic Winter Games or Paralympic Games.

4. *Consumption of spectators*: To calculate the impact of Olympic Games all Olympic-related economic activity has to be considered. While there are sophisticated models to determine the overall economic impact, employment and tax revenues from a given economic shock, the evaluation of the primary impact needs to be improved. In particular, the consumption of Olympic tourists and the investments of private industry and exports are not known well.
5. *Private industry*: The stimulation of private industry due to upcoming Olympic Games is as rarely researched as Olympic driven additional exports.
6. *Crowding-out & externalities*: It is not sufficient to only calculate the direct primary impact of the Olympic Games to get a holistic view on the economic effect of the Games. Some sectors, for example, tourism or construction, may experience so much additional Olympic-related demand that non-Games-related demand gets crowded-out. The true Olympic impact is the net effect. In addition, not only the direct primary economic activity is related to the Olympic Games, but also the externalities.
7. *Losers of the Games*: While most economic studies focus on positive impact and legacy, the losers of the Olympic Games are not often investigated. More research is needed on, for example, displacement of public resources, change of economic activity or transformation of public into private space.
8. *Costs overruns*: Since Munich 1972, the costs and revenues of the Olympic Games were wrongly estimated during the bidding stage and then increased in the run up to the Games. This has several reasons such as the complexity of the project, the long time frame from bidding to staging the Games, missing reliable benchmarks, tactical behaviour of the bidding/organising committees and politicians. Additionally incidence that cannot be calculated increase the costs/revenues such as a change of interest rates, strikes, steel crises or a greater competition among sponsors and TV-stations for the Olympic rights.

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衡量），还在于之后更长一段时间内的效应。奥运会改变了举办城市的许多定点因素，因此或许能够吸引新的或者长久的经济活动（经济遗产）。对经济遗产来说，另一种好处和合理之处在于通过奥运会完成的信号传递。虽然对奥运会经济影响的研究数量繁多，但是对奥运会经济遗产的研究却少之又少。对于奥运会“事件信号传递”的研究更不过是刚刚起步。

人们通常讨论的是奥运会是否在经济上对举办国和举办国家有利。其中，我们应该考虑到两个方面，一是多因素的目标系统，一是机会成本。

说到目标系统，就不能把举办奥运会看成是一个单独的经济活动。因为还有很多与奥运会有关的非经济目标，比如文化、体育运动、娱乐和价值等。目标是多因素的——一定程度上，我们甚至可能说其是矛盾的——这主要是因为有着太多的利益集团。为了达到奥运会成果的最优化，组织者可能不得不从某一方面考虑允许那些效率低下的投资，因为这种投资能够使得另外的利益集团取得最大的利益。比如，对举办城市来说，艺术化的体育设施可能并不适用于其长远规划，但是这对国际体育组织来说却是一个利好消息。

奥运会财政支出的机会成本只能用那些投资在奥运会中的东西来说

明。尤其是在申办奥运会期间，人们会一直关心纳税人的钱是否被合理地花费了。但是，是谁来决定利益集团的观点的？讨论奥运会支出的机会成本时，我们必须考虑如下四个事实：

1. 公共资源不过是举办奥运会所需要的支出中的一部分。组委会和基础建设的投资部分是由国际奥委会、政府和私人来赞助的。换言之，机会成本的计算只能是在考虑到这一集团从奥运会中获得的全部利益的基础上，计算一部分特殊团体的花费。
2. 举办奥运会的城市必须产出这一超大型事件的全部内容。这也可能包括效率低下且没有任何积极遗产的投资。单独的不能完成的计划不能被削减，因此，人们需要考虑整个事件的机会成本而不仅仅是单个事件。
3. 与奥运会相关的投资也影响着与奥运无关的个人，无论是积极的还是消极的。当我们计算机会成本的时候，这些外部影响也应该被考虑在内。比如，举办城市的整个工业系统可能因为与奥运相关的更好的交通系统而提高了产量。
4. 需要投入到奥运会中的资金数量取决于举办城市已有的基础设施。那些连续举办过大型赛事的城市（所谓“事件策略”）在举

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行其中的第一次大型事件的时候就修建了许多基础设施, 因此在之后的事件中的投入就相对小得多。在计算机会成本时, 这种协同作用必须被考虑进去。

虽然奥运会的经济学研究正在持续地成为此间领域的研究热点, 但是在如下8个方面的研究仍然相对缺乏:

1. 经济遗产: 大多数的研究集中在奥运会的经济影响, 而不是其持续的结果。奥运会的经济遗产理应得到更多实证的支持。
2. 信号传递: 事件信号传递是奥运会积极经济影响的最重要因素。影响经济影响和使其经济遗产尽可能积极的因素需要得到更好地调查和研究。
3. 冬奥会和残奥会: 大部分的研究都集中在夏季奥运会上, 而鲜见冬奥会或者残奥会经济影响的研究。
4. 观众的消费: 为了计算奥运会的经济影响, 所有与奥运会有关的经济活动都要被考虑进去。虽然有传统的模型来决定所有的从这一特定的经济震荡中产生的经济影响、就业和税收收入, 对根本影响的评估仍需提高, 尤其是奥运会旅游消费、私企投资以及出口等都未被很好地研究。
5. 私人企业: 奥运会带来的对私人企业的刺激这方面的研究很少,

对奥运导致的额外出口方面的研究亦然。

6. 挤出效应和外溢影响：如果想得到关于奥运会经济影响的整体观点，只计算奥运会的直接的、根本的影响是远远不够的。某些部门，比如旅游或建筑，可能会因为奥运会产生大量的额外需求，这样，那些与奥运无关的需求就会被挤出。真正的奥运影响是净效应。另外，不仅直接的、根本的经济活动跟奥运会有关，外部影响与奥运会的关系也很密切。
7. 奥运会的失意者：大多数关于奥运会的经济学研究都集中在其积极的经济影响和经济遗产方面，却常常被忽略奥运会的失意者。
8. 成本激增：从1972年慕尼黑奥运会开始，奥运会的成本和收入在申办期间就开始被错误地估计，并且这种错误在筹办奥运会的过程中日益增加。造成这种情况的原因主要是，比如计划的复杂性、从申办到筹办的漫长过程、缺乏可靠的基准、奥申委/奥组委和政治家的战术等。不能控制的事务诸如利率的调整、罢工、钢铁危机或者赞助商和电视台之间为奥运转播权的激烈竞争等都增加了成本和收入的比值。

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¹ 关于信号传递的相关内容可参照：<http://wiki.mbalib.com/w/index.php?title=%E4%BF%A1%E5%8F%B7%E4%BC%A0%E9%80%92%E6%A8%A1%E5%9E%8B&redirect=no>

Tab.1: Costs of Games in Relation to Indicators of National Accounts

Games	Costs in US\$m 6 years prior to Games	in % of GDP (6-years)	in % of government consumption (6-year period)
Summer Olympic Games			
Atlanta 1996	2,021	0.006	0.026
Sydney 2000	3,438	0.102	0.553
Beijing 2008	5,000 (est. direct costs)	0.054	0.443
	36,000 (est. overall costs)	0.386	3.190
Winter Olympic Games			
Lillehammer 1994	1.511	0.245	1.154
Nagano 1998	3.412	0.015	0.156

Sources: Preuss (2007c & d)

表1：与国民收入指标有关的奥运会花费

届次	奥运会之前6年的花费（单位：百万美元）	占国民生产总值的百分比（6年时间）	占政府消费的百分比（6年时间）
夏季奥运会			
1996年亚特兰大	2,021	0.006	0.026
2000年悉尼	3,438	0.102	0.553
2008年北京	5,000（直接支出）	0.054	0.443
	36,000（全部支出）	0.386	3.190
冬季奥运会			
1994年利勒哈默尔	1.511	0.245	1.154
1998年长野	3.412	0.015	0.156

资料来源：Preuss（2007c & d）

AN ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE OLYMPIC ATHLETE TOWARDS A MODERNIZED PHILOSOPHY OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES AND ATHLETES

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*In memoriam of Maria Lenk (1915-2007),
Brazilian Olympic swimmer and World record holder.*

INTRODUCTION: “TELECRATIC” PROBLEMS OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES

In our age of television and ‘telecracy’ (tele=television; cracy=government - form of ‘government’ in which the political power is held by a single self-appointed ruler, in this case television), the show of Olympic sports fascinates around a billion spectators via direct color TV coverage to all countries. In this ‘telecratic’ inspection system, some of the athletes’ human rights seem to be in danger of falling victim to a show-it-all television, the mass media camera-eye of Big Brother.

The Olympic Games of the future will increasingly be faced with such ‘telecratic’ problems - in terms not only of mass media but also of commercial aspects. Commercial, political and public information needs will rather frequently conflict with the athletes’ rights. We have to develop a kind of protection program for the athletes to secure their rights against the managers and constraints of the public media including their manipulative and alienating effects. This aspect implies philosophical adequate work as we need a human rights program for athletes. ‘Telecracy’ is and will remain a major problem of the Olympic Games and top level athletics in the future. However, the postulated athletes’ rights program has to belong to their sovereignty and freedom as it is up to them to make decisions against autocratic officials and coaches. The athlete as a

关于奥运会和运动员 现代哲学方面的 运动员人类学研究

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谨以此文献给奥运会游泳选手、
世界纪录保持者玛丽亚·伦克
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前言：奥运会的“电视霸权”问题

在当今电视和“电视霸权”（原文为telecracy,其中tele表示电视，cracy意为统治，是自我任命的独裁者把持所有政治权力的一种统治方式，在这里指的是电视的统治方式）的时代中，奥林匹克运动通过电视吸引了几乎所有国家的数十亿观众。然而，在这一体系中，因为电视把所有的一切都展示了出来，一览无余，所以运动员的某些人权就有着成为《老大哥》（英国一档热播的选秀节目，类似中国的超级女生和快乐男生）镜头牺牲品的危险。

无论是从大众传媒还是商业化来说，未来的奥运会还要面临更多

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的“电视霸权”问题。商业、政治和公众对信息的需求将会频频与运动员的权利产生冲突。因此，我们必须制定出切实可行的计划来保护运动员的权利，防止来自大众传媒及其消极作用的制约和束缚。针对运动员的人权维护计划意味着我们要在哲学方面进行更多的工作。“电视霸权”现在是奥运会和顶级运动员所面临的主要问题，将来也是。但是我们要知道，这一计划的最终决定权在运动员自身，这也是他们的自由，因为反对独裁专制官员和教练的决定得由他们自己做出才行。我们必须保护有着特定人权的运动员。只有通过这种方法，他们才能更好地发挥理想的榜样作用。

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比起其它的参与者，积极主动的运动员更容易受到“电视霸权”的影响。当电视镜头对着运动员的时候，快门声有时会使本来集中精力的运动员感到不适。然而，又正是因为大众传媒将奥运赛事传播到了世界各地，体育比赛才吸引了数以亿计的观众。强大的“电视霸权”将运动员的权利、最佳行动和准备策略，甚至其亲密行为和个性都变成了镜头的私有财产（或者至少是被其控制）。

person with his or her specific human rights has to be protected. Only this way they can really fulfill their function as ideal models, in a humane sense of the word.

Active athletes are more troubled by ‘telecratic’ necessities, which bother them, than other participants. At a time when TV-lenses are available, whizzing cameras sometimes may irritate the concentrated contestants. The sports show fascinates hundreds of millions of spectators as the mass media transmit direct color coverage of Olympic events to all countries. Through gigantic ‘telecratic’ inspection, the athletes’ rights, their optimal action and preparation strategies, even their human intimacy and the preservation of their private personality, seem to be possessions of (or at least commanded by) the camera-eye of Big Brother.

Future Olympic Games will be increasingly faced with difficult ‘telecratic’ problems - not only in financial terms. It will not be easy to find an overall strategy which simultaneously covers the public’s need for information and the athletes’ rights. It is then necessary to develop a kind of protection program for the athletes to secure their rights against the managers and constraints of the public media, including their manipulative and alienating effects, which implies appropriate philosophical work. Coping with media problems, political and commercial questions will certainly not suffice. The Olympic Games are not a collection of symbols such as the protocol and the Opening, Closing and Victory ceremonies.

The Olympic idea and the Olympic spirit are much more and further-reaching than just external symbols. They should remain alive and have to be adapted to modern requirements, e.g. to the open-minded critical intellectuality of today’s younger generation. Some outdated components to reach victory such as exaggerated nationalism, winning at any price, compulsive manipulation, the totally autocratic style of coaching, the dictatorship of officials, other-directedness in motivation etc. have to be eliminated or at least mitigated. Ceremonial change by itself cannot bring about this necessary reform. In addition, we cannot expect new positive concepts, exciting goals, new guidelines and ideals from empirical scientists who are usually restricted to discipline and descriptive methods. On the contrary, this intellectual reform of the Olympic movement and sports is basically and primarily a philosophical task.

Much intellectual and, particularly, philosophical work is still to be done. Philosophically speaking, the new version of the Olympic Idea still remains either to be reborn or to have its existing conception reformed. The most important Olympic reorientation is indeed philosophical as

the reform lies in the philosophical foundation. Sport philosophers have to seriously take the criticism against sport and against achievement orientation that took place during the last decades (cf. the author's 1972). They should develop a new or, at least a better, more adequate, philosophical anthropology of both the creative process of achieving and the achieving personality and add a social philosophy. We should also apply this philosophic anthropology to sport, science, art, play, to any creative action as well as to education. This is particularly true not only for the Olympic caliber but also for other achieving activities of top level. A philosophy and a philosophic anthropology of achievement and of the creative 'achieving' human being seems to be of an utmost importance - particularly for future interpretations of top-level sports of all kinds, most notably however, for the Olympic realm. I would like to sketch some basic ideas of a philosophical anthropology along these lines.

TRADITIONAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE HUMAN BEING IN THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT

Interestingly enough, it was in Antiquity that our most influential anthropological ideas and concepts of "man" or, better, the human being, were shaped. Greek philosophers, but also Greek mythology, had exerted a decisive influence on the development of Western anthropology with respect to several conceptions of humans, or world-views, which in some sense are to be combined in the present and in the future.

The first conception is the Promethean-Faustean concept of 'man', or more appropriately speaking today, the 'human being', as the being searching for knowledge and the extension of insight, striving to improve or even get closer to perfection, in the arts and sciences. The ancient "Know thyself" supplemented by "Know the world" and its internal lawful connections, causes, and systems may - besides the biological basis - become also a slogan for the anthropological picture of humankind.

The second important conception is the Homeric-Olympic ideal of humans governed by the quest for the best in terms of achievement. The Homeric "Always to become better and to excel as compared with others", "Always to be the very best, distinguished from everyone else" (Ilias VI: 205; XI: 794) would be the slogan of this picture of man. Peleus produced that slogan as a piece of advice to his son Achilles. That so-called "Achilles Complex" (as the "Love Story" author and marathon man Segal, therefore, labeled it) represents not only the most important and characteristic rule but also the standard of athletic competition at top level and Olympic contests, if not the most revealing one of the

未来的奥运会将会面对更多的“电视霸权”难题，这不仅仅是在财政方面。要找到一个全面的策略——既能满足群众对信息的需求又能考虑到运动员的权利——并不是一件容易的事情。这就有必要制定出切实可行的计划来保护运动员的权利，防止来自大众传媒及其消极作用的制约和束缚，显然这需要在哲学方面进行更多的工作。依靠政治和商业来解决媒体问题显然不行。奥运会也不仅仅是诸如开闭幕式和颁奖仪式等的仪式和程序的集合。

比起其外在标识，奥林匹克理想和精神更为重要，触及到的东西也更为深远。它们应该保持鲜活，更要适应时代的需要，比如说它们如今要面对的就是开放又具有批判精神的年轻人。过分的爱国主义、为了胜利不息任何代价、操纵强迫症、完全机械化的训练、其它的动机等等这些获取胜利的方式已经逐渐被淘汰或者至少也是有所减轻了。仪式自身的变化不会带来这一必要的改革。同样，我们也不能期望那些被限制在规律和方法内的科学家们能提出什么积极的概念、令人振奋的目标、新的指导策略和理念。这一奥林匹克运动的改革从根本上来讲首先是一项哲学任务。

许多思想方面尤其是哲学方面的工作还等着我们来。经过冷静的分析，我们认为要产生新的奥林匹克理想只有两种方法，一是完全建立一个新的体系，一是对现有体系进行改革。由于这种改革是建立在奥林匹克哲学体系基础之上的，所以奥林匹克运动最重要的重新定位实际上就是一个哲学问题。体育哲学家必须严肃地考虑过去十年中针对体育运动及其成就所进行的批判（见作者1972年文）。无论是获得成就的主动创造过程还是针对要获得的个性和社会人生观，他们都应该发展一个新的，或者至少是更好的、更适当的哲学人类学。我们也应该将这一哲学人类学应用在体育、科学、艺术、游戏等创造性活动上，这当然也包括教育。除了对奥林匹克运动，对其他高水平赛事进行这种哲学和哲学人类学的解读也相当重要，当然其中最明显的就是奥林匹克运动。下面笔者将就这些方面的哲学人类学的基本观点进行梳理。

关于奥林匹克运动中的人的传统概念

早在古代，最有影响的关于“人”——或者说是人类——的人

Olympic Movement. Although it is by no means like the first concept of humans, it is an ideal concept, too. Both conceptions may be combined into the activist aspiration to achieve best knowledge, best achievements in any field, e. g. by personally engaging in feats of arts and sciences including performing arts like music, drama, and athletics.

The third one, the individualistic, “Western” and Christian, conception of humans has been deeply impregnated by Greek philosophy via Saint Paul, the Book of John etc. It certainly is the sophists’ and Socrates’ discovery of the value of the individual which, in part at least, also led the Christian way of life. But humanistic individualism also had its roots in ethical Greek philosophy taking “man” himself (as a species as well as an individual) as a “measure of everything” (Protagoras). Moreover, the religious roots of the ancient Olympic Games, originally celebrated in honor of Zeus confirm it.

The fourth conception of man, the practical-technological, seems to be the only one which deals with the human beings’ manipulation of the world and nature. It does not stem from the ancient philosophers and religious roots, and may be instead a modern offspring of the era of the Renaissance and/or Reformation. This conception is the one that has most explicitly changed the world and our world-views. It might be considered today a specific danger for humankind and nature. If not, the other three world-views of Antiquity would counterbalance a potentially unlimited and escalating arrogance of the ‘technological man’ (The ecological perspective came in only recently.)

Therefore, we have to consider all four conceptions of humankind as essential. Perhaps we may even add a fifth one: human creatures embedded in and being a part of nature, adjusting to natural rhythms, systems, ecosystems, etc. We then have to go back to the old ideas of wisdom and a counterbalance of harmony between the different anthropological conceptions. Self-idolization of man by means of his technological power must not run out of control. It should be limited and checked as well as balanced by the other three, more humanistic ideals. There also seems to be a system of check and balances in anthropological conceptions. We have time and again to remind ourselves of this by reactivating, revitalizing, improving and developing these humanistic ideas of human nature. Each of these ideals seems to be equally important. Each has its own heroes, model personalities and ideal types as well as its own inherent dangers. This is true for the concept of Homeric-Olympic man, too.

More important for our present topic is to pay attention to another trait or feature of humans not yet mentioned: they are not only act-

ing beings (Gehlen) (i.e. the being consciously orientating themselves towards goals, plans, and some other overriding objectives), but (s)he is more specifically the being who tries to materialize goals *better and better* by acting, conceiving, and deciding. (S)he is at the same time the personally acting, planning, thinking, judging, and performing being. Humans are the achieving beings par excellence. Authentic and autonomous action, creative personal performance and accomplishment are the necessary ideal traits of a real human being. “*Eigenhandlung*” (authentic actions and activity) and “*Eigenleistung*” (authentic and positively evaluated personal achievement) are among the most fitting characteristic traits of humans. Genuine life is personal, authentic or even consciously autonomous acting and achieving¹. Without pushing up this trait of “the achieving being” to the status of *the* would-be one and only characteristic of humans, I would like to connect it - which is easy enough to do, after all - specifically to sports and athletics.

Let me first try to play with a bit of pseudo-etymology: with the notion of the *homo performans*, or, for that, *homo performator*. The achieving being is obliged indeed to use patterns, shapes, and structures in order to create and to orient herself or himself or to act in meaningful ways. It has to be connected to *form, to apply and conceive of forms*. (S)he can only achieve something by utilizing and/or creating identifiable patterns or structures, i. e. *per formas, by forms*. Thus, (s)he depends on this and is even committed to exteriorizing some form of forms, to projecting intentions, to achieving external products etc. Only creative product- and even “self”-exteriorization allow self-reflection. Self-perfection is only possible by performing, i.e. via personal achievement. This would include most goal-oriented activities, even systematic, well-trained acting and performing, also in the sense of the word in “the performing arts”. Everybody performs parts, plays roles in the theatre of everyday life. In some sense, we are all actors playing in the drama of our lives (Goffman, 1959). By the very way of forms - by and in using forms and forming herself or himself - the *homo performator* comes to understand and yet to make herself or himself.

The achieving being - this concept is more specific than the notion of the acting being, or any other one-trait characterization of the human being. However, this facet of characterization clearly includes the capacity of acting and of action orientation, the struggle to reach goals, the energy to perform tasks and, in particular, to achieve improvement. It comprises the necessity of an external projection, i.e. self-exteriorization, into a work or an oeuvre, a result of an action or a record.

类学观点和概念就已经成型了。希腊哲学家和神话对西方人类学中人的概念和世界观的产生起到了决定性的影响，而且这些概念对当代和未来的影响在一定意义上是交融在一起的。

第一个关于“人”的概念是普罗米修斯-浮士德概念，主要认为人类是寻找知识和扩展视野的物种，通过努力奋斗来获得提高，以求在艺术和科学等方面不断接近完美。通过与“认识你周围的世界”这一观点有机结合、相互补充和完善，传统的“认识你自己”已经成为了这类概念的口号。

这就是所谓的“阿基里斯情结”（正如《爱情故事》的作者和马拉松运动员西格所命名的那样），一方面代表了顶级体育比赛和奥运会的最重要的规则和最鲜明的特征，另一方面即便不是奥林匹克最明显的证明，那么至少也代表了其标准。虽然不同于第一个概念，这也是一个理想的概念。二者的结合点在于积极主动地去获得所在领域的最多知识和最高成就这一点上。比如说，通过个人努力来获得包括诸如音乐、戏剧和竞技等的艺术和科学的最高技术和成就。

第三个概念是个人主义的——西方和基督教的——关于人类的概

念，这主要由希腊哲学孕育产生的。诡辩家和苏格拉底对个人价值的发现，至少在部分上，导致了基督教的生活方式。但是人道的个人主义也扎根于希腊哲学的伦理之中，将“人”自身（作为一个物种也作为一个个体）看作是“衡量一切事物的标准”（普罗塔哥拉斯）。而且，古代奥运会最初是献给宙斯的就证明了这点。

第四个概念——工具理性的人，好像是唯一涉及到人类对自然界的控制问题的概念。与前三个概念产生于古代哲学和宗教不同，这一概念是文艺复兴和/或宗教改革的现代产物，它引起的世界和人们的世界观的变化也最为巨大，甚至或许应该被认为是对人类和自然的潜在危险。如果不是，那么其他三个概念就应对此有所补充，制约其无限的和逐步升级的“技术人”的傲慢自大（生态方面的恶果在近些年已经越来越明显了。）

因此，这四个关于人的概念就非常重要了。或许，我们还应该加上第五种：人类是生活在自然之中的，并且是大自然的一个重要组成部分，要调整自己来适应自然节律和生态系统等。正因为如此，我们必须回过头去从古老的

Just to make sure, in our age of media, TV, computer imagery and even “virtual reality”, people need pictures and images as well as the arousal of their capacity for imagery. However, they need even more than the active involvement of bodies and selves-as-yet-to-develop to really profit from the offered movie and the world of color pictures and computer games. This ‘virtual reality’ seduces people very easily as they do not require any active movements, or even strenuous action, which the youth so dearly need for their development and well-being! Instead, young flexible minds passively watch moving pictures, colors, fabricated events and stories which seduce them, transforming them into ‘couch potatoes’ in front of a TV screen while they could be running and moving outside. Later, in their adolescent and adult lives, all the well-known mechanisms of alienation and manipulation within the “administrated world” tie in: institutionalization, bureaucracy (red tape), functionalization, segmentation, symbolization, vicarious representation, delegation, organizationism and even “Reality” shows or the mania of “outing oneself” in public or on the screen, on papers etc. – without any underlying achievement, effort, or really active engagement in moving their body. Showing off and boasting, just pretending to have accomplished something remarkable without having really done so, has unfortunately become a wide-spread strategy in our society honoring more the public image of seeming successful than really achieving hard work or strenuous endeavors and efforts. “*Esse quam videri*”²² read the Latin proverb of old: Real being (active) instead of mere appearances.

The trend towards a totally prefabricated and vicariously replayed pseudo world seems to have almost displaced any proper personal and authentic initiative, not to speak of autonomous, psycho-physical action, towards remote ecological niches. Personal acting in the genuine sense tends to become a sort of hobby for the proverbial common man or woman. In serious life, they would hardly *act* any more, being only condemned to functioning.

To be human, to act and stay alive means indeed to be active and creative - to be and remain *homo actor, performer, and creator*. Humans are only really alive as humans when they act and move (physically as well as psychically as well as mentally). We can extend Schiller’s famous statement “Man... is only completely a man when he plays”! into the slogan “Human beings ... are only completely human when they achieve freely”, i.e., according to their own choice and determination without being dominated only by, e. g., the necessities of sustenance, orders, etc.

Personal and authentic, autonomous or well-adapted free action is a criterion of real and truly personal life for the achieving being. Only (s)he who acts, achieves and moves (something and herself or himself) is really alive in the deeper, humanistic, sense. Life in its emphatic understanding is goal-oriented action, personal achievement, authentic commitment and performance including at times strenuous bodily efforts like the ones in top level sports.

APPLYING ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSIGHTS TO ATHLETICS

It is easy to apply these anthropological insights to sports and athletics. Both have been and remain to be realms of bodily activity in which genuine personal involvement and engagement are required. This is true in the original sense, even as a paradigm of bodily *and* psychic involvement. Sports actions and achievement cannot be easily, pretended or obtained surreptitiously, vicariously achieved, or even delegated. In this sense, sporting achievements are accomplished by personal endeavor and effort. They consist, ideally speaking, in genuine and honest actions resulting in an adequate assessment of performance and output.

Sports actions and performance would require personal - at least usually nowadays in top level athletics - almost total devotion and commitment. "Concern for bodily excellence" - to use Paul Weiss's (1969) nice phrase - is nothing to play at or to be ridiculed. Athletic action and achievement require spontaneity, serious commitment and at times extraordinary self-discipline. Even leisure sports and games depend on such personal effort, bodily as well as psycho-physically active involvement. Personal freedom means here to consciously and deliberately agree with and abide by the rules. Such freedom is to be found in the free variations of action and planning strategies within the framework and limits of the rules and standards. As chance, it is somehow expressed in the changing situations as also in the vicissitudes and unpredictability of a competition event. Finally, a feeling and experience of personal freedom may typically result and be gained, if you really have symbolically achieved a victory over yourself or over an opponent or against nature, say a mountain or storm or distance, e. g.: think of the experience of overcoming the notorious weakness after twenty miles of a marathon. In purely playful leisure sports, the very establishing and changing of the rules as we go along provides an additional means of expressing and constituting freedom of action - you may think here even of

智慧中，探索不同人类学概念之间的和谐和平衡。人类因为其高超的技术水平所引发的自我崇拜必须得以控制或限制，并由其他三个更人文、更人性的概念来平衡。应该有一种制约和平衡不同人类学概念的系统。通过使其具有新的活力、起到新的作用、获得改善和发展，我们能够再次回忆起这些传统的关于“人”的概念。上述四个概念都是同等重要的，每一个都有其英雄、模范人物、理想类型及其固有的内在危险。“荷马-奥林匹克”这一概念的“人”自然也不例外。

对本文论题更为重要的是人类特点之一：他们不仅仅是行动的动物（盖伦语）（比如人类会有意识地向着自己的目标、计划和其他一些高于一切的目的努力），但是他/她更为独特的一点是力图通过行为、构想和决定来更好地实现其目标。同时，他/她还是个人行动、计划、思考、判断和行为的物种，也是追求成就的动物。对真正的人来说，主动行动、创造性的个人行为 and 成就都是其显著特点。“Eigenhandlung”（真正的行动和行为）和“Eigenleistung”（可信赖的个人成就）是存在于这些人类特征之中的。真正的生命是个人的、真实的、有意识的、自觉的

行动和成就的。但是本文并没有将其作为理想的人的唯一特征，笔者主要谈的是这一特征在体育和竞技领域的相关内容。

让我们先来看几个词源：homo performans或homo performer。追求成就的人必须要用模式、形状和结构来创造和引导自己或者使他们自己以一种有意义的方式行动，这就与形成、努力和对要形成的东西的设想有机地结合了起来。人只能利用和/或创造可被确认的形式或结构来获得成就。这样，人于是就依赖于形式并要致力于外化形式、彰显目的和获得结果等任务。只有创造性的结果——甚至是自我外化才允许自我反省。自我完善唯一可能的方式就是行动，比如通过个人的成就。这就包括“表演艺术”意义上的指向目标的活动，甚至是系统化的、经过很好训练的行动和行为。每个人都表演的一部分，在每天日常生活的舞台上扮演着自己的角色。在某种意义上，我们每个人都是自己生命这部剧目的演员（Goffman, 1959）。homo performer通过形式——通过、利用形式并形成人本身——理解了这些，并成为他/她自己。

追求成就的人——这一概念比行动的人这一概念或者其它关于人的单一特征描述要更加具体。然

a Wittgensteinian interpretation of “following a rule”! In the end, regarding that, Adorno (1969) was certainly wrong in judging that sport would essentially be a “realm of non-freedom, wherever it is organized”.

It is true though, in top level athletics, that there are indeed at times instances of manipulation, alienation or even compulsion and domination exerted on athletes by officials, authoritarian coaches, doping doctors, the notorious public pressures for and expectations of spectacular records, pressure of the media, journalists, etc. But these are external phenomena that do not necessarily touch the essentially voluntary action of a free athlete. Only an athlete who autonomously devotes herself or himself to a strenuous regimen of training is at times capable of extraordinary accomplishments: you can command somebody to march, but you cannot command the athlete to establish a world record or, say, to climb Mount Everest without additional oxygen intake.

Achievement in its wider sense is more general than competition (although competition is one of the best means to improve achievement). The characteristic Homeric slogan mentioned above of athletic and Olympic contests (“Always to be the best, distinguished from everyone else”, see above) is certainly not the only Olympic norm of the best possible achievement, although it is rather significant and characteristic for the very Olympic tradition and culture of achievement. The Olympic idea, thus, is mainly characterized by a specific principle of achievement, namely the agonistic or competitive one. However, even in the Olympic Movement, the harsh ideal norm of being the one and only victor is - or at least should be, ideally! - mitigated or put into a somewhat more restricted perspective, as shown by Coubertin’s well-known phrase “The most important thing in the Olympic Games is not to win but to take part”. Educationally speaking, it is indeed more important to perform at one’s personal best, to achieve the best possible personal result, to be able to participate in the Games of the sports elite and to fight fairly. Indeed, most of the conducive effects and impacts of a rigorous athletic training and of a genuine top level achievement motivation can be gained without being the eventual, say Olympic, champion. Sometimes, it is rather an educational challenge to stand defeat, though nowadays even the very fact of having won an Olympic victory seems to be a special test for the athlete’s personality to see whether (s)he can come out of the public and commercial aftermath uncorrupted³. In our publicity-afflicted society, the victorious athlete also has, so to speak, to pass a test of personal maturity.

The ideal models of the “sovereignty of the autonomous and enlightened athlete” and of the so-called “democratic” (i.e., actively participating) style of coaching were once established and elaborated in the practice of coaching crews at Ratzeburg/Northern Germany during the fifties and sixties – n. b. with my cooperation as a member of one Olympic champion and, later, as an amateur coach of a World Champion eight-oar shell (1966). Then, in a speech on the occasion of the German rowing championship (1965), I had already summed up conclusions from my practical experience in rowing and coaching. I talked about the ideal standard and model of an “autonomous” and “enlightened” or, rather, “sovereign” (“*mündiger*”) athlete. The results regarding the so-called “democratic” style of coaching were also based on the late Karl Adam’s experience, the most successful and (scientifically and philosophically) erudite coach ever who had revolutionized coaching methods in world rowing at the time.

THE OLYMPIC CHARTER AND THE VALUE SYSTEM

The Olympic athlete, indeed, serves as an outstanding example of excellence documenting the symbolic meaning of an active achieving life. The Olympic idea - the agonistic idea at top-level, expressed in Peleus' slogan - is certainly incorporated, nay, incarnated in the ideal type of an Olympic athlete - may (s) he be a winning or a losing contestant. To have fought well (Coubertin), to have achieved one's best - both seem to be the very core of the Olympic Idea. We should try to keep this educational idea relatively free from exaggeration and from political and/or commercial distortion.

In order to achieve these goals it should be worthwhile to elaborate a new "Olympic philosophy". Ideas about a necessarily pluralistic multifaceted anthropology and about the multi-compatibility and multi-identifiability of the Olympic Idea and Olympic Movement have to tie in (see the author's 1964). The values and goals of the Olympic movement are those of a truly international and intercultural movement. They are a fascinating symbol of the unity of humankind in its higher aspirations. In this, even ambiguity and vagueness of many components within the Olympic Idea can and did lead to a social gathering and to a uniting impact, toward a real social effect of multi-compatibility and multi-identifiability of the Olympic movement (cf. below and the author's 1964, 1979).

A somewhat more concise definition of the term "Olympic Idea" would have necessarily to comprise this pluralistic structure of values, norms and basic features of the Olympic movement. The values of tolerance, equal participation rights, equality of opportunities and qualifying

而，这里的创造显然包括行动的能力和行动的方向、为了达到目的所进行的奋斗、完成任务所需要的能量，尤其是要获得提高的目的。这就有必要将自我表现等应用于工作、行为结果或者创造纪录中。

在媒体时代、或者称为电视和计算机影像甚至是“虚拟现实”的时代，人们需要图画和影像以及对其影像能力的激励。然而，他们需要更多身体和自我的积极参与，才能从电影或者彩色图像世界和计算机游戏中获益。“虚拟现实”之所以吸引人，是因为它不需要任何积极主动的活动，而这类活动对青少年的全面发展又是必需的。如果年轻人只是被动地注目于这些影像、色彩、虚构的事件和故事上，他们会变成了屏幕前的“沙发土豆”，而这段时间，他们本该在户外活动。这样，在其青少年和成年的生活中，就充斥着视觉媒体产品中造成疏远和操控性的这些东西：制度化、官僚主义、实用论、分割化、标志化、间接代理、组别化、组织性，甚至所谓的“真实”秀或者热衷于在公共场合、电视或者报纸上的抛头露面，而没有任何实在的成就、努力或者是真正的活动其身体的积极主动的行为。炫耀和自吹自擂——假

装完成了一些不寻常的事情，而实际上什么都没有做——很不幸地已经变成了我们社会中惯用的伎俩，以给予看起来成功的公众形象更多的荣誉和尊重，而不去关心那些真正有所成就的辛勤工作、尝试或者努力。正如古老的拉丁谚语所言，真正的人（积极主动的）不是仅仅靠表现出来的。

现在的趋势是走向完全的预制和代言者一样的重播所构筑的虚假世界，这几乎要替代了原本的个人的主动性，更不用说主动的身心合一的活动了，从而远远地偏离社会生态。真正意义上的个人行为变成了人们的一种业余爱好。在严肃的生活中，他们几乎没有什么行为，而只是被迫在起作用而已。

作为人而言，行动和活着实际上就是要保持积极主动和创造性——成为并保持作为 *homo actor*, *performator* 和 *creator*。人类只有当行动（无论是体力、心理还是精神上）的时候才是真正活着的。席勒有个著名的论断“人……只有当他游戏时才是彻彻底底的人！”，我们可以将其发展为“人类……只有自由地去追求成就的时候才是真正的人类”，比如说其行为是根据其自

as well as starting chances, respect of partners, competitors, and sport opponents, the idea of a symbolic unity of humankind, the achievement principle and the respective idea of an Olympic achieving elite are indeed values of such a formal character, functional norms so-to-speak which are compatible with many different cultural contents. All this is reflected already in the Olympic Charter, e.g. in § 6 and 3: regarding the autonomy of the Games, the Movement and the respective institutions, the National Olympic Committees and the IOC, rejection of any discrimination on political, racial, sexual or religious grounds etc. One should also look to Coubertin's explicitly "most important principle of today's Olympia": "*All games - all nations*" which, however, interestingly enough, does not appear at all within the Olympic Charter. The most famous Olympic slogan "*Citius, altius, fortius*" (§ 6) could and should be supplemented by "*pulchrius*" ("more beautiful") and "*humanius*" ("more human(e)") capturing the aesthetic and humanitarian aims of the Olympic Movement.

Indeed, the Olympic philosophy has to be worked out according to an intellectual level of discussion up-to-date reflecting the far-reaching cultural and not only the sport components. The Olympic Games are in need of a more encompassing and concise description not only of the intellectual and philosophical content but also of the Olympic conception of humans. The Olympic philosophy and the Olympic anthropology have to be developed in the future in order for us to be able to cope with the external dangers that crop up from commercialism and nationalism to successfully reflect the overriding impact of the Olympic idea and sports, actively achieving life in general.

Coubertin interpreted the Olympic tradition as being much more than a mere organization of sport games or just a world-championship of all kinds of sport. Coubertin's main idea of an "Alliance of the arts, the sciences and sports" in the Olympic Games might also influence some organizational parts of the Olympic Games. However, just merely reforming the Olympic protocol will not suffice.

The Olympic Games undoubtedly have political⁴ influence beyond special partisanship: they may have no *directly* effective peace mission as it is sometimes alleged, but they constitute a symbol of a better and more human world, understanding among the athletic youth across all national and cultural boundaries. All of this furnishes the values and goals of the Olympic movement with the identity and union of a truly international and intercultural movement. They are a fascinating symbol of the unity of humankind in its higher aspiration. In this, as mentioned, even ambiguity and vagueness of many components within the Olympic

Idea can and did lead toward a social effect of multi-compatibility and multi-identifiability (cf. my 1964). According to the goals of the founder of the modern Olympic Games, Pierre de Coubertin, as stated in the basic principles of the International Olympic Committee, the Games are intended to gather the world's youth at a great quadrennial sports festival to create international respect and goodwill and help build a better, more peaceful world.

As a consequence of the multi-identification and of the gathering impact, an *intercultural* collective and/or integrating effect is a function of the unspecific character, generalizability, formality, functionality, impartiality and cultural tolerance of the Olympic value system (Lenk 1964, 14 ff et passim). Thus, its famous contribution to an “understanding among peoples” occurs *indirectly* through the fact that it is an effective symbol. Certainly, the Movement has and “only has the strength of a great ideal” (Brundage). Together with the fascination, and the intercultural and international multi-compatibility that is quite an advantage.

It is inappropriate to overload the Olympic idea with the exorbitant demand of a substantial and significant peace mission and direct political functions. This allegation would perhaps even diminish its actual social effectiveness. Its contribution should be seen *indirectly* as an effective, exemplary symbol of political neutrality that develops a universally acceptable value system, which still would and could render notable influences on a “unity” of internationally understood goals and traditions, and offer public opportunities for developing understanding among representatives of various peoples and cultures.

The Olympic Games offer extant public opportunities for young athletic representatives of different nations enabling them at least to meet, learn and, in part, understand each other. In this sense, the Olympic Games and, moreover, the Olympic Movement itself, fulfill an important symbolic role and function in relation to an ideal unity of humankind. The Olympic Movement has to remain aware of and consciously pursue the humanistic, educational and philosophic dimensions of its idea in order to live up to its honorable tradition even if in danger today as ever since. The Olympic Movement is too important a humanistic idea to get sacrificed or to fall victim in the jungle of commercialism, telecracy and nationalism or to leave it to the short-sighted pragmatic orientations and operations of political and sport officials and administrators only. This is all the most important for the non-sportive components, elements and guidelines of the Olympic Movement as, e.g., its value systems as well as its humanistic, anthropological and philosophical foundation. If there

己的愿望和决心，而不是仅仅被其它诸如必需品和命令等东西控制。个人的、真正的、主动的或者适合的自由行为是追求成就的人的标准。只有当他/她行动了、获得成就了，才能真正地生活在了深层的人文主义的意义上了。生活是目的导向的行为、个人成就、可靠的承诺和行为，有时也包括比如说在高水平体育比赛中身体的努力。

《奥林匹克宪章》及其价值体系

奥林匹克运动员的确是主动获取成就的杰出榜样。奥林匹克理想——珀流斯的口号中表达出来的顶级水平的观念——当时是被包括并具体化在了理想的奥林匹克运动员中，无论他/她是胜利者还是失败者。很好地战斗（顾拜旦）、去获得一个人的最好状态，二者都是奥林匹克理想的核心。我们应该试图去保持这一教育观念的鲜活，避免其受到政治和/或商业化的过份影响。

为了达到这些目标，就有必要来制定一个新的“奥林匹克哲学”。涉及多方面内容的人类学概念和奥林匹克理想、奥林匹克运动的兼容性和可辨识性应该有机结

合起来（见作者1964年文）。奥林匹克运动的价值和目标具有真正的国际化和跨文化的含义，其更高一层的目标是团结全人类。在这里，奥林匹克理念——哪怕是含糊的部分——能够并的确领导了全世界的团结，从而在奥林匹克运动的兼容性和可辨识性方面真正产生了社会影响（见下文和作者1964年和1979年文）。

最简要的“奥林匹克理想”有必要包含奥林匹克运动的价值体系、标准、行为模式以及基本特征。诸如容忍、平等参与、机会均等、尊重对手等价值和人类大团结的观念、追求成就的原则和奥林匹克精英们的理想都是真正的奥林匹克的特点和行为准则，并适用于多种文化。所有的这些都早已在《奥林匹克宪章》中有所反映了，比如在第6条和第3条中：关于奥运会、奥林匹克运动和各自机构、国家奥委会和国际奥委会的自治权，拒绝任何形式的政治、种族、性别或者宗教歧视等。我们还应该看一看顾拜旦明确指出的“当今奥林匹亚的最重要的原则”——“所有的运动、所有的国家”。然而，有意思的是，这在《奥林匹克宪章》中并无表现。最著名的奥林匹克格言“更快、更

are any - Olympic philosophers should step to the front! They should not only start thinking and working but they should also enjoy some kind of resonance on the side of the public and by the Olympic officials, who thus far for the most part, unfortunately, have been opportunistically and technocratically minded. They apparently do not very often even read or think very much by way of, say, digging deeper.

ATHLETIC AND OLYMPIC “MYTHS”

In this sense, the Olympic Games - as a symbol of peaceful unity of humankind and youth - do not reflect a positive and special quasi-“mythical” role - even today, besides the fact that in ancient history they were founded on a religious myth (to be sure, “ideal type” symbols do have an important, quasi-“mythical” effect, even in a rather sober modern world which lacks in enthralling and, particularly, in world-wide goals.) If ‘myth’ can be understood in an extended secularized sense, then this is certainly the case here. ‘Myth’ characterizes a model that illustrates a meaning and valuation, and would reflect these connotations in a symbolical manner. These interpretations of meaning have developed historically in cultural traditions. Their illustration is evident in typical, exemplary situations described dramatically. When some dramatic staging and the visualization of well-known concepts may create, circumscribe or define meaning for less well-known phenomena, “myths” are developed and offer guidelines for meaning constituents and interpretations, both being typical and explanatory. (I called the theoretical description and modeling of these phenomena and the social philosophical interpretation a “mythological” approach, which would figure in fact under the guideline of my methodology and philosophy of scheme-interpretationism (see my 2003).) In sport, these modern quasi-myths create and transfer meaning in a visible way that is usually more dramatic and dynamic and often more festive than meanings of events of everyday life.

In competition sports, “myth” is prevalent as a symbolic role of acting. The roles fit together, in the simplest confrontation, in visible dynamics and drama. The dramatic presence of the event and the historical immutability of each action and decision under the judgment of an excited and enthusiastic public are notably effective. In the simplified confrontation of competitive athletics, this can be a microcosmical illustration of almost archetypical dynamics.

The dramatic and quasi-“mythical” event of the Olympic Games, its experience and outstanding character, if not uniqueness, would

explain not only the symbolic role but also the athletes' and the spectators' fascination for the respective Olympic sports activities. This is especially stressed in the historical uniqueness of the Olympic Games. Sports action, and especially participation in the Olympic Games, is neither normal life in a nutshell nor the focus of daily life. In quasi-myth(ological) symbolization and development, it results in a characteristically simple model of a vitally intensified, emphasized and contrasting mode of action in the form of role playing. The Olympic Games and the Olympic idea are distinguished from daily life by their tradition, the history of the ancient and modern Games, the intermingling with intellectual and artistic symbols and philosophical and pedagogical concepts (see my 1964, 1972, 1976, and 1979 works).

Top level sport, especially in the form of Olympic competition, symbolically and dramatically reflects the basic situation and the self-overwhelming and “active fighting accomplishment” of the athlete, who is - so to say - the “Herculean” man (or woman, if that label is allowed) of Western culture. The sports “myth” and its fascination are characterized by self-expression and self-confirmation in aspiring to achievement, the dream of mastering nature and acting rationally and under control with a minimum of equipment, enhanced vitality, the desire to cross and remove limits (Ortega y Gasset), taking risks, pressing for the lead or advantageous position, surpassing existing achievements, being restricted to technically unnecessary goals and unnecessarily limited means for achieving these goals besides the dramatically dynamic role-confrontation during competition. Masterful strength, swiftness, ability, body-control and endurance symbolize human capabilities through a quasi-mythical interpretation of the humans' fundamental situation. The fascination of sprint events, for example, cannot be completely explained rationally without referring to the symbolic “mythical” principle of the autonomous mobile human being, or to lost chances and experiences, or to the attractiveness of conquering spatial distance through personal strength, initiative and achievement motivation.

Ideally speaking, the athlete would dare to enter a new field of human achievement behavior and endeavor, namely the field of a symbolic demonstration of strength, not only so much over others but equally also over herself or himself. Athletic achievements also offer adventurous opportunities for gaining distinction in a basically uniform society, which nevertheless emphasizes individual values. The Olympic athlete thus illustrates the “Herculean myth” of a culturally exceptional achieve-

高、更强”（第6条）可以而且应该被“pulchrius”（更美丽）和“humanius”（更人文）补充，因为此二者指向了奥林匹克运动的审美和人道主义目的。

实际上，我们与时俱进地构建奥林匹克哲学体系，这反映了深远的文化而不仅仅是体育成分。奥运会需要简明的智力和哲学内容，也需要奥林匹克运动的“人”的概念。为了避免商业化和国家主义等带来的危险，成功地发挥奥林匹克运动、理想和追求成就的生活方式的重要影响，我们必须大力发展奥林匹克哲学和人类学。

顾拜旦使奥林匹克传统旧貌换新颜，不再仅仅将其看作运动会或者是所有项目世界冠军的集合，而是宣扬奥运会“联合所有的艺术、科学和体育运动”，力求改善奥运会的组织。然而，仅仅是改革奥林匹克的程序还远远不够。

虽然在党派之外，奥运会毫无疑问地也具有一定的政治影响：他们或许并不像自己宣称的那样担负着直接的和平任务，但它的确是更美好、更人性世界的标志，在这里，来自不同国家和文化的年轻运动员们能够互相理解。所有这些都表现了奥林匹克运动的

价值和目标，与其国际和跨文化运动的身份一致并进一步确认了这种地位。在更高层面上，我们可以看出全人类大团结的巨大吸引力。通过这种方法，奥林匹克理想理念中甚至是模糊的部分也能而且已经产生了兼容性和可辨识性方面的社会影响（见笔者1964年文）。根据现代奥运会创始者皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦设定的目标，正如国际奥委会基本原则所声称的那样，奥运会意在将全世界的年轻人集中在四年一度的体育盛会中，寻找国际尊重和友好，帮助建立一个更美好、更和平的世界。

作为可辨识性和团结全人类的结果，奥林匹克价值体系中的普世性、正式性、功能性、公平性和文化容忍使得跨文化和/或包容性也是其特性之一，并起着巨大作用（见笔者1964年文）。因此，其著名的“促进人们之间的理解”的贡献并不是直接发生的，而是标志着一种影响力。当然，奥林匹克运动拥有并且“只有巨大的理想的力量”（布伦戴奇）。其吸引力、跨文化的普世性以及国际性的多元兼容性是其优势所在。

赋予奥林匹克理想太多直接的和平任务和政治作用是不恰当的。

ment, i.e. of actions an activity being essentially unnecessary for life's sustenance that is nevertheless highly valued and arises from complete devotion to striving to attain a goal which is very difficult to reach. The memory of having proved oneself in athletic competition and of systematically learning discipline and self-confidence in training does not develop and gain from winning but also from honest participation in an Olympic or other outstanding athletic event. As a person, the athlete would/could build up personal self-esteem by knowing that (s)he has done her or his best (as Coubertin said: "The most important thing in life is not to have won, but to have fought well").

Looking back at these aspects, the athlete may establish personal stability and continuity of personal experience, confidence or even distinction within a tradition. (S)he had devoted himself or herself to an extraordinary task and stood the test in his or her own and others' eyes. Thus, Pythagoras (as quoted by Cicero⁵) was wrong in this matter: top level sport, especially Olympic athletics, does not only compactly reflect normal life, it is also a symbol of an emphasized and *exalted* vital life, of outstanding feats and devotion for extremely unusual achievements. Pythagoras forgot about the "mythical" interpretation that Olympic competition has for spectators and active athletes. His remark was undoubtedly aimed at the human habit of making "myths" too common an element of everyday life.

When an athlete such as the high jumper Fosbury in the 1960s discovered a new and victorious jumping style through intelligent variation; when the gymnast Fujimoto in Montreal attempted his decisive exercise with a fractured knee and completed his performance with a double summersault seconds before he collapsed (and won the gold medal for his team), one cannot claim that characterless, mechanical, systematized and manipulated muscle-machines accomplished pre-programmed and planned exploits. Today, as in the past, such cases have shown that athletic achievement cannot dispense with, ignore or shove aside extraordinary motivation, initiative, effort, personality and dedication, even devotion. This is particularly true today for areas in which almost all sports disciplines at Olympic level require total involvement in pursuing the attainment of unusual results. A top grade athletic achievement remains to be a real personal act requiring total involvement. Within a societal support system, it may be facilitated and promoted, but it cannot be precisely or mechanically generated. The feat is and will always be individually accountable. The athlete is not a characterless producer of records; (s)he is a personality, going through positive and negative phases and having abundant interesting variations, even and especially when (s)he loses.

Thus, the outstanding personality regarding will-power, self-devotion, and nearly total involvement in a goal-oriented activity is still found in sport today. The athlete is a symbol of “the achieving being”.

The Olympic Games have lost the old religious values integrated in them within the Greek culture. However, is that the only fact that has enabled them to gain worldwide attention? Religious and mythical secularization and independence were a pre-requisite for their accommodation in so many cultures, hence their worldwide effect. Even a certain ambiguity and multi-compatibility have been a cause of the worldwide Olympic “gathering effect”. The “mythical” factors seem to appear in the Olympic Games only indirectly, formally and functionally. But they are important for the future of the Games. These factors especially require institutional regulation that is externally evident in forms, signs and symbols expressed in ceremonies and protocol. But exteriorization of symbols and institutionalization, even innovative reforms of the protocol and ceremonies themselves, are not enough. The Olympic spirit should remain alive and be adapted to modern requirements, e.g. to the open-minded critical intellectuality of today’s younger generation. Some outdated components of the idea as, for instance, exaggerated nationalism, victory at nearly any price, forced manipulation, the totally autocratic style of coaching, the dictatorship of officials, and the other-directedness in motivation, have to be eliminated or at least mitigated. Ceremonial change alone cannot bring about this necessary reform. In addition, we can hardly expect the new positive concepts, these thrilling and exciting goals, new guidelines and ideals from an *empirical* scientist who is usually restricted to the positions, methods and results of his/her discipline. This intellectual reform of the Olympic Movement and sports is also basically a philosophical task. This most important reorientation has yet to occur. It has to be a reform in the philosophical foundation, a renovation of the Olympic philosophy. Again: philosophers to the fore! We - as philosophers - have indeed to seriously take the fashionable and to a considerable degree the justified criticism of the last half century launched against athletics and achievement orientation. We have to develop a new philosophy of unobstructed, freely chosen achievement actions and of the creative achieving being. In short, we have to delineate a new philosophical anthropology of both creative accomplishment and the achieving personality. We should also apply this philosophical anthropology to sports, science, art, play and any creative action, as well as to education.

如果这样的话，可能会减少其实际的社会影响。其贡献应该被看作是间接的，标志着有效的、杰出的政治中立，发展了普世的价值体系，深刻地影响着全球范围对目标和传统的理解，给不同文化和人群提供了公共的促进理解的良好机会。

奥运会给不同国家的青少年运动员提供了公共的机会，他们在这个场合能够相遇、学习，并且至少在部分上理解彼此。在这个意义上，奥运会和奥林匹克运动在促进人类联系与团结方面扮演了重要的角色，发挥了重要的作用。哪怕是从开始到现在都面临着各种各样的危险，奥林匹克运动也理应保持其对理想的人文主义、教育和哲学的追求，以续写其光辉的传统。奥林匹克运动是如此重要的人文主义理想，以至于不能混迹于商业化、电视霸权和国家主义中并沦落为其牺牲品，或者将其扔在政治和体育官员、管理者短见的实用主义中。价值体系和人文主义的、人类学的和哲学的基础是奥林匹克运动的非体育的组成部分、要素和指导方针。奥林匹克哲学家应该身先士卒，冲锋在前！他们应该不仅仅开始思考和工作，还要去获得来自公众的共鸣。对于奥林匹

克运动的大部分官员来说，很明显，非常遗憾的是，他们并未这样深入地进行阅读或者思考。

创造性地获得成就的原则

要获得成就需要创造性的原则，或者是创造性的成就及其各个过程，或者更个人的行为。传统的讨论与哲学和社会学领域关于成就——行为的原则和“获得成就的社会”——一度流行的社会批判有着过多的密切联系。人们不仅仅应将复杂的获得成就的原则单纯解释为经济途径。这是一个误解。我不能给出更多的关于我反对对“获得成就的社会”进行批判的细节（见笔者1972年和1979年文）。社会哲学方面意味着人类是“追求完美的获得的物种”（这与其他必要的特征一样）：一个人必须清楚地区分自由的选择、主动的成就和第二动机或者是强加的成就之间的区别。从哲学和社会哲学角度讲，二者截然相反。第一种获得成就的活动和动机，也包括我们经常忘记的获得成就的快乐和个人处于积极的和/或的能真正生产出什么东西来的状态，在这种情况下，人是真正有创造性的，同时具备了homo performer

A PRINCIPLE OF CREATIVELY ACHIEVING

There is still a *creative* principle of achievement or, rather, a principle of creative accomplishments and the respective processes, or, rather personal actions, of achieving. The traditional discussion thus far has been too much related to the once fashionable social criticism in the philosophy and sociology of achievement, the performance principle and the “achieving society”. One should not only interpret the comprehensive achieving principle in a crude economical way. This would amount to a misunderstanding. I cannot go into details of my counter-criticism of the social critics of the “achieving society” here (see my 1972 and 1979 works). Besides the economic and sociological achievement principles, we have at least a socio-psychological one, and a socio-philosophical one, too. The socio-philosophical aspect would mean that the human being is (amongst other necessary traits) indeed “the achieving being par excellence”: one has to distinguish clearly between freely chosen, self-motivated achievements and secondarily motivated or even imposed achievements. Philosophically and also socio-psychologically speaking, they are really very different. It is the first-mentioned kind of achieving activity and achievement motivation, also including the frequently forgotten pleasure of achieving and being personally active and/or productive, which I would really be creative, characteristic of *homo performer* and *homo creator* at the same time. This kind of socio-philosophical - and personally experienced - achievement principle, which has still to be further elaborated in philosophical terms is far from being outdated (This is also true for the other variants of the achieving principle, even if we do not live in a strict “achieving society” as McClelland thinks: cf. again my 1972, 1979 and 1983 works).

Educationally speaking, it is necessary to provide plenty of opportunities for creative and achieving actions (in the narrower competitive sense, and in the top level as well as in the wider sense). Every man and woman, in particular every youngster, has a human right to have access to creative activities: creativity, primary motivation, personal commitment and devotion, a plurality of creative activities in a personal combination (multi-sidedness). In short, any opportunity for creative and achieving activity has to be provided and fostered by the very families, elementary and high schools, colleges, universities and most certainly and effectively by sport teams, clubs, boys' and girls' scout groups as well as by other official institutions and voluntary organizations. The liberal and democratic state has to emphasize and support these tendencies and should provide plenty of such opportunities to foster and further such activities, initiatives, and motivations. It seems necessary, at least in Europe, to develop and support as well as to honor a new positive culture of creative

achievements - of the creative achievement and performance principle (see my 1983).

Achievement being a cultural and social phenomenon, it is not just a purely natural process or phenomenon. It is at the same time a psycho-physical, socio-psychological, cultural and also, in some sense, spiritual, and basically even an important anthropological and philosophical topic, even more so if and insofar as it belongs to symbolic results, process, methods and mediating procedures. It is a fundamental anthropological model, if not a category, and an effective vehicle for self-understanding, self-development, social identification, judgment and appreciation.

Certainly, the human interest in personal authentic and autonomous acting, the respective concern for excellence by achieving and accomplishing something by one's personal efforts and endeavors, is, methodologically and philosophically speaking, an ideal with a normative hue, a convincing appeal, a demanding symbol, and an expression of our eternal orientation towards the best. Achieving and "winning", though, by contrast to the notorious slogan by Tatum and Lombardi, is "not everything" or "the only thing", but without achieving, the performing human being, *homo performer* and *creator*, could not make much sense of her or his life, and their higher life aspirations. Without creative human achievements and initiatives, higher civilization or even our material culture would have been possible at all. *The cultural being* (dependent on culture) *is the achieving being*. To wit, *authentic and autonomic personal acting* ("Eigenhandeln", "Eigenleistung"), is important for a creative life. Therefore, amongst other creative activities, sport can and should be a genuine means of human creativity, a function of which philosophers of an active life like Ortega y Gasset had certainly thought of (see his 1930, my 1972, and 1979).

Ideally, an Olympic athlete indeed would serve here as a notable example, a model visibly illustrating this symbolic meaning of an actively achieving and "sporting" life. The Olympic idea, the mentioned mottos of Homer and Coubertin, which are conveyed best in sport and athletics, are certainly incorporated, even incarnated, in the personal histories, roles, and symbolic function of the Olympic athletes - be they winning or losing participants. We should not - although we still often do - exaggerate, like the ancient Greeks, the idea of victory as well as of the one and only winner and the all too widely spread orientation at the unique winner ("singular winner orientation", "*Singulärsiegerorientierung*" as I had called it elsewhere). Indeed, to "have fought well" (Coubertin) and to have been fair, to have done one's best also seems to be a very important lesson to be learned from the Olympic idea.

和homo creator的特征。这种社会哲学的——对个人来说是个人体验的——获得成功的原则，虽然还需要在哲学方面进行更深的讨论，但却远未过时（这对其他获得成就的原则是同样的），哪怕我们现在没有生活在像McClelland所说的那种严格的“获得成就的社会”，参见笔者1972年、1979年和1983年文）。

从教育方面说，有必要给创造性的和获得成就的行动（更具体的高水平竞赛方面跟更广阔范围的方方面面一样）提供足够的机会。每一个人，尤其是年轻人，有权利进行更多的富有创造性的活动：创造力、基本动机、个人责任和奉献、诸多创造性活动在个体身上的密切结合（多边的）。简而言之，每个家庭、中小学、大学，尤其是体育运动队和俱乐部、童军以及其他官方机构和志愿组织等应该提供创造性和获得成就的活动的机会，并积极进行促进和培养。国家应该对其进行强调和支持，提供更多的促进机会，促进这些活动、主动性和动机的深入发展。至少在欧洲，有必要尊重、支持和发展新的积极的获得创造性成就的文化、创造性的成就及其行为准则（见笔者1983年文）。

获得成就是一个文化和社会现象，而不仅仅是自然过程。它同时是心理体能的、社会心理的、文化的，甚至在某些意义上，是精神的。就其基础而言，是重要的人类学和哲学命题，而由于其象征性的结果、过程、方法和间接性，它甚至有更多的特点。这是一个基本的人类学范例，如果不是某类，那么至少是一个自我理解、自我发展、社会认同、判断和欣赏的有效手段。

当然，人类对个人真正的主动行为的兴趣、对通过个人努力来完成和获得成就从而追求完美的关心，从方法论和哲学上讲，都具有着规范化的色彩，是令人信服的呐喊，是目标的标志，是我们内心深处向着最好进行努力的表达。这里所谓的成就和“成功”，是与塔图姆和隆巴迪的臭名昭著的口号“不是所有的事情”或者“仅此一个目的”截然相反的。但是如果没有获得成就的目标，那么行动的有所成就的人，homo performer和creator，就不能赋予其生活和更高的志向以意义。如果没有创造性的成就和主动性，更高的文明或者甚至我们的文化就无从谈起。文化的人（依靠文化）是获得成就的人。真正主动的

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NOTES

- 1 Achievement and achieving here may also be understood in a wider sense. However, it can also be interpreted in an even narrower sense, in a more specific cultural way, i.e. in the connotation and meaning of an ever-improving quantifiable or measurable performance and accomplishment. Thus far, we have no really comprehensive and encompassing philosophic-anthropological work about “the achieving being” (for a shorter essay on that topic, cf. the author’s 1983). The philosophy of achievement is so to speak still in its infancy, though we have some social psychological and sociological treatises on “the achieving society” (McClelland), “the achievement motive” and the dynamics of “achievement motivation” (Atkinson, Heckhausen and others) as well as plenty books about the so-called “achievement principle” in society, economics, and sociology.
- 2 Interestingly enough, an American state (North Carolina) still has this telling slogan as its state motto.
- 3 Even in antiquity, again Pythagoras (according to Bowra) said, though it would be important to take part in the Panhellenic Games like the Olympic ones, it would as well be essential for the athlete not to

win – because of the dangers of being seduced and corrupted by the aftermaths of, say, an Olympic or Isthmian victory!

4 Generally speaking the IOC should more actively and more politically serve the supra-nationality and internationality of the movement by using political means in order to guarantee a relative political non-partisanship, the Olympic neutrality. This cannot be obtained by preaching ideals only, but by courageously using political means. This seems to be all the more promising since the Olympic Games are a really prestigious international enterprise on a planetary scale by now. Though the Olympic movement cannot bring about world peace as a direct consequence as would be alleged sometimes, it can certainly serve an indirect mission in getting the peoples to understand and respect each other in a benevolent way using the Olympic Games as a symbol of a more peaceful and better world and for an ideal unity of humankind. The Olympic movement has to remain aware of and consciously pursue the humanistic, educational and philosophic dimensions of its idea in order to live up to its honorable tradition.

5 Cicero wrote (Tusc. Disp. V. III 9): “Pythagoras [...] replied that the life of man seemed to him to resemble the festival which was celebrated with most magnificent games before a concourse collected from the whole of Greece; for at this festival some men whose bodies had been trained sought to win the glorious distinction of a crown, others were attracted by the prospect of making gain by buying or selling, whilst there was on the other hand a certain class - the best type of free-born man - who looked neither for applause nor gain, but came for the sake of the spectacle and closely watched what was done and how it was done. So also we, as though we had come from some city to a kind of crowded festival, leaving in like fashion another life and nature of being, entered upon this life, and some were slaves of ambition, some of money; there were a special few who, counting all else as nothing, closely scanned the nature of things; these men gave themselves the name of lovers of wisdom (for that is the meaning of the word philosopher); and just as at the games the men of truest breeding looked on without any self-seeking, so in life the contemplation and discovery of nature far surpassed all other pursuits.” – Thus spoke Pythagoras in my favourite quotation regarding the naming of that special “breed called” after that and still today “philosophers”; it is interesting for sport philosophers that their characterising label was once introduced in connection with the Olympic Games of antiquity!

个人行动对创造性的生活来说是重要的。因此，跟其他创造性的活动一样，体育能够并且也应该对人类的创造性活动发挥真正的作用，正如积极生活的哲学家奥尔特加-加塞特所认为的一样（见Gasset1930年和笔者1972年和1979年文）。

奥林匹克运动员应该作为主动地去获得成就和“运动地”生活的楷模。奥林匹克理想和荷马、顾拜旦谈到的格言——最好的体现就是在体育和竞技领域——当然被包含进了甚至是具体化到了奥林匹克运动员的个人历史、角色和标志性作用上，无论是胜利者还是失败者。我们不应该——虽然我们依然经常在做——象古希腊人那样夸大胜利或者仅仅是胜利者的独特作用。实际上，“努力去做，努力地奋斗”（顾拜旦）和公平竞争，在奥林匹克理想中都是同等重要的。

OLYMPIC EDUCATION

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“Olympic education” is a term which first appeared in sports education and Olympic research only in the 1970s.¹ Does “Olympic education” mean the revival of the educational ideals of ancient Greece, or is its purpose merely to bring credibility to the marketing of Olympic symbols? The question must be answered in terms of principles, and the answer ranges deep into the history and concept of the modern Olympic Movement. Its founder, the Frenchman Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1937), saw himself first and foremost as an educator, and his primary aim was educational reform². His aim, initially restricted to France and the French schools, was to make modern sport an integral part of the school routine, and so introduce into that routine a sports education which would embrace both body and mind. He had learned from modern sport in England, and especially from his knowledge of public school education at Rugby, that the moral strength of the young can be critically developed through the individual experience of sporting activity and extended from there to life as a whole. Coubertin did not use the term “Olympic education”, but referred initially to “sporting education”, and indeed that was the title of the book he published in 1922, *Pédagogie Sportive*. Since as early as 1900, and not exclusively within schools, he had been encouraging the idea of making sport accessible to adolescents and even to older people as a newly discovered part of a complete education³.

PEACE EDUCATION AS A STARTING POINT

As a young man, in 1892, Coubertin had had the idea of renewing the ancient Olympic Games, which duly took place in Athens in 1896. Whereas his educational aspirations had additionally been confined to France, the success of these first Olympic Games marked, for Coubertin, the internationalization of his educational visions, where his main priority at first was the idea of *peace among nations*.

奥林匹克教育研究

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“奥林匹克教育”是一个20世纪70年代才第一次出现在体育教育和奥林匹克研究中的名词。那么，这一名词是意味着古希腊教育理想的复苏，还是仅仅是为了让奥林匹克标识的营销更可信？这个问题必须从原则方面来回答，而答案从现代奥林匹克运动历史方面和概念方面来分析则有着很大的不同。其建立者皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦（1863 - 1937），首先将自己看成是一位教育家，其首要目的也是教育改革。其目的——最初局限在法国尤其是其学校——是将现代体育运动作为学校常规的必要组成部分，将能够同健身心的体育教育纳入其中。他从英国的现代体育运动，尤其是橄榄球的公学教育中发现，年轻人能够通过体育运动来获得道德方面的增益，并贯穿一生。顾拜旦并没有使用“奥林匹克教育”一词，而是从一开始

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— 奥林匹克研究读本

就使用了“体育教育”，这也是他于1922年出版的专著的书名。从20世纪初开始，他都一直鼓励年青人甚至是年长者参加到体育运动中来，并将其作为全部教育的一个新的重要组成部分。

作为起始点的和平教育

早在1892年，当顾拜旦还是一个年青人的时候，他就产生了复兴古代奥运会的想法，这最终在1896年变成了现实。虽然他的教育抱负仅仅局限在法国，首届现代奥运会的成功却标志着顾拜旦教育视野的国际化，他首先考虑的事情就是国家间的和平。

在其早期作品中，他将国际间的体育交流看作是“未来的自由贸易”，将运动员看作是“和平的使者”。但是据他自己承认，他在当时的主要任务还是建立国际奥委会（IOC），因此，他并没有就和平问题进行更多的阐述，也没有想要向运动员提出更多的要求。然而，顾拜旦将其和平理念与道德任务——现在是奥林匹克运动的中心——联系在了一起。如果这种联系成功的话，那

In his early writings, he refers to international sporting encounters as “the free trade of the future”⁴, seeing the participating athletes as “ambassadors of peace”⁵ even though by his own admission he still had to take care, at the time, of the founding of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1894; not to say too much about this, not wanting - as he says in a document that has come down to us - to ask too much of sportsmen or to frighten the pacifists. With his ideas of peace, however, Coubertin associated an ethical mission which, then as now, was central to the Olympic Movement and - if it were to succeed - had to lead to political education. On the threshold of the 20th century, Coubertin tried to bring about enlightened internationalism by cultivating a non-chauvinistic nationalism.⁶

It is precisely the relationship between nationalism and international peace - a one-sided one hitherto, because invariably regarded as a contradiction in terms - that forms the challenging peace ethos and fascination of Olympism. From the beginning, Coubertin's sights were set upon some interplay between nations united by enthusiasm for peace and an internationalism that would set a ceremonial seal on their peaceful ambitions. In these ambitions, he was influenced by his paternal friend Jules Simon. Simon had been a co-founder of the Interparliamentary Union, established in Paris in 1888, and the International Peace Bureau, founded in 1892.⁷

Coubertin's plans thus extended from the outset beyond the organizing of Olympic Games every four years. He wanted mankind in the 20th century to experience sport in the harmonious interplay of physical and intellectual skills, so that - set in an artistic, aesthetic frame - it would make an important contribution to human happiness. The participants in the Olympic Games were, to Coubertin, the models of a young generation that changed every four years.

“RELIGIO ATHLETAE” AS AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL FOUNDATION

The question of the content and purpose of an “Olympic education” can only be answered if we consider Coubertin's call for a contemporary application of the “religio athletae”.⁸

Coubertin advocated the knowledge of Greek and other European philosophy. The return to antiquity was his starting point, though with the option of adapting it to the modern age as far as possible. Coubertin was an eclectic: he read a little of everything, hunted out subjects that

interested him and so formed his own opinion. He engaged in a continuous “dialogue” with the events of his age, from which he formed his “Olympic ideal”.

Three aspects played an important part in this:

- (1) Coubertin's age no longer had any schools of philosophy of its own. Hegel had been the last proponent of an all-embracing philosophical system. Coubertin followed Hegel in his ideas about the application of philosophy to life, actions and morals.
- (2) The social issue came to a head in that period with the ideas of Karl Marx and the Russian October Revolution of 1917. Previously, Coubertin had already absorbed the ideas of the French social reformer Frédéric Le Play and the English historian Arnold Toynbee. Coubertin considered himself to be travelling a road between idealism and social philosophy towards a new realism, with romantic overtones, which had displaced the philosophy of positivism and become established as a “new science” within the universities.
- (3) The spirit of internationalism, or universalism as it was not infrequently known, went hand in hand with the development of the mass media and transport and telecommunications links. World exhibitions (Paris 1889 and 1900, St. Louis 1904) promoted international exchange and comparisons.

As Coubertin saw it, this new world called for a comprehensive worldwide “philosophy”, which could better be described as an “ideology”.⁹ The Dominican friar Henri Didon, probably the strongest influence on Coubertin apart from Simon, introduced him to the spirit of ecumenism propagated by his Order¹⁰. This was the origin of Coubertin's idea of universalism, to which by syncretic transfiguration he gave the name of “Olympism”.

But Coubertin's postulate was and remained Greek philosophy. He was a philhellene.¹¹ As a result, his ideas were at odds both with the non-philosophical aspects of antiquity and with modern European philosophy. In his view, Greek philosophy was not a theory of life but life itself.

In his reconstruction of Coubertin's ideas, the Greek religious philosopher Nissiotis points out that, according to Coubertin, the right “mean” arose from an unending struggle between the upholders of principles and their detractors.¹² Values as such were therefore unattainable extremes for most philosophers, and the same applied to the Olympic ideals. But those ideals were to be set up by a conscious effort as something

么就会导向政治教育。在20世纪的门槛上，顾拜旦试图通过培养非沙文爱国主义达到开明的国际主义。

正是爱国主义与国际和平之间的关系——到目前为止总是被片面地认为是自相矛盾的——形成了奥林匹克主义富有挑战性的和平气质和魅力。从一开始，顾拜旦的目光就放在了国家间的相互作用上，这些相互作用是通过对和平的热情和国际主义而联合起来的。在这些抱负中，他深受其亦父亦友的朋友朱尔·西蒙的影响。西蒙是于1888年在巴黎建立的各国议会联盟和建于1892年的国际和平局的创始人之一。

人类学基础——“运动员宗教”

回答“奥林匹克教育”的内容和目的方面的问题，就必须考虑到顾拜旦对“运动员宗教”的极力呼吁。

顾拜旦非常拥护希腊和欧洲其他的哲学思想。虽然要与现代社会尽可能地适应，回到古代依旧是他的出发点。顾拜旦是兼收并蓄

的：他对所有的东西都有所涉猎，选出感兴趣的部分，形成自己的观点。他与那个时代的事件一直进行着“对话”，从中他慢慢形成了自己的“奥林匹克理想”。

其中，有三点非常重要：

- (1) 顾拜旦的年代没有属于自己的哲学流派。黑格尔是最后一位全面哲学体系的拥护者。顾拜旦追随着黑格尔将哲学应用于生活、行为和道德的观点。
- (2) 当时社会的焦点是马克思主义思想和俄国1917年十月革命。之前，顾拜旦已经吸收了法国社会改革家弗雷德里克·雷普勒和英国历史学家阿诺德·汤因比的思想养分。顾拜旦把自己看作是在理想主义和社会哲学间游走的人，其目的是走向略带空想意味的新现实主义，这逐渐取代了实证主义哲学，变成了大学中的“新科学”。
- (3) 正如现在人们普遍认识到的那样，国际主义，或

to be striven for. It was from this basic concept that Coubertin then developed his “sporting ontology”¹³

Instead of the word "sport", however, Coubertin often uses the term "athletics". Sport as he sees it is not something innate in man: rather the athlete pursues the Greek *athlos*, meaning the prize awarded after the contest. The athlete, then, needed instinct, character and movement. These formed the essentials of the perfect man, the “homme sportif”¹⁴.

In this version of anthropology, muscular strength is linked to strength of will - in other words, the athlete must consciously make a sacrifice and not merely indulge in the unthinking exercise of strength. It is man's striving to go higher and farther that is what makes him man in the first place. According to Coubertin, then, man is not what he is but what he can become. If man could be defined, that would be the end of him, so that he must always look ahead to see what comes next.¹⁵ This definition is basically a contradiction in terms, since it denies the possibility of defining man; so it is not so much an attempt at a definition as a new style of “philosophy”, an “explosive philosophy of life”¹⁶.

COUBERTIN'S OLYMPISM BETWEEN EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY – FROM OLYMPISM TO OLYMPIC EDUCATION

Coubertin says, “Athletics and the Olympic Games are the manifestation of the cult of the human being, mind and body, emotion and conscience, will and conscience, because these are the two despots that fight for domination, the conflict between them often tearing us cruelly apart, because we must achieve equilibrium”¹⁷. It was for this reason that Coubertin was unwilling to provide an unambiguous definition of Olympism, but calls upon us to reflect on the meaning and value of the human body. Olympism is the entire collection of values which, over and above physical strength, are developed when we participate in sport.¹⁸ This principle contains the basics of a modern theory of sport education on an anthropological basis.¹⁹

It is from Coubertin that we have the following paraphrase of the word "Olympism": "Olympism combines, as in a halo, all those principles which contribute to the improvement of mankind".²⁰

Coubertin's "Olympism" is therefore aimed at *all* people, irrespective of age, occupation, race, nationality or creed. Its general characteristic is that it brings together all men of good will, provided that they take their commitment to humanity seriously. It is, in Hans Lenk's phrase, “multi-tolerant”, allowing no ideological conflicts to arise.²¹

“Olympic education” endeavours to provide a universal education or development of the whole human individual, in contrast to the increasingly specialized education encountered in many specialized disciplines. Consequently, it can only be based on the fundamental values of the human personality.

Coubertin understood the Olympic Games as being the four-yearly “celebration of the universal human spring”²². It followed that both participants and spectators had to be prepared for the festival. His concept of the process of training the Olympic athlete was based on the following pyramid principle: “In order for 100 people to develop their bodies it is necessary for 50 to practice a sport, and in order for 50 to practice a sport it is necessary for 20 to specialize; but in order for 20 to specialize it is necessary for 5 to be capable of outstanding achievement”²³.

Thus, the “sports education” propagated by Coubertin encompassed all young people and the population at large insofar as its members included sport in their search for the *expérience personnelle*. He saw no contradiction here with his Olympic idea and Movement since he had from the outset combined his educational and organization aims. Back in 1897, at the second Olympic Congress in Le Havre, those attending had been surprised to find themselves dealing not with details of future Olympic Games but with the propagation of sport and physical education in schools. Even in the aftermath of the unsuccessful 1900 and 1904 Olympic Games, Coubertin used the 3rd Olympic Congress of 1905 in Brussels to discuss models for the practice of sport and physical education in schools and other areas of life. After the breakthrough eventually achieved by the Olympic Games at Stockholm in 1912, Coubertin ventured to take on the universities, with a 1913 Congress in Lausanne on “Psychology and physiology in sport”. Although this was asking too much of his IOC colleagues, concerned only with international sporting relations and the four-yearly Olympic Games, this was yet another demonstration of his more ambitious educational mission and his independence²⁴. “We must reach the masses”²⁵ was the motto with which he reacted to the impression made by social revolution.

Consistently, he said in 1918, “It cannot be enough that this *Pédagogie Olympique* - of which I recently said that it is based simultaneously on the cult of physical effort and the cult of harmony - in other words, on the taste for excess combined with moderation - should have the opportunity to be celebrated in the eyes of the whole world every four years. It also needs its “permanent factories”²⁶. This quotation contains Coubertin’s first reference to “Olympic education”; clearly, he was at this time convinced of the need for, and the conceptual strength of, his complex educational ideal.

者叫世界主义的精神，与大众传媒、交通和通信的发展有着密切的关系。国际博览会（巴黎1889年和1900年、圣路易斯1904年）都促进了国际交流和比较。

正如顾拜旦看到的，新世界要求一个综合的世界范围的“哲学”，或者被称为“思想体系”更为合适。多明我会修道士亨利·迪东，或许是除了西蒙外对顾拜旦影响最大的人了，正是他向顾拜旦介绍了其教会宣扬的（泛基督教）普世主义精神。这是顾拜旦世界主义思想的来源，在经过整合和变形后，他将之命名为“奥林匹克主义”。

但顾拜旦的假设依旧是希腊哲学。他是一个喜欢希腊的人。因此，其思想与古代的非哲学方面和现代欧洲的哲学思想进行着激烈的交锋。在他看来，希腊哲学不是关于生活的理论，而压根就是生活本身。

在对顾拜旦理念的重构过程中，希腊宗教哲学家尼西奥提斯指出，根据顾拜旦的说法，其“意义”在于原则的支持和反对间永

无止境的斗争。因此，对大多数哲学家来说，价值是无法取得的，这对奥林匹克理念来说同样适用。但是这些理念是建立自觉的努力之上的，因此有些东西能够争取来。正是从这一基本概念出发，顾拜旦发展了其“体育本体论”。

然而，顾拜旦经常用“竞技”（athletics）来代替“体育”（sport）一词。在他看来，体育并不是人天生的：而是运动员们从事希腊竞赛后得到的奖赏。竞技则需要直觉、品质和动作，这些是完美个体必不可少的要素。

在这一人类学的描述中，肌肉力量与意志的力量紧密联系在一起——换言之，运动员必须有意识地做出牺牲，而不仅仅是任凭自己沉溺于单纯的力量训练中。正是因为有着更高和更远的追求，人类才能位居前列。根据顾拜旦的说法，人不是他所是的那个样子，而是他能够成为的那个样子。如果人类能够被定义，那就将是人类的世界末日，因此，他必须一直向前看，看看之后要到来的是什么。这一释义看起来

Away from his home country, he used the Olympic Movement for an international Olympic education network. When he wrote in November 1918 that “Olympism is not a system but an attitude of mind”, he called at the same time for the consistent pursuit of an “Olympic education”²⁷ in contrast to the traditional educational models which, in his eyes, were alien to sport. In 1921, when Coubertin tried to extend an urgently needed technical Olympic Congress in Lausanne to include a parallel event on sports education for the workforce, he failed to gain the support of a majority on the IOC.

Coubertin pursued many schemes outside the IOC designed to create examples of such “production facilities”²⁸. Before the First World War had ended, he had founded an Olympic Institute in Lausanne, offering practical education in sport and more general subjects to interned Belgian and French prisoners of war. He repeatedly called for the building of urban sports centres on the model of the “gymnasia of antiquity”, and stressed the democratic role of sports clubs in which, he said, inequality between men did not exist²⁹.

His programme of Olympic education included sport as a matter of course in the daily routine to give the individual the opportunity “to adapt the good and bad aspects of his own nature to exercise”³⁰ and to orient his life in accordance with this experience. The public at large, as he proclaimed in his 1925 speech taking his leave of the Presidency of the IOC, should not be expected to indulge in the noisy worship of sporting idols without participating in sport themselves.³¹

He devoted the remainder of his life exclusively to new educational schemes. In November 1925, he founded the *Union Pédagogique Universelle* in Lausanne, which would hold conferences, seminars and other events connected with the educational mandate of the modern city. He also drafted a Charter of Educational Reform³², which in 1930 was passed through the League of Nations in Geneva to all Ministries of Education - without, of course, receiving any significant response.³³

As a specific counter to the decline of sport as a significant factor in education, Coubertin in 1926 launched - again from Lausanne - the *Bureau International de Pédagogie sportive*³⁴, which published an annual bulletin and a number of books, including Coubertin’s *Olympic Memories* and a new edition of his *Pédagogie sportive*.

All of this passed almost unnoticed by the public, although Coubertin wrote more than 1100 articles and 30 books³⁵. Even within the IOC, Coubertin was able to recruit only a handful of enthusiasts, and often criticized the leaders of the sports world as being technical consultants rather than defenders of the Olympic spirit.

The educational aspect of the Olympic ideal only became public knowledge during the protracted debate about amateurism. For Coubertin, this very question was of no more than secondary importance: looking back, one might believe that the Olympic Movement spent all those years using this problem as a demonstration of its high ethical standards, in the same way as the doping problems of the present day. Coubertin thought differently: he was interested in the inner, moral, responsible attitude of the athlete to which the “Olympic education” was to contribute.

As a repository of his educational efforts, Coubertin during his lifetime expressed the desire for a *Centre d'Études Olympiques*, which in fact came into being in Berlin between 1938 and 1944 under the control of Carl Diem, using funds provided by the Reich.³⁶

RECEPTION OF COUBERTIN'S EDUCATIONAL CONCEPT

The International Olympic Academy (IOA), which has steadily developed at ancient Olympia since 1961 as the main centre of Olympic education, professes a comprehensive commitment to Coubertin's mandate³⁷.

It is surprising to see how this educational programme has survived over so many years despite widespread incomprehension of its fundamental ideas. It is surprising, too, to see the various ways and forms in which this commitment finds expression today in so many countries and continents, in line with the Olympic tradition and the current status of sports education. The seventy National Olympic Academies (NOAs) which have sprung up since 1966 have in various ways given a new emphasis to the Olympic concept in schools and universities and among the public³⁸ although their substance has often been masked by structural issues.

The IOC Charter, in force since September 11, 2000, refers on several occasions to the content and form of Olympic education:

- Even in the Fundamental Principles which introduce the Charter (Article 2) reference is made to the blending of sport with culture and education as the foundation of Olympism.
- The Olympic Movement aims to contribute to building a peaceful and better world, especially through sports education (Article 6).
- The IOC is committed to the sporting ethic and particularly fair play (Rules 2, 6.-7), and, to that end, supports the IOA and other institutions dedicated to “Olympic education” (Rules 2, 14-15).

是自相矛盾的，因为它否定了定义人类的可能，所以就没有必要为新“哲学”——一种“爆炸性的生活哲学”——付出那么多努力。

从奥林匹克主义到奥林匹克教育

顾拜旦说，“体育运动和奥运会是人类狂热崇拜的表现，灵魂和肉体、感情和良心、意志和良心等之间的冲突常常痛苦地撕裂着我们，因为我们必须获得平衡。”正是出于这个原因，顾拜旦不愿意给奥林匹克主义下一个明确的定义，而是呼吁我们仔细想想身体的意义和价值。奥林匹克主义是我们参加体育运动所发展起来的各种价值观的总和，而不仅仅是身体力量那么简单。

就是从顾拜旦开始我们追随着“奥林匹克主义”的释义：“奥林匹克主义就像光环一样，是所有的致力于促进人类发展的原则的总和。”

顾拜旦的“奥林匹克主义”因此指向所有的人，不分年龄阶段、工作、种族、国籍和宗教

信仰。其整体特点是将所有有着良好愿望的人聚集在一起，假设他们认真地致力于人道主义。用汉斯·伦克的话来说就是“多容忍性的”，不允许发生意识形态的冲突。

“奥林匹克教育”竭力提供世界范围内的个体教育或发展，这与日益增加的专业教育截然不同。因此，这只能建立在人格的基础价值观上。

顾拜旦将奥运会理解成为四年一次的“全人类的庆典”。无论是参与者还是观众都为这一节日做着准备。他关于奥林匹克运动员训练过程的概念建立在金字塔理论的基础之上：“要想让100人参与到体育文化中，就得有50人参加体育运动；要想让50人参加体育运动，就至少得有20个人擅长体育；如果想要20个人擅长体育，那么要有5人必须能够非常精通，具有令人惊叹的技艺。”

在1912年斯德哥尔摩奥运会取得突破性进展之后，顾拜旦转向了大学，1913年洛桑会议的议题就是“体育心理学和哲学”。虽然这对他那些只关心国际体育联系和四年一度的奥

- The IOC Charter obliges the National Olympic Committees to promote Olympism in all areas of education and, for example, to adopt independent initiatives for “Olympic education” through national Olympic Academies (Rule 31, 2.1).

For many years, the Cold War overshadowed the Olympic Games and - like the First and Second World Wars before it - posed endless new challenges to the Olympic ideal of peace. The manipulation of the Olympic Games for political ends, especially in the case of the boycotts at Montreal 1976, Moscow 1980 and Los Angeles 1984, cast doubt on the Olympic ideals and, at the same time, highlighted the need for Olympic education.

Prompted by the successful efforts of the IOA, the National Olympic Committees recognized the need to begin “Olympic education” at the grass roots, partly to testify to the credibility of the Olympic Movement in the face of increasing commercialization. The efforts of the IOA, organizing some 100,000 people to participate in about 800 seminars and conferences between 1961 and 1998 on a very wide range of subjects relating to Olympism, have provided important stimuli for efforts in the field of Olympic education in many countries since the 1970s. The National Olympic Academy of the German NOC was founded in 1966 under the name *Kuratorium Olympische Akademie*. In addition to specialist conferences, the Kuratorium has organized school and university competitions on Olympic subjects since 1984, and has since 1988 developed multi-disciplinary Olympic education programmes through its specialist educational committees. Since 1986, education in fair play has been prescribed as an essential aspect of an Olympic education, the target group including not only schools but also, especially, sports clubs and associations, and the general public as well. Well-attended teacher training seminars run by the *Kuratorium Olympische Akademie* with the support of the education ministers and schools senators of the German Länder to broadcast the idea of Olympic education with particular emphasis on fair play show not only that teachers are keenly interested in projects relating to the Olympic Movement but that the world of the Olympic Games is one that repays the long-term involvement of both teachers and pupils.

The Olympic Movement is an educational mission which is becoming increasingly topical as a result of media coverage. The fact that its values may seem unattainable does not mean that the idea is obsolete or misguided. Olympism contains visions which offer an ever-changing field of opportunity to athletes and everyone else concerned.

OLYMPISM AS PART OF THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

Among Coubertin's copious body of writings is an essay entitled "L'Olympisme à l'école. Il faut l'encourager!"³⁹ (1934). In it, Coubertin expresses his preoccupations at the end of his life.

It is of little use to schools today to offer Coubertin's interpretation of Olympism as an educational subject without practical examples. In particular, his much-quoted philosophical retrospective of 1935 entitled «The philosophical Principles of modern Olympism» can only be understood by picturing this value structure of Olympic education as the end product of a process that continued over many years. If we are to answer the question of what Olympism can mean in educational terms and what an "Olympic education" can contain, we must seek a starting point, once again, in Coubertin, since nothing has been done since his time to revise its content. The IOC Charter adopted Coubertin's principles to that effect. This makes sense, since otherwise there was a danger of exaggerated adaptation of those principles to the spirit of the age.

In the case of the Olympic Movement, too, there is the danger that external forms will completely overwhelm issues of content. On the other hand, in the attempt to implement the Olympic ideal in school curricula, there are no circumventing topical issues and problems of the Olympic Games, since they are familiar to the pupils. So the Olympic ideal as Coubertin's educational vision must be retained, but it must also be continuously reviewed and revised.

THE TOPICALITY OF "OLYMPIC EDUCATION" IN SCHOOLS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY

Under this heading we can group the following six features of an "Olympic education", all of which can be traced back to Coubertin's philosophical legacy:

- (1) The concept of harmonious development of the whole human being;
- (2) The idea of striving for human perfection through high performance, in which scientific and artistic achievement must take equal rank with sporting performance;
- (3) Sporting activity voluntarily linked to ethical principles such as fair play and equality of opportunity, and the determination to fulfil those

运会的同事来说，要求是高了点，但却是顾拜旦更有抱负的教育使命及其独立性的又一次展现。“我们必须到达大众那里”是他的格言，他对社会变革做出了自己的反应。

他在1918年说道，“仅仅是这本《体育教育学》——我最近说它同时建立在身体努力和和谐的崇拜之上；换言之，建立在超过和节制的融合之上——获得四年一度的在全世界的眼中欢庆的机会是不够的，它还需要‘固定的因素’”。

顾拜旦后来将奥林匹克运动用于国际范围系统，而不仅仅是法国。他在1918年11月写道“奥林匹克主义不是一个系统而是一种思想观点”，并同时号召对“奥林匹克教育”的持续追求，以此来反对传统的远离体育的教育模式。

除了国际奥委会之外，顾拜旦还创造了许多典范。在一战结束之前，他在洛桑创立了奥林匹克学院，给比利时和法国战俘提供体育和普通课程。他一直号召建立以“古代体育场”为模型的城市体育中心，强调体育俱乐部的民

主角色，他认为在体育俱乐部不存在人与人之间的不平等。

顾拜旦的奥林匹克教育计划包括了每天的常规体育锻炼。正如他在1925年离开IOC主席职位的演讲中所提到的，公众不应仅仅沉溺于对体育偶像的盲目崇拜上而不亲自参加体育运动。

他将余生奉献给了新的教育计划。1925年11月，他在洛桑建立了世界教育联盟，其日常活动包括会议、研讨班和其他与现代城市教育有关的事件。他还起草了一份教育改革的纲领，在1930年通过日内瓦的国际联盟分发给了各国的教育部长，不过没收到什么有意义的回应。

鉴于体育运动作为教育组成部分的重要性在衰退，顾拜旦于1926年在洛桑建立了国际体育教育局，出版年度公报和一些书籍，包括顾拜旦的《奥林匹克回忆》和《体育教育学》的新版本。

顾拜旦一生都在强调建立奥林匹克研究中心的渴望，这在1938年到1944年的柏林变成了现实，负责人是卡尔·迪姆，费用由第三帝国提供。

- obligations; also included is the ideal of amateurism, which has been almost totally abandoned in international sport today;
- (4) The concept of peace and goodwill between nations, reflected by respect and tolerance in relations between individuals;
 - (5) The promotion of moves towards emancipation in and through sport.

These educational conclusions, derived from Coubertin's writings, appear at first sight somewhat theoretical and problematical for a practical programme in schools. They will be discussed in more detail below⁴⁰.

The concept of harmonious development of the whole human being

The education of the young focuses not only on the mind and intellect but also on the body. "Olympic education", then, means both physical and mental education. It endeavours to make children and young people aware that the lifelong pursuit of sport is an enrichment and necessary complement to other endeavours, in order to develop and sustain a fulfilling sense of identity.

This is the starting point for the ideas and activities making up "Sport for all". What Coubertin wanted for Europe at the end of the 19th century - physical education as a mandatory part of school education for boys and girls - has not yet become a reality in 50 of the world's countries, according to UNESCO statistics. In the remainder, the issue is the importance of school sport by comparison with the "academic disciplines" and ways of improving its quality and quantity. School sports days, for example, are an important part of the experience of school pupils, particularly as regards fostering the sense of community. Just as the Olympic Games provide a model on the global scale, so too school sports days, if they are properly planned and run, become educationally important landmarks in school life. This is particularly true of comparative competitions within the framework of the Olympic development programme. This offers a particularly good opportunity to act on Coubertin's call for the involvement of art and music as an aesthetic setting for sporting competition, with a view to perfecting the ideal of harmony.

The idea of human perfection

Every human being, and every school pupil, wants to do his best, and sport - especially the Olympic Games - provides a documentary record of supreme human achievement. A comparable academic area is the awarding of the Nobel Prizes, whereas the arts are unsuitable for such objective yardsticks. The achievement of new personal bests and the

desire to compete with fellow pupils reflects a natural endeavour on the part of the individual, encouraging others to emulate him.

Top-level Olympic achievement and optimum sporting achievement at all other levels encourage young people, too, to excel themselves, not to be content with the average or a past performance, and to set an example. This principle is often contested today, and it can only be credibly maintained if this form of human perfection is achieved by honest, independent means. Manipulation and interference with the natural development of the young (genetic engineering, growth inhibition, etc.) exploit them instead of contributing to their "self-perfection" in the human sense. Coubertin constantly urged, "Ne troublez pas l'équilibre des saisons!", because even in the early years of this century he regarded premature specialization as a serious danger to the educationally appropriate development of children in accordance with their age.

"Olympic education" is intended for all, including "poor students" and the handicapped. Article 2 of the IOC Charter says that Olympism aims to further a lifestyle in which the pleasure of physical achievement plays an important part. So the experiencing of achievement, in the Olympic sense, contributes to the development of the personality of any athlete, not just those at the top level.

The voluntary commitment to ethical principles in sporting activity

None of the Olympic values is better understood in sport than the concept of fair play, for which Coubertin always used the French term *esprit chevaleresque*. Even though Olympism is based on the culture of the Christian West, and hence on that of Europe, comparable ethical values also form the foundation of human life and coexistence in other religions and social systems, too. In an "Olympic education", the utmost importance must be attached to the pursuit of sport on the basis of fair competition. Students must learn, not only in their own sporting activities but also in the critical reflection of other disciplines:

- That rules in sports and games (and in life, too) must not be broken;
- To practice fair play, so as to train their characters for all areas of life;
- And to use fair play in sport to improve the personal worlds in which they live, so that the pressures of the school routine (and later the working routine) play no part.

But it is not appropriate to appoint supervisors to monitor all this, within a concept oriented towards education; the need is for a voluntary commitment and a personal endorsement of fair play.

顾拜旦教育理念的成效

国际奥林匹克学院（IOA）于1961年在奥林匹亚建立，作为奥林匹克教育的中心，公开声明其目的就是致力于顾拜旦倡导的综合教育。

从1966年开始，通过各种方式建立了大约70个国家奥林匹克学院（NOAs），向学校和公众重新强调了奥林匹克的教育理念。

作为学校课程一部分的奥林匹克主义

在顾拜旦丰富的著作中，有一篇名为“L'Olympisme à l'école. Il faut l'encourager!”的文章，表明了其生命后期所关注的事情。

今天，我们很少直接利用顾拜旦对奥林匹克主义的解释来作为教育内容而不考虑实际的例子。比如说，要想很好地理解他1935年《现代奥林匹克主义的哲学原则》一文中多次被引用的哲学观点，就必须得把奥林匹克教育价值看作是历时多年的教育过程的最终产品。如果我们要在教育学

范畴内回答奥林匹克主义的涵义以及“奥林匹克教育”包括什么内容等问题，我们必须再次寻找顾拜旦的出发点。宪章采用了顾拜旦的原则，此举意义重大，因为如若不然，就有过多屈服于当时时代精神的危险。

就奥林匹克运动而言，也有危险，那就是外在形式统治了实际内容。在另一方面，在将奥林匹克理想贯彻到学校课程中时，没有特别需要回避的时政内容和奥运会的相关问题，因为学生对它们都很熟悉的。所以，顾拜旦的教育理念必须存在于奥林匹克思想之中，但是必须不断地更新和发展。

全人类的和谐发展

年轻人的教育要兼顾头脑、智力和身体。因此，“奥林匹克教育”包括身体和心灵两方

这就是组成“大众体育”理念和活动的出发点。根据联合国教科文组织的数据，顾拜旦在19世纪末希望欧洲做的事情——把体育教育作为义务教育的一部分——如今在大约50个国家还没有变成

For most participants in the Olympic Games, this ideal no longer exists, nor does the Olympic Charter now make provision for it. In many countries, especially the less industrially developed ones; top-level sport has in many cases remained the preserve of amateurs. “Olympic education” can teach the lesson that sport, for the majority of those who pursue it, has not lost its meaning as the striving after perfection in the traditional sense of amateur sport. The influence of business and the media has gone too far if it reaches a point where sportspeople become a “property” and lose their personal freedom. This aspect of the old amateur ideal is still relevant and educationally important.

PEACE AND HARMONY BETWEEN NATIONS

Apart from fair play, the Olympic value to which most attention is paid today is the idea of peace. Olympic internationalism can be taught in many ways as part of an "Olympic curriculum"; it encompasses the following aspects:

- It seeks to promote understanding of the specific cultural features of other nations and continents;
- It seeks to help familiarize people with the forms of sport played by others;
- It seeks to improve familiarity with the cultures of those countries which organize the Olympic Games;
- And it endeavours to assist and promote internationally sporting contacts and personal contacts between individuals.

Almost all schools in Germany have highly multiracial student bodies. This is a microcosm of an extensive field of action because sport speaks all languages. Olympism, as a part of world culture, is unaffected by financial resources, colour or creed. The Olympic Games are the greatest of all peaceful global gatherings, taking place every four years. Coubertin's idea of peace education as a core area of Olympism is more real today than ever.

PROMOTION OF TRENDS TO EMANCIPATION IN AND THROUGH SPORT

To be credible, the Olympic Movement today is committed to a substantially emancipatory approach. Taking as its starting point

Coubertin's guiding principle of "all games, all nations", it stands for equal rights not only among nations but also among sports, not just equal rights for all races but equal rights for both sexes. While the protection of the environment is becoming an increasingly important commitment for all applicants to host the Olympic Games, the Olympic programme - and, as a result, equality between forms of sport - are increasingly being called into question by the issue of telegenicity.

Transposed to the school environment, there are some important educational lessons here: tolerance for the opposite sex, acceptance of the most varied forms of physical education and competitive sport, and the development of the pupils' sense of responsibility within and through sport.

FORMS OF PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION

The ability to bring the many different aspects of "Olympic education" into the school environment calls for consideration of all school disciplines. Apart from sports education, which is determined not only by club sport but also by the early practical experience of children and the young, the main focus in elementary schools is on general knowledge, art, music, German and (where provided) religious education. At secondary school level, the curriculum is broadened to include social sciences, history, biology and foreign languages.

Topics relevant to the Olympic Movement can be dealt with in different ways in the various disciplines, though a better way is to present them as a multidisciplinary educational project (or part of one). An Olympic exhibition is another way of stimulating interest within the school community as it was demonstrated by the poster series "100 Years of the Olympic Games" produced by the German NOC in 1996.

The interest taken by schoolchildren will be particularly strong in the weeks preceding the Summer and Winter Olympic Games, and during the period of the actual Olympic Games. The six-to-twelve-year-old age group can be particularly highly motivated by Olympic themes. The involvement of pupils in a reasoned development of opinions on problems confronting the Olympic Movement is desirable as pupils get older, in view of extensive television consumption. This may be a way of reaching a consensus on the Olympic values which pupils should endorse.

现实。问题是学校体育在同“学科”及提高其质量数量的方法进行比较时体育的重要性何在。比如说，学校体育日对学生来说就非常重要，尤其是在培养其社会意识方面。就好像奥运会在全球范围内提供了典范一样，学校体育日也有着相同的效果，如果被很好地计划和组织，就会成为学校教育生活的重要组成部分。奥林匹克发展计划框架中的体育比赛尤其如此。它提供了一个很好的机会来响应和实践顾拜旦参与到艺术和音乐中来的号召，以此作为体育比赛的审美背景，从而使和谐理念变得更加完美。

人类全面发展

每一个人，尤其是学生，都想做到自己的最好，而体育运动——特别是奥运会——提供了人类追求优异运动成就的机会。能与之相媲美的就是诺贝尔和平奖，但艺术对它来说又不太适合。每次达到个体新的最高点以及与其它同伴进行竞争的渴望反映了个体天生的努力，也鼓励其他人不断赶超。

自觉地致力于体育运动中的道德原则

体育运动中没有哪种价值比公平竞争理念更被世人所理解了。虽然奥林匹克主义建立在西方基督教文化上，因此在西方，类似的道德价值也形成了人们日常生活的基础，但它同时也适用于其他宗教和社会系统。在“奥林匹克教育”中，最重要的就是将公平竞争当作是体育运动的根基。

对奥运会的大部分参与者来说，这一理想不再存在了，《奥林匹克宪章》也不再具有相应条款。在许多国家，尤其是工业化还不发达的国家，高水平竞技在很大程度上还保持着业余意味。对大多数追求奥林匹克主义的人来说，体育运动因为用传统的业余体育的方式来追求个体的完美，其重要意义就依然存在，“奥林匹克教育”就给人们上了这样的一课。商业和媒体的影响如果最终导致运动员都变成了“资产”而丢失了其自由，那么体育就走得太远了。传统业余体育理想的这一方面仍具有教育学方面的重要性。

THE OLYMPIC GAMES AS AN EVENT AND EDUCATIONAL MODEL

Gessmann, among others, emphasizes that "Olympic education" must be capable of the most positive association possible with the Olympic Games as an event. This is not self-evident, since the public - in view of the violations of the Olympic philosophy and the tangle of political, commercial and drug-related intrigue surrounding top-level sport - perceives the Olympic Games as an event that is rarely exemplary and is not to be taken seriously educationally. The negative examples cannot basically erase the validity of Olympic values as an educational idea. Ideals are never completely achieved - there are always compromises. So the battle for meaning has to be constantly re-thought.

What educational models can be created by the Olympic Games as an event? People of all nations come together, some as competitors and others as spectators, in the utmost spirit of friendship. Through the media, the Olympic family at the venue of the Games becomes the symbol of the Olympic concept of universalism. The great achievements of the participants symbolize the striving and achievement of all humanity. If this symbol is also associated with fair play and mutual respect, the athletes set an example of successful coexistence between people in critical situations. The ceremonial character of the Olympic Games gives their achievements particular significance. It is in this context that the Olympic Games, as an event, must be critically considered and put to educational use.⁴¹ This also avoids the risk of reducing "Olympic education" to nothing more than improved sports education⁴² although some aspects of the values described above are traditionally inherent in the teaching of sport and can be effective in sports education even without any Olympic reference. An "Olympic curriculum" must highlight what is specifically Olympic and, over and above historical considerations, involve Coubertin's ideals in a contemporary form. These educational fundamentals are what has characterized the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games to date, raising them high above the status of world championships.

THE FUTURE OF AN "OLYMPIC EDUCATION"

Television links the general public to Olympia every two years. Exerting an Olympic education influence on the public is something that

can only succeed through the media. The media, however, are under pressure to achieve high advertising figures, and their intentions are hardly educational.

This makes the role of top-class athletes as models even more important if "Olympic education" is to succeed. This also applies to coaches, doctors and officials. But only if the Olympic athletes are involved can the standards be given a binding quality. Both in their actual sporting activities and in their public pronouncements on fair play, top-class athletes show a sense of commitment to a "sporting ethic" and hence to the basic values of Olympism. This opens up a broad field for potential activities, such as Olympic discussion sessions and spare-time lectures during the months of training. The future is not without hope. The much-prophesied abandonment of Olympism and hence of the "Olympic education" has not come about, nor are there any signs that it will do so. We must speak more about the "Olympic future", and to do that we have a vital need for "Olympic education". Anyone who thinks in terms of perfectionism and makes the total achievement of his aims a basic condition has failed to understand Coubertin and his Olympism.

NOTES

- 1 Cf. Müller, N. : Olympische Erziehung. In: Thaller, F.(Ed.): Signale der Zeit. Festschrift für Josef Recla. Schorndorf 1975, pp.133-140.
- 2 cf. Rioux, G.: Pierre de Coubertin éducateur. In : Müller, N./ IOC (Eds) : Pierre de Coubertin. Textes choisis. Vol. I, Zurich/ Hildesheim/ New York 1986, pp.1-34.
- 3 cf. COUBERTIN: Notes sur l'éducation publique. Paris, Hachette, 1901.
- 4 COUBERTIN: Physical Exercises in the Modern World. Lecture Given at the Sorbonne (November 1892). In : Müller, N. (Ed.) : Olympism. Selected Writings of Pierre de Coubertin. Lausanne, IOC, 2000, p.297.
- 5 COUBERTIN : L'athlétisme. Son rôle et son histoire. In : La Revue Athlétique 2 (1891), 204.
- 6 cf. QUANZ, D.R. : Formkraft der IOC-Gründung : Die zeitgenössische Friedensbewegung. In: Schaller,H.J./Pache,D. (Eds.): Sport als Lebenschance und Bildungsreform. Schorndorf 1995, pp.165-173.
- 7 Ibidem, pp. 170-178.

国家之间的和平与和谐

除了公平竞争，奥林匹克价值体系中如今最引人关注的就是和平理念。人们以很多形式讲解着作为“奥林匹克课程”重要组成部分的国际主义，包括如下几个方面：

- 追求对其他国家和洲际不同文化的理解；
- 追求通过其他人的体育运动方式来对熟悉的人进行帮助；
- 致力于了解奥运会举办国的文化；
- 帮助和促进国际体育往来和个人间的体育联系。

促进体育运动的解放和通过体育运动进行的解放

如今的奥林匹克运动致力于充分的解放，这点是毋庸置疑的。顾拜旦指导思想的出发点是“所有的运动、所有的国家”，这意味着不光是国家之间平等，也意味着所有运动项目的平等，不只是所有种族的平等，也是性别的平等。当环境保护日益成为举办奥

运会需要考虑的重要方面，奥林匹克计划——作为结果，体育形式间的平等——越来越被置疑。

转到学校环境，也有些重要的教育课程：对异性的忍耐、对体育教育和竞技体育不同形式的接受、体育运动内或者体育运动带来的责任感的发展。

现实中的执行方式

要将“奥林匹克教育”纳入到学校中，需要考虑到学校所有的学科。除了被俱乐部体育和少年儿童早期体育运动实践所决定的体育教育外，小学的重点应该放在普通知识上，艺术、音乐、德语和（能提供的）宗教教育。中学水平，课程的范围就变得宽阔，包括了社会科学、历史学、生物学和外语。

作为事件和教育楷模的奥运会

杰斯曼同其他人一样强调“奥林匹克教育”必须尽可能积极地与奥运会看作一个事件并联系起来。这不是不证自明的，因为

8 cf. NISSIOTIS, N. : L'actualité de Pierre de Coubertin du point de vue philosophique. In : Müller, N. (Ed.): L'actualité de Pierre de Coubertin. Rapport du Symposium à l'Université de Lausanne. Niedernhausen, Schors, 1987.

9 MALTER, R. : Der Olympismus Pierre de Coubertins. Eine kritische Studie zur Idee und Ideologie der modernen Olympischen Spiele. Köln 1969.

10 cf. N.MÜLLER, N.: Henri Didon – Der Urheber der olympischen Devise „citius-altius-fortius“. In: Müller, N./Messing, M. (Eds): Auf der Suche nach der Olympischen Idee. Kassel, Agon, 1996, pp.49-62.

11 cf. MÜLLER, N./ IOC (Eds): Pierre de Coubertin. Textes choisis. Vol.II « Olympisme ». Zurich, Hildesheim, New York 1986, pp.24-76.

12 NISSIOTIS 1987, loc. cit., p.133-136.

13 Ibidem, p.138.

14 cf. Ibidem, p. 139.

15 cf. Ibidem, p.139.

16 Ibidem, p.140.

17 MÜLLER, N./IOC (Eds): Pierre de Coubertin. Textes choisis. Vol.II « Olympisme ». Zurich, Hildesheim, New York 1986, p.418.

18 cf. MALTER, R. : „Eurythmie des Lebens“ als Ideal menschlicher Existenz. Bemerkungen zu Coubertins geschichtsphilosophischer Anthropologie. In: Müller, N./Messing, M.(Eds): Auf der Suche nach der Olympischen Idee. Kassel, Agon, 1996, pp.9-16

19 cf. GRUPE,O.: Studien zur pädagogischen Theorie der Leibeserziehung. Schorndorf, Hofmann, 1968.

20 Coubertin: Almanach olympique pour 1918. Lausanne 1917, p. 20.

21 Lenk, H.: Werte, Ziele, Wirklichkeit der modernen Olympischen Spiele. Schorndorf, Hofmann, 2nd Ed. 1972,p.17.

22 MÜLLER, N./IOC (Eds): Pierre de Coubertin. Textes choisis. Vol.II « Olympisme ». Zurich, Hildesheim, New York 1986, p. 288.

23 MÜLLER, N./IOC (Eds): Pierre de Coubertin. Textes choisis. Vol.I

- « Révélation ». Zurich, Hildesheim, New York 1986, p. 436.
- 24 cf. MÜLLER, N.: One Hundred Years of Olympic Congresses 1894-1994. Lausanne, IOC, 1994.
- 25 MÜLLER, N./IOC (Eds.): Pierre de Coubertin. Textes choisis. Vol.II « Olympisme ». Zurich, Hildesheim, New York 1986, p.389.
- 26 Coubertin: Olympic Letter V. Olympic Pedagogy, (1918). In: Müller, N. (Ed.): Olympism. Selected Writings of Pierre de Coubertin. Lausanne, IOC, 2000, p.217.
- 27 Coubertin: Olympic Letter IV. Olympism as a State of Mind. In: Müller, N. (Ed.): Olympism. Selected Writings of Pierre de Coubertin. Lausanne, IOC, 2000, p.548.
- 28 cf. MÜLLER, N.: Die Olympische Idee Pierre de Coubertins und Carl Diems in ihrer Auswirkung auf die IOA. Diss. Graz, Vol.I, 1975.
- 29 MÜLLER, N./IOC (Eds.): Pierre de Coubertin. Textes choisis. Vol. III « Pratiques sportives ». Zurich, Hildesheim, New York 1986, pp. 592-593.
- 30 Coubertin: Address Delivered at Antwerp City Hall in August, 1920: Sport is King. In: Müller, N. (Ed.): Olympism. Selected Writings of Pierre de Coubertin. Lausanne, IOC, 2000, p.223.
- 31 Coubertin: Speech Given at the Opening of the Olympic Congresses at the City Hall of Prague, May, 1925. In: Müller, N. (Ed.): Olympism. Selected Writings of Pierre de Coubertin. Lausanne, IOC, 2000, pp.555-556.
- 32 MÜLLER, N./IOC (Eds.): Pierre de Coubertin. Textes choisis. Vol.I « Révélation ». Zurich, Hildesheim, New York 1986, pp. 636-637.
- 33 cf. MÜLLER, N.: Die Olympische Idee Pierre de Coubertins und Carl Diems in ihrer Auswirkung auf die IOA. Diss. Graz, Vol.I, 1975. pp. 75-79.
- 34 cf. Ibidem, pp. 79-80.
- 35 See MÜLLER, N./SCHANTZ, O.: Bibliography. Pierre de Coubertin. Lausanne, CIPC, 1991.
- 36 cf. MÜLLER, N.: Die Olympische Idee Pierre de Coubertins und Carl Diems in ihrer Auswirkung auf die IOA. Diss. Graz, Vol.I, 1975. pp. 108-111.

大众——由于围绕高水平竞技出现的诸多违反奥林匹克哲学的事情、混乱的政治、商业和兴奋剂等现象——倾向于将奥运会理解成为难得的大事件而不是严肃认真的教育事件。但反面事例不能从根本上抹杀奥林匹克价值体系作为教育思想的有效性。理想从未完全实现过，总是有妥协。所以我们还要进行为意义而进行的战斗。

参与者的巨大成就标志着全人类的奋斗和成就。如果与公平竞争、互相尊重相联系，运动员就成为了危急情况下共存的典范。奥运会的礼仪特点使得其成就尤其具有非凡意义。正是在这样的背景下，作为一个事件的奥运会必须被批判地看待，并用于教育。这也避免了以降低“奥林匹克教育”为代价而单单去提高体育运动成绩，虽然上述价值体系的某些方面传统上与体育教学有关，并且即使没有奥林匹克运动也能够在体育教育中获得。

“奥林匹克教育”的未来

电视两年一次地将奥林匹克运动与大众密切联系在一起。因此，试图对大众施加影响的奥林匹克

教育也只有依靠媒体才能取得真正的成功。然而，媒体想要获得高额的广告收入，其目的就不可能是具有教育性质的。

这就使得顶尖运动员的榜样作用更加重要，只有这样，“奥林匹克教育”才能取得成功。这对教练、医生和官员们也同样适用。但是只有当运动员们参与进来，标准才能获得真正的约束力。无论是其体育活动还是在公共场合公平竞赛的宣称，顶尖运动员们展示了致力于“体育道德规范”的意图，因此也就致力于奥林匹克主义最基础的价值观。这为训练期间的潜在活动如奥林匹克研讨会、演讲等打开了一片广阔的天地。未来并不是没有希望的。有些人认为已经放弃了奥林匹克主义，而“奥林匹克教育”尚未发生并且也并没有任何迹象显示会发生。我们必须对“奥林匹克未来”进行更多的探讨，要想做到这一点，“奥林匹克教育”是必不可少的部分。任何用完美主义思考的人和将圆满完成其目标作为最基础条件的人就是没有理解顾拜旦及其奥林匹克主义。

- 37 See MÜLLER, N.: 38 Years of IOA through its Lectures. Lausanne, IOC, 1998.
- 38 See MÜLLER, N.: National Olympic Academies. Foundation, Perspectives, Activities. Lausanne, IOC, 1994.
- 39 Coubertin: L'Olympisme à l'école. Il faut l'encourager! In : La Revue Sportive Illustrée 30(1934)2,28.
- 40 Cf. MÜLLER, N.: Der Olympismus als Bestandteil schulischer Erziehung. In: NOK für Deutschland (Hrsg.): Mach mit bei der Schülerolympiade. Unterrichtsvorschläge für die Klassen 1-6. Frankfurt/M., NOK, 1996, pp.8-10. See also GRUPPE, O.: Olympismus und olympische Erziehung- Abschied von einer großen Idee? In: Evangelische Akademie Bad Boll (Hrsg.): 100 Jahre Olympische Spiele- moderner Sport zwischen Pädagogik und Profit. Protokolldienst 3/97. Bad Boll 1997, pp.52-65.
- 41 cf. GESSMANN, R.: Olympische Erziehung und ihre schulische Umsetzung. In: NOK für Deutschland (Ed.): Olympische Erziehung in der Schule unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Fair-Play-Gedankens. Frankfurt/M., NOK, 1992, pp.39-40.
- 42 SCHANTZ, O.: Werte des Olympismus für die Sporterziehung. In: Müller, N./Messing, M.(Eds.): Auf der Suche nach der Olympischen Idee. Kassel, Agon , 1996, 83-88.

EARLY POLITICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE TO PROMOTE “SPORT FOR ALL”

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INTRODUCTION

The slogan “Sport for All” is very prominent in the circles of the *International Olympic Committee (IOC)* in order to demonstrate that its politics are not only guided by commercial interests. It is not the aim of this article to evaluate current programmes of the *IOC* designed to put the concept Sport for All into practice. The focus of research is on the description and evaluation of attempts made by the two presidents of the *IOC*, Pierre de Coubertin and Count Henri de Baillet-Latour, to stimulate the *IOC* to take a direct interest in the promotion and dissemination of the educational values of sport to the masses.

The second section of this paper examines Coubertin’s educational vision, related to the promotion of the idea of Sport for All. Consideration is given to his model of the Olympic Pyramid, his relation to Theodore Roosevelt and his idea to revive the ancient gymnasium. In the third section, I will turn to Baillet-Latour, who was elected president of the *IOC* at its 21st Session in Prague from 26 to 28 May 1925.^a During his presidency the *IOC* founded the *Playing Fields Sub-Commission*. The work and the success of this commission is critically analysed in the fourth section. The paper ends with some remarks on the relevance that the *IOC’s Playing Fields Sub-Commission* of the 1920s could or should have for educational guidelines of the *IOC*.

COUBERTIN’S PROMOTION OF SPORTS FOR ALL

Coubertin regarded amateur sport as a useful means to stimulate a fruitful educational process.^b According to the educational “zeitgeist”, Coubertin believed that regular participation in sporting activities could not only lead to an improvement of one’s personal health, but also to the

国际奥委会促进“大众体育”的早期方针研究

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前言

为了证明其路线方针并非单纯地由商业利益驱使，国际奥林匹克委员会（IOC）将“大众体育”作为其非常重要的理念和口号之一。本文的目的不在于评价国际奥委会将“大众体育”付诸实践的现行政策，而是旨在记述和评价两位国际奥委会前主席——皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦男爵和亨利·德·巴耶—拉图尔伯爵——在任期间，是如何促使国际奥委会来积极促进和传播体育运动对大众的教育价值的。

本文的第二部分主要研究了顾拜旦与积极促进大众体育密切相关的教育理念和视角，并着重考虑到他本人在奥林匹克金字塔尖的典范作用、美国总统西奥多·罗

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本

斯福以及对古代体育场馆的复兴工作。在第三部分，笔者主要着墨在巴耶—拉图尔身上，他于1925年5月26日到28日在布拉格举行的国际奥委会21次全会上当选为新任主席。拉图尔在任期间，国际奥委会建立了场地委员会。笔者在第四部分对该委员会的工作和成功进行批判地分析。本文最后的讨论着眼于20世纪20年代国际奥委会场地委员会是国际奥委会教育灯塔这一论点。

顾拜旦对大众体育的促进

顾拜旦将业余体育当作是激发大众教育过程的有效手段。根据当时的教育精神，顾拜旦相信有规律地参加体育运动不仅能提高个体的健康水平，还能促进其道德水平和诸如自律、目标指向和公平竞争等社会性性格的完善和提高。当然，顾拜旦假定业余体育的积极价值可以很轻易地迁移到运动员的日常工作和私人生活中。他还认为，体育能够教育公众，使其知晓在政治清明的现代国家，作为公民，他们有着怎样的权力和义务，从而使其符合现

development of high moral and social character traits such as self-discipline, goal-orientated behaviour and fair-play.^c Of course, Coubertin assumed uncritically that the positive values which were produced by amateur sport could easily be transferred to the daily professional and private lives of the athletes. Coubertin was of the opinion that sport could help to educate the citizens to become more useful and that it would enable them to conquer the demands of a modern society while knowing the obligations and civil rights of a politically enlightened nation.^d

A prominent person with whom Coubertin shared these noble expectations on sport was Theodore Roosevelt.^e In the 1880s Roosevelt promoted enthusiastically the educational benefits of sport in modern society. He liked to project himself as a strong character who developed from a shy, weak boy into a self-aware and healthy person by boxing, football, riding, hiking and hunting. A strong believer in the educational value of sport, Roosevelt stressed the importance of public athletic activities. He himself supported local boxing clubs and public playgrounds in the residential areas of New York City.^f

Coubertin was very impressed by Roosevelt's attitude towards sport. The two prominent sport leaders met in New York City, Washington, D.C. and Paris and they exchanged their ideas in frequent letters on the importance of sport for all citizens. Coubertin's high regard for Roosevelt's attitude towards education through sport was demonstrated when he dedicated his two books *L'Education publique* and *La gymnastique utilitaire* to Roosevelt and when Coubertin awarded Roosevelt the first Olympic Diploma.^g

According to Coubertin, the Olympic Games were an effective means to spread the idea of sport for all. In fact, Coubertin regarded the Olympic athlete as a model by which the mass of people could be stimulated to engage in sport in leisure time. He mentioned this in his famous speech *The Philosophical Foundation of Modern Olympism*.

“In order for a hundred people to take part in physical culture, it is necessary for fifty to take part in sport; in order for fifty to take part in sport, twenty must specialise; in order for twenty to specialise, five must be capable of astonishing feats of prowess”.^h

Of course, Coubertin knew that a precondition for realising the idea of spreading sport among the masses was the provision of the proper facilities. He felt that this was necessary particularly for the so-called city dwellers who were often prevented from sporting activities by the lack of space in urban areas. Therefore, the revival of the ancient gymnasium was Coubertin's favourite topic that he already brought to discussion at the end of World War I.ⁱ Coubertin proposed that in the modern era

the gymnasium of ancient times should inspire the creation of public gymnastic halls which city people of all social classes could attend free of charge. Visitors of all social classes should mingle in the modern gymnasium to practice democratic behaviour by participating in sport and gymnastics together. Coubertin did not want to present a prescribed catalogue of behavioural rules. The sporting situation itself should make evident the positive influence of physical education on physical and intellectual vitality.¹

The IOC dealt with Coubertin's idea of a revival of the ancient Greek gymnasium at the 8th Olympic Congress in Prague in 1925. This happened in spite of the fact that Coubertin had resigned and Count Henri de Baillet-Latour had been elected the new IOC President during the 21st IOC Session which had taken place before the Congress.² Actually, at the Congress in Prague, the IOC organized the *Congrès Olympique Technique* and *Premier Congrès International Olympique Pédagogique*. The latter at which sports-related educational issues were discussed was organised to honour Coubertin who – as founder of the modern Olympic Movement – was dissatisfied with the routine work of the IOC. Coubertin complained about the increasing preoccupation of the IOC with technical and organisational matters which – according to Coubertin – pushed aside central educational goals of the Olympic Movement. The programme of the *Premier Congrès International Olympique Pédagogique* contained nine topics, including a session on the revival of the ancient gymnasium.³

BAILLET-LATOURE'S MODEST ATTEMPTS TO PURSUE THE DOCTRINE OF SPORT FOR ALL

At the Congress in Prague, the participants of the Education Congress asked the IOC to accept Coubertin's proposal to elect a commission that would deal with the question of the re-establishment of the ancient gymnasium.⁴ But such a commission was never appointed and the attention of the newly elected president of the IOC turned to a proposal made by British IOC member Brigadier General Reginald John Kentish at the IOC session in Lisbon in May 1926. But first of all, who was this Kentish?

Kentish became member of the IOC in 1920 and served on its executive board from 1926 to 1931.⁵ In 1933 he was asked by IOC president Baillet-Latour to resign from the IOC. In a letter dated 14 May 1933 Baillet-Latour explained to Kentish that he had not attended an official meeting of the IOC for two years in a row – namely 1931 and 1932 – which according to Rule 3 of the IOC statutes leads to exclusion from the IOC.⁶ In England, Kentish was general secretary of the *British Olympic Associa-*

代社会的诸多要求，从而成为对社会发展更有用的个体。

西奥多·罗斯福与顾拜旦持有同样的高尚理想和期望。早在19世纪80年代，罗斯福就积极促进体育在现代社会中的教育功能。他经常拿自己做例子，证明一个害羞的、孱弱的小孩，如何通过多年的拳击、橄榄球、骑马、徒步和狩猎等体育锻炼，发展成为了一个有自知之明的健康的人。罗斯福对体育的教育价值深信不己，并积极强调公共体育行为的重要性。他自己就

罗斯福对体育的态度给顾拜旦留下了深刻的印象。两位卓越的体育领导人在纽约、华盛顿和巴黎都有过会悟，并经常书信往来，就大众体育的许多细节展开了积极的讨论。罗斯福对体育教育作用的认识获得了顾拜旦的很高的评价。顾拜旦不仅将自己的著作《公共教育》和《体育教育与应用体操》赠予罗斯福，还亲自授予其第一份奥林匹克荣誉证书

在顾拜旦看来，奥运会是促进大众体育发展的有效途径。实际上，顾拜旦将奥林匹克的运动员

们看作是促使大众在闲暇时间参加体育运动的楷模。他在其著名的演讲《现代奥林匹克主义的始创宗旨》中这样说到：

“要想让100人参与到体育文化中，就得有50人参加体育运动；要想让50人参加体育运动，就至少得有20个人擅长体育；如果想要20个人擅长体育，那么要有5人必须能够非常精通，具有令人惊叹的技艺。”

当然，顾拜旦知道要在大众中普及体育的最基本的前提是提供合适的场所和设备。他感觉到这是当务之急，城市居民之所以不参加体育活动的最大障碍就是因为城市中体育场所的缺乏。因此，恢复古代的体育场成为顾拜旦当时最关心的议题，一战之后马上就将其提上立时日程。顾拜旦建议，在现代社会，古代的体育场应该能够激发现代场馆的创建。在这些场馆中，来自社会各个阶层的人们能够免费参加各种运动，并通过一起参与体育运动来增强其民主行为。顾拜旦不想为他们的行为划定条条框框。他认为，体育场馆本身无论是在身体

tion from 1921 to 1925, *Chef d'Equipe* of the British Team at the Olympic Games in 1920 and 1924 as well as the leading force in the formation of the English *National Playing Fields Association*.^p Whereas Kentish's affiliation with the *IOC* was not challenged before 1933, his relationship with Coubertin had cooled much earlier. Before the Olympic Congress in Prague, Kentish complained in various letters to *IOC* members about Coubertin's leadership as president of the *IOC*. Kentish expressed his frustration first at what he believed was Coubertin's high-handed decision to organise the meeting of the *IOC*'s Executive Board in Paris rather than in Holland as had been agreed. Furthermore, Coubertin did not consider it necessary to send out an agenda for the meeting in order to give the participants a chance to prepare for it seriously. In fact, Kentish threatened to step down from the *IOC* and from his duties in its Executive Board if, after Coubertin's era as president of the *IOC*, the work of this organisation did not become more transparent and efficient.^q

At the *IOC* Session in Lisbon, Kentish took the floor. In his speech he mentioned that sufficient public space for athletic activities still lacked in towns. In order to improve this deplorable state, Kentish, on behalf of the British *IOC*-members Robert Stuart de Courcey-Laffan and Lord Gerald Cadogan, suggested to inform all *National Olympic Associations* of the demand to support the building of public playing areas in towns. One can read in the Minutes that the *IOC* decided to follow Kentish's proposal after careful consideration. In the course of the Session a commission was nominated and charged with the duty of collecting "all information which could serve to elucidate the question and the means of propaganda."^r Kentish, Melchior de Polignac from France, Pieter Wilhelmus Scharroo from Holland, Alfredo Benavides from Peru und Theodore Lewald from Germany served as members of this commission.^s At the meeting of the *IOC Executive Committee* held from 31 July to 4 August, 1926 in The Hague, Kentish was elected chairman of the *Playing Fields Sub-Commission*, for which in the Minutes and correspondence the synonyms *Spielplatzauschuss* and *Commission des Terrains de Jeux Publics* were used officially.^t

Already in The Hague, the *Playing Fields Sub-Commission* was asked to present both its aims and expectations at the next *IOC* Session in Monaco in April 1927. Kentish fulfilled this request and in Monaco he suggested writing a letter to all *National Olympic Associations* and the *Hygiene and Physical Education Committee* of the *League of Nations* to inform these institutions of the *IOC*'s desire to support the building of public playgrounds for the benefit of young people in the cities.^u Furthermore, the *National Olympic Associations* would be asked in the letter to evaluate the situation of playgrounds in their respec-

tive countries and to send a written report of their findings to the *Playing Fields Sub-Commission* of the IOC.^v According to Kentish, only on the basis of this investigation could one advise nations to improve efforts towards the provision of public playing fields. A component of this proposal within the memorandum that was prepared by the members of the *Playing Fields Sub-Commission* for the IOC session stated:

“5. The Committee expressed the opinion that the best way to deal with the problem is for each country to appoint a Committee to make a survey of the conditions existing, and of the public playing fields available in every city, town and village, and with this information obtained to take energetic action to provide public playing fields, whenever the result of the survey shows that they are wanted.”^w

As the project idea of the *Playing Fields Sub-Commission* was accepted by the IOC, it was Baillet-Latour's duty to inform the *National Olympic Associations* on the playground topic. But the IOC president took almost six months to write this letter to which he attached the memorandum quoted below.

“7th November 1927

Dear Mr. Chairman,

I am desired by my colleagues on the I.O.C. to forward to you the enclosed memorandum, which has reference to the decisions arrived by the I.O.C. at its meeting in Monaco April 1927 concerning the playing field question and the urgent necessity of every National Olympic Association giving its attention to the provision of public playing fields in order that the youth of every country may have the opportunity of taking part in its national sports and pastimes.

I am particularly desired to draw your attention to para. 5 of the enclosed memorandum, and, in doing so, I am asked to say that, in the opinion of the I.O.C., the carrying out of this survey is an essential preliminary to the satisfactory solution of the problem.

[...]

I therefore ask you to be good enough to give this matter your earliest and most earnest consideration, and to send a report to reach the Secretary of the I.O.C. by the 1st of July 1928 stating what action your Association has taken and the progress you have made.

Believe me

Yours very truly

(S) Baillet-Latour

Chairman of the IOC.”^x

方面，还是精神方面，都可以提供体育教育的积极影响，。

虽然顾拜旦早已辞职，亨利·德·巴耶—拉图尔从1925年第8届奥林匹克代表大会之前的第21次全会上就继任为新任主席，国际奥委会在这届大会上还是讨论了顾拜旦的这一议题。实际上，在布拉格大会上，国际奥委会组织了奥林匹克技术分会和国际奥林匹克教育学分会。后者讨论了体育教育问题，主要是为了表达对顾拜旦——现代奥林匹克运动的创始人——的敬意而举办的，但是国际奥委会的例行工作却让顾拜旦很不满意。他抱怨说，国际奥委会把技术和组织事务当成是当务之急，而忽略了本该是整个奥林匹克运动中心的教育目标。国际奥林匹克教育学分会包括了9个议题，其中就包括恢复古代体育场馆的会议。

巴耶—拉图尔推进大众体育的努力

在布拉格代表大会上，教育委员会的成员们请求国际奥委会接受

顾拜旦的建议，考虑重建古代体育馆的问题，但是新任主席并未进行相关的任命。相反，其注意力转移到了英国国际奥委会委员雷金纳德·约翰·肯迪斯准备将在1926年里斯本全会上提出的建议。但是，首先，我们要知道，肯迪斯是何许人也？

肯迪斯在1920年成为国际奥委会委员，并在1926年到1934年间任执委。1933年，国际奥委会主席巴耶—拉图尔请求他从国际奥委会辞职。在1933年5月14日的信中，巴耶—拉图尔向肯迪斯解释了原因，即他从1931年到1932年已经连续两年没有参加国际奥委会的任何官方会议，根据国际奥委会的3号规程，他应该辞职。肯迪斯是英国奥委会1921年到1925年的秘书长、1920年和1924年奥运会英国代表团的团长，并且是发展日益规范的英国场地联合会领导者。虽然在1933年之前，肯迪斯与国际奥委会的关系从未受到挑战，但是他与顾拜旦的关系早已疏远。在布拉格大会前，肯迪斯就在给国际奥委会委员的信中抱怨过顾拜旦身为国际奥委会主席的领导问题。他说，

THE FRUITLESS WORK OF THE PLAYING FIELDS SUB-COMMISSION

One can deduce from Baillet-Latours's letter that the *National Olympic Associations* had to present their findings until 1 July 1928. In the course of the Olympic Games in Amsterdam 1928 an *IOC* session took place at which Kentish was due to report on the results of the evaluation. As this report was scheduled for 3 August the members of the *Playing Fields Sub-Commission* assembled two days earlier in order to prepare their topic on the agenda.^y

On 3 August 1928 Kentish mentioned in his introductory words that as a result of the Olympic Games, public sport had become more and more popular in the world. He went on to argue that a consequence of this rise of sport is the demand for an increasing number of playing fields. Kentish stressed that immediate action had to be taken to secure empty lots in towns for the construction of playgrounds as the land which is still available in towns was required for the building of houses eventually. The chairman of the *Playing Fields Sub-Commission* warned his colleagues in the *IOC* that if all land in towns were required for building houses "the youth of the world will be compelled to look on instead of taking part in its national sports."^z

Of course Kentish's statements were very general in character nor were they groundbreaking. But it was not possible for Kentish to present more detailed information on the provision of playgrounds in the countries belonging to the *IOC*. By 1 July 1928 – the deadline for the submission of the reports – only 14 *National Olympic Associations* had handed in their reports. On the following handout that Kentish compiled for his presentation at the *IOC* session in Amsterdam he listed the *National Olympic Associations* had responded and those that did not:^{aa}

Belgium was absent from the *National Olympic Associations* which had responded. From this we can deduce that Baillet-Latour was not very interested in the project of the *Playing Fields Sub-Commission*. One might expect the home country of the *IOC* president to set an example. However, Baillet-Latour did not seem to be interested in the establishment of a national commission to evaluate the playground situation in Belgium.

At the *IOC* Session in Amsterdam, the *IOC* decided to follow Kentish's proposal to write on behalf of the *Playing Fields Sub-Commission* a second letter to those *National Olympic Associations* which had not answered yet.^{ab} Baillet-Latour wrote this letter, but he did not do it immediately after the Session in August. Three and a half months after the Session in Amsterdam, he finally wrote the following on 30th December 1928:^{ac}

At the 26th Session of the *IOC* in Lausanne from 8 to 26 April 1929, the playground topic was on the agenda again. But this time very little attention was devoted to the matter. It was only Kentish who presented a brief summary of the reports that were sent to the *IOC* bureau in response to Baillet-Latour's letter dated 30 December 1928. In the Minutes of the Session it is only mentioned that Kentish criticized the fact that there were still some nations that remained and which had not submitted the reports on the playground situations in their countries. Among those not on the list, Kentish explicitly named Italy, Sweden, Japan, Portugal and again Belgium.^{ad}

By the end of 1929, Kentish received a total of 21 reports from *National Olympic Committees*. Between the session in Amsterdam, where Kentish reported 14 responses, and the end of the year 1929, only seven additional reports were submitted. Among these seven reports was the report from Belgium. It was sent to Kentish in November 1929.^{ae}

The evaluation of these 21 reports was presented by Kentish at the Olympic Congress in Berlin 1930. At this Congress a session was devoted to the topic *The Playground Question and the Development of Exercise Facilities*.^{af} The session was chaired by Kentish as president and *IOC* member Duke Adolf Froedrich von Mecklenburg Schwerin as vice-president. In his presentation, Kentish re-iterated how the *Playground Committee* was founded and restated its objectives.^{ag} Based on the national playground reports Kentish concluded that resolute steps had been taken in many countries to improve the playground situation. However, he also made the committee members aware of aberrations and problems, which had been mentioned in the reports of the various *National Olympic Associations*. In this vein, he complained that many countries spent large amounts of money on the construction of sport stadiums in comparison to sporting facilities, thus merely promoting spectator sport and not active physical exercise of the general public. In addition, Kentish referred to the financial problems that playgrounds faced and made it clear that their upkeep would rarely be covered by private funding and that a sufficient number of public playgrounds could not be realised without the assistance of the government and local authorities. Finally, Kentish alluded to the wish voiced by many of the *National Olympic Associations*. They asked for advice from the *Playground Committee* and guidance in construction and the best design for sporting facilities. It was most likely that this suggestion had come the following wish which led eventually to a resolution at the Congress:

“The Commission is of the opinion, that the Commission of the *IOC*

当顾拜旦通过高压手段决定将国际奥委会执委会议安排在巴黎而不是早已通过的荷兰举行时，他就产生了很强的挫败感。而且，顾拜旦一直认为没有必要向与会者提供会议的日程安排，以使其有时间来充分准备。实际上，肯迪斯威胁说，如果顾拜旦卸任之后，国际奥委会的工作还没有变得更透明和有效，他就将逐步脱离国际奥委会及其执委会职位。

场地委员会华而不实的工作

我们可以从巴耶—拉图尔的信中推断，各国奥委会必须在1928年7月1日之前递交本国的场地报告。在1928年阿姆斯特丹奥运会举行期间举行的国际奥委会全会上，肯迪斯要做相关的评估报告。因为该报告被安排在了8月3日，所以场地委员会的委员们有两天的时间来准备议程上的议题。

在1928年8月3日，肯迪斯在其发言的导词中提到，作为奥运会的积极结果，大众体育正在全世界范围内变得越来越流行。他继而

提到说，体育运动如此增加的后果是对体育场的需求日益增多。他强调说，当务之急是保证城镇的空地可以用来建造体育场，因为城镇的地皮最终很可能被用来建造房屋。场地委员会的主席提醒其他国际奥委会的同事注意，如果城镇的所有土地都被用来修建房屋，那么“全世界的年轻人将不得不只是观看而不是参与体育运动。”

当然，肯迪斯的陈述非常波澜不惊，并不是破坏性的。但是，对肯迪斯来说也不可能提供更多的IOC成员国的有关场地供给的详细信息。因为到提交报告的截止日期1928年7月1日为止，只有14个国家奥委会提交了相关报告。在下面的文档中，我们可以看到，肯迪斯把提交了报告和没提交报告的国家分别列表。

在1929年4月8日到26日洛桑举行的国际奥委会第26次全会上，场地问题再次被提上了日程。但是这次只引起了很少的关注。只有肯迪斯向国际奥委会提供了一份简短的总结报告，作为对巴耶—拉图尔1928年12月30日来信的回复。在会议纪录中，只提到了肯

shall continue its work and suggests publishing an excerpt of the various reports under consideration of the actual measures taken by the local authorities of the different countries concerning the appropriate localities for recreation of the public. Incidentally this excerpt should contain names and addresses of the different associations and bodies, able to supply information and support in this regard. The Commission is of the opinion that through this publication, all nations that have not dealt with the problem of playgrounds and public recreational places to date will be encouraged to take resolute steps.”^{ah}

Neither could be realised. Documentation of this *Committee* can be found only in the IOC archives up to 1930. Only Carl Diem, who was neither a member of the *Playground Commission*, nor a participant in the discussions at the Olympic Congress in Berlin published guidelines for the construction of playgrounds in the *Olympische Rundschau* in July 1936. While beneficial to the increased number of playgrounds, his data do not rely on the responses gathered by Kentish for the *IOC*, but on those collected on the requirements of playground construction in Germany:

“Playgrounds and sporting fields thus require between 3 and 4.5 square metres per capita of the municipal population. These calculations are based upon German conditions, which include grass-covered fields. Only the usable area is taken into consideration, and allowance must be also made for paths, landscaped strips, dressing rooms and spectator stands. A circle of interest with a radius of 2 kilometres has been allotted to each sporting field, the same applying to gymnasia and swimming pools. In other words, playgrounds and sporting fields totalling 4.5 square metres of usable space (turf) per capita of the population should be constructed at the centre of each area having a radius of 2 kilometres.”^{ai}

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The *IOC Playground Sub-Committee* collapsed as quickly as it was born. What were the reasons for this collapse? The information above demonstrates that the project was recognised by very few *IOC* members. Apart from the members of the *Playground Committee*, it is difficult to identify other *IOC* members who supported the project with sufficient enthusiasm. Evidence for this lack of support can be easily found, i.e. in the six months which the *IOC* president Baillet-Latour required to realise the resolution of the *IOC* session in Amsterdam and to distribute the request of the *Playground Committee* to the respective *National Olympic Associations*. Further, the

planned publication of the *Playground Sub-Committee* was never pursued. Surely the responsibility for this lies with the *Playground Sub-Committee* itself. The lack of support it received meant it did not have a chance to develop. The *Playground Sub-Committee* had five members, yet the administration appears to have been done primarily by Kentish. After his voluntary withdrawal from the Executive Board of the IOC in 1931, no reports of further activities of the *Playground Sub-Committee* were mentioned, which might have indicated a successful continuation of the project.

Without a doubt, the attempt to institutionalise a central advisory board for promoting the construction of playgrounds worldwide was viewed positively. It was the initial step towards an expansion of the IOC, and thus emphasised its role as patrons of sport beyond the Olympic Games. Although the IOC has a strong interest in supporting Sport for All today and displays this interest in some projects the playground topic is definitely a worthwhile one to which the IOC should consider once again after over 70 years. Playgrounds offer easy and free access to sporting activities. But it is still the case that even in the most developed countries there is a shortage of facilities for inner city youngsters. Undeveloped areas in the cities are first and foremost used for commercial housing or industrial projects. Public space has become rare in the cities. Therefore, the city youth often have no real chance to do sport in their leisure time. But sport is definitely a good alternative for hanging around in the streets and protecting young people from mischief and vice. As the world's biggest and most influential sport organisation, the IOC should be aware of this fact and should use its reputation to positively impact in this field. International guidelines for playgrounds can be developed by the IOC. In these guidelines, not only technical advice should be given but also information on the useful relation between the numbers of playgrounds, the population of a city and on how the playgrounds can be funded. By doing this the IOC would go on to follow central ideas of its founder Pierre de Coubertin, for whom sport was an effective means to educate the masses.

NOTES

a V. KLUGE, *Olympische Sommerspiele. Die Chronik I. Athen 1896 – Berlin 1936*, Berlin 1997, pp. 602.

b P. DE COUBERTIN, "The Olympic Games of 1896", in: *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* XXXI(1896), p. 53.

c P. DE COUBERTIN, "The Re-Establishment of the Olympic Games", in: *The Chautauquan* XIX(1894), p. 699.

迪斯对那些依然没有提交他们国家的场地状况的会员国的批评，他特别明确地指出了意大利、瑞典、日本、葡萄牙和比利时。

在1929年底，肯迪斯收到了总共来自21个国家的报告。从1928年阿姆斯特丹会议收到14份报告，到1929年底，不过只增加了7份。在这7份中，有于1929年11月份提交给了肯迪斯的比利时体育场地情况的报告。

结论

国际奥委会场地委员会昙花一现的原因是什么呢？前文的论述告诉我们，该计划只得到了少数几个国际奥委会委员的认可。除了场地委员会的委员，我们很难确定其他国际奥委会委员是否也热情地支持该项计划。然而，此项活动缺乏支持的证据却可以轻而易举地获得，比如，在国际奥委会主席巴耶—拉图尔要求将阿姆斯特丹全会的决议付诸实践以及要求各成员国递交自己国家的场地状况时的六个月，完成速度和情况都不令人满意。更者，场地委员会的出版物也未能如愿。

当然，这些状况跟场地委员会本身有关。缺乏支持意味着它没有发展的机会。场地委员会只有5名委员，但是其管理很显然主要是由肯迪斯来完成的。在其1931年自动脱离国际奥委会执委会之后，就再也没有任何关于场地委员会活动的报告了。

毫无疑问，我们应该积极地看待人们成立专门顾问机构来促进全世界体育场地建设的努力。这是国际奥委会强调其在奥运会之外的体育发起者的形象，从而进行扩张的第一步。虽然国际奥委会对发展当今的大众体育有着很高的兴趣，并且将这种兴趣表现在了某些计划中，场地主题绝对是一个值得国际奥委会在70多年后再度好好考虑的问题。场地提供了简单和免费的进入体育活动的途径。但即便是在最发达的国家，城市内的青少年还是缺乏体育设施，而城市中的欠发达地区通常首先用来建造商品房或者工业设施。公共空间在城市已经变得非常珍稀。因此，城市的年轻人们在其闲暇时间其实没有进行体育运动的机会。但是，我们谁都无法否认，体育运动确实是一

- d S. WASSONG, *Pierre de Coubertins US-amerikanische Studien und ihre Bedeutung für die Analyse seiner frühen Erziehungskampagne*, Würzburg 2002, pp. 23.
- e WASSONG, *Pierre*, pp. 147.
- f S. WASSONG, “Theodore Roosevelt’s neuzeitliche Rezeption des ‘Macedonian’ und ‘Greek Sport Model’”, in: *Nikephoros. Zeitschrift für Sport und Kultur im Altertum* 18(2005). pp. 301.
- g WASSONG, “Theodore Roosevelt”, p. 310.
- h P. de COUBERTIN, “The Philosophic Foundation of Modern Olympism”. In: CARL-DIEM-INSTITUT (ed.), *Pierre de Coubertin. The Olympic Idea. Discourses and Essays*, Schorndorf 1967, pp. 131.
- i N. MÜLLER, *One Hundred Years of Olympic Congresses. 1894-1994. History – Objectives – Achievements*, Lausanne 1994, p. 119.
- j T. ALKEMEYER, *Körper, Kult und Politik. Von der Muskelreligion Pierre de Coubertins zur Inszenierung von Macht bei den Olympischen Spielen von 1936*, Frankfurt a.M. 1996, pp. 114.
- k W. BORGERS/K. LENNARTZ/D. QUANZ/W. TEUTENBERG, *Deutsche Olympiade Kalender. Daten zur Olympischen Bewegung in Deutschland, Teil I., I.-XIII. Olympiade (1896-1945) mit Interludium (393-1889) und Praeludium (1889-1896)*, Kassel 1996, p. 166.
- l The remaining 8 topics were dealing with excess of sporting events, negative developments in boxing, participation of young people in competitions, participation of women in sport, fair play and chivalrous spirit, sport at universities, sport programmes as possible health care, sport for everybody; MÜLLER, *Hundred Years*, p. 114.
- m MÜLLER, *Hundred Years*, p. 119.
- n COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIQUE (ed.), *Biographies Olympiques. Membres du C.I.O. décédés ou démissionnaires 1894-1986*, Lausanne 1987, p. 100.
- o BAILLET-LATOUR to KENTISH, letter dated 14 May 1933, in: IOC-Archive/MBR Kentish Corr. 1924-1949. In this letter Baillet-Latour quotes rule 3 of the IOC-statutes: “Rule 3 reads: The members of the I.O.C. are elected for an indefinite period. However, those who have not taken part in any conference meeting or vote for two whole years may be considered to have resigned.”
- p COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIQUE, *Biographies*, p. 100
- q KENTISH to EDSTRÖM, letter dated 4 March 1925, in: IOC-Archive/MBR Kentish Corr. 1924-1949.
- r “Minutes of the Session of the IOC at Lisbon”, in: *Official Bulletin of the International Olympic Committee* 3(1926)July, p. 15.
- s MÜLLER, *Hundred Years*, p. 135
- t KENTISH to BAILLET-LATOUR, letter dated 1 August 1928, in: IOC-Archive/MBR Kentish Corr. 1924-1949/”Bericht”, in: *Offizielles Organ des*

- Internationalen Olympischen Ausschusses* 4(1926)October, p. 24.
- u “Minutes of the Session of the IOC at Monaco 1927”, in: *Official Bulletin of the International Olympic Committee* 7(1927)June, p. 13.
- v R. J. KENTISH, “Public Playing Fields. Report of the Special Commission appointed at Lisbon April 1926”, in: IOC-Archive/Commission des terrains de jeux, SD7: Rapports 1929-1930.
- w KENTISH, “Public”, in: IOC-Archive/Commission des terrains de jeux, SD7: Rapports 1929-1930.
- x BAILLET-LATOUR to the Chairmen of the National Olympic Associations, letter dated 7 November 1927, in: IOC-Archive/Commission des terrains de jeux, SD7: Rapports 1929-1930.
- y N.N., “Minutes of the Meeting of the International Olympic Committee”, in: *Bulletin Officiel du Comité International Olympique* 11(1928) October, p. 18.
- z KENTISH to BAILLET-LATOUR, letter dated 1 August 1928, in: IOC-Archive/MBR Kentish Corr. 1924-1949.
- aa KENTISH to BAILLET-LATOUR, letter dated 1 August 1928, in: IOC-Archive/MBR Kentish Corr. 1924-1949.
- ab KENTISH to BAILLET-LATOUR, letter dated 1 August 1928, in: IOC-Archive/MBR Kentish Corr. 1924-1949.
- ac BAILLET-LATOUR to the National Olympic Associations, letter dated 20 December 1928, in: IOC-Archive/Commission des terrains de jeux, SD7: Rapports 1929-1930.
- ad “Minutes of the Meeting Lausanne”, in: *Bulletin Officiel du Comité International Olympique* 13(1929)July, p. 7.
- ae Handwritten notes of Kentish dated 7 November 1929, in: IOC-Archive/Commission des terrains de jeux, SD7: Rapports 1929-1930.
- af “Vorarbeit für 1932. Eine Tagung des Vollzugausschusses des Internationalen Olympischen Komitees”, in: *Blätter für Volksgesundheit und Volkskraft* 17(1929)32, p. 86.
- ag INTERNATIONALES OLYMPISCHES KOMITEE (ed.), *Bericht über den Olympischen Kongress von Berlin 1930. III. Jahr der IX. Olympiade 25.-30. Mai 1930.* Berlin 1930. p. 23.
- ah INTERNATIONALES OLYMPISCHES KOMITEE (ed.), *Bericht*, p. 23 (English translation by the author). The results of the Berlin commission on playgrounds are also briefly analysed by MÜLLER, *Hundred Years*, p. 110.
- ai C. DIEM, “How Does One Calculate Playground Requirements?”, in: *Olympische Rundschau* (1939)July, p. 31; see also C. DIEM, “Les dix commandements de la construction du terrain de jeu”, in: *Olympische Rundschau* (1940)July, p. 14.

一个好的替代在街上无聊游荡的办法，从而保护了青年人，使之避免沾染恶习。作为全世界最大的和最有影响力的体育组织，国际奥委会应该知道这一事实，并且应该利用其在全世界范围内的声望来在这一领域施加积极的影响。国际奥委会可以在全世界范围内对体育场地建设进行指导。在这些指导方针中，不仅要有技术方面的建议，还要有关于场地数、城市人口数和这些场地如何集资修建等有用信息。通过这些，国际奥委会能够追随其建立者皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦的主要思想，因为对顾拜旦来说，这正是教育大众的有效途径。

National Olympic Associations which have replied to the President's letter of the 7th November 1927 (Vide attached)

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Liste des Comités Olympiques nationaux qui ont répondu à la lettre présidentielle du 7 novembre 1927. (ci-annexée).

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AFRIQUE DU SUD	HAITI
ALLEMAGNE	HONGRIE
AMERIQUE CENTRALE	MONACO
CUBA	NORVEGE
ESPAGNE	POLOGNE
FRANCE	SUISSE
GRANDE - BRETAGNE	YUGOSLAVIE

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National Olympic Associations which have not replied:

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National des Comités Olympiques Nationaux qui n'ont pas répondu:

Argentine	Costa Rica	Indes	Portugal
Australie	Danemark	Irlande	Roumanie
Autriche	Egypte	Italie	Suède
Belgique	Equater	Japon	San Salvador
Bolivie	Esthonie	Lettonie	Tchécoslovaquie
Brésil	Etats-Unis	Luxembourg	Turquie
Bulgarie	Finlande	Mexique	Uruguay
Canada	Grèce	Nicaragua	Venezuela
Chili	Guatemala	Nouvelle Zélande	
Chine	Hollande	Paraguay	
Colombie	Honduras	Pérou	

Lausanne, December 30th 1928

Dear Mr. President,

The Playing Fields Sub Committee has given to the IOC a full Report of its activities.

Unfortunately replies have been received only from 14 National Olympic Associations following my letter of November the 7th.1927 asking what had been done in their respective countries to provide them with playing fields.

I have been requested by the Sub Committee to convey their thanks to the National Committees who were kind enough to report on that important matter.

I have also been asked to draw once more the attention of those who have not yet answered to the importance of the documents annexed to this letter and to insist to have then sending their replies as soon as possible to the Secretary of the IOC Mon Repos Lausanne.

Yours truly
(S) BAILLET-LATOURE
Chairman of the IOC.

