AN ASSESSMENT OF SPORTS DIPLOMACY AS A TOOL IN DEEPENING BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA

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(10335500)

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LEGON JULY 2019
DECLARATION

I, NATHANIEL T. ACKWERH, do hereby declare that this dissertation is the end product of my own research under the supervision of Dr. Boni Yao Gebe and that, to the best of my knowledge, it neither contains materials previously published by another person nor materials which have been accepted for the award of any other degree by any other university and that due acknowledgement has been made in the text, of all such material.

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(STUDENT)                        (SUPERVISOR)

DATE: ...............................  DATE: ...............................
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my entire family for their immense support, sacrifice and prayers and to everyone who contributed towards its successful completion.
I am eternally grateful to God Almighty for granting me the strength throughout the period to complete this work. I cannot allude to the success of this study without acknowledging the immense support, modifications and patience of my supervisor Dr. Boni Yao Gebe. Indeed, without your guidance, this study would not have been completed.

To all my colleagues and friends of the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) 2018/2019, I am full of bliss to have been part of this great family, God bless you all.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>ADB</td>
<td>Asian Development Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>BOCOG</td>
<td>Beijing Organising Committee of the Olympic Games</td>
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<td>CPD</td>
<td>Central Propaganda Department</td>
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<td>CPR</td>
<td>China People’s Republic</td>
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<td>CSOs</td>
<td>Civil Society Organizations</td>
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<td>DAC</td>
<td>Development Assistance Committee</td>
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<td>DMZ</td>
<td>Demilitarized Zone</td>
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<td>DPRK</td>
<td>Democratic People’s Republic of Korea</td>
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<td>FIFA</td>
<td>Fédération Internationale de Football Association</td>
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<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Criminal Court</td>
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<td>Ifs</td>
<td>International Sports Federations</td>
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<td>IOC</td>
<td>International Olympic Committee</td>
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<td>ITF</td>
<td>International Taekwondo Federation</td>
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<tr>
<td>KOFIC</td>
<td>Korean Film Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>LGBT</td>
<td>Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender</td>
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<td>MNCs</td>
<td>Multi-National Corporations</td>
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<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisations</td>
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<td>NOCs</td>
<td>National Olympic Committees</td>
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<td>OCOGs</td>
<td>Organising Committees of the Olympic Games</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<td>ROC</td>
<td>Republic of China</td>
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<td>ROK</td>
<td>Republic of Korea</td>
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<td>UEFA</td>
<td>Union of European Football Associations</td>
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<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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<td>UNOSDP</td>
<td>United Nations Office on sports for Development and Peace</td>
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<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<td>WT</td>
<td>World Taekwondo</td>
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ABSTRACT

Revolutionary changes in the diplomatic environment has led to the incorporation of sports and diplomacy - two distinct institutions – in theory and practice. The attachment of democracy to diplomacy has led to the call for more transparency in international relations by the global public. Stuart Murray believes the emergence of non-state diplomatic actors such as Multinational Corporations (MNCs), non-governmental and inter-governmental organizations and celebrities have become extremely influential in the diplomatic environment to the point of causing change in policies. These developments have forced governments to use sports as an indirect means to foreign policy ends. Sports diplomacy has been utilized by governments to conduct public diplomacy in the hopes of ending hostilities between two estranged states. The cricket diplomacy is a case in point. Recently, the 2018 Winter Olympics held in Pyeongchang, South Korea has depicted the effectiveness of sports diplomacy in upholding truce and peace between the two Koreas. This study sought to investigate how peaceful co-existence between North and South Korea, spurred on by sports diplomacy, would impact on their co-existence and promote good neighbourliness. The objectives of the study are to establish and analyse the various means by which the Olympic Games has been used as a platform for sports diplomacy, examine the historical link between North and South Korea and assess the ramifications on the bilateral relations between North and South Korea after the 2018 Winter Olympics. Using secondary sources and interviews based on the qualitative approach, the study finds that North and South Korea have made several rapprochement attempts after the Korean War which were unsuccessful until the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics. There have been unprecedented developments such as three inter-Korean summits within a space of six months, the destruction of guard posts located along the front lines of the DMZ and the bid for both Koreas to co-host the 2032 Summer Olympic Games. It was asserted from the interviews that further inter-Korean summit to ensure peace between the two Koreas would be held. However, it was not certain that Kim Jong-un would stop the development of his nuclear weapons. Proceeding inter-Korean relations would greatly benefit the North to curb starvation, develop its infrastructure and generate revenue for the regime and promote the fusion of similar yet distinct cultures between the two. Recommendations made include engaging North Korea in economic diplomacy due to Kim’s interest in economic security, employing double suspension to push Kim Jong-un to quit developing nuclear weapons in exchange for large scale halting of US military activities on the Korean peninsula and consistently engaging the North in sporting activities due to Kim’s particular interest in sports.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Since the inception of the United Nations (UN) with its primary goal of preserving global peace and security, states have had to adapt to other means of legitimizing their superiority peacefully. Sports as a modern phenomenon has been explored by states as a soft power tool. Born by ancient Greece about 150 years ago, sports have consistently drawn the attention of loyal supporters over the globe. The emergence of sports diplomacy has made it possible to integrate representative and diplomatic activities undertaken by sports people on behalf of and in conjunction with their governments. Sports represent an untapped, low risk means to practice diplomacy.¹

Otherwise distinct institutions, sports and diplomacy have been merged in theory and in practice due to radical changes in the diplomatic environment. Houlihan notes that “for any government, the development of international sporting contact has provided them with a low-cost, but high profile resource for publicizing their policy on international issues or towards specific states.”² Sports diplomacy is driven by progressively relevant and powerful institutions such as the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in conjunction with governments, regional and national organizing bodies of sports, large global firms that sponsor competitions, global media firms and global Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).³
In the twenty-first century where globalization is at its peak, states have become conscious of the indisputable worldly appeal of international sports which transcends borders, religion and cultures. This is because the global audience is more receptive to soft power exchanges such as sports or culture. Sports diplomacy has been used as a tool of diplomacy to explore truce and peace between estranged states - as was the case of the 1971 ping-pong and cricket diplomacy in 2011 between India and Pakistan. In a more recent example, the 23rd Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang (2018), constitutes a major tool of diplomacy between North and South Korea.

The end of World War Two came with the infusion of the Cold War’s geopolitical tension and division on the Korean Peninsula. The North - Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) is a communist regime, with the Soviet Union and China as allies whilst an anti-communist state emerged in the South – Republic of Korea (ROK), fully supported by the United States (US). The Korean War which lasted from 1950 to 1953, left both countries devastated at the same time, restoring their common borders around the 38th parallel. The Korean War was the first significant conflict of the Cold War and formally never ended as the borders around the 38th parallel have been frequently shaken by military clashes.

Notwithstanding a shared history, language and culture, South Korea is presently a burgeoning state with an appreciable international standing, whereas North Korea is financially deficit with an acquired image of a country fixed on the development of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. It is, nonetheless, incredible how sports has given DPRK the platform to portray a different image to what has been fed the international community. Kim Jong-un’s personal interest in basketball has seen former professional basketball player, Dennis Rodman traveled to Pyongyang to solidarize with him. The 2018 Winter Olympics in
Pyeongchang was used as a “soft power tool” to nullify tension between North and South Korea and possibly promote closer relations whilst positively branding North Korea’s image on the world’s stage.\textsuperscript{10} In these instances, sports is used as a diplomatic tool by both countries.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The potential power of sports to shape the world through diplomatic activities, exceed states to include other actors on the global stage, such as international sporting bodies (International Olympic Committee, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association and the International Paralympic Committee); non-governmental organisations such as international sporting federations; media partners with national, regional and global interests; the athletes themselves as potential sporting ‘diplomats’; and business interests that make sporting-mega events multimillion pound enterprises. During the opening ceremony of Pyeongchang 2018, the IOC’s President, Thomas Bach declared “sports as a means of reconciliation and a channel of peace”. Referring to the two Koreas at the closing ceremony, Bach stated “in a fragile world, you have shown that sports can bring people together. You have shown that sports can build bridges”.\textsuperscript{11}

The participation of North Korea in Pyeongchang 2018 and the willingness of both inter-Korean countries to bridge the gap, shows two facets of sports diplomacy – the emotional dimension and the link to peace. The acknowledgement of emotions during a display of sports diplomacy makes it appreciable compared to often emotionless image of diplomats. Olympism is a good example of the link between peace and sports. The concept of Olympism upholds the Olympics as contributing “to building a peaceful and better world by educating the youth through sports practiced without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic
spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play.”

North and South Korean athletes, marching into the Olympic opening ceremony under a unified Korean flag, showed how powerful sports has become in the diplomatic space. Amidst the excitement at Pyeongchang 2018, the image of Kim Yo-jong’s smile, while she shook hands with the president of South Korea, Moon Jae-in – an unprecedented diplomatic move – illustrates that sports and diplomacy are wholly intertwined. It is, therefore, necessary to assess and investigate how peaceful co-existence between North and South Korea, spurred on by sports diplomacy, would impact on their co-existence and promote good neighbourliness.

1.3 Research Questions

To address the research problem, the study raises the following questions:

- How has the Olympic games been used as a platform for sports diplomacy?
- What is the historical link between North and South Korea?
- What are the ramifications on the bilateral relations between North and South Korea through sports diplomacy?

1.4 Research Objectives

- Establish and analyse the various means by which the Olympic Games has been used as a platform for sports diplomacy.
- Examine the historical link between North and South Korea.
- Assess the ramifications on the bilateral relations between North and South Korea through sports diplomacy.
1.5 **Scope of the Study**

International sports include the Olympic Games, FIFA World Cup, Golf, Rugby and the Paralympic Games. However, the study focuses on the Olympic Games with emphasis on the 23rd Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang, South Korea 2018. Ninety-two (92) countries competed in the Pyeongchang Olympics. Nevertheless, the study concentrates on North and South Korea due to their use of the games as a platform to engage in diplomacy which drew massive attention of both states and non-state actors in the international community. A historical account of the relationship between the two countries is also highlighted.

1.6 **Rationale of the Study**

The study seeks to draw attention to sports diplomacy as a prevailing instrument for image building, platform for dialogue and a tool for integration and reconciliation. The effectiveness of sports diplomacy, displayed by the North and South Koreans during the Pyeongchang Olympics, is a current happening which is worth investigating to determine how a potential restoration of their diplomatic relations would influence their bilateral ties.

1.7 **Conceptual Framework**

The framework used for the study is woven around the concept of Sports Diplomacy. Stuart Murray described sports diplomacy as being “facilitated by traditional diplomacy and uses sports people and sporting events to engage, inform and create a favourable image among foreign publics and organisations, to shape their perceptions in a way that is more conducive to the sending government’s foreign policy goals”. While traditional diplomacy is the means to a state’s foreign policy goals, sports diplomacy is one of the means to the means of those ends.
In examining the diverse networks, channels and actors through which international sports and diplomacy integrate, Murray and Pigman distinguished between two distinct categories of sports diplomacy. The first relates to cases in which international sports is deliberately employed by governments as an instrument of diplomacy. This is where states either employ sports people to amplify a diplomatic message; exploit sporting events for public diplomacy opportunities or to cool tensions in flagging diplomatic relationships or to test the ground for a possible policy change. This type of sports diplomacy is traditional in the sense that dialogue is between states.  

The second category – international-sports-as-diplomacy - covers the diplomatic representation, communication and negotiation between non-state actors that take place as a result of an ongoing international sporting competition. This entails the effects of both international sports on diplomacy and the specialized diplomacy of international sports: the diplomatic activities that occur to make international sporting competition possible. In the contemporary diplomatic environment, non-state actors such as the IOC and the FIFA practice a distinct type of diplomacy. These organizations and the members within consistently engage in representation to and negotiation with governments, the regional and national organizing bodies of sports, large global firms that sponsor competition, global media firms and global CSOs.

Of the two categories of sports diplomacy, the international-sports-as-diplomacy can arguably be viewed to have a greater impact due to its volume, frequency and ability to engage the hearts, minds and wallets of the global public. Munt asserts that the interconnection between sports and diplomacy is due to certain shared similarities. Sports is perceived to bridge the gap between different societies and cultures. For many, sports
embody respect, tolerance, sportsmanship and goodwill, all in the light of fair and honest competition. By the same token, diplomacy is characterized as the body of peace where negotiation, conciliation and dialogue are essential to build successful relationships among countries.\textsuperscript{20} Walters explains that the practicality of real sports diplomacy does not take place during a competition but rather, before and after as athletes share comradeship that goes beyond their countries of origin.\textsuperscript{21}

Sports diplomacy is harnessed as a soft power tool by states in the international system. Soft power, according to Nye, “involves the capacity to establish an agenda with the aim of determining how others perceive issues, and also to put forward initiatives to ascertain the perspectives and choices of others, in order to avoid using coercion in tensed situations”. Nye contends that soft power is a means of getting others to do what you want by co-opting rather than through force.\textsuperscript{22} For that reason, sports diplomacy is utilized by governments to create a more attractive image towards their state’s foreign policy and in that way, projecting it to foreign audiences in an innovative and engaging manner.\textsuperscript{23}

On the other hand, Munt argues that critics find the merging of sports and diplomacy as implausible because of the apparent nationalistic zeal, fierce competition and fanaticism that international sports generate. International sports also provide an arena for governments to demonstrate various types of superiority, from their athletic prowess to the ideology of a particular system of states to antagonizing their rivals; all of which are contrary to diplomacy’s agenda of securing a state’s foreign policy through peaceful means.\textsuperscript{24}

Murray also maintains that sports is sacrosanct. Fuelled by globalization and driven by prevailing organisations like the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) or the
IOC, sports has a ‘spiritual power’ and exists in hallowed realms, ‘above’ government. The corrupt and divisive elements of society should not be allowed to tilt into the magical ideal of sports. “When governments and their diplomats encroach into this realm – talking up sports as a foreign policy tool, a means to an end – it suggests that they see sports as ‘below’ them: a trivial diversion from any serious human purpose, pursued by muddied oafs on flannelled fools’ in Kipling’s famous phrase”. The sporting public find it disrespectful that governments who do not understand the true nature of sports misconstrue it as a tool for diplomatic purposes. Murray asserts that sports is neither above or below governments – it is beyond them and there it should be left, untapped, untouched and pure.

In spite of these criticisms, the concept of sports diplomacy is most suitable to the study because it explains the basic foundation on which the research is built, which is to determine the impact that the 2018 Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang would have on the relations between North and South Korea. The concept also gives an understanding to the dynamics of sports diplomacy and how it was utilized to advocate for truce between the then estranged countries in the Korean peninsula. It will also determine the relevance of sports in the diplomatic space in contemporary times.

1.8 Literature Review

In G.R. Berridge’s book, *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, diplomacy is an essentially resourced and skilful political activity, which is a major component of power. The foremost reason for the utilization of diplomacy by states is to secure their foreign policy objectives without resorting to propaganda, force or law. This is achieved mainly through communication between diplomatic agents and other representatives assigned to negotiate and secure agreements. The process of accumulating information, explaining intentions and
fostering goodwill was known as negotiation until Edmund Burke, a British parliamentarian, labelled it as diplomacy in 1796.\textsuperscript{28}

According to Berridge, Ministries of Foreign Affairs and their diplomatic missions abroad largely practice traditional diplomacy by conducting relations with sovereign states. The functions of the Foreign Ministry as enshrined in the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations include representing their country in a foreign land and protecting the interests of their country in host states and all regional and international forums in which the country is represented. They are tasked with formulating and implementing policies of their governments and using such policies to engage with other states with the goal of realizing their country’s social, economic, cultural and political aspirations. The missions regularly report the conditions and development of the host state and protect the interests of nationals abroad as well.\textsuperscript{29}

Whilst introducing the concept of diplomacy, Berridge affirms that diplomacy is conducted through various channels and exceeds the execution of professional diplomats to include other officials and private persons. This means that even though governments establish diplomatic missions in foreign countries to enable them attain their interests in those countries, relations between states are further carried out through global conferences, consuls and telephones. Whereas the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its embassies are acknowledged as orthodox means to summitry and international relations, other channels such as public diplomacy is a modern approach to diplomacy.\textsuperscript{30}

Berridge thoroughly explains diplomacy and what it stands for, including the traditional agents and institutions of diplomacy. He, however, fails to acknowledge the emergence of
new diplomatic players such the IOC and FIFA in the international system. Berridge’s work is relevant to the study because it provides a general understanding of diplomacy, which is used in the study.

Nicholas Cull in the book, Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past, contends that United States’ diplomat, Edward Guillon coined the term public diplomacy. Guillon wrote a brochure containing information on the newly established Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University:

Public diplomacy…deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications.31

Cull defines public diplomacy as “an international actor’s attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public”. Based on his definition, Cull draws attention to a new public diplomacy which increasingly involves non-traditional actors such as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Multi-National Corporations (MNCs); uses mechanisms such as the internet to have a real-time communication with foreign publics; employs soft power and place emphasis on people-to-people contact for mutual enlightenment. There are five components of public diplomacy which are listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and international broadcasting.32

Listening precedes all successful public diplomacy. It is an actor’s attempt to manage the international environment by collecting and collating data about publics and their opinions overseas and using that data to redirect its policy or its wider public diplomacy approach accordingly. This has traditionally been an element of each constituent practice of public diplomacy, with advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange and broadcasting agencies each
attending to their own audience and opinion research. Information on foreign public opinion has also been gathered as part of the regular function of conventional diplomacy and intelligence work.33

Advocacy can be defined as an actor’s attempt to manage the international environment by undertaking an international communication activity to actively promote a particular policy, idea or that actor’s general interests in the minds of a foreign public. In addition, cultural diplomacy pertains to an actor’s attempt to manage the international environment through making its cultural resources and achievements known overseas and or facilitating cultural transmission abroad. This work often overlaps with exchanges, and hence the two are sometimes used interchangeably.34

Exchange diplomacy is also defined as an actor’s attempt to manage the international environment by sending its citizens overseas and reciprocally accepting citizens from overseas for a period of study and or acculturation. The element of reciprocity tends to make this area of public diplomacy a concept of mutuality - the vision of an international learning experience in which both parties benefit and are transformed. International broadcasting is an actor’s attempt to manage the international environment by using the technologies of radio, television and internet to engage with foreign publics. Broadcasting as practiced by states can overlap with all the other public diplomacy functions including listening in the monitoring/audience research functions, advocacy/information work in editorials or policy broadcasts, cultural diplomacy in its cultural content and exchanges of programming and personnel with other broadcasters.35
According to Cull, in the information age, public diplomacy is based on the power of information. The large volume of available information tends to overwhelm people which make it difficult to focus on or ascertain the right information. In this case, attention rather than information comes to be the scarce resource and those with the ability to distinguish important information from the clutter gain power. Cull’s submission expounds that actors can use various channels to conduct public diplomacy, however, listening is most essential to determine the opinions of the target audience and steer foreign policies accordingly. The significance of Cull’s work to the study is that it provides the elements of new public diplomacy which is essential to the study.

In *Sports Diplomacy: The Chinese Experience and Perspective*, Zhang Qingmin describes how China’s international relations has been facilitated through sports since the founding of the China People’s Republic (CPR) in 1949. The challenge of the new state was contending with the former administration of the Republic of China (ROC), which had moved to Taiwan in order to be recognized internationally. The author believes the engagement of the CPR in international sports organizations and competitions propelled its recognition as the legitimate government of China.

Qingmin also analyses the association between sports, politics and diplomacy. In political science, sports is defined as “an institutionalized competitive activity that involves vigorous physical exertion or the use of relatively complex physical skills by individuals whose participation is motivated by a combination of intrinsic and extrinsic factors”. Politics is mainly concerned with the dynamics of power and interest whilst democracy is concerned with the politics amongst states. Qingmin believes that after the creation of nation-states and the introduction of sporting competitions, international sports has been recognized as a
relevant avenue for pursuing international politics which includes the practicing of diplomacy and changes in policy. Sports is essential in creating and promoting national identities both locally and internationally.\textsuperscript{37}

The founder of the modern Olympics, Pierre de Coubertin was consistent in aligning the core principle of the Olympic Games with the political intent of the League of Nations which is the utilization of sports as a means to prevent war. He projected the Olympic idea in his speech:

\begin{center}
Sports competitions should substitute wars, and the youth from around the world; instead of fighting against each other in the wars should compete on the Sports stadiums…” He also claimed, that “…wars break out because nations do not understand each other and that there will be no peace unless prejudices between different races pass away”.
\end{center}

In 2001, the UN created the United Nations Office on sports for Development and Peace (UNOSDP) and in 2009, the IOC was granted a permanent observer status by the General Assembly at the UN. In order to stress the cohesion of the UN and the IOC, Mr. Ban Ki Moon, the then UN Secretary General, stated that “Olympic principles are United Nations principles”. Qingmin draws attention to the similarities between the aims and objectives of the IOC as presented in the original Charter of the Olympic Committee and that of the UN.

The Olympic Charter of the IOC states:

\begin{center}
The goal of Olympism is to place sports at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity. The practice of sports is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practicing sports, without discrimination of any kind and in Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play.\textsuperscript{38}
\end{center}

In addition, he presents the principles of the UN Charter which states as follows:

\begin{itemize}
  \item a) Maintain international peace and security…;
  \item b) Develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples;
  \item c) Achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging
\end{itemize}
respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as
to race, sex, language, or religion; and
d) Be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these
common ends.\textsuperscript{39}

The author further cites sports diplomacy as a branch of public diplomacy. In a diplomatic
environment, states on hostile terms use sports to heighten confrontation. International
sporting events are boycotted as a revengeful act against another state or to protest some
decisions or policies, either domestic or international. This could lead to hostility between or
amongst states. On the other hand, sports could be employed to change a country’s global
stance in the international community. For instance, ROK communicated to the world
through the 1988 Seoul Olympics that it was a modern and technologically inclined state. The
country thereafter gained international respect.\textsuperscript{40}

In Qingmin’s opinion, sports is mainly needed to compliment other measures, and that on its
own, it hardly leads to either success or failure in diplomacy. Nevertheless, he asserts that the
increasing importance of sports diplomacy is one of the developments which legitimizes the
apparent change in diplomatic space. Although Qingnim highlights the undeniable cohesion
of sports, politics and diplomacy, and their effectiveness in providing a platform for
international recognition, as in the case of CPR, sports as a solitary tool cannot accomplish
such result. The literature is relevant to the study because it highlights the objectives and
goals of the UN and IOC, which are needed to analyze the research problem.

In \textit{Sports-Diplomacy: A Hybrid of Two Halves}, Stuart Murray gave reasons for the
“sporticization of diplomacy”. The post-Cold War came with the inability of states to deal
with transnational security threats such as terrorism, climate change and financial crisis
through the old medium of state to state dialogue. Likewise, other unprecedented occurrences
in modern diplomacy have also caused changes in governance and diplomacy. For example, the attachment of democracy to diplomacy has led to the call for more transparency in international relations by the global public. The emergence of non-state diplomatic actors such as Multi-National Corporations (MNCs), non-governmental and inter-governmental organizations and celebrities have become extremely influential in the diplomatic environment to the point of causing change in policies. All these developments have forced governments to use sports as “an indirect means to foreign policy ends.”

Murray further stipulates that after the depth of unimaginable violence during the twentieth century, people worldwide are drawn to soft power approaches such as sporting or cultural exchanges. In a progressive information age, sports, diplomacy and culture have become powerful instruments of foreign policy. Even though it is still important, the use of hard power in diplomacy centred on traditional politics of arm treaties, territorial demarcation or alliances do not hold the interest of the public. Similarly, sports embody noble values and qualities that attract states and their diplomats. Former United States Ambassador to Denmark, H.E. Jim Cain, gave a speech at the 2nd Hague Conference in Diplomacy in 2009:

> Sports can be a powerful medium to reach out and build relationships…across cultural and ethnic divides, with a positive message of shared values: values such as mutual respect, tolerance, compassion, discipline, equality of opportunity and the rule of law. In many ways, sports can be a more effective foreign policy resource than the carrot or the stick.

Murray implies that the introduction of sports into diplomatic space is due to the evolution of the 21st century, which has lessened the power of states to an extent. This is mainly due to globalized issue which transcends from one state to another and the mass adoption of democracy by many states. This depicts how powerful sports organizations have become in assisting to states to tackle global issues and achieve foreign policies. Regarding the execution of public diplomacy, sports is one of the most effective tools to gain the attention
of foreign publics. Murray’s work is needed in the study because it explains the reason for the considerable employment of sports by states to broadcast information to their target audience. Nevertheless, the author fails to mention that sports does not always produce the expected results. There are also situations where sporting events have produced antithesis of diplomacy. Extreme nationalism may result in racism and the relegation of fair play. In an instance like this, sport fuels hostility instead of peace.

According to Francois Carrard, in *Sports and Politics on the International Scene*, there are 3 models to explain the level of interaction between politics and sports based on the traditions and administrative structure a state. The first model expounds that due to the expansive control of governments over almost all issues in autocratic countries, the state regulates all sporting activities. North Korea is a key example. The second model pertains to governments that leaves all sporting activities to the private sector. There have been recent changes to this model where governments have begun to get involved in sports related activities. Scandinavian states fall under this model. Western countries widely practice the third model, where governments are in charge of the overall regulatory and legal structures that govern all activities in the states but allow independent entities to administer sporting activities.43

Carrard believes the third model is widely being adopted by most countries. Among other factors, the level of a government’s interest and involvement in sports is determined by the impact of sports on elections and considerations for the education of the youth. In identifying sporting attributes which attracts states and intergovernmental organizations, he mentions the following:

i. The work of international sports federations cover a wide ranges of issues that confront society, including commerce and politics and that makes it critical for the state to engage them.
ii. Most of the major non-state actors involved in international sports do not depend on government funding.

iii. The far-reaching social networks that are established through international sporting activities make them indispensable tools in critical times.\textsuperscript{44}

The importance of Carrard’s work to this study is that it presents three models ascertain the extent to which governments get involved in sporting activities. With the study’s focus being on North and South Korea, it is important to know the degree of control each state has over its sports related activities – especially with DRPK being autocratic and ROK being democratic.

In \textit{an Analysis of Inter-Korean Relations and Sports Diplomacy Leading Up to, During and Following the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympics in South Korea}, Thomas Roberts states that Sino-American and Sino-Korean relations have improved due to sports diplomacy. The ping-pong diplomacy in 1971 brought an end to the hostilities between China and the US, whilst support for each other’s Asian Games in Seoul 1986 and Beijing 1990 led to harmonious relations between China and ROK. For China and South Korea, supporting the Games helped to build trust, particularly following China’s global isolation due to the Tiananmen Square massacre. In 1992, China recognised South Korea as a sovereign state and the South Koreans also began to build diplomatic relations with other socialist states in the early 1990s.\textsuperscript{45}

Pertaining to the role of sports diplomacy in inter-Korean relation, Roberts believes that sports has the potential to pull isolated states more prominently into the global arena as in the case of DPRK. Sports can play a role in resolving conflict between the two nations but cannot transform relations between the two states from hostile to peaceful or vice versa. There is also no certainty of reunification between North and South Korea because of their political
Sports diplomacy is no doubt an effective tool to open dialogue between estranged countries. Nonetheless, it cannot make significant breakthroughs on its own in hostile bilateral situations. The significance of Roberts work to the study is that it provides both dimensions of sports diplomacy – its probability to be either successful or fail when used in reunification agenda between two states.

1.9 Sources of Data

Data for the study is drawn from both primary and secondary sources. The secondary sources are derived from textbooks, journal articles and e-documents from LEClAD and the Balme Library of the University of Ghana. Other materials such as reports are sourced from the websites of sporting organizations such as the IOC, FIFA, among others. Primary data is sought from unstructured interviews and based on purposeful random sampling of resource persons from diverse backgrounds who are believed to be relevant to this work. These include Isaac Odame (Head of Asia/Pacific Desk at the Research Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs); Godfred Akoto Boafo (Head of Current Affairs at Citi FM); Ambassador Baah-Duodo (Diplomat-in-Resident, LEClAD); Nathan Quao (Head of the Sports Desk and International Relations Scholar at Citi FM).

1.10 Limitation of the Study

The study was constrained by time as it had to be completed within three months. It was also difficult to get in touch and interview consular officials from the Embassy of the Republic of Korea. Some scheduled dates for interviews but later cancelled. Apart from relying on secondary sources, the author preferred to use information from an interviewee who has been to North Korea. However, none of the available interviewees had personally been to North Korea.
1.11 Research Methodology

The study uses qualitative method in order to conduct an explanatory, interpretative and descriptive study of the research topic. Qualitative mode of study is also used to provide analytical findings regarding the study’s objectives. Purposive sampling technique was used to select interviewees because of their experience and in-depth knowledge to the research topic.

1.12 Arrangements of Chapters

- Chapter one provides introduction to the study.
- Chapter two analyses the IOC and the development of Olympic Games in international relations. The progression of the Olympic Games in international relations is analysed. The means through which the Olympics has been used for diplomatic purposes is also looked at.
- Chapter three provides an overview of the relations between North and South Korea and assesses the impact that the positive diplomatic outcome from the Pyeongchang Olympics could have on the economic, political and cultural ties of North and South Korea.
- Chapter four comprises of the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.
4 Murray, Stuart, op. cit., p.9.
5 Ibid., p.12.
7 Ibid., p.4.
9 Ibid.
12 Ibid
14 Rofe, J. Simon, op. cit
16 Murray, Stuart, op. cit., p. 8
17 Murray, Stuart, and Geoffrey Allen Pigman, op. cit., p. 2.
18 Ibid
19 Ibid
20 Munt, Valeria, op. cit., p. 15.
21 Ibid., p.16.
23 Munt, Valeria, op. cit.
24 Ibid., p.19.
25 Murray, Stuart, op. cit., p. 15.
26 Ibid
27 Ibid
29 Ibid
30 Ibid
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
41 Murray, Stuart, op. cit., p. 15.
42 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
Ibid.
CHAPTER TWO
THE EVOLUTION OF OLYMPIC GAMES AND ITS RELEVANCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

2.0 Introduction

The first objective of the study is to establish and analyse the various means by which the Olympic Games have been used as a platform for sports diplomacy. For that reason, this chapter examines the IOC and the progression of Olympic Games in international relations. The remaining sections look at how some countries have harnessed sporting events, particularly the Olympics, for diplomatic ambitions. The 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympics is examined thoroughly.

2.1 The International Olympic Committee

With the intending purpose to overhaul the Olympic Games, Pierre de Coubertin established the International Olympic Committee on 23rd June, 1894. The IOC is the authority responsible for organizing the Olympic Games and the Youth Olympic Games, held in the summer and winter, alternating by occurring every four years but two years apart. In 1914, Pierre de Coubertin also presented the Olympic flag which was adopted at the Paris Congress. The five interlaced rings on the flag represents the unification of the five continents (Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania and the Americas) and the meeting of athletes from all over the world at the Olympic Games. The Olympic rings are also considered to be the visual ambassador of Olympism. “Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sports 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”.

22
The IOC is governed by the Olympic Charter. The Olympic Charter serves three main purposes:

a) The Olympic Charter, as a basic instrument of a constitutional nature, sets forth and recalls the Fundamental Principles and essential values of Olympism.

b) The Olympic Charter also serves as statutes for the International Olympic Committee.

c) In addition, the Olympic Charter defines the main reciprocal rights and obligations of the three main constituents of the Olympic Movement, namely the International Olympic Committee, the International Federations and the National Olympic Committees, as well as the Organising Committees for the Olympic Games, all of which are required to comply with the Olympic Charter.²

Chapter one of the Olympic Charter in force as from October 9th, 2018 states the foremost mission of the IOC, which is to promote Olympism throughout the world and to lead the Olympic Movement.³ It also outlines seventeen roles of the IOC. Some of them are the following:

a) to encourage and support the promotion of ethics and good governance in sports as well as education of youth through sports and to dedicate its efforts to ensuring that, in sports, the spirit of fair play prevails and violence is banned;

b) to encourage and support the organisation, development and coordination of sports and sports competitions;

c) to ensure the regular celebration of the Olympic Games;
d) to cooperate with the competent public or private organisations and authorities in the endeavour to place sports at the service of humanity and thereby to promote peace;

e) to take action to strengthen the unity of the Olympic Movement, to protect its independence, to maintain and promote its political neutrality and to preserve the autonomy of sports.  

Chapter two of the charter expounds that the powers of the IOC are exercised by its organs, namely the Session, the IOC Executive Board and the President. The Session is the general meeting of the members of the IOC which is held once every year. It is the supreme organ of the IOC and its decisions are final. Among others, the powers of the Session are to adopt or amend the Olympic Charter; elect the members of the IOC, the Honorary President, honorary members and honour members; elect the President, the Vice-Presidents and all other members of the IOC Executive Board and elect the host city of the Olympic Games. The IOC Executive Board organizes and prepares all Sessions including the handling of financial matters thereto. In addition, the Board is obligated among other things to monitor the adherence of the Olympic Charter; approve all internal governance regulations pertaining to its organisation and establish and supervise the process for accepting and selecting applications to organise the Olympic Games. The President of the IOC is Thomas Bach who represents the IOC and presides over all its activities. Currently, the IOC has ninety-five (95) members and forty-five (45) honorary members and two (2) honorary members. Jacques Rogge is the Honorary President.

As much as the IOC has been tremendously successful in upholding the Olympic Games as the world’s leading sports event, there have been a good number of criticisms raised against
it. The IOC has been accused of covering up doping, particularly by Russian athletes for years, including when Russia hosted the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics.\(^8\) It has also been criticised by human rights groups for selecting host countries whose governments stifle human rights and free press. An example was the decision of the Committee to host the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing and, once again, resolved to host the 2022 Winter Olympics in Beijing- China, a Communist state which has sparked international outrage for keeping Muslim minorities in detention centres whilst torturing them to renounce their religion.\(^9\) In order to address all other criticisms and challenges, the IOC agreed on the Olympic Agenda 2020, which is a reform of forty (40) new recommendations to the Olympic movement on 9th December, 2014 in Monaco. Critics still insist that these reforms have been watered down as the IOC is adamant on hosting the 2022 Winter Olympic in China.\(^10\)

### 2.2 The Olympic Movement

The Olympic Movement is the collaborative, structured, universal and permanent action, carried out under the supreme authority of the IOC, of all individuals and institutions who are inspired by the values of Olympism. The goal of the Olympic Movement is to “contribute to building a peaceful and better world by educating the youth through sports practised in accordance with Olympism and its values.”\(^11\) The three integral institutions of the Olympic Movement is the IOC, the International Sports Federations (IFs) and the National Olympic Committees (NOCs). The IOC ensures the consistent celebration of the Olympic Games by facilitating cooperation between all associates, from the athletes; UN agencies; broadcast partners; Worldwide Olympic Partners; the Organising Committees of the Olympic Games (OCOGs); The NOCs and the IFs. The IFs administer one or more sports at world level. Notwithstanding their autonomy, IFs seeking to be recognised by IOC must comply with the Olympic Charter. The NOCs organise their people’s participation in the Olympic Games.
They are responsible for the development of athletes and training of coaches and officials in their respective countries.\textsuperscript{12}

Additionally, the movement also comprises OCOGs; the national associations; clubs and persons belonging to the IFs and NOCs - particularly the athletes - whose interests make up a central element of the Olympic Movement’s action. It encompasses judges, referees, coaches and the other sports officials and technicians as well as other organisations and institutions that are recognised by the IOC.\textsuperscript{13} The Olympic Movement covers the Paralympic Games for athletes with a disability, the Deaflympics for athletes with hearing impairment, the Youth Olympic Games for athletes aged 14 to 18, the World Games for sports that are not contested in the Olympic Games and the Special Olympics World Games for athletes with intellectual disabilities. It also covers the Summer and Winter Olympics.\textsuperscript{14}

2.3 The Olympic Games

The geneses of the Olympic Games are shrouded in historical perceptions and myth. Nevertheless, scholars believe that the Olympics began in 776 BC based on the first drafted reports of Greek Olympic Games. In 776 BC, representatives from diverse Greek city-states in Greece assembled in Olympia to partake in the ancient Olympiad. This was a festival celebration (known as Olympic) in honour of the god, Zeus for a three-month period which was subsequently adapted into a sporting competition. During this period, it was the tradition to call a truce or an \textit{ektecheiria} among all the Olympiad participating cities to ensure the protection of both athletes and spectators whilst suspending any warlike activity that could interfere with the event. The festival declined with the rise of Rome and in 394 AD, the Roman Emperor Theodosius I abolished the Games as part of his schemes to repress Paganism and enforce Christianity as a state religion.\textsuperscript{15}
According to Cashmore, it took the intervention of a young French baron, Pierre de Coubertin, to propose the revival of the Games which led to the establishment of the IOC. The first Olympic Games of the modern era was held on 6th April 1896 in Athens, Greece. Coubertin’s advocacy for the Olympics was based on a number of ideals. He believed that the ancient Games placed value on encouraging competition among amateurs rather than professional athletes and wanted the revived Games to be used by the youth in France and most part of Europe as a means to physical health. The tradition of up-holding truce in the ancient Olympics was reinforced in Coubertin’s principles of modern Olympics. He assumed that the competition had the tendency to promote understanding across diverse cultures, to decrease the inclination of war. Moreover, Coubertin applied his personal philosophy to the Games – “the important thing in life is not the triumph but the struggle, the essential thing is not to have conquered but to have fought well.”

It is noteworthy to point out that Pierre de Coubertin believed only male athletes should be allowed to participate in the Games by making reference to the ancient Olympics. Women were forbidden to either compete or be spectators at the Games, except the Priestess of Demeter Chamyne whose presence was required. Girginov, Vassil and Parry recalls that Coubertin was consistent in this notion even after the inception of females into the Olympics in 1900:

As to the admission of women to the Games, I remain strongly against it. It was against my will that they were admitted to a growing number of competitions (1928)
I still think that contact with feminine athletics is bad for him (modern athlete) and that these athletics should be excluded from the Olympic programme (1934).

From the 2000s, women have been permitted to compete in more sporting avenues which include weightlifting, modern pentathlon, taekwondo, triathlon and trampoline. Women
would be allowed to compete in softball, karate, sports climbing, surfing, and skateboarding at the 2020 Summer Olympics in Tokyo.\textsuperscript{20}

\subsection{2.4 The Summer Olympic Games}

Ancient Greece was the birthplace of the Olympic Games. Accordingly, Athens was perceived to be the most suitable location to inaugurate the first modern Olympics from 6\textsuperscript{th} to 15\textsuperscript{th} April, 1896. 14 countries participated with a total of 241 athletes with the largest delegation coming from Greece, Germany, France and Great Britain. On the first day of the event, an American, James Connolly became the first Olympic champion in more than 1,500 years after winning the triple jump. The 1896 Olympics was considered a success as it attracted about 10,000 spectators.\textsuperscript{21} From the day of its inception, the Olympics was held within a four years interval. Paris held the second Summer Olympics in 1900 where females were allowed to officially compete for the first time in croquet, golf, sailing, and tennis. A total of 997 (22 women, 975 men) athletes from 24 countries participated in the 1900 Summer Olympics. It was followed by St. Louis in 1904, London in 1908, and then Stockholm in 1912.\textsuperscript{22}

The onset of World War I led to the cancellation of the 1916 Summer Games which was planned to be celebrated in Berlin. In 1920, the Games were hosted in Antwerp as a gesture to honour the suffering that had been inflicted on the Belgian people during the war. The opening ceremony was memorable because the Olympic flag was raised for the first time at an Olympic Games, the Olympic oath was taken by an athlete on behalf of all participants for the first time and doves were released as a symbol of peace for the first time.\textsuperscript{23} Subsequently, the Great Depression resulted in a low turnout of competitors to the 1932 Games in Los Angeles. Adolf Hitler’s attempt to promote his theories of Aryan racial superiority at the
1936 Berlin Olympics is a narrative worth mentioning. The Nazi Party failed to exclude Jews and Black people from participating in the Games and as it turned out, an African-American sprinter and long jumper, Jesse Owens, won four gold medals and became the hero of the event. The 1936 Games were the first televised Olympics.\(^{24}\)

In the twenty-first century, the Summer Olympics returned to its place of birth in Athens in 2004 and has since been progressing steadily to prominence on the world stage. Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, hosted the most recent Summer Games in 2016. Brazil is the first country to host the Games in South America. Tokyo would host the 2020 Summer Olympics for the second time after the 1964 Tokyo Summer Olympics.\(^{25}\)

### 2.5 The Winter Olympic Games

The Winter Olympics is a major international multi-sports event sports practiced on snow and ice. The first Olympic Winter Games were celebrated in 1924, in Chamonix, France and was held every four years until 1936. The Winter Games recommenced in 1948 after a twelve year break which was caused by World War II. The last Winter Games to be held in the same year as the Summer Olympic was in Albertville, France in 1992. This was in accordance with the IOC’s decision in 1986 to hold the Summer Olympic Games and the Winter Olympic Games on separate four-year cycles alternating every two years. The next Games were held in 1994 in Lillehammer, Norway and since then continued every four years.\(^{26}\)

The five original Winter Olympics sports were curling, ice hockey, bobsleigh, Nordic skiing and skating. More sports such as alpine skiing, luge, short track speed skating, freestyle skiing, skeleton, and snowboarding have since been added whilst others have been discontinued. The Winter Olympic Games have been hosted on three continents by twelve
different countries. The most recent Winter Olympics were hosted in PyeongChang, South Korea in 2018. 2022 Winter Games would be in Beijing, China and the host country for the 2026 Winter Olympics would be selected on June 23, 2019 by the IOC.27

2.6 The 2008 Beijing Olympics and Diplomacy

The 2008 Summer Olympic Games were held in Beijing, China from 8th to 24th August. China aimed to divert the world’s attention from its stereotypical image of communism, and brand the country as a rising economy with a rich and unique culture, suitable for business and tourism opportunities. In order to create favourable public impressions to enhance its chances of hosting the Games, China employed the expertise of global public relations firms, including Hill and Knowlton to annihilate human rights concerns from the Games. This was as a result of the human rights concerns raised by Amnesty International and politicians in both the United States and Europe, which were considered by the IOC.28

Once the right to host was secured, China began intensive preparations towards the Olympics. The National Planning Office of Philosophy and Social Science under the Central Propaganda Department (CPD) undertook a two-year study to explore ways in which the Games could improve China’s international image. The Beijing Organising Committee of the Olympic Games (BOCOG) set up a propaganda bureau within the organization to streamline media related information. Overseas, the Chinese government advertised and promoted the awareness of Chinese commercial brands and products. Basic conversational English was taught in school and among local resident associations and the locals were encouraged to engage with Olympic visitors in order to portray positive impressions of the country. Most of these implementations were done by the central state without involving non-state actors, notable athletes and the local public.29
China is reported to have spent about a hundred million US dollars to coordinate the cultural display during the opening ceremony. This was a successful soft power tool as it drew attention to China’s unique culture and was described by the international press and spectators as breath-taking, spectacular and spell binding. According to Li Yu Wai, nine thousand out of the fourteen thousand performers were active soldiers and this showed a different side of China to the world as the country’s uniformity and maintenance of order were conveyed. The top-notch facilities in Beijing and other parts of China including the “Bird’s Nest” where the opening ceremony and other events were conducted, has resulted in Beijing and other metropolitan areas in China to be the largest profitable emerging market for international arts, cultures, sports, and other soft commodities. China also attracted investments and the presence of foreign companies in the Chinese market.\textsuperscript{30}

The Chinese government’s utilization of the Olympics is in line with the concept for the study of sports diplomacy. In spite of the controversies during and after the 2008 Beijing Olympics such as the suppression of free press, violation of human rights, food safety and air pollution in the city of Beijing and its neighbouring areas, the stance of China prestige has greatly improved due to its Olympics diplomacy.\textsuperscript{31}

2.7 The 2012 London Olympics and Diplomacy

The United Kingdom (UK) heavily invested in sports diplomacy through the 2012 Summer Olympic Games which were held in London from 27\textsuperscript{th} July to 12\textsuperscript{th} August. Sporting and diplomatic advisors from both state and non-state institutions were called upon to plan for the event. The Foreign Office appointed a team of three diplomats with the sole responsibility to manage unforeseen issues which may arise. Sports diplomacy scholars such as Simon Rofe were employed full time under the role of “counsellors” during the event. A full report on the
Olympics prepared by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons identified main areas of Olympic diplomacy campaign by the Foreign Office - national interest, prosperity and security.32

Pertaining to national interest, the report stated that the Olympics should portray the UK as a generous country and conscious of the environment. Antonio Rolo Duarte enunciates that in showing generosity, the UK established a program dubbed the “International Inspiration” which was led by the Foreign Office and implemented by the British Council, UK sports and UNICEF. Through the program, twelve million children across twenty countries such as Ethiopia, Mozambique and India were given access to a comprehensive physical education and sports relief.33 Based on the concept of sports diplomacy, this initiative was a powerful soft tool to echo UK’s generosity worldwide and strengthen diplomatic ties between the targeted countries.

Concerning environmental consciousness, the government aimed to make the London Olympics the greenest ever. Each venue, at least a quarter of it, was built with recycled materials, almost no waste from the event was sent to landfill, and carbon emissions were cut by 47%, through the use of green electricity and methods of energy conservation. Through the concept of sports diplomacy, the world affirmed UK’s environmental good practices and expertise. The host country also demonstrated its commitment to climate change which resonated among the foreign public and environmental NGOs. The ability of the government and sporting agencies to spun environmental sustainability around the Olympics spurred on a sustainable sports legacy for other potential host countries to emulate.34
The British government designation of the Foreign Office to ensure that the UK was portrayed as a desirable destination for tourism and investment and trade was successful. Before the Games, local infrastructures were renovated and numerous Olympic Games related activities were organized. A research by the British Council into eleven countries such as the US and Canada showed that 71 per cent of the respondents believed the Olympics had drawn more business to the UK and viewed UK as a holiday destination. During the Games, various social business related events were hosted and sometimes led by the Foreign service. This was a strategic attempt to capitalize on the presence of high-profile visitors. London was also praised by the media for the smooth running of transportation which easily connected the capital to other cities and outskirts in the UK. Generally, UK’s use of sports diplomacy through the Olympics amplified its suitability for pleasure and business.35

Regarding security, the Foreign Office was not responsible for ensuring safety at the event but it was tasked with reinforcing the notion of UK as a safe haven. A News Coordination Centre cooperating with Foreign Service diplomats was used to control the dissemination of information to the media both home and abroad. The promotion of Britain’s value of freedom and tolerance also maintained the image of safety. Seventy-five per cent of international media were impressed with the freedom of speech in London; and the opportunity given to females as it was the first Olympics in which all the participating countries had at least a woman to compete. Women made up forty per cent of the athletes – which was the highest percentage at the time.36 Overall, London’s soft power approach through the 2012 Olympics was well received on the international scene and continued to reverberate even after the end of the Games.
2.8 The 2014 Winter Olympics and Diplomacy

According to Michael Reynolds, the 2014 Sochi Games conducted from 7\textsuperscript{th} to 23\textsuperscript{rd} February carried a deeper significance for Russian President Vladimir Putin. Putin hoped to show, under his leadership, how Russia had recovered from the disastrous decade of political disarray and economic chaos that followed the 1991 Soviet collapse. It is worth noting that the 1980 Summer Olympic Games hosted by Russia during the Cold War was boycotted by the United States and its allies. In addition, the chosen location Sochi, signified a show of strength by Putin. Sochi lies in the North Caucasus and is close in distance to Chechenya and Abkhazia; territories that epitomizes the anticlimax and climax of Russia’s power respectively. Whilst Putin’s goal of pacifying Chechenya had been weak, Russia won a brief war against Georgia over Abkhazia’s independence. Georgia’s loss was an embarrassing defeat to American policies in the region.\textsuperscript{37}

Based on these happenings, Putin needed to successfully host the Games to not only boost his already solid popularity at home but to legitimize his government. Russia invested billions of dollars for infrastructural development including energy, transportation, communication, housing and entertainment in order to transform Sochi into an impressive Olympic city. The total private and public expenditure for the Games were totaled to be fifty-one billion US dollars which makes Sochi the most expensive Olympics ever, followed by China with forty billion dollars during the 2008 Beijing Summer Games. The Sochi Olympics bolstered massive home support for the Russian regime. Nonetheless, international media was largely critical about the Games due to some controversies.\textsuperscript{38}

LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) activists raised concerns about Russia's policies surrounding the LGBT community, including the government's denial of a
proposed Pride House for the Games on moral grounds. A federal law passed in June 2013 to criminalized the “propaganda of non-traditional sexual relationships” among children led to an increased homophobic attacks in the country. Western countries such as the United States refused to adhere to the law and ensured this issue was frequently discussed before and during the Olympics. President Obama decided not to attend the Games but instead sent a group of LGBTQ athletes to be part of the US delegation to the 2014 Olympics. The IOC was vehemently criticized for not controlling Russia’s brazen anti LGBT agenda. Subsequently the IOC introduced an anti-discrimination clause to its host city contract based on principle six of the Olympic Charter:

The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Olympic Charter shall be secured without discrimination of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

In the context of the concept of sports diplomacy, the Russian regime achieved its geopolitical national interests through the Sochi Games. Although there was personal backlash against Putin, Russia was able to showcase its economic, social and cultural growth, and political stability to the foreign public and states. The 2014 Games achieved a record broadcast audience of 2.1 billion people worldwide.

2.9 Lead Up to the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics

Thomas Roberts affirms that in 2017, South Korea expressed willingness to negotiate the participation of North Korea in the 2018 Winter Olympics. Nonetheless, North Korea held the leverage to delay in confirming its interest and participation in the Games until the last minute. The Olympic organizing committee and South Korea were mindful of security concerns because they wanted the event to be a commercial success as well as a success for South Korea and Asia as a whole.39 By mid-2017, ticket sales were low and the Olympic
organizers were apprehensive that the already existing inter-Korean tension, in addition to DPRK’s missile launching would adversely result in a low turnout to the event. For instance, North Korea conducted an Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) test which it claimed could reach Alaska on 4th July, 2017. This was the thirteenth test and in totality, the North launched 23 missile tests including the ICBM in the whole of 2017. For this reason, North Korea participating at the event was a security priority for the Olympic organizers.40

In June 2017, South Korean Sports Minister, Do Jong-hwan, announced that the country would inquire about the possibility of North Korea hosting some of the skiing events. North Korea had opened Masikryong ski resort in 2014 and Kim Jong-un had ensured the building of multiple ski resorts since he came into power. According to Roberts, Lim probably did so with Pyeongchang in mind. Do Jong-hwan also notified that South Korea would consider a joint women’s ice hockey team for Pyeongchang. Patently, there was some resolve to engage in dialogue by the organizers and South Koreans in 2017.41 The willingness to communicate with North Korea pertained to not only security interests, but also to the election of President Moon Jae-in in early 2017. Less than a year before the Winter Olympics South Korea elected a new leader, Moon Jae-in. On 9th May 2017, Moon Jae-in won the election to replace Park Geun-hye, thus, ending around a decade of conservative leadership. One of President Moon’s was to reopen dialogue with North Korea. Indeed, after the election, the North Korean media expressed pleasure at the appointment of Moon Jae-in and argued that the tension of the past ten years were to be blamed on the conservative rule in South Korea.42

In contradiction, President Moon’s policy of inter-Korean engagement was not responded by DPRK. North Korea refused a meeting to commemorate the first inter-Korean summit or a family reunion and, thus inter-Korean relations did not make much progress in the first stages
of the new South Korean leadership. In President Moon’s first 100 days, North Korea tested the ICBM on the July 4th and then once again at a later time. Kim Jong-un appeared to be willing to wait as long as possible before declaring his intentions. Clearly, the Olympic organizers wanted North Korea to participate; however, sports diplomacy appeared to be ineffective.43

2.10 North Korea to Participate in the 2018 Winter Olympics

In January 2018, there was a 11 hour talk between North Korea and Olympics organizers to discuss the former’s participation at the event. All parties agreed to engage in future talks about inter-Korean relations. Nevertheless, some political analysts argued that North Korea was aware of its favourable position in the negotiations and hence, ensured to settle on the best deal. After the negotiations, it was agreed that there would a joint women’s ice hockey team whilst the other games would be participated by separate teams. As well as North Korea sending 22 athletes to participate in the games, they were also willing to send a 400-person non-competing delegation to Pyeongchang, which, including the Winter Paralympics, eventually rose to around 550 members. This delegation included cheerleaders, more than 100 members of an orchestra, taekwondo trainers and ceremonial head of state, Kim Yong-nam, who would be the most senior member of the North Korean government ever to visit South Korea. Finally, the two Koreas agreed to march together under a unified flag, the first time since Turin 2006.44 This announcement strengthened the potential power of sports in diplomacy and epitomized the peace and reconciliation narrative which aligned with the ideal of Olympic truce.45
2.11 The 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics and Diplomacy

The 2018 Winter Olympic Games were hosted by Pyeongchang County in the Gangwon Province, in South Korea from 9th to 25th February. During the opening ceremony of Pyeongchang 2018, North and South Korean athletes joined hands and marched under a unified Korean flag with Korean folk song Arirang - familiar to both states - as their national anthem. This was not an unprecedented move as the two countries matched together at the opening ceremonies of the 2000 and 2004 Summer Olympic Games in Sydney and Athens, as well as at the Asian Winter Games in 2007. The women’s hockey team was rather the first-ever joint Korean team at an Olympics.46

Another significant moment for Korean unity came at the end of the opening ceremony wherein the Olympic flame was carried to the top of the ski slope to be lit in the cauldron by two 22-year-old North and South Korean athletes, Chung Su-hyon and Park Jong-ah, from the joint Korean women’s ice hockey team. Thus, the opening ceremony was centered around, not just the South Korea nation, but also unity of the two Koreas. The highest ranking official from North Korea was Kim’s sister Kim Yo Jong and it was the first time a member of the ruling family has crossed the border to visit ROK since the Korean War in the early 1950s. The closing ceremony also presented an opportunity to display unity and friendly political relations for the audience. North Korea’s General Kim Yong-chol was part of the delegation for the closing ceremony. In all, the event was a symbol of hope and the possible reunification of Korea. The long term effect is, however, yet to be seen.47

The next day, Kim Yo-jong delivered a handwritten note to President Moon from her brother Kim Jong-un, inviting the South Korean leader for an inaugural visit to Pyongyang. According to Eun Jo, the image of North Korea’s regime was significantly deteriorating both
Thae Yong-ho, a North Korean diplomat who defected, gave the world a rare internal insight into the brutality of Kim Jong-un’s regime. Thae Yong-ho claims Kim is a merciless tyrant who killed his half-brother and his uncle Jang Song-thaek, a senior official who oversaw the National Defense Commission. Feeling threatened by his uncle, Kim arrested the whole department under Jang Song-thaek and shot the superiors. The families of the department’s staff were expelled from Pyeongchang to the countryside and all of these things took place within one week. Moreover, the ill treatment and death of Otto Warmbier, a US student who was detained in North Korea on grounds of acting hostile against the state caused international fury.

At home, as rumors about external freedom and affluence, particularly that of the South, infiltrated the North’s information blockade, the locals grew restless and became resentful to the point of defection. Most of the people depended on a thriving black market to purchase needed commodities due to international isolation, and with time the people began to view the regime as a hindrance to their wellbeing and not as a provider. Further, some of the popular items smuggled from China such as DVDs and USBs containing South Korean movies revealed the falsification of the regime’s propaganda against the South. Although Kim was able to largely check the public’s mistrust, he needed to maintain his domestic legitimacy. The intention of Kim Jong-un to regain the trust of his people, buy time for arms build-up and lessen the economic sanctions against North Korea led him to utilize the 2018 Games for a public relations campaign. It was the perfect occasion to not seem too eager for appeasement, especially given Moon Jae-in’s willingness to reconcile with the North through what he called the peace Olympics.
Kadir Ayhan believes South Korea used the Olympics as a soft power tool to brand the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics as a cultural festival. Pyeongchang was promoted as representing South Korea’s traditional and modern arts and culture such as the Pyeongchang Biennale, Pyeongchang K-Pop Festival and the K-Pop Dream Concert. It was seen as the perfect host location for all types of cultural events, whilst drawing attention to local and international cuisine and delicacies. South Korea’s Youth Public Diplomacy Team partook in the Foreign Ministry’s program, dubbed the “people participated public diplomacy projects for 2017”. The team visited Visegrad countries to promote a “charming Korea” and the Pyeongchang 2018 Winter Olympics through various activities which included flash mob events; street performances; exhibitions and promotional booths; and rendered services as volunteers at local Korean Cultural Centers. The group also performed traditional Nongak (variety of arts) throughout Europe in t-shirts advertising the Olympics.50

The South Korean government also improved infrastructure for the Games by constructing six additional venues and a new high-speed railway which connected Incheon Airport to the Pyeongchang Olympic Village. As a leader of the digital revolution and one of the most advanced mobile countries, ROK pitched the 5G wireless communication at the Games to solidify its reputation as a technological stronghold. The aim was to attract international economic relations with other states. The South Korean president, Moon Jae-in used the Olympics to brand the country as peaceful and safe due to negative press surrounding the increased tensions at the Korean peninsula. He was in the know that North Korea’s actions reflected badly on South Korea and creates the impression of conflict and danger around the country.51
2.12 The Future of Sports Diplomacy

The United Nations recognizes the legitimacy of sports in diplomatic settings and has set aside 6th April to be commemorated as International Day of Sports for Development and Peace each year since 2014. This was to “raise awareness of the ideal position sports has to contribute towards the United Nations’ objectives for development and peace” and also acknowledge the “positive influence that sports can have on the advancement of human rights, and social and economic development”. Sports is a soft powerful instrument used for peace-building initiatives in bridging the gap between diverse cultures regardless of social, economic and political differences. It humanizes the person outside one’s nationality, emphasizes on similarities and creates a shared identity. Sporting programs could be used in disarmament strategies and reintegrate former militants, particularly with child soldiers. Popular athletes could use sporting platform to communicate a culture of peace to the masses.52

A detailed report published by the UN in Sports and Peace: Social Inclusion, Conflict Prevention and Peace-building, stressed on the fundamental values of sports as teamwork, self-discipline, fair play and respect for rules. Upholding these essential values through sports programs provides people with the necessary skills to prevent conflict and violence in their communities and personal lives. Sports is also a tool for social inclusion of vulnerable groups such as asylum seekers and refugees. It creates a feeling of comradery amongst persons who share similar challenges and are trying to start over in a foreign country. Internally displayed persons, refugees and asylum seekers from different cultures can easily reintegrate by learning from one another. An example is the sports Development Department in Tanzania that has employed sports for the benefit of refugees. “Projects begin by mixing refugee children from different groups in supervised sports and play activities, encouraging them to
form friendships across ethnic and cultural boundaries, and building conflict prevention messages and skill building. Parents are encouraged to become involved and participate as well.  

Furthermore, sports also give the youths living in penury communities an alternative to engaging in criminal activities or joining an armed militia. They can build their self-esteem and self-confidence, learn the value of work and the necessary leadership skills and develop healthy friendships. This is not only for recreational purposes but to enable the youth to also learn the needed life skills. Brazil has the Luta Pela Paz (Fight for Peace) program in the Complexo de Maré neighborhood. The youths are given a comprehensive educational experience through a boxing club to encourage them advance economically and socially. The international humanitarian organization, “Right to Play”, use sports to enhance the physical and mental health of children in Pakistan, Mali, Uganda and some refugee camps among others. They promote peace-building and solidarity in the communities; teach conflict resolution skills which focus on inclusion and integration of diverse ethnic groups, teamwork and fair play.

As the concept of sports diplomacy denotes, sports is gradually becoming a preferred tool for diplomacy by states in the international system. Sports may not directly resolve political tensions between opponents but it can be employed as the first step to negotiation for peace. Through campaigns for gender equality, proper child care, sustainable development or eradicating global hunger, sports, if properly harnessed, has the power to cause formidable changes for the betterment of the world.
2.13 Conclusion

The discussions in this chapter have shown that the phenomenon of sports diplomacy has gone through gradual evolutionary stages until it became a recognized component of international relations. The IOC presides over all activities connected to the Olympic Games based on the principles of the Olympic charter. China, Russia and UK are credible examples of the power force of sports diplomacy and its ability to communicate to the global public in ways that traditional diplomacy could not. The 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics are the recent display of the unification between sports and diplomacy which have garnered the attention of the international community. Both states in the international community and the foreign public awaits to see the eventual result between North and South Korea. The chapter unveiled on the premise of the research question - How have the Olympic games been used as a platform for sports diplomacy? Chapter three examines the historical connection between North and South Korea and the possible implications of the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics.
Endnotes


2 Ibid.


4 Ibid., p.15.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., p.42.


12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.


16 Ibid.


23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.


28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

Accessed on 13 April 2019


CHAPTER THREE

OVERVIEW OF INTER-KOREAN RELATIONS AND THE RAMIFICATIONS ON THE NORTH-SOUTH BILATERAL RELATIONS POST-PYEONGCHANG 2018

3.0 Introduction

This chapter examines inter-Korean history and assesses the ramifications on the bilateral relations between North and South Korea after the 2018 Winter Olympics. In accordance with the stated objectives, this chapter gives a detailed breakdown of North and South relations before and after the division through to the Korean war. The channels of rapprochements between the Koreas are discussed. In order to understand the implications of post-Pyeongchang 2018 on the bilateral relations between the two Koreas, the study also analyses the political, economic and cultural systems of each Korean state.

3.1 Inter-Korean History

Christine Locher enunciates that for over thousand years, Korea was a unified country ruled by the same monarchic dynasty known as the Choson or Yi dynasty from 1392 to 1910. The system of governance was authoritarian and bureaucratic headed by a monarch at the top. Confucian was predominantly the societal rules in shaping behaviours. In 1592, Korea suffered an invasion from Japan and although Chinese troops helped to repel the invaders, the country was devastated. This was followed by the invasion of north-western Korea in 1627 by the Manchu tribes of Manchuria, who were attempting to protect their rear in preparation for their invasion of China. Many cultural assets were lost, and the power of the central government was severely weakened.¹
Korea steadily recovered with an increased use of irrigation which boosted agriculture and burgeoned the economy. Maintaining an isolationist policy until 1876, Korea was forced by Japan to sign the Treaty of Kanghwa which defined Korea as an independent state and led to the establishment of diplomatic relations with not only Japan but China as well. The US and Britain also signed treaties with Korea as they were keen to trade with the country. Korea soon became an arena for competition among the powers. Both Japan and China’s interests in Korea led to the Sino-Japanese war in 1894-95 which was won by Japan. In 1904-05, Japan also won the Russo-Japanese war which developed out of rivalry between Russia and Japan for dominance in Korea and Manchuria. After Japan annexed Korea in 1910, the former’s occupation in the later was brutal. There was an anti-Japanese resistance movement to end the colonization of Korea.²

At the Cairo Conference on 1st December 1943, a declaration issued by China, the US and Great Britain stated that "in due course Korea shall become free and independent". This vague statement translated into Korea being under a four-power trusteeship consisting of the US, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China.³ After Japan lost the World War Two, Korea was under the US and Soviet administrations with the 38th parallel as the dividing line. Although the Koreans wanted to be unified and independent, an election was held in the South where Rhee Syng-Man won. The southern part of the country became the Republic of Korea (ROK) with Seoul as the capital. A constitution was adopted and a declaration of independence was made on 15th August, 1948.⁴

North Korea followed suit by proclaiming itself as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) with Pyongyang as the capital on 9th September, 1948.⁵ The Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin, appointed Kim Il Sung as the premier in North Korea. Kim Il
Sung, who was active in the anti-Japanese resistance movement and had worked with the Chinese Communist Party in the 1930s, was selected because he was seen to be easily influenced. On 12th October, the Soviet Union recognized DPRK as the only lawful government in Korea whilst the UN General Assembly declared South Korea as the only lawful government in Korea.

3.2 The Korean War

North Korea started a Communist land reform and began to build an army with the support of the Soviet Union and China. The North was heavily equipped in terms of military men and equipment. The US also assisted in training the army in South Korea deliberately with limited men and equipment. The aim was to prevent the Southerners from attacking the North in order not to stimulate a war between the US and the Soviet Union. Kim Il Sung made plans to invade the South with support from its allies in 1950, after proclaiming that South Korea could be defeated in three days. On 25th June 1950, North Korea crossed the 38th parallel and invaded the South, fighting against South Korean and United Nations Command forces. American troops had to intervene because of Russia and China’s immense assistance to the North Korean army who overpowered the South.

The war continued for three years and one month with the front moving back and forth repeatedly. An armistice was signed on 27th July, 1953 but many issues sprung up before the cease fire agreement. The first was China’s demand for all foreign troops be withdrawn from Korea, which was met by a steadfast refusal by the United States. The second issue was the boundary as the communists demanded the restoration of the 38th parallel, but the United States insisted on the existing battle line. The third and most important issue was that of prisoners. The UN forces held 171,000 prisoners, 50,000 of them unwilling to return to their
The war resulted in roughly 4,000,000 casualties, including civilians. South Korean casualties were some 1,313,000 (1,000,000 civilians); communist casualties were estimated at 2,500,000 (including 1,000,000 civilians). The United States lost about 37,000 in action (the official figure, which had been recorded as some 54,000, was revised in 2000 after it was discovered that a clerk had incorrectly included military non-combatant deaths worldwide), South Korea some lost 47,000, and the UN forces 3,194; but the estimated losses of China in action were 900,000 men and of North Korea 520,000.  

3.3 North and South Korean Attempts at Rapprochement

According to Mark Suh, the end of the Korean War came with no contacts or exchanges between the two Koreas as each was focused on rebuilding its war-torn country. This situation persisted until 1972, when US President Richard Nixon surprisingly visited Beijing. One of the objectives for the visit was to find a peaceful settlement to the Vietnam War but
there was an auspicious opening for better relations on the Korean Peninsula. North and South Korean leaders Kim Il-sung and Park Chung-hee sent their trusted envoys to Pyongyang and Seoul in 1972. These secret meetings produced the historical document called the July 4 North–South Joint Statement which stated the following principles:

i. Reunification shall be achieved through independent efforts being subject to external imposition or interference;

ii. Reunification shall be achieved through peaceful means, and not through use of force against one another;

iii. A great national unity, as a homogeneous people, shall be sought first, transcending differences in ideas, ideologies and systems.

Additionally, the two countries agreed that in order to reduce tension and create an atmosphere of mutual trust, they would refrain from slandering the other; prevent armed provocations and any other occurrences that would trigger military conflicts. Upon realizing a variety of exchanges in various fields, they also agreed to restore the severed national ties and accelerate an independent peaceful unification. Instead of adhering to the agreement, the Korean leaders made strides to strengthen their own powers and worsen their already delicate situation. Park Chung-hee, the South Korean President changed the constitution to keep staying in office whilst Kim Il-sung named himself as permanent president. They then proceeded to ban exchanges and societal contacts between the two Koreas.

Suh states that in the early 1990s, North Korea extended its hand to South Korea after divided Germany had reunited and the Eastern bloc and Soviet Union had dissolved. The leaders of both countries met in Seoul and Pyongyang to sign the Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation between the South and the North in
In February 1992, they signed the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. These exceptional achievements were not implemented because North and South Korea refused to recognize each other, thus, the agreements became a mere expression of good intentions with no legal binding status as treaties between two states. North Korea was also suspected of developing a nuclear program, in the context of which the Geneva Framework Agreement was concluded between the U.S. and North Korea in October 1994.

In the interim, South Korea purposefully improved its relations with former socialist countries including China to isolate North Korea in 1992. South Korea believed North Korea would inevitably collapse which eventually would enable the former to absorb the latter and achieve unification. South Korea was confident that North Korea being further isolated and pressured through sanctions would speed up the process. Consequently, North Korea’s request for economic aid were rejected by South Korea during the rapprochement dialogues in the early 1990s. It is apparent that the South underestimated the resilience of the North Korean regime which has not collapsed as predicted.

With a change of government in South Korea in 1998, an effort to revive inter-Korean relations was initiated. President Kim Dae-jung revealed his sunshine policy which was geared towards economically assisting the North and reigniting dialogues at the Korean peninsula. Due to South Korea’s economic growth from 1970’s through to the 1990’s, Dae-jung sought to bridge the economic gap of the North’s widespread starvation and financial deficiency, as a channel for restoration of peace. The Korean leaders had their first summit in Pyongyang on 15th June, 2000, where a North–South Joint Declaration was agreed upon. The leaders recognized the meeting and the summit talks as of great significance in
promoting mutual understanding, developing South–North relations and realizing peaceful reunification. The declaration is as follows:

i. The South and the North have agreed to resolve the question of reunification independently and through the joint efforts of the Korean people, who are the masters of the country.

ii. For the achievement of reunification, we have agreed that there is a common element in the South's concept of a confederation and the North's formula for a loose form of federation. The South and the North agreed to promote reunification in that direction.

iii. The South and the North have agreed to promptly resolve humanitarian issues such as exchange visits by separated family members and relatives on the occasion of the 15 August National Liberation Day and the question of unswerving Communists serving prison sentences in the South.

iv. The South and the North have agreed to consolidate mutual trust by promoting balanced development of the national economy through economic cooperation and by stimulating cooperation and exchanges in civic, cultural, sports, health, environmental and all other fields.23

Once again, this declaration failed to be realized because the two Koreas still refused to recognize each other and lay a legally binding foundation to their agreements. Nonetheless, President Kim Dae-jung received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000 and numerous contacts between North and South Korean people became possible including a few showcase family reunions. Over the years, some periodic efforts to improve inter-Korean relations were unsuccessful and cross-border economic and cultural projects, such as the Kaesong Industrial Region and the tourism project at Mount Kumgang were shut down. The limited intra-Korean relations and exchanges deteriorated further. The sinking of South Korean naval corvette,
Cheonan on 26th March, 2010 by an alleged North Korean torpedo as well as North Korea’s shelling of the Yeonpyong Island on 23rd November 2010, drastically increased the military tension between North and South Korea. The tension escalated into military clashes and hostilities along the maritime border.24

3.4 Pyeongchang 2018, the Path to Normalization

Sports diplomacy, the concept on which the study is built upon, expounds on how sports incites tolerance, conciliation and dialogue as was the case of the Koreas before, during and after the 2018 Winter Olympics. Kim Jong-un’s New Year speech at the beginning of 2018 marked the official start of the current process of rapprochement. Kim clearly announced his willingness to start a dialogue with South Korea. On the other hand, President Moon had been preparing for this diplomatic overture by holding informal meetings with government representatives. The Winter Olympics was deftly utilized to revive dialogue on the Korean Peninsula. The year 2018 was historic in the context of the Korean conflict when Kim Jong-un and Moon Jae-in met three times including the talks at Panmunjom to discuss and initiate prominent measures for opening communication channels between the two Koreas.25

At the international level, the potentiality of the rapprochement process was demonstrated when the US and North Korea held their first summit in June, 2018. North Korea views the presence of the US military in South Korea including the import of modern weapons, as a threat to its regime. Hence, the meeting between Kim Jong-un and Donald Trump garnered mass international media attention as there is anticipation on the future relations between North and South Korea.26 In the pursuit of peace, the US and South Korea relinquished their annual joint military exercises in 2018 whilst North Korea placed its nuclear and missile tests
on hold. The parties continue to stick to these peace-building measures despite the not so successful second summit between the US and North Korea on 27th-28th February, 2019.27

Meanwhile, President Moon and Kim Jong-un held a three-day summit from 18th-20th September, 2018 in Pyongyang. The Pyongyang Joint Declaration of September 2018 was signed both Korean leaders on the second day of the summit.28 The declaration called for a military agreement, civilian exchanges and cooperation in many areas, and conditions to denuclearize North Korea. North and South Korean Defence Ministers, No Kwang Chol and Song Young-moo respectively, also signed a new Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, Exchanges and Cooperation known as the Agreement on the Implementation of the Historic Panmunjom Declaration in the Military Domain.29 The agreement called for the removal of landmines, guard posts, weapons, and personnel in the Joint Security Area from both sides of the North-South Korean border. The agreement also called for the creation of joint military buffer zones.30

Kim shipped 2 tons of North Korean pine mushrooms, known locally as songyi, across the border before Moon returned to the South. After ensuring the safety of the mushrooms, Moon's office gifted them to 4,000 people who have not been able to see their relatives in the North since the end of the 3-year Korean War in 1953.31 Kim further honoured a request Moon made during the summit and gave the South Korean leader two rare Pungsans, Korean hunting dogs, named Gomi and Song gang on 28th September, 2018. On 11th November 2018, South Korea airlifted 200 tons of tangerines to North Korea from Jeju Island as a goodwill gesture for the mushrooms and the next day, Gomi, the female Pungsan, gave birth to six "peace gift" puppies. Moon tweeted “as the pregnancy period of dogs is about two months,
Gomi must have come to us pregnant”, and that “I hope inter-Korean affairs will be like this.”

Moreover, North and South Korean military engineers began removing landmines from the Joint Security Area of DMZ, as well as the Arrowhead Hill region in South Korea in October, 2018. More than 800,000 landmines were planted along their border since the division of Korea. There was also a joint exhumation of the remains of Korean War MIA/POW (Missing in Action/Prisoner of War). By 30th November, 2018, the Koreas had completed the removal of landmines from the two locations and discovered nine sets of Korean War remains at Arrowhead Hill. All of these accomplishments fulfilled some commitments which were made in the summit’s comprehensive Military Agreement.

The two Koreas agreed to destroy 20 out of the 22 guard posts located along the front lines of the DMZ as a step towards reconciliation and building of mutual trust. North and South Korea dismantled 10 frontline guard posts from each side whilst preserving 1 on each side, as well. The destruction of the guard posts, disarmament and destruction of underground structures were confirmed by inter-Korean inspections which took place when inspectors and soldiers from both Koreas crossed into the opposite countries on 12th December, 2018. All military personnel who were placed at the frontline guard posts were replaced with 35 unarmed security guards.

In the context of sports diplomacy, both Koreas participated as a united team at the 2018 Asian Para Games. Based on the agreement in the Pyongyang Declaration, North and South Korea announced their participation at the 2020 Summer Olympics as a unified team, as well as the bid for both Koreas to co-host the 2032 Summer Olympic Games.
Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) accepted a joint bid by the Koreas and granted a world cultural heritage status to Korean wrestling. North and South Korea also participated as a unified team at the 2019 World Men's Handball Championship in January with 16 players from South Korea and 4 from North Korea.36

The 2018 Winter Olympics has provided a platform for unprecedented developments towards reconciliation on the Korean peninsula. Hence, the study’s motivation to decipher the bilateral relations between North and South Korea through sports diplomacy, particularly after Pyeongchang 2018. The subsequent sections elaborate on the structural divergences between the political, economic and cultural systems of both Koreas, then proceed to determine the impact on inter-Korean bilateral relations through sports diplomacy.

3.5 Political Divergences Between North and South Korea

The political ideology practiced in North Korea is called “Juche” which means “autarky, self-reliance or autonomy”. The idea was formulated by Kim Il Sung in the 1940s and consists of political independence, economic self-sustenance, and self-reliance in defence. The ideology is viewed by its followers as a philosophy and based on the belief that “man is the master of all things and the decisive factor in everything”.37 Juche has legitimized Kim II-sung’s dynasty over three generations and given rise to a cult of personality leadership known as the suryong system. The suryong system acknowledges Kim II-sung as the sole founder and protector of the Korean nation who can only be succeeded by his extraordinary lineage (Mount Paektu bloodline) believed to be born on Mount Paektu. There are tens of thousands of statutes of Kim Jong-un’s late father and grandfather, Kim Jong-il and Kim II-sung in all the public spaces in North Korea, and their pictures hang in every household and building. Their birthdays are commemorated as the Day of the Sun (April 15) and the Day of the
Shining Star (February 16) - the two most lavishly celebrated public holidays. Even after their deaths, they are worshipped as the “eternal leaders” of Korea.\textsuperscript{38}

Utpal Vyas et al expounds that three of North Korea’s main foreign policy goals are to seek ways to compensate for its inferiority in conventional forces with the development of asymmetric capability; to drive a wedge between Seoul and Washington to weaken domestic support for the US military presence in the South, and to utilize opportunities to infuse revolutionary ideas and cause disunity within South Korea society.\textsuperscript{39} Steering away from his father’s reclusiveness, Kim Jong-un’s public relations efforts resonates with his grandfather’s who revels in public engagements and photo-ops to boost his popularity as a “man of the people”. Whilst his father placed militarism and nuclear ambition over the people’s welfare, Kim Jong-un believes in the simultaneous pursuit of nuclear weapons and economic development. Both Kims carried slightly different interpretation of Juche to suit their respective policy directions.\textsuperscript{40}

Kim Jong-un believes in the utilization of sports to improve a country’s reputation and relations with other countries without jeopardizing the Juche ideology. He also employs sports to facilitate diplomatic exchanges with the South, even in the midst of high tension as was exhibited at his Christmas eve speech. Kim Jong-un uses a female symbol in the form of his sister, Kim Yo-jong to create an image of a modern leader who values the stance of women in politics. She is seen by his side almost constantly during his meetings with world leaders.\textsuperscript{41} It is noteworthy to mention that North Korea has the world’s fourth-largest army, according to a 2015 report by the US Department of Defence. Out of its population of 25 million, 1.2 million are in active military service with a reserve of 4.7 million. According to
Stefano Felician, the DPRK’s mass forces are put on shared duty between the army, the navy and the airforce.\textsuperscript{42}

South Korea is a former military dictatorship during the 1980s which underwent a democratization process. It is considered the most democratic country in Asia presently. The Economist Intelligence Unit rated South Korea as the 20\textsuperscript{th} most democratic country in 2017, above Belgium, France or the United States. The president is elected by popular vote every five years, for one term only. Militarily and strategically, the US remains South Korea’s most important partner and an indispensable ally. Currently, 28,500 US troops are stationed in South Korea. South Korea has also harnessed relations with China and Japan which has fostered the China–Japan–South Korea trilateral summit held annually to discuss the economy, disaster relief including denuclearizing in North Korea. There has also been greater trade and cooperation between the Russian Federation and South Korea since the 1990s.\textsuperscript{43}

Unlike the North, South Korea is open and maintains diplomatic relations with 190 countries. Among South Korea’s foreign policy goals are to improve the economy and maintain peace on the Korean peninsula. President Moon has prioritized rapprochement with North Korea since he took office in May, 2017. To understand the importance that he ascribes to intra-Korean relations, one should not only look to his membership in the progressive camp, but also consider his personal history. Long ago, Moon’s parents fled from the North to South Korea. The human rights attorney, who was once an active supporter of the democracy movement in his youth, was one of the main advisors and a close friend of former president Roh Moo-hyun (2003-2008). Despite his interest in reconciliation, the South Korean government under Moon’s leadership demands that the sanctions should only be loosened once North Korea makes concrete steps towards denuclearization.\textsuperscript{44}
On the military front, South Korea, with twice the population North Korea, has about 655,000. The largest military service of the ROK is the army, which counts 522,000 soldiers, 2,414 Medium Battle Tanks and over 11,000 artilleries. Both the air force and navy (including marines) include nearly 70,000 troops each. The reality of the South is that Seoul remains in the crosshairs of tens of thousands of North Korean artillery pieces and short-range missiles that are capable of delivering biological, chemical, and nuclear payloads.\(^{45}\)

### 3.6 Economic Divergences Between North and South Korea

Pertaining to the North’s economy, Christine Locher cautions that the reports and figures may not be accurate because of restricted information from the country. The narration of some defectors may not always be factual because there have been reports of some defectors being spies. Utpal Vyas et al states that since the Korean War, the US has imposed strong economic sanctions against North Korea. The sanctions hindered the North from obtaining investment and aid from foreign countries and international organizations such as the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and World Bank. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 ended the trade between socialist states which resulted in severe deterioration of the North’s economy.\(^{46}\)

During the famine in North Korea in the 1990s, it is estimated that approximately 2 million people. North Korea is approximately 2 billion tons of rice short to feed its people. Many defectors cite economic reasons for fleeing to China. The black market economy is immense and corruption abounds in the country. Some estimates claim 80% of the daily necessities of the people are covered by black market activities and cross-border smuggling.\(^{47}\) China has been economically supporting North Korea to prevent the country from collapsing. China’s aid to North Korea is estimated to be 20 million US dollars per year including 100,000 tons
of food and 500,000 tons of oil. China is also the biggest trading partner of the North which accounts to 89.1% of the North’s trade by 2015. Apart from saving the regime from collapsing, China sees the North as an important source of natural resources, a market, logistics hub, particularly, for its underdeveloped north-eastern provinces.48

The main exports from the North to China are metallurgical products, minerals, manufactured products, textiles, agricultural and fishery products. North Korea has a considerably large mineral reserves such as iron ore, coal, limestone and magnesite among others. The main import items for North Korea are petroleum, cooking coal, machinery, equipment, textiles and grain. In 2018, DPRK’s nominal GDP was estimated to be 32.1 billion US dollars growing by 4.6% from the previous year.49

The tremendous economic growth of South Korea is called by some a miracle, and described as the Miracle on the Han River. With limited natural resources, South Korea’s economy was in turmoil after the Korean War. Hence, the country was an aid recipient with the United States being the largest single aid contributor to its economy. By 1973, the US had given ROK more aid than any other country except South Vietnam - 11 billion dollars. Aid was also received from Japan and the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) members.50

The implementation of the national First Five Year Economic plan under the military dictatorship of Park Chung-hee, rapidly spurred on ROK’s economy in the 1960s. Park’s government placed emphasis on export-led growth, scientific development, large infrastructure projects (in particular transportation and electrification) and use of the country’s large labour pool in manufacturing capacities. At the same time, the government made use of existing Korean business conglomerates, usually referred to as chaebols, to channel economic development.51
In between mishaps, the economy of South Korea continues to grow exponentially. The country was the seventh largest exporter and seventh largest importer in the world in 2014. ROK is a member of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The World Bank describes Korea as one of the fastest-growing major economies of the next generation along with (Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC) and Indonesia. A booming automobile industry such as the Hyundai Kia Automotive Group is South Korea's largest automaker in terms of revenue, production units and worldwide presence. As of 2018, the South’s nominal GDP was 1.619 trillion US dollars with a GDP per capita of 41,350 US dollars.52

Inter-Korean economic relations have been bumpy. Inter-Korean dialogue resumed significantly under ROK’s first democratically elected president, Roh Tae-Woo (in office 1988-1993). Roh’s Nordpolitik was channelled at diplomatically reaching out to North Korea and its traditional major allies, China and the Soviet Union. Direct inter-Korean trade began for the first time in 1989 under Roh’s administration. Consequently, the declaration on reconciliation, nonaggression and exchange and cooperation was adopted to boost the economy and over all relations between North and South Korea. However, as North Korean nuclear crisis mounted on the Korean peninsula, the North-South relations continued on an up-and-down track over the next several years.53

The Sun Shine policy reignited trade cooperation between the Koreas allowing South Korean NGOs, businesses, and private citizens to have contact across the DMZ. In 1998, an arm of South Korea’s Hyundai Group began operating tours of Mt. Geumgang in North Korea. Inter-Korean Kaesong Industrial Complex was established to boost the economy of the South whilst assisting the North to be economically sustainable. However, miliitary tension and
hostile activities by the North including the shooting of a South Korean tourist in a restricted zone of Mt. Geumgang further worsened North-South economic relations. In 2016, South Korea ceased economic exchanges with the North, shut off the supply of electricity and water into Kaesong that supplied the factory zone and recalled all ROK workers. In retaliation, DPRK North announced it was expelling all South Korean workers and seized all South Korean assets and equipment at the jointly run factory park.\textsuperscript{54}

3.7 Cultural Divergences Between North and South Korea

The contemporary cultures of North and South Korea are based on the traditional culture of Korea before the division. North Korea’s culture distinctiveness stems from the Juche ideology. DPRK’s art in the form of calligraphy, music, painting and pottery tells the story of Kim Il-sung as the father of the nation and serves as an instrument for inculcating Juche ideology and the need to continue the struggle for revolution and reunification of the Korean Peninsula. Foreign governments and citizens, especially the Japanese and the Americans, are depicted negatively as imperialists. The three most consistent themes are martyrdom during the revolutionary struggle (depicted in a literature, The Sea of Blood), the happiness of the present society, and the genius of the leader.\textsuperscript{55}

North Koreans have little to no exposure to foreign cultural influences apart from performances by song-and-dance groups and other entertainers brought in periodically for limited audiences. These performances, such as the Spring Friendship Art Festival held annually in April, are designed to show outside the world that, like everyone else, North Koreans love and respect the country's leader. In Pyongyang and other large cities, Art Propaganda Squads travel to production sites to perform one-act plays, poetry readings and songs congratulate the workers on their success and urge them to work harder.\textsuperscript{56} The North is
also famous for its mass games which are exhibited on the birthdays of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il. Thousands of North Koreans perform highly choreographed dances, especially traditional dances and gymnastics, often engaging in simultaneous rhythms of movement whilst chanting their loyalties to Kim il-sung, the Korean Workers Party and the Juche ideology. The most distinct and impressive form of contemporary cultural expression in North Korea is architecture and city planning. Major structures are divided architecturally into three categories such as monuments, buildings that combine traditional Korean architectural motifs and modern construction, and high-rise buildings of a modern design.\textsuperscript{57}

The industrialization, urbanization and westernization of South Korea, especially Seoul, have brought many changes to the way Korean people live. The Korean language has had a huge influx of English words, sometimes expressed as Konglish. The English alphabet has letters that, when pronounced, do not align with pronunciation in the Korean alphabet. Thus, other letters are usually substituted for others when referring to certain English words. The letter “F” is replaced with the letter “P” and the letter “Z” replaced with the letter “J”. Examples are Keopi (coffee) and Pija (pizza). They also enjoy Western and other Asian foods in addition to traditional Korean food. Moreover, video games in the South are considered to be a major social activity, with most of the games being cooperative or competitive and the country's pro leagues and tournaments across numerous video games are known to be the most prestigious and competitive.\textsuperscript{58}

K-pop is a popular genre of music in South Korea influenced by styles and genres from around the world, such as experimental, rock, jazz, gospel, hip hop, R and B, reggae, electronic dance, folk, country, and classical on top of its traditional Korean music roots. Many Korean pop stars and groups are spreading throughout East Asia and Southeast Asia.
Karaoke, which is popular in South Korea is conducted in Karaoke bars and transport vehicles such as tourist buses. Korean dramas and animations are extremely prevalent in ROK and have transcended to Hollywood. The introduction of Western elements in South Korean culture has helped to propel its popular beyond the South.59

3.8 The Ramifications on the Bilateral Relations Between North and South Korea Post Pyeongchang 2018

In an interview with Godfred Akoto Boafo, Head of Current Affairs at Citi FM, he asserts that due to the shared history and culture of North and South Korea, it would be almost suicidal to ignore the potential that a united Korea could exude, particularly, after the progressive attempts by both parties post Pyeongchang 2018. With the underlining premise being sports diplomacy, Boafo believes there is an agenda for the rapprochement efforts by both parties. “Kim Jong-un is smarter than people give him credit for and it was not coincidental for Kim Jong-un to propose an open dialogue before the 2018 Winter Olympics including his willingness to engage with the US”. Boafo further propounds that in terms of the demonstration of sports diplomacy, the North has been more practical because of the benefits it expects to gain whilst the South has been more sentimental because the North does not have much to offer.60 All the four interviewees acknowledged the effectiveness of the 2018 Winter Olympics in the present ease of tension at the Korean border.

3.8.1 The Impact of Post Pyeongchang 2018 on Political Relations Between North and South Korea

According to Thomas Roberts, sports diplomacy has initiated a potential national reunification between ROK and DPRK, unlike any other in over seventy years of a divided peninsula. For that reason, more inter-Korean summits are expected to be held between North and South Korea in their quest for peace and cooperation. Kim Jong-un wrote a letter to
Seoul in which he conveyed his disappointment at being unable to visit the South’s capital in 2018 but also said that, by working together, he wanted peace and denuclearization between the two states. Kim’s letter echoed President Moon’s declaration for peace on his visit to Pyongyang in September 2018.  

Roberts stresses that the establishment of the joint liaison office in April, 2018 as part of Panmunjom Declaration is expected to improve North-South relations as it provides direct communication channel for the two Koreas. In the absence of formal diplomatic relations between ROK and DPRK, the liaison office also functions as a de facto embassy. The two Koreas are in talks to sign an armistice which would formally end the war between them. Moreover, Roberts also believes that sports diplomacy has promoted a Pan-Korean ethnic identity as both countries have been given the platform to compete as a unified team. Whilst the North Korean participants generally avoided giving interviews in the media, the South Korean delegation conveyed ideas of kinship and an ethnic bond throughout the competitions.  

Nathan Quao, Head of Sports Desk and International Relations Scholar at Citi FM, argues that sports can play a role in resolving conflict between the two nations but cannot transform relations between the two states from hostile to peaceful or vice versa. “Sports diplomacy is just one tool in a kit towards re-establishing ties amongst countries. Sports can be the starting point but the proceeding conversation would have to move on to other things such as trade”.  

Mr. Odame, Head of Asia/Pacific Desk at the Research Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, agrees with the above assertion in the sense that the political goal of both North and South is unification – absorption of the other state. Hence, sports diplomacy,
which has effectively open dialogue between the two will not necessarily reunify North and South Korea.64

The political relations between the two Koreas may not be fully cordial as each of them continue to claim legitimacy over Korea. The introduction of long-term sporting unity such as in the September Pyongyang Declaration must be adhered to, because used one-off tool, state-state sports diplomacy is not effective for achieving reunification. He also states that nuclear weapons programme provides North Korea with status in three ways. First, it is a source of regime security and survival. Second, it is a source of diplomatic leverage over Washington and other regional actors. Third, it has given Pyongyang the type of global status that it might not have otherwise achieved. Therefore, there is no certainty that South Korea’s goal to denuclearize the Korean peninsula would be accomplished.65

Godfred Akoto Boafo states that North and South Korea are on the route to permanent peace on the Korean peninsula as long as the North and South are committed towards it. According to him, Kim Jong-un is unpredictable because of his dedication to developing nuclear weapons and building a strong army. DPRK’s army has dominated the country’s political space since the Korean War and it would take a long time to disabuse the army’s mind-set of its place in the society. Almost every powerful person in North Korea is in the army including the Police Bureau which is mostly made up senior army officers. North Korea has openly and directly challenged the international community by ignoring UN Security Council decisions and other global norms and rules one can never be sure of Kim’s next move.66

Boafo further cites that the principle of Juche has been incorporated in the North and into the daily lives of its citizens that it would be difficult for Kim Jong-un to completely give up
nuclearization for friendly relations with the South. Despite insisting that denuclearisation continues to be a major priority for North Korea, Kim Jong-un conducted a high tech tactical weapon test in mid-November of last year. It was unknown whether this was a nuclear weapons test. However, it contradicts Kim Jong-un’s denuclearisation rhetoric since the 2018 Winter Olympics. Boafo also highlighted the permanent stationing of US troops in South Korea which would always be a threat to the North. He once again stated the trust element between the two as there is no surety of the North not invading the South after the US pulls its troops. Boafo intimates that ROK and DPRK have had trust issues for decades. Hence, even in the utilization of sports, it would take many years before the two can fully trust each other.\(^\text{67}\)

3.8.2 The Impact of Post Pyeongchang 2018 on Economic Relations Between North and South Korea

Dr. John Hemmings affirms that Kim Jong-un’s main aim for joining the Olympics is to ensure the survival of his regime and develop economically. On 20\(^{\text{th}}\) April 2019, he announced a victory of the nuclear path and declared a new strategic line of “Economy First” at a Worker’s Party plenum. Kim indicated that he wants not only aid but also investment. His willingness to highlight Singapore’s economic development, in the 42-minute North Korean documentary, is thought by some international commentators to show this new policy. Though a capitalist nation, Singapore was lauded in the film as “clean, beautiful and advanced”, indicating that Kim is serious about economic reforms.\(^\text{68}\)

According to Isaac Odame, after following in the isolationist pattern of his grandfather and father, Kim Jong-un is making history by gradually opening up North Korea to the world for economic gains. Although Kim wants to preserve the Juche ideology, he knows it is crucial to
have some kind of relation with other countries because the world is evolving. There is no doubt that North Korea would greatly benefit if Kim carefully manages his relations with the South after Pyeongchang 2018. On 17th May, 2019, the South Korean government announced its decision to send 8 million US dollars in humanitarian aid to North Korea through UN agencies, including the World Food Program and United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF).  

Odame also pointed out that plans have been set into motion to normalize operations of the North Korean Kaesong Industrial Region and recommence the suspended joint tour project on Mount Kumgang. The projects are significant to Kim’s economic vision. Gaeseong is the third largest city in the North after Pyeongyang and Nampo. The city offers clear advantages to businesses from the South due to its close geographical proximity to the South. Gaeseong is only 8km from Panmunjeom. The Kaesong Industrial Complex would give jobs to North Korean workers and much-needed cash to its government.  

The Kumgang Resort is a tourist attraction that Kim hopes to use in order to show the world and investors that North Korea is a business and tourist-friendly nation. These joint projects are important to South Korea as well. While Moon stuck to the script in his address, calling for North Korea to denuclearize in exchange for sanction relief, his grand strategy is to offer lasting economic and development assistance through cooperation in hopes to give North Korea concrete incentives to denuclearize. Resuming operations at Kaesong and Kumgang would count as a significant step for Seoul to demonstrate to Pyongyang its commitment to this process.
Isaac Odame further opines that during the inter-Korean talks at the Peace Village in 2018, the North and South leaders agreed to restore railway and road transportation which had been cut since the Korean War. In November 2018, 3-kilometre long tactical road across the Military DMZ was connected support the joint project to excavate Korean War remains. Since then, there has been a joint survey to reconnect other roads and railways to make potential trips in and out of both Koreas easy. Odame stresses that reconnection of these transport routes would propel inter-Korean trade. North-South trade would not only benefit DPRK but the South as well because of the North’s abundance of natural resources. Both countries could rely on their comparative advantage to boost imports and exports on the Korean peninsula. Apart from sports diplomacy, Odame believes economic cooperation between the two would ensure perpetual peace on the Korean peninsula.72

Furthermore, North Korea could take advantage of the South’s advanced technology to boost its agriculture sector which is one of the main sources of meagre income in the North. Obsolete tools could be replaced be modernized machines to enable the people farm on a large scale and possibly remedy reported cases of food shortage and starvation. Odame also recalled reports of human faeces being used as fertilizers which has resulted in prevalent worm infestation amongst North Koreans. He gave an example of ROK doctors who discovered a large number and multiple forms of parasitic worms, with some being as long as 27 centimetres, when treating the wounds of a defected North Korean. The benefits from North-South economic relations would transcend to other areas such as health, education, energy and improve the overall living standard of the Korean people.73
3.8.3 The Impact of Post Pyeongchang 2018 on Cultural Relations Between North and South Korea

According to Ambassador Baah-Duodu, Resident Diplomat, LECIAD, with the exception of the ideological and economic differences, North and South Koreans have a shared culture. Regardless of ROKs cultural westernization and DPRK’s cultural adaptation, there would always be an element of inter-Korean culture.\textsuperscript{74} In line with this assertion, Isaac Odame mentioned that there has been increased cultural exchanges between North and South Korea after DPRK’s Samjiyon Orchestra performance at the start of the 2018 Winter Olympics. A North Korean art troupe also performed in two separate South Korean cities, including Seoul, in honour of the Olympic games as well. The North Korean ship which carried the art troupe, Man Gyong Bong 92, was also the first North Korean ship to arrive in South Korea since 2002. South Korean K-pop stars performed a concert in Pyongyang entitled "Spring is Coming", which was attended by Kim Jong-un and his wife in April, 2018.\textsuperscript{75}

The Korean Film Council (KOFIC) set up a special committee for North-South Korean film exchange, which was launched on 5\textsuperscript{th} July, 2018. Subsequently three North Korean feature films and six short movies were approved to be screened at the annual Bucheon International Fantastic Film Festival in the outskirts of Seoul. Odame recalled that Kim's late father Kim Jong Il was an avid movie fan who even ordered a 1978 kidnapping of a famed South Korean actress and a film director. The pair escaped in 1986 after making several movies in the North. The impoverished North has a vibrant movie industry, though most of its productions are propaganda films extolling the ruling Kim family and its regime. For this reason, Odame believes DPRK could benefit from the South’s expertise and potentially expand its movie industry to boost its economy. There is also the expectation to exchange projects and
symposiums, and potentially shoot on location in North Korea. However, Odame states that it is unlikely that there would be an influx of ROK’s modernized culture into North Korea.\textsuperscript{76}

In March 2019, Kim Yong-sam, the first vice minister of Culture, Sports and Tourism, ROK, announced that in order to boost inter-Korean peace, preparations are underway to unify two international taekwondo governing bodies -- World Taekwondo (WT) based in Seoul and the International Taekwondo Federation (ITF) in Pyongyang. The historical and cultural identity of Taekwondo as a traditional Korean martial art is acknowledged by both North and South Korea. Yong-sam also revealed that the South will continue to push for joint projects to compile a unified Korean-language dictionary, unearth historic relics at the Manwoldae site in the North’s border town of Kaesong and conduct a joint survey of ancient tomb murals in Pyongyang. The accomplishment of these objectives would contribute in the improvement of North-South relations and draw the world’s attention to North Korea for its intriguing culture rather than its nuclear ambition.\textsuperscript{77}

3.9 Conclusion

On the premise of the research objectives, this chapter elaborated on the historical link between North and South Korea and found out the ramifications on the bilateral relations between North and South Korea after the 2018 Winter Olympic. It is observed from the discussions in this chapter that there have been several rapprochements efforts by both Koreas after the Korean War. Nevertheless, none of these efforts has lasted as much as the open dialogue from Pyeongchang 2018 has persisted. Even in 2019, both Koreas are making consistent effort to strengthen their bilateral ties for the attainment of peace and mutual development on the Korean peninsula. From the interviews, the ramifications on the bilateral ties of both Koreas after the 2018 Olympics are mainly positive. Although there is not surety
regarding their political ties, it is estimated that both countries would benefit in economic and cultural terms. Chapter four gives a summary of the findings from the interviews, draws conclusions and make recommendations.
Endnotes


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CHAPTER FOUR
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to bring out some of the salient issues that have been observed in the course of the assessment and analysis which were undertaken in the study. The objectives of the study include establishing and analysing the various means by which the Olympic Games has been used as a platform for sports diplomacy. The historical link between North and South Korea from the Japanese occupation through to the 21st century was also examined. Finally, the study intended to assess the ramifications on the bilateral relations between North and South Korea after the 2018 Winter Olympics.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The findings indicate that the practice of public diplomacy has undergone rapid changes with the ushering in of non-state actors such the IOC, United Nations, MNCs and NGOs. There has also been the gradual usage of sports in diplomacy due to apparent changes in the political space of the 21st century. These changes have come about due to transnational issues such as climate change, terrorism and natural disasters, the effectiveness of soft power in diplomacy rather than resorting to war or threats and the mass interest of the global publics in sports, particularly, the Olympic Games.

The Olympic Games, since its inception, has been utilized by governments and non-state actors in conducting public diplomacy and reducing tension between hostile countries who would have resorted to war. An example is the ping-pong diplomacy between China and the
US, the Cricket diplomacy between India and Pakistan and in a more recent occurrence, Pyeongchang, 2018 between North and South Korea.

The study observed that North and South Korea were a unified nation before the division on the Korean peninsula. The division resulted in the North being a communist state with Russian and Chinese supports whilst the South became democratic with the support of the US. After the Korean War (ROK and DPRK are technically still at war), the two Korea have made reconciliation efforts all of which have proved futile until the 2018 Winter Olympics in South Korea.

The 2018 Winter Olympics has so far resulted in progressive developments before, during and after the event which has given much hope to the international community of a potential reign of peace on the Korean peninsula. Kim Jong-un and President Moon Jae-in had the first inter-Korean summit since 2007 in the border village of Panmunjeom on 27th April, 2018. The second meeting was on 26th May, 2018 which resulted in the dismantling of some nuclear weapons by Kim. The third Inter-Korean Summit was a three-day event from 18-20 September, 2018 in Pyongyang, the first time a South Korean President had visited the capital.

From interviews conducted, the study found out that these unprecedented developments would result in a further inter-Korean summit to ensure peace between the two Koreas. However, it was not certain that Kim Jong-un would stop the development of his nuclear weapons due to first, his policy which prioritize military security and second the use of these weapons as a sought of leverage against the US. Kim is committed to the simultaneous
development of nuclear weapons and the economic development of his country since it would provide him with money to pursue his militarism ambition.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the Juche principle which promotes isolation have resulted in persist economic declination in North Korea whilst the South continues to grow rapidly in terms of economic and technology. It is apparent that proceeding inter-Korean relations would greatly benefit the North to curb starvation, develop its infrastructure and generate revenue for the regime. The South would also benefit from the wealth of the North’s resources which would further propel its economy. Although the main benefactor would be the North, the South also stands to benefit as well.

Pertaining to their inter-cultural relations, the study found that both the ROK and DPRK share the same culture with slight differences due to the division between the two. The South is more westernized and liberal whilst the North is conservative and rigid. The continuance of peace on the Korean peninsula could result in unified cultural performances from both Koreas. This could further generate income North Korea and possibly expose the North Korean people to the open culture of the South. However, there is no certainty that this would be possible. ROK’s desire to unify two international taekwondo governing bodies - WT based in Seoul and the ITF in Pyongyang and compilation of a unified Korean-language dictionary would be a symbol of peace and national reunification between the two.

4.2 Conclusions

The discussions form the study confirms that sports, in this case, the Olympics is the main instigator of peace between North and South Korea. However, sports can only start the process as it with left with the Koreas to communicate consistently and find amicable ways to
co-exist peacefully. The developments after Pyeongchang 2018 indicates that there is hope for national reunification between North and South Korea. There is, however, no surety of reunification or permanent peace because a change of government in South Korea could change the foreign policy direction of the state. There is no doubt that President Moon is emotionally invested in inter-Korean relations. Nonetheless a new president might not pursue the same goal with such ambition as has been exhibited by President Moon.

4.3 Recommendations

From the above discussion, the following recommendations are ways to deepen bilateral relations between North and South Korea:

- There has been hesitation to drag Kim Jong-un to the International Criminal Court (ICC) because of his possession of nuclear weapons and the involvement of human lives at hand. A promising field of negotiation is economic diplomacy because of Kim’s interest in economic security as expressed in his New Year’s address. Stakeholders in inter-Korean relations such as Japan, China, Russia and China, who are also neighbouring countries should be encouraged to facilitate economic diplomacy with North Korea. This could be achieved after the US lift specific sanctions on the North. Economic diplomacy would be a good lever to help the North Korean people and to produce goods and services desperately needed, combined with a greater opening of the country and stronger economic integration in the region. All this would make war the least attractive option for all parties involved, a model that has worked very well for example in Europe.

- The option of double suspension can be considered to control the nuclear issue. The US-South Korean relationship is seen as threatening by the North. As long as the US
continues to get involved in inter-Korean affairs, keeps its military presence with strategic weaponry across the peninsula, the two Koreas would breed in mistrust for each other. North Korea should suspend its missile and nuclear activities in exchange for large scale halting of US military activities on the peninsula including the joint military drill with South Korea. This “double suspension” approach can help break security dilemma and bring the parties back to the table. This can be followed by the dual-track approach of denuclearizing the peninsula on the one hand and establishing a peace mechanism on the other.

- North Korea does not seem to be perturbed by sanctions as it continues to develop nuclear weapons, neither is the regime collapsing anytime soon as it has persevered despite heavy economic sanctions. Due to Kim Jong-un’s immense interest in sports, the United Nations, the US and South Korea must continually engage the North in sporting activities. The South Korean government should make sporting engagements with the North a long term policy. Sports has consistently drawn DPRK out from its isolation unto the world’s stage because North Korean leaders believe in showcasing the strength and power of the regime through their athletes. They also believe that excelling in sports captures the world’s attention and draws other countries to North Korea.

- The U.S. has long taken a stance of non-recognition and hostility toward North Korea, with regime change as its main goal. An example is President Obama’s policy of strategic patience which was not effective. Although the recent talks between President Trump and Kim did not reach an agreement. The essence of the meeting alone is symbolic of the potential of open dialogues. Dialogues in the past have produced effective agreements. First, talks helped stabilize the situation and created conditions for addressing mutual concerns. Second, talking opened the way to
reaching various agreements. The September 19 Joint Statement, February 13 Joint Document, and October 3 Joint Document represent the maximum consensus among all parties and together provide a roadmap for a political solution to the Korean nuclear issue. Failure to implement the agreements led to the disruption of the talks and the absence of talks escalated the nuclear issue. The basis for negotiation has definitely changed significantly. If talks are resumed and both parties are committed, solutions could be found.

- South and North Korea need to ensure continuous adherence to new agreements post-Pyeongchang 2018. President Moon is committed to his engagement policy whilst Kim would want to economically benefit from inter-Korean relations as much as possible. Moon must build a national consensus for its engagement policy in order to ensure that a new government will be bound to build harmonious relations with North Korea. The developments so far must not be disrupted because there has unprecedented progress between North and South Korea since the 2018 Winter Olympics.
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Research Topic: AN ASSESSMENT OF SPORTS DIPLOMACY AS A TOOL IN DEEPENING BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA

The purpose of this interview is to obtain your opinions and views about the effectiveness of sports diplomacy in deepening the bilateral relations between North and South Korea. This is solely for an academic research purpose as a further requirement for an MA degree. Responses to the following questions will be treated with high confidentiality and solely for the purpose of the research only.

QUESTIONS
1. What do you know about North and South Korea?
2. North and South Korea marched under a unified flag during the opening ceremony of the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympic Games and formed a joint women’s hockey team at the event. Do you think the use of sports diplomacy on this occasion has helped reduce tensions on the Korean peninsula?
3. After this show of sports diplomacy, what effects would it have on the bilateral relations between the two Koreas? (Political, Economic and Cultural).
4. Did Kim Jong-un have ulterior motives for North Korea’s participation in the 2018 Winter Olympics?
5. If yes, what were they?
6. What was Moon Jae-in’s reason for inviting North Korea to the tournament?
7. Would there be a total reunification of these two states?
8. What do you recommend as the way forward with regards to these states using sports diplomacy to deepen bilateral relation?

Thank you so much for your time and cooperation. This information will provide a useful and reliable source of data to help me carry out my research successfully. I am highly grateful for your contribution. Have a lovely day.
APPENDIX II

Mapping of the Korean War

Mapping of North and South Korea Border Line Along the 38th Parallel after the Korean War.

APPENDIX IV

Rapprochements efforts on the Korean Peninsula

Steps towards rapprochement between North and South Korea

1. 1972 Talks initiated on reunification
2. 1991 Conclusion of non-aggression pact
3. 1998 Start of Sunshine Policy under South Korean President Kim Dae-jung
4. 2000 First intra-Korean summit
5. 2004 Joint special economic zone opened in Kaesong, North Korea
6. 2006 Signing of peace declaration
7. 2007 Second intra-Korean summit
8. 1 January 2018 Current rapprochement initiated following New Year's speech by North Korean leader Kim Jong-un
9. 9 to 11 February 2018 Visit of a North Korean delegation led by Kim Jong-un's sister Kim Yo-jong on the occasion of the Olympic Games in South Korea
10. 20 April 2018 Direct telephone hotline installed between the two Korean heads of state
11. 27 April 2018 Third intra-Korean summit
12. 26 May 2018 Fourth intra-Korean summit
13. 14 September 2018 Permanent liaison office opened in Kaesong
14. 18 to 20 September 2018 Fifth intra-Korean summit
15. 26 October 2018 Decision to withdraw arms and troops from the common security zone in Panmunjom

APPENDIX V

Trade Volume of Imports and Exports between China and North Korea

APPENDIX VI

GDP Growth of South Korea from 1965 – 2018 within a 5-year interval

Line plot of North-South Korea Economic Relations

APPENDIX VIII

Kim Jong-un and South Korean pop stars after the latter’s performance in Pyongyang