

学校编码:10384
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厦门大学

硕士学位论文

超越距离:足球外交与中国-乌拉圭的全球互补

KICKING AGAINST THE DISTANCE:

**A Study on Football Diplomacy and the Global
Complementarity between China and Uruguay**

Lucia Fajardo

指导教师姓名:陈锴助理教授

专业名称:国际关系

论文提交日期:2017年4月

论文答辩时间:2017年 月

学位授予日期:2017年 月

答辩委员会主席:—

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2017年4月

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摘要

依照《剑桥高阶英语学习词典》的界定，足球是指“由两队各派 11 人参加的比赛，比赛双方尽量将足球射入对方的球门内。”

上述对足球的界定，试图维护一种谬论，即在国际关系与政治领域，足球是被边缘化的。不过，每当有人提及足球时，他们并未意识到，足球真正的重要性。在他们看来，足球只是一种体育运动，而不是一种增进沟通与合作的手段。时至今日，许多足球外交的案例已说明，足球切实发挥了重要的作用，否定足球重要性的说法是荒谬的。

本文的主旨在于，辨析中国与乌拉圭足球之间的互补性，同时指出，足球是增进乌拉圭与中国关系及两国间其他交流的一种手段。

本文假定，乌拉圭在足球方面的经验，不仅对于中国实现《中国足球改革发展总体方案》是至关重要的，而且还推动足球外交成为两国关系中的一个要素。

本文审慎地论证了上述假定。本文分析了，诸多要素为足球创造了潜在空间，将足球构建为一种促进乌拉圭和中国关系的手段。同时，本文还研究了两国签署的有关足球的协议与备忘录。

最后，本文指出，通过非传统的方式，乌拉圭政府以及文化、商业和社会交流均已涉及到中国的“足球梦”。这一态势会在两国人民之间产生更多交流，并更好地增进相互理解。

关键词: 足球外交；中国；乌拉圭；互补性

Abstract

According to *Cambridge Advanced Learner Dictionary & Thesaurus*, football is “a game played between two teams of eleven people, where each team tries to win by kicking a ball into the other team’s goal”.

The above-mentioned definition of football tried to justify a fallacy that football is marginalized in international relations and politics. When some people talk about football, they do not give it the real importance that football has. In their opinions, football is only a sport, rather than a vehicle for communication, cooperation, etc. So nowadays, and after experienced a lot of cases of football diplomacy and cases where football plays a really important role, deny its importance will be ridiculous.

The primary purpose of this thesis is to identify the complementarity between football in China and Uruguay, as well as identifying football as a vehicle to improve Uruguay-Sino relations and facilitate other exchange between the two countries. The hypothesis raised by this thesis argues that nourished Uruguayan experience in football can make a decisive contribution in achieving China’s goals outlined in the *Chinese Football Reform and Development Program*, and prompting football diplomacy to be a key element in the Uruguay-Sino relations.

This thesis carefully proved the above-mentioned hypothesis. It analyzes the elements creating a potential space for football to constitute a vehicle to boost the Uruguay-Sino relations, and examines the sport-related agreements and memorandum signed by China and Uruguay.

Finally, various alternatives are manifested, through which the Uruguayan government, cultural, commercial and social exchanges, have been involved with the Chinese Dream of Football. This would generate more exchanges and better mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries.

Key Words: Football Diplomacy; China, Uruguay, Complementarity

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank all the people who contributed in some way to the work described in this thesis. First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Kai Chen for all the support and encouragement he gave me; the useful comments and remarks. Without his guidance and constant feedback this master thesis would not have been achievable.

I am grateful for the funding sources that allowed me to pursue my post graduate school studies: The MOFCOM Scholarship. I am also very grateful to all those at the School of International Relations office, especially Miss. Yuxi Long who was always so helpful and provided us with her assistance with administrative tasks, reminding us of impending deadlines, and keeping our work running smoothly.

Also, I like to thank the participants in my in-depth interviews, who have willingly shared their precious time during the process of interviewing. The managers of the Football Schools: Toni Díaz, Adriano, Adam and Norman. Furthermore I would like to thank the football teams *Qingdao Huanghai* Football Club and *Juventud de Las Piedras* Club for introducing me to their routine as well for the support on the way.

My thanks also go out to the support I received from the Uruguayan Embassy in Beijing. I am especially grateful to the Ambassador Fernando Lugris, and the diplomat in charge of the football issue Agustina Casavalle. Furthermore I would like to thank Mr. Albert Li, a football fan and enthusiastic promoter of football diplomacy for his time and interesting points of view.

I would also like to thank the Uruguayan Delegation who were involved in the last Presidential official visit to the People's Republic of China. Specially, Uruguay's

Secretary of Sport, Fernando Cáceres; the Uruguayan Football Association's manager--Rafael Fernández as well as the former professional soccer player Alvaro "Chino" Recoba.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge friends and family who have supported me throughout entire process, both by keeping me harmonious and helping me putting pieces together. First and foremost I would like to thank Mom, Dad, Cami and Facu for their constant love and support. To Acu, who has been by my side throughout this Master Degree, providing me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement despite the distance. And my dearest Ola, Aga and all my friends from Xiamen and Montevideo for helping in whatever way they could during this challenging period.

This accomplishment would not have been possible without them. Infinitas gracias!!

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADIC	Sports Association of College Integration
ALADI	Latin American Integration Association
AUF	Uruguayan Football Association
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CFA	Football Association of China
CONMEBOL	South American Football Confederation
CSL	Chinese Super League
CURCC	Central Uruguay Railway Cricket Club
ECLAC	United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
FIFA	Federation Internationale de Football Association
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISEF	Higher Institute of Physical Education
IUACJ	University Institute Youth Christian Association
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
MERCOSUR	Southern Common Market
MIDES	Ministry of Social Development
MVD	Montevideo
OAS	Organization of American States
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OFI	Football Organization of the Interior
ONFI	National Organization of Children's Football
PRC	People's Republic of China
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
UN	United Nations
UNASUR	Union of South American Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Chapter 1: Introduction

Football /'fʊt.bɔ:l/ *noun* (also mainly US soccer) 1. *m. a game played between two teams of eleven people, where each team tries to win by kicking a ball into the other team's goal.* (*Cambridge Advanced Learner Dictionary & Thesaurus* 2016).

According to the above-mentioned definition of football, which is developed by *Cambridge Advanced Learner Dictionary & Thesaurus*, the dominant point of view in the academic field where football is marginalized from international relations and politics, is justified. However, people are living in a reality that the world has contributed to which denying the importance of football--not only as a sport but also as a vehicle for communication, cooperation and development at the domestic and international level--would be ridiculous. As stated by the Uruguayan writer and journalist Eduardo Galeano; "How is football like God? Each inspires devotion among believers and distrust among intellectuals." (Galeano 1997, 31)

The problem to be examined in the present thesis involves the study of the role of football in the narrowing of the bilateral relations between two international actors. To continue with the reasoning, it's necessary to define diplomacy, and then specify the two international actors to be analyzed.

According to *Cambridge Advanced Learner Dictionary & Thesaurus*, diplomacy is defined as the management of relationships between countries (*Cambridge Advanced Learner Dictionary & Thesaurus* 2016). Taking a colloquial definition into account, diplomacy is explained as apparent courtesy, sagacity and dissimulation. These same aspects can in fact be found in a colloquial definition of football, which describes the sport as an art in which creativity, sagacity and skill justifying the devotion of its followers.

To resort to sport as a foreign policy tool has a long history; from Germany's spectacular failed efforts to make use of the 1936 Berlin Olympics to demonstrate its racial superiority, to the administration of Nixon with ping-pong diplomacy for the thawing of diplomatic relations with the PRC in the middle of the Cold War. In this paper, I will analyze the Sports Diplomacy focused on football, which is based on certain specific examples throughout history has been defined as Football Diplomacy.

To define Football Diplomacy at the simplest level it must be said that it consists of using the common interest in football to create networks and contacts (Bubalo 2013). These networks can be used for various purposes, including diplomacy, promotion of tourism, products, development and education; and the forging of political and business connections.

In the case of football, the primary purpose of this thesis is to identify the complementarity between China and Uruguay, identify the aforementioned sport as a vehicle that allows closer relations and facilitates the exchange in other arenas between the two countries.

According to *Beyond the Final Score: The Politics of Sport in Asia* by an American Academic Victor D. Cha (2008, p. 2-3):

"When sport transcends national boundaries once nation states are created, sport becomes an intimate companion to diplomacy. Since then, sport has played an important role in politics, promotion of diplomacy, amplification of national identity and as a facilitator of political changes both domestically and internationally."

While sport, and especially football, has been used on certain occasions as a punitive tool of the State, either as a prohibition or sanction against another State; or major sporting events used to justify and seek international recognition or as a form of protest; it is undeniable that sport has played a positive role in diplomacy as one of the

lowest cost tools in economic terms to facilitate peace, with the aim of reconciling the differences between countries and cultures.

In this context, we frame the hypothesis that arises in the present paper--the broad experiences of Uruguay in football can make a decisive contribution in the accomplishment of the objectives set out in the *Chinese Football Reform and Development Program* in Xi Jinping's Era, becoming Football Diplomacy a fundamental element in narrowing the ties between the two countries.

This thesis focuses on the cases of China and Uruguay, because of the following objective and subjective reasons. First, being born and raised in Uruguay is the main subjective factor since the Uruguayan identity is intimately related to football; the glorious past and the present of football is breathed on every corner, in every home. In the same way that the Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano described himself "like all Uruguayans, no exception, I was born screaming goal" (Galeano 1997). In addition, my academic training has led me to cross the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, always with the same destination, China. There, I personally witnessed China's growing interests in football, changes in the professionalism of the sport and especially the *Chinese Football Reform and Development Program* promoted by the Chinese Government.

Once analyzed the concepts of Sports Diplomacy and Football Diplomacy in the context of International Relations; the second purpose of this research will be to analyze the historical, geographic and cultural factors, as well as victories and failures in the field of football, with the objective of exploring the glory and football tradition of Uruguay.

To a large degree, football has been characterizing Uruguay--a small nation in the south of Latin America of something more than 3 million inhabitants. Uruguay's football draws attention and seduces the world. In such a globalized and disparate

reality, football stands as a defense tool positioning the country on the international level. In their opinion, football is identified as the one of greater density of professional football players and trophies won by inhabitants; 2 FIFA World Cups, 15 FIFA America Cups, and two victories in the Olympic Games. Football culture is part of the Uruguayan national identity; pride, nationalism and self-love would be the keys to explain why Uruguay's history is full of football successes and triumphs. Uruguay and its football move together in a reality that undeniably witnesses its syncretism, dependence and feedback.

It is also established as a purpose of the research to identify the tools and examples from the Uruguayan experience, which can make a decisive contribution in accomplishing the objectives of the *Chinese Football Reform and Development Program*, in which way the comparative advantages presented by Uruguay through its football experience could support the realisation of the Chinese Dream in football. At the same time, there will be an analysis of the plan led by Chinese President Xi Jinping, which is based on 50 points and bears the name *Chinese Football Reform and Development Program* and the objectives projected therein.

In global terms, football represents the perfect example of omnipotence in sport. The Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) is a good example of the levels of monitoring, adherence and acceptance of elements of international standardization of football. It's a Swiss law association founded in 1904 with headquarters in Zurich, composed of 211 national member associations, with the fundamental objective of constantly improving football. If we take a close look at the Asia continent, we would find six out of the ten countries with the highest population density in the world; however, in terms of football, only South Korea is positioned in the top 50 of the FIFA ranking (national football team). And this is where common

sense and pure logic are not applicable to the reality. The People's Republic of China is the most populous country in the world, one of the most extensive, the world's first economy in terms of purchasing power parity, one of the oldest civilizations in the world, and yet when we analyze the FIFA World Ranking we find China in the 84th position (FIFA 2016).

Although it is believed that football originated in China more than 5000 years ago, and was seen as a symbol of modernity, talisman of actuality and a declaration of intentions once positioned as modern football in the nineteenth century; the reasons why China's lack of football success will be mentioned. In the meantime, we will analyze the *Chinese Football Reform and Development Program* that precisely recognizes many of the matter of contention affecting football in China, as well as the measures it proposes with the overall goal of reforming and achieving glory in football.

Despite growing interests in improving China's football, serious studies have not yet been conducted to conduct comparative cases studies, that is, between one of the most glorious nations in football, Uruguay, and the remarkable experience of China. The geographic distance, the linguistic barrier and even the contrast that can be appreciated in both the territorial and the population dimensions are factors that, although they make comparative study of these countries difficult, also present their complementarity and propose their research as a challenge of ambitious objectives and conclusions.

The research guide question is: Can football play a fundamental role in the bilateral relations between China and Uruguay? This involves the following specific objectives:

- To analyze the Uruguayan football experience, focused on the historical, geographic and cultural factors.

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