CHAPTER III
DIPLOMACY THROUGH SPORT IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

In today’s era, diplomatic activity has increased rapidly along with the increasing diversity of issues in International Relations. International Relations are no longer seen as relations between countries, but also include relations between communities in the global arena. Nowadays, traditional diplomacy as known as the "First Track Diplomacy" which only involves the government role in accomplishing diplomatic missions already rarely used. If the diplomacy only goes through the first track diplomacy, it will be not effective in conveying diplomatic messages or political messages to a certain country. For this reason, public diplomacy actions that engage public participation will be needed in order to accomplish traditional diplomatic actions. The main aim of this chapter is to explain what Sports Diplomacy is and the example types of Sports Diplomacy that have been used as a diplomatic instrument or conflict resolution tools by several countries.

A. Sport for Diplomacy, Diplomacy through Sport

In the international relations context, it cannot be denied that sport will always be alongside with politics. Sports diplomacy has proved to be able to reduce conflict or melt the tensions between countries in conflict. Sport is an essential means of diplomacy because of the main nature of sports that uphold the sportsmanship. Sports diplomacy also has four main objectives which are to reduce conflict, dissolve tension, improve relations between countries and introduce culture. Sports diplomacy in its various forms (football diplomacy, table tennis diplomacy, cricket diplomacy, basketball diplomacy, etc.) has been increasingly chosen as a means to strengthen and improve relations between countries.
Organizing sports events other than the Olympics on an international scale also has a significant impact on international relations. The development of media and technology also helps people from all over the world to have equal access to watch the program simultaneously. Thus, sports events can be used as a media to promote peace, to form a mutual understanding between countries until becoming an alternative instrument of diplomacy.

1. Sports Diplomacy as a part of Public Diplomacy

The definition of public diplomacy is an effort to give impact or influence toward other people or institutions outside their country in a positive implementation so that they will be able to change the perspective of that person towards a certain country. (Melissen, 2006) Public diplomacy is also defined as an accomplishment created by the government when dealing with or communicating with the foreign public to achieve the national interests of a country. Public diplomacy is communication between international actor policies and the foreigner. The citizens of foreign countries include the representatives of civil society, multinational, non-governmental organizations, media institutions or journalists, specialists across industrial, political and cultural sectors and general public members. (Pamment, 2014)

Public diplomacy is done by informing, understanding and influencing the foreign public. Otherwise speaking, if the traditional diplomacy process is developed through the action of “government to government” relations, public diplomacy is emphasized more on “government to people” or even included “people to people” relations. The main goal is for the international society to have a nice impression toward a country and also as a social commencement for the accomplishment of broader interests and relations between countries. Another goal of public diplomacy including the influence toward the behavior of the concerned and facilitates
it. Therefore, soft power is an important tool in implementing public diplomacy.

The growing development of public diplomacy makes the public role increasingly crucial in the process of state policy-making because the state also requires a strong legitimacy from the public to act. Public diplomacy is not only limited to issues of hard politics but also covers soft politics issues, such as cultural aspects and begins to study sport as a diplomacy instrument. Sports diplomacy as a part of public diplomacy is a soft power tool that is very important and effective. Especially in the globalization era, where military and financial strength are no longer efficient in resolve the conflicts. Meanwhile, soft power methods that prioritize cultural values, such as sports, will give more positive effects. In today’s era, the essence of sports is not just an activity to support health. Sports nowadays not only become a show in the entertainment industry or a tool to build the image of a regime and a nation. But through sports, the popularity of an official or politician can be promoted. Even sports activities become an effective tool for diplomatic relations between countries.

Aside from being a representation of diplomatic activity by the government, which is become a media in order to promote peace, establish mutual understanding between countries, and become an alternative diplomacy instrument. Nowadays, sports diplomacy is being carried out by all developed and developing countries not only to promote their country internationally through the achievements of their athletes but also to promote sportsmanship and peace values in the sports competition. The term sports diplomacy can simply be interpreted as a diplomatic effort using sports instruments in practice. Sports diplomacy can also be interpreted as an effort that aims to become a bridge toward the gaps that exist between nations and cultures through sports media. Because in practice, sport is good media that has a pivot role in international relations also has a positive side that can be utilized. (Murray & Pigman, 2013)
2. Sport as an instrument to achieve peace

Sport is the variety of recreation activities that imply the accessibility of individuals and groups from various cultural heritage or environment and competency levels. In his book, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture*, (Huizinga, 1971) argues that playing is intrinsic and essential by reason of in sport we could find out about who we are because humans are the games players ("homo ludens"). Sport is also a tool for peace. At the macro stage, sports can be a tool to encourage peace in international relations. Other sports championships promote the values of peace, friendship, and mutual cooperation by respect one another (peace, friendship, and respect). Sports play an important role in the process of peace-building. (Dienes, 2012) Sports offer a way to make reconciliation and resolution. Sport becomes the opening door for conflict countries. At the micro stage, sports are able to bring together and form interactions between individuals in conflict.

Sports can be an instrument and play an important role in achieving peace between nations and also in the process of peace-building. The potential for peace-building in sports depends on how development and application in various contexts. Sports can have the same qualities as a battle (aggressive competition) and peace (cooperation). In this context, a battle can mean compete, violent, destructive. But battle can also mean realizing cooperation. Simply put, sport can help provide facilities where renitent groups can introspect and learn how to associate with one another in a positive manner. The idea of peace indicates not only to the lack of physical violence but also to the elimination of constructional violence, the dynamics of suppression and domination of authorization in society. (Galtung, 1976)

Peace-building is an intricate multi-level process where peace-building facilitates the formation of long-lasting peace and tries to avoid the repetition of violence by addressing the root causes and the consequence of conflict through reconciliation, institutional development and, political
or economic alteration. In peace-building, there is a process of social, political and economic implementation or reconstruction. (Hermawan, 2007) The effort of peace-building is pursued in the form of external international assistance which aimed at healing trauma after the war and minimizes the possibility of violence through rebuilding the economic, social, and cultural aspects in the conflicting country. (Miall, Ramsbotham, & Woodhouse, 1998) Here is the scheme of how sports play an important role in the peace-building process:

**Figure 3.1 The Relation between Sport and Peace to achieve Human Development**

In the process of peace-building, sport as a peace-building tool can provide impacts on two levels; 1) Empowering the physical and mental emotions of an individual to a better and positive direction (individual level). 2) Re-build a group's relationship through transformation and reconciliation (group level). Sports enhance the ability of people to aim a better life by facilitating the growth and realization of a prospect within themselves. (Neal, 1972) Thus, even though sport is a physical activity, sport is also able to help in developing an individual's mentality. The process of...
mentally training on individuals is a part of the Human Development process.

**Figure 3. 2 Levels of Impact in Sport and Human Development**

Reconciliation means the healing process from the trauma of victims and perpetrators after the violence. (Galtung J., 2001) Reconciliation refers to a positive transformation of a broken relationship or the act of recovering a relationship. (Assefa, 1993) Reconciliation can also mean integrating relationship transformation into every dimension of peace-building such as infrastructure, politics, economics, and social. In every levels and aspect, actions and processes for peacemaking must be designed to destroy the dynamics from the hostility of ethnic and intolerance. The purpose is to achieve teamwork or cooperation, non-discrimination, and equality which are not by enforcing parties to like each other, but by working all together towards a common purpose. (Blagojevic, 2007) In a society which divided by war, sport can be used as an instrument to encourage hostility or promote peace. Sports can also be a diplomatic tool that is very useful for the realization of reconciliation for the country in conflict.

This depends on how sports are implemented in post-war societies where sports can cause further division or recover society’s relations through a positive transformation.

The large-scale international sports events also have tremendous strength and capacity to make an emotional experience together. In this case, sports diplomacy can show the attractiveness and impression of sport as a political force. (Black & Westhuizen, 2004) For example, football in today’s era is not just a sport competition but also a public arena that is broadcasted through television for a global contest between nations. The success of international football develops a participation sense of the global community. Supporters from various parts of the world construct national identities collectively, where they place their emotions. In fact, football has become an icon, unifying, ideology and even "religion" for many people. Thus, basically, sports diplomacy is a tool to build bridges and improve relations between people because from sport arises a universal spirit to transcend socio-cultural and language barriers and unite people.

Football also can not only be underestimated as a mere game, but football can act as a means of promoting peace in political or international relations phenomena. Football is the most popular sport in the whole world. No wonder the football players can be an effective political tool for socializing a program. The fame of world football players is often used to support certain social activities. Some football players not only succeed as sportsmen but also succeed in becoming actors in political phenomena where they become ambassadors for the honor of the United Nations or the institutions below. Several examples of football players who become the UNICEF Goodwill Ambassadors include; Ryan Giggs, David Beckham, and Nwankwo Kanu. Ronaldinho became the United Nations Spokesperson for sports affairs in development and peace. (Yahya, 2008)

On the other hand, Bono Vox as U2 group vocalist from Ireland also became an influential actor in world humanitarian projects coupled with the participation of football stars as a campaign media for several international
institutions such as UNESCO, UNICEF, and the United Nations for voluntary roles. The Barcelona star, Lionel Messi, became UNICEF's special ambassador who was highly respected by his presence compared to the country's top officials in Haiti. From some examples of football players as a campaign media above, it can be concluded that in one player's body there is a combination of the combination of institutions and actors as representations that are respected by their respective countries. (Wirasenjaya, 2012)

The most obvious example of football as a tool that could realize peace was when Iraq won the Asian Cup in 2007. At that time, Iraq was hit by a violent conflict where the tribal feuds and civil wars were highlighted more by media than the achievements of the Iraqi national team. However, when Younis Mahmoud and his other colleagues appeared in the final, for 90 minutes, the Shiite, Kurdish and Sunni tribesmen clashed came to a halt and all united to support the team which was then led by Jorvan Viera. Iraq's public support has created excellent result where Iraq became the champion after defeating Saudi Arabia with a score of 1-0. (McIntyre, 2017) Younis Mahmoud as a Sunni player acts as the winner of Iraq, maximizing crossing from Hawar Taher, who is from the Kurdish tribe. In this case, collaboration and cooperation are the highlights because the two tribes are hostile camps in Iraq, but through football, everything is melting and united for the sake of higher interest.

B. The Example of Sports Diplomacy as the Conflict Resolution and Peace-Building Tool

On several occasions, sports events have succeeded in becoming effective diplomacy tool to ease the tension on the conflicting countries. Sports events also proven as a peace-building tool for some countries. Here are some examples of sports diplomacy that have been taken by several countries to achieve peace:
1. **Sports Diplomacy through Olympics Events**

- The 2000 Olympics in Sydney, the 2004 Olympics in Athens, the 2006 Olympics in Torino, and the 2018 Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang

The peaceful moment between North Korea and South Korea was first created at the Sydney Olympics in 2000. At that time, contingents from both countries united at the opening ceremony on the 2000 Olympics. The two Korea countries carried new flags that resembled the Korean Peninsula. The flag showing the symbol of this unity was carried out by two people who represented South Korea and North Korea. Park Jung Chol who is a judo coach was a representative from North Korea and Chun Un Son the South Korean female basketball player as the representative of North Korea. It was an honor for both of them to carry the flag of the Korean Peninsula.

The South Korean and North Korean contingents not only go hand in hand, but the athletes and coaches also joined hands or did arm in arm. This event was truly touching considering that Korea had split into two since the 1950 civil war. This extraordinary sight invited admiration from the audience in the stadium or the spectators who watched it. Even Juan Antonio Samaranch as the IOC President at that time gave a big round of applause. (Thomas, 2016) Although North Korea and South Korea marched together under the flag which symbolizing Korean unification, the two countries continued to compete separately.

The Sydney Olympics in 2000 was not the first time for athletes from North Korea and South Korea to line up together under one flag. North Korea and South Korea also marched and paraded together at the opening and closing ceremony under the unification flag in 2004 Olympics in Athens, and in 2006 Olympics in Turin.
Figure 3. 3 South and North Korean athletes marched together in the opening ceremony of the 2006 Winter Olympics in Turin, Italy

Unfortunately, the unification of South Korea and North Korea at various Olympic events cannot develop politically. This is because North Korea made observations and tested to use the long-range missiles that could emit the South Korea area on several occasions. (Rich, 2018) On January 9\(^{th}\), 2018, for the first time, North Korea and South Korea did the direct meeting which discussed the 2018 Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang, South Korea. The result from this meeting was the agreement that North Korea would send the North Korea athletes and North Korea official delegates to attend the 2018 Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang. In this regard, the Olympics event have proven to be a place for speeches to convey political messages, time to split political reforms, and reasons to carry out such discussions between the two Korea countries. (Dunbar, 2018)

South Korea continues to push the process through the Olympics, in the middle of criticism that North Korea is only

carrying out a process to alleviate economic sanctions without stopping its nuclear weapons program. South Korea's President Moon Jae-in effort to reduce stress and tensions with North Korea helps to realize the North Korea's participation in the 2018 Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang, South Korea and pause in Pyongyang's provocative missile tests and applications. In the spirit of joint reconciliation, the North Korea and South Korea Olympic delegates marched together under a special unification flag at the opening ceremony of the 2018 Winter Olympics. The (VOA Indonesia, 2018) reported that Kim Yo-jong, the little sister of Kim Jong-un has also attended the Olympics in Pyeongchang. Kim Yo-Jong was the first ruling Kim family member to visit South Korea since the division of Korea at the end of World War II. When meeting the South Korea President, Moon Jae In, Kim Yo-Jong delivered an invitation to the president of South Korea to visit Pyongyang and attend the summit meetings of leaders.

- The 1964 Olympics in Tokyo and the 1972 Olympics in Munich

On the post-World War II, Germany was divided into four parts. The four countries are the countries which won the war and also the members of the Allies. Some were occupied by Britain, some were controlled by France, some were controlled by the United States, and some were owned by the Soviet Union. The division of Germany into four lasted between 1945 and 1949. On May 23rd, 1949, the territory of Germany which was controlled by America, Britain, and France merged into one and formed the Federal Republic of Germany. Then, on October 7th, the German Democratic Republic was declared on German territory and controlled by the Soviet Union. Actually, there is still one other country formed from this divided Germany, the Saar Protectorate, which is under French control. (Fulbrook, 2004)

However, after going through a referendum in 1957, this country finally merged into one of the states of West Germany. West Germany is a representation of the Western
Bloc, while East Germany is the foremost fortress of the Eastern Bloc to ward off the Western influence. Slowly but sure, the two countries that were originally united became enemies, even though there was no open confrontation between the two. With the advent of the Cold War, Berlin was threatened with rupture due to friction because of the division of authority over the management of territories between the West and East Blocs. (Taufik, 2009) The Federal Republic of Germany, formed from three western zones of occupation, faced the German Democratic Republic which dominated by the Soviet Union in the east. (Marvin, 2013) In 1945, the two new Germans countries had emerged. The national trauma of the separated and partitioned Germany reached its peak in August 1961, when the East German government suddenly created a wall, which divided the city of Berlin and closed East Germany from West Germany for decades. (Kempe, 2012)

The splitting of Germany into these two countries inevitably influenced the football sector. In the beginning, when Germany was still divided into four, there had been a discourse initially to form a national competition. However, every time the teams from the Soviet Union territory were invited to participate, they always refused. This tug of war officially ended in 1950. In the previous year, teams from West and East Berlin were still competing in one league. Then, when the Union Oberschoenweide, a club from East Berlin, won the regional competition and was entitled to qualify for the national competition, they were not allowed to travel to the West.

Therefore, East Germany formed its own competition called Oberliga. Despite not playing in the same competition, in the 1950s, West and East German teams still often met in friendly matches. One of the most memorable matches of this era was when Kaiserslautern met with Wismuk Karl-Marx-Stadt in 1956 at Zentralstadion Leipzig, East Germany. The two clubs were kings in their respective competitions. Kaiserslautern won the West German championship in 1951 and 1953 and was runner-up in 1954 and 1955.
Meanwhile, Wismuk Karl-Marx-Stadt was the champion of the 1955/56 edition of Oberliga. Meetings at club level are not a rare item for West and East German clubs. However, even though teams from both countries have been competing in European clubs since the late 1950s, they only met for the first time in the 1973/74 season. At that time, Bayern Munich and Dynamo Dresden met in the second round of the European Cup. In two legs, Bayern came out as the winner 7-6 on aggregate.

Basically, the Germany athletes had engaged in the 1896 modern Olympics in Athens. However, on the post-World War I period, Germany was not invited to the Olympic Games until they were invited again in the 1928 Winter Games in St Moritz, Switzerland. However, in 1931 Berlin was referred to as the site for the 1936 Olympics, before the rise of Adolf Hitler's authority, which changed the game to become the stage for promoting Nazi ideals. At that time, Adolf Hitler, who became dictator of Germany in 1933, had conducted an "Aryans-only" policy in all German athletic associations. (Ockerman, 2016) This policy triggered global anger, particularly in the midst of American athletes. Only a German-Jewish athlete is allowed to appear in fencer, she is Helene Mayer and the reason why she allowed went to the match only because her father is Jewish.

The (Time, 1936) reported that in 1935 Charles Hitchcock Sherrill, a member of the United States International Olympic Committee, had a visit to Germany before the Olympics to guarantee Mayer will accept the right place on the team. Some Olympic organizers and athletes in Europe and the United States are considered to withdraw from the Olympics. A heated debate began about whether America would quit the Olympics and finally the debate was ended by a boycott by the United States team. The President of the United States Olympic Committee at that time, Avery Bundage went against the boycott by said: "the Olympics is not intended for politicians. This Olympics belongs to the athletes."

The 1936 Berlin Olympics also inaugurated the Olympic torch tradition, with a burning torch brought from
Olympia, passed to Greece and then ended in the Berlin stadium. (Bowlby, 2008) The first meeting of the West and East German Olympic teams took place before the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. At that time, the International Olympic Committee only allowed one German representative to take part. Therefore, both countries bet through matches which wins the matches, they will bring the name of Germany, East Germany won and finally succeed in winning a bronze medal in Tokyo. The second meeting took place at the 1972 Munich Olympics. East Germany won again and the victory took them to the second Olympic bronze medal. In the football sector, the Olympics never counted. West Germany won the trust to hold the 1974 World Cup shortly after they became the runners-up in the 1966 World Cup. This selection went smoothly, without any obstacles. However, there are many unexpected things that will happen ahead of the tournament.

In West Germany alone, there are at least three major problems. The first problem was the terror of an anarchist group called the Red Army Faction, also as known as the Baader-Meinhof Clan. (Aust & Bell, 2009) The second problem was the Munich Massacre by the Black September terrorist group from Palestine which killed 11 Israeli athletes and 1 West German policeman at the 1972 Olympics. (Wolff & Yaeger, 2002) The last but not least problem was the issue of the withdrawal of Chancellor Willy Brandt whose regime was infiltrated by East German spies. From abroad, a military coup by Augusto Pinochet in Chile made the country move from left to right. In the coup, the Santiago National Stadium was changed into a concentration camp by the Pinochet regime. The Soviet Union then refused to play a play-off match at the stadium so Uni Soviet was considered to fell by FIFA. (Valdes, 1995)

These were the things that marked the days leading up to the 1974 World Cup. No wonder the extreme security was carried out by the security forces. The security was so tight till the West German defender, Paul Breitner, said that security was like security in prison. However, this extreme security ultimately produced results because, during the World Cup
mat, nothing bad happened. Including when West Germany and East Germany met in the Group 1 final match, both West and East Germany stepped into the party with proud smile. In the previous two games, West Germany defeated Chile and Australia. Meanwhile, East Germany defeated Australia and drew with Chile. They also met on June 22nd, 1974 at the Volksparkstadion, Hamburg, as two teams that had definitely escaped.

Even though the two countries have ensured their escape, there are still gaps between them. West Germany, however, has been transformed into a soccer giant. Before becoming runners-up to the 1966 World Cup, they had first won in 1954. Then, in 1972, West Germany also managed to become European Cup champions. The (Guardian Sport, 2018) reported that most players of West Germany came from Bayern Munich who had just won the European Cup by beating the Atletico Madrid. Breitner, Hans-Georg Schwarzenbeck, Franz Beckenbauer, Sepp Maier, Gerd Mueller, and Uli Hoeness are the names in question. They were commanded by Helmut Schoen, a defector from East Germany.

However, East Germany also cannot be underestimated. If West Germany has Bayern Munich, East Germany has Magdeburg. In the 1973/74 season, Magdeburg managed to beat Milan in the Winners’ Cup final match. Incidentally, in the Milan squad at that time, there was also a former West German player named Karl-Heinz Schnellinger. The meeting of the two brothers was greeted with abundant enthusiasm from the West German audience. 60 thousand seats in the Volksparkstadion were sold out. Of that many viewers, there are only 1,500 from East Germany. According to (FIFA, 2010), West Germany and East Germany finally merged in 1990. Before that happened, the two countries were scheduled to compete in the 1992 European Cup qualifier. After Germany reunified, the schedule was abolished and later, some East Germany players joined the United Germany National Team, such as Matthias Sammer, Olaf Marschall, Thomas Doll, Andreas Thorn, and Ulf Kirsten.
Football is a passion and spirit for the citizens of Germany. The Germany team also excels at all tournament levels. The Bundesliga is one of the world's most considered and respected professional soccer leagues. The most reputable international player in the country is Franz Beckenbauer. According to the (BBC, 2016), Franz Beckenbauer is a Bavarian who guided the Bayern Munich club to get three successive European Cup titles in the 1970s. He was also the captain of West Germany national team won the World Cup in 1974, in addition he was the manager of the West Germany team which obtained the World Cup in 1990.

In 2006, Germany became the host of the 2006 World Cup. German tennis players, Michael Stich, Boris Becker, and Steffi Graf also surpassed in the international circuit by gained win more than 25 (twenty-five) major titles during the 1980s until 1990s. The basketball popularity arose in the last of the 20th century. Moreover, Germany set to produce professional world class players such as Dirk Nowitzki and Detlef Schrempf. Until now, physical education was mandatory in all primary and secondary grades in Germany. (Naul, Dreiskaemper, & Hoffman, 2014) Academic studies of sports and sports culture have also developed and will continue to develop in Germany.

2. Sports Diplomacy through Sport Competition Events

- Ping-Pong Diplomacy (People’s Republic of China and the United States)

China and the United States are two countries with different backgrounds. The most fundamental difference between these two countries is the ideological differences between these two countries. The United States has the liberal ideology and Chinese has the communist ideology. In 1950, the United States withdrew all of its country's representatives from China and carried out an embargo on trade toward China and banned United States citizens from visiting China. (Holdridge, 1997) Lyndon Johnson as the President of United
States at that time stated that as long as communist China still exists and makes conflicts and crimes, relations between the United States and China will be difficult. But in 1970, there was an event that created and paved a peaceful bridge for the United States and China. This event is Ping-Pong Diplomacy, which is a diplomatic effort by using the sports events by the United States toward China. Ping-Pong or table tennis as an element of sport is used to ease tension between China and the United States. (Buss, 1974)

On September 17th, 1968, the United States began the initial step by sending a letter which contains an invitation call for diplomatic talks to China. This good intention continued until finally there was a momentum where this momentum became the starting point of President Nixon's arrival in China in 1972. In April 1971, China invited the United States table tennis team to hold a friendly match in Beijing. This is the first time since 1949 United States delegates visited China. Since then, bad relations between the United States and China due to the cold war became better. The friendly table tennis match was finally held between China and the US by the Mao’s initiative which came to be known as Ping-Pong Diplomacy. During this visit to China, nine United States athletes crossed the bridge from Hong Kong to mainland China and spent their time from April 11th-17th, 1971.

Several months after the visit of the United States table tennis team to Beijing, Richard Nixon, the president of the United States at that time made a historic visit to China in February 1972. Two months after Nixon's visit to Beijing, China paid a visit. Led by the captain Zhuang Zedong, the China table tennis team paid a visit to the United States and held a friendly match in Washington. President Nixon's arrival was also accompanied by a meeting between table tennis player Glenn Cowan from the United States and Zhang Zedong from China on a bus because Glenn Cowan was left behind on a bus carrying several US players in it. Zedong gave him the embroidered banner of the Yellow Mountains as a souvenir for Cowan, while Cowan put it on hand by giving
Zedong a red, white and blue t-shirt that symbolized peace with the words "Let it Be."

The news of the exchange of gifts between the two athletes reached Beijing and became the opening door for the PRC-US relationship. At that time, news of this exchange gifts between two athletes were spread in all of the mass media, until Mao Zedong as the leader of the community in China successfully praised Zhang Zedong. He called his efforts to open a conversation with a US Ping-Pong player as the act of a diplomat. Not wanting to lose momentum, two days later Mao invited the US Ping-Pong team to compete in China on April 10th, 1971. Witnessed by 18,000 people in a closed stadium in Beijing, the US Ping-Pong team suffered a severe defeat. However, the match itself isn't really that important. The most important thing that was noticed was the arrival of Nixon and Kissinger afterward. (Home, 2009) On June 1971, China's Prime Minister Zhou Enlai invited the United States to come to China and discuss the problems of Taiwan and the Soviet Union. When Kissinger got this message and delivered it to Nixon, Nixon said that this was the most important message he had gotten since the end of World War II. (Dallek, 2007)

According to the (Time Magazine, 1971), The National Security Council immediately responded to this opportunity and Nixon gave Kissinger an order to plan a visit to China on July 9th, 1971. On July 9th, 1971, Advisor to the US Security Council, Henry Kissinger, visited the PRC to discuss Taiwan's problems and Sino-Soviet relations. The meeting continued to one more meeting on February 21st-28th, 1972 between Mao and Nixon discussing Sino-US relations and developing international issues at that time. The result from this meeting was the official document that was formed to mark that there was a bilateral relationship between the United States and China at that time, namely Shanghai Communique.

From the chronology above, there are two elements of culture that can be seen which are the Ping-Pong and open-minded. Ping-Pong culture is a sport that exists in China and at when the Ping-Pong Diplomacy was held, China became a
country that has great power in this field, it is not surprising that through the Ping Pong line, China tried to establish bilateral relations with other countries. The second culture is open-minded that is the becoming the culture of the United States. With the ideology of liberalism, the United States is open to everything so that they have high open-mindedness. With the combination of these two cultures, it is one of the factors why the United States wants to make bilateral relations with China. (Mann, 1999) With the meeting of two similar desires, it is not difficult for China and the United States to finally decide to form bilateral relations between countries even though there are differences between the ideologies they hold. Also seeing the right momentum, in accordance with the chronology described earlier, the two leaders of the country did not want to eliminate this opportunity. They finally did the diplomacy between each other and this was a manifestation of the successful application of soft power and sports diplomacy.

It was seen from the foreign policy of the United States government who wanted to talk to China in the beginning and China policies that invited the United States to come to China and discuss some things about Taiwan and the Soviet Union. Without this reciprocal of good foreign policy, existing soft power will not be implemented properly. So, it can be seen that foreign policy elements exist and play an important role in this matter. Thus, the Ping-Pong diplomacy has produced significant results in the United States and China relations because, in the end, the United States decided to stop the trade embargo on China. With the Ping-Pong diplomacy, China also succeeded in making the United States impressed by the changes in China's more positive attitude towards the United States. Mao Zedong also invited the US president to visit China and discuss various issues regarding relations between the two countries. From the chronology above, it can be concluded that Ping-Pong is a table tennis sport that has become one of the cultures in China so that it is a good media to deliver soft power while open-minded is the main culture of American society that accepts various values. From these two
things, it will be easier to implement Ping-Pong Diplomacy between the United States and China.

- Hockey Diplomacy in 1972 and 1974 (Canada and the Soviet Union)

Hockey diplomacy between Canada and the Soviet Union which happened in 1972 is one example of an absolute sports diplomacy which then directed to an international approach. Hockey exchange between Canada and the Soviet Union greatly influenced bilateral relations between the two countries. Therefore, hockey diplomacy has always been a term that is always associated with the two countries relations. Ice hockey is a sport that is very important for Canadians because it has dominated in international competitions for years. Ice hockey is also one of the few factors that united Canadians who speak French and English. (Soares, Cold War, Hot Ice: International Ice Hockey 1947-1980, 2007) Despite the good image of Canadian ice hockey, the results achieved by the national team of Canada in international competition start to worsen in the 1950s and 1960s. At that time, policy-makers in Canada finally realized that there was damage toward prestige resulting from the poor performance of the national team of Canada in ice hockey sector at the Olympics, world championships and other tournaments or competitions held in Europe. (Macintosh & Hawes, 1994) Finally, Canadian changed their motivation in order to focus on bringing back their dignity rather than improving their relations with the Soviet Union.

The policy-makers in Canada are mindful of the damage which resulting from Canada's non-participation in the international hockey competitions to Canada's international image as a whole. The eagerness to improve the situation has produced the establishment of a non-governmental organization which closely related to the federal government. This organization was called as Hockey Canada and was established February 1969, yet the aim of this organization is
to develop and manage the Canadian national team and sport but still put the problems of the national team as a priority. In this organization, negotiations about the return of the state to international ice hockey competition took place. (Macskimming, 1996) These negotiations aimed at forming hockey exchanges or competitions and building closer relations with the Soviet Union. The development of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Canada also included the ice hockey relations issue between the two countries. Both countries agree that sport creates a pretty strong bond between the two countries, which can be used to strengthen relations between the two countries.

The series of summits to be held in Canada was planned very seriously which also impacted the creation of a special unit called the International Sports Relations Desk at the Public Affairs Bureau. (Potter, 2009) This new organizational unit is accountable for the series preparation, as well as the protocol issues and negotiations. The pressure given to the protocol can be interpreted as Canada's concern in using sports exchanges to restore political relations between Canada and the Soviet Union. On September 2nd, 1972, Team Canada which popular as the best National Hockey League, started the long-awaited series, which was against the Soviet Union national team where the Soviet Union was known as the best "amateur" team at that time. (Kreiser, 2012)

The first four matches between Canada and the Soviet Union were held in Canada, while the last four matches were held in the Soviet Union. The entire summit series then ended in a tight victory, because Paul Henderson, a hockey player from Canada, scored in 34 seconds before the end of the match. The dramatic goal by Paul Henderson's in the final 34 seconds of the last match made him as the national hero of Canada and turned the hockey series into one of the most famous shows in the entire world. Overall, the Canadian Team won four matches, while the Soviet Union won three and there was one draw. This series has been regarded as one of the most significant moments in the history of sport in Canada. (Soares, The Cold War on Ice, 2008) Furthermore, the Team
Canada played another exhibition match in Prague where they compete against the Czechoslovak national team. The match ended with a 3-3 draw. (Podnieks, 2012) Apart from the dimensions of public diplomacy, sports events and competitions are also used as opportunities and events to organize meetings between diplomats and politicians. These meetings with the addition of hockey series created the emergence of Soviet interest in Canada, thereby increasing the diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The hockey series then continue in 1974. Team Canada in the 1974 Summit Series made up of famous players from the World Hockey Association (WHA) which is known as a contender who is often demeaned in the National Hockey League (NHL). (Willes, 2011) At that time, the foreign ministry of Canada stated that the 1974 Summit Series was very important in relations between the Soviet Union and Canada. The 1974 Summit Series included the efforts of Canadian Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, to reduce tensions from the Cold War and improve relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviets and Canadians showed a promising ability to work together and to overcome obstacles through this series. The Canadian team surprised the Soviet hockey supporters with the strong formation at the start of the match. (Soares, Cold War, Hot Ice: International Ice Hockey 1947-1980, 2007) Although the ice hockey exchange accompanied by a positive attitude from both parties, some problems exist in this summit series. It began with the European stars signing by the WHA team which triggered by the International Ice Hockey Federation President effort to destroy this series. The clash of styles between players also became one of the problems and trigger hatred between the two parties.

Hockey diplomacy that occurred at the summit series between Canada and the USSR in 1974 showed that improving relations between only use the sincere desire of leaders to improve relations was not enough. Many factors influence the actions of diplomacy such as the diversity of cultural actors and government organizations, efforts to create a positive image in the international eye, and differences
between the two countries. Apart from their foreign minister's intentions, in the 1974 series, Canada failed to display positive imagery in the Soviet Union, therefore, the Soviets raised skepticism in Canada. The Soviet hesitation was about whether the Kremlin gave consent and pay attention to Soviet and Canadian relations. Sport is one of the fields where Canada and the Soviet Union agree to improve and show relationships through sports. Sport subject was also included in the agreement on the cooperation principles in Ottawa (1973) and was signed by the Soviet Union and Canada.

The hockey series between the USSR and Canada happened again in 1972 and 1974. This 1972 and 1974 hockey series became the most well-known hockey diplomacy act, however, there were also other ice hockey matches which deserve to be remember. For example, in 1975-1976, two Soviet Wings and CSKA Moscow hockey teams went to North America and play exhibition tournaments against American and Canadian teams. In one match, CSKA Moscow, the best Soviet team which is also the national champion played against the Montreal Canadiens, the team which gained the Stanley Cup four times in a row between 1976 and 1979. The tournament was held at the Montreal Forum and ended with a 3-3 draw. This match was rated as one of the best hockey match ever played. Moreover, in 1976, Canada hosted the first of Canadian Cup tournaments whole series. In this Canadian Coup, several tournaments between the competition between professional teams from the United States and Canada national teams happened. It went together with matches between Czechoslovakia and Soviet Union teams. These hockey matches can be considered as broader elements of hockey diplomacy between the Soviet Union and Canada. Although hockey exchanges and matches continued, it seems that diplomatic positives were expected to continue to decline and could not reach the level of the series in 1972.

Thus, exchanges and sports contacts between the two countries certainly had an influence in the reciprocal perception between the two parties. Apart from all the controversies and problems regarding violence between
players, hockey diplomacy between the Soviet Union and Canada must be evaluated positively. In the end, Canada succeeds to discover its position in the Soviet concept of international relations and became more visible in the eyes of Soviet society and vice versa. From this point of view, overall the hockey exchange has fulfill its role as a recovery tool and the realization of diplomacy between the two countries.

- Cricket Diplomacy in 2012 (Pakistan and India)

The competition between India and Pakistan started in 1947 when Pakistan was separated from India based on religious lines by Britain. (Khan, 2008) At that time England was a colonial ruler on the Indian continent. The partition caused terrible incidents such as genocide or mass murder, rape toward many women, and riots in various areas in India and Pakistan. Millions of people died and more than 75,000 women were tortured and raped. Houses, villages, families are all lost and destroyed. (Butalia, 2000) It gave very bad memories that remain remembered by people from both sides. These two countries located in South Asia are famous for their craziness with cricket. Cricket lovers from both countries do not accept defeat in matches due to the poor past trauma. The cricket series between India and Pakistan was first played in 1954 but from 1947 to 1965, India and Pakistan only competed in three cricket test series. In 1978, the Cricket match was then continued between the two countries due to the efforts of the two countries' governments. Moraji Desai as the government of the Janata Party in India gave orders to stop the spying activities from the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) of India in Pakistan. Therefore, it caused the 1978 cricket match series to be able to unite the two countries temporarily.

Tensions between the two countries rose again after the tour of India and Pakistan in 1989 and the reason behind this was the Kashmir Conflict. Kashmir conflict or Kashmir Insurgency is the result of India and Pakistan division. Meanwhile, Kashmir is a no-man's land which is finally
claimed by both countries. India included Kashmir as part of their territory, triggering opposition from Pakistan and leading to the outbreak of war. India, Pakistan, and China all claim part or all of Kashmir. India now controls Jammu and Kashmir which covers 45 percent of the southeast and east of the region. Pakistan controls three parts of areas named Azad Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan, covering 35 percent of Kashmir in the north and west. While China controls Aksai Chin, as much as 20 percent of the northeastern region of Kashmir. (Armandhanu, 2016)

Cricket matches between India and Pakistan in the 1990s were the center of attention where cricket matches were still watched by people who did not like cricket. This is due to political conflicts that occur between the two countries. In every cricket match, fans from both parties come to the stadium and watch together. The people's enthusiasm for cricket from both sides is enormous even the peacekeepers see cricket as a tool to tie people together. (Pasricha, 2012) Although Indians want their team to destroy Pakistan, they want Wasim Akram or Imran Khan (cricket player from Pakistan) to deliver a magic of "reverse swing." On the other hand, even though Pakistani people always want their team to destroy India in the match, they also want Sachin Tendulkar (cricket player from India) to reach number six. Thus, that is why cricket gradually became their country's ambassador every time they crossed the border to play on neighboring land.

The cricket match in 2012 was the first since India decided to break the sports ties with Pakistan after the March 2007 attack on Sri Lankan cricket that carried out by Pakistani armed men. The resumption of sports relations was carried out in the midst of efforts by the two South Asian countries to continue the peace process which disrupted by the terrorist attacks. Cricket Diplomacy reappeared when Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh and his Pakistani counterpart, Yousuf Raza Gilani met for the semi-final clash at the 2011 World Cup where Yousuf Raza Gilani invited Manmohan Singh to visit Pakistan. The peace talks then began and
impacted on Pakistan visit to India on December 2012 for T20 and three ODI. (Jha, 2017) Prime Minister Narendra Modi also has been involved in Cricket Diplomacy when Modi called Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif before the Indian and Pakistani clash at the 2015 World Cup. Thus, Cricket diplomacy has proven as a powerful tool that brought Indian and Pakistani toward reconciliation and closer to each other through sport.

Sports diplomacy is also used to strengthen cooperation. This was demonstrated by the holding charity soccer match in 2006 which was attended by the European Union officials and prime ministers. The two teams were led by the European Commission chief, Jose Manuel Barroso, and Austrian Chancellor, Wolfgang Schuessel, who at the time served as the president of the European Union. Even the Prime Minister of Slovenia, Poland, Romania, Croatia, Bulgaria and Austria and the President of Peru and a number of EU commissioners took off their gray coats and change to jersey. The (UNICEF, 2006) reported that the match that finally had to be settled on penalties with a win for the Schuessel team, managed to raise £ 2 million ($ 3.7 million) for UNICEF which then delivered to the street kids in Romania and Moldova. The match was also attended by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan who joined the Schuessel team. It is remarkable considering that all this time Turkey has been trying to obtain the Europe Union member status which has been rejected by most Austrian citizens. (Bell, 2006) Indeed, it is quite difficult to measure the level of success from sports diplomacy activities. Nonetheless, sports diplomacy can be an effective alternative to convey political messages at the negotiating table. Sports diplomacy as an element of public diplomacy also can be a tool to reduce tension and conflict and strengthen cooperation in relations between countries.