

## CHAPTER 3 TRACKS OF DIPLOMACY

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

In exploring the best way to resolve conflicts, various types (tracks)<sup>1</sup> of diplomacy have been devised.<sup>2</sup> Terms such as *Track One Diplomacy*, *Track Two Diplomacy*, *Track One and A Half Diplomacy* and *Multi Track Diplomacy* are now common in the conflict resolution process.<sup>3</sup>

### 3.2 Track One

*Track One Diplomacy* is widely known as the official,<sup>4</sup> traditional<sup>5</sup> or conventional<sup>6</sup> diplomacy and amongst the oldest form of diplomacy.<sup>7</sup> It entails the State and her official representatives<sup>8</sup> involving *inter alia* diplomats,<sup>9</sup> high-ranking military officials<sup>10</sup> and politicians<sup>11</sup> with the sole aim of resolving the diplomatic disputes<sup>12</sup> at both inter-State and

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<sup>1</sup> Biju, P.R. (2017) *Political Internet: State & Politics in the Age of Social Media*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, Oxon, United Kingdom (UK) at page 151

<sup>2</sup> Jonsson, C. & Aggestam, K. (2009) *Diplomacy & Conflict Resolution, Part I: History and Methods of Study*, The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution, SAGE Publications, SAGE Publications Limited, London, United Kingdom (UK) at page 48

<sup>3</sup> Wasike, S. et. al. (2016) *The Nature of Track Three Diplomacy & Its Influence on Cross-Border Security Relations Between Kenya and Somalia*, International Journal of Managerial Studies & Research (IJMSR), Volume 4, Issue 7, July 2016, Andhra Pradesh, India (IND) at page 1  
Source: <https://www.arcjournals.org/pdfs/ijmsr/v4-i7/1.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> Little, D. (2007) *Peacemakers in Action: Profiles of Religion in Conflict Analysis*, Tanenbaum Center for Inter-Religious Understanding, New York, United States of America (USA) at page 20

<sup>5</sup> Gehlin, S. (2020) *Pathways for Theology in Peacebuilding: An Ecumenical Call to Just Peace*, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands (NED) at page 45

<sup>6</sup> McGowan, P.J. et. al. (Editors) (2006) *Power, Wealth & Global Equity: An International Relations Textbook for Africa, 3rd Edition*, Institute for Global Dialogue and the University of Cape Town Press, University of Cape Town Press (UCT Press), Rondebosch, Cape Town, South Africa at page 411

<sup>7</sup> Kanyako, V. (2020) *Oil Revenues, Security & Stability in West Africa*, Palgrave Macmillan, Springer Nature Switzerland AG at page 184

<sup>8</sup> Leeuwen, M.V. (2016) *Partners in Peace: Discourses & Practices of Civil-Society Peacebuilding*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, Oxon, United Kingdom (UK), at page 30. See also Bohmelt, T. (2011) *International Mediation Interaction: Synergy, Conflict, Effectiveness*, Springer Science & Business Media, Berlin, Germany (GER) at page 83

<sup>9</sup> Mehta, H.C. (2019) *People's Diplomacy in Vietnam: Soft Power in the Resistance War 1965-1972*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle Upon Tyne, United Kingdom (UK) at page 3

<sup>10</sup> Zwier, P.J. (2013) *Principled Negotiation & Mediation in the International Arena: Talking with Evil*, Cambridge University Press, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, United Kingdom (UK) at page 3

<sup>11</sup> Christine Pae, K.J. (2013) *The United States as a Responsible member of the Global Community: Life, Liberty & the Pursuit of Happiness When Globalised Militarisation Matters, Part II: Creative Practices that Emerge from Lo Cotidiano (The Everyday)*, New Approaches to Religion and Power, Theological Perspectives for Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness – Public Intellectuals for the Twenty-First Century, Palgrave Macmillan, St. Martin Press LLC., New York, United States of America (USA) at page 46

<sup>12</sup> Hill, S.M. (2005) *United Nations Disarmament Processes in Intra-State Conflict*, Palgrave Macmillan, St. Martin Press LLC, Palgrave Macmillan Limited, New York, United States of America (USA) at page 230. See

intra-State levels.<sup>13</sup> *Track One Diplomacy* is primarily concerned with ending the violence and promoting peaceful co-existence.<sup>14</sup> As such, *Track One Diplomacy* often is influenced by and influences the structure of political powers in the conflicting countries.<sup>15</sup> Together with *Track Two Diplomacy*, it was first developed as part of a State's foreign policy to facilitate the communication and relations amongst conflicting nations.<sup>16</sup> Since it is founded on the official communication platform between States, *Track One Diplomacy* has the ability to leverage on the political power in influencing the direction of negotiation and its outcome.<sup>17</sup> The Donald Trump and Kim Jong Un Summit held in Singapore in 2018 is an example showing the mechanism of *Track One Diplomacy* in its attempt to solve diplomatic disputes. However, the efficacy of *Track One Diplomacy* has long been supported<sup>18</sup> and complimented by *Track Two Diplomacy*.<sup>19</sup>

### 3.3 Track Two

*Track Two Diplomacy* is founded on the notion that States and their actions per se cannot possibly bring change in conflict resolution.<sup>20</sup> Thus, it is a medium of interaction

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also Griffiths, M. (2005) (Editor) *Encyclopaedia of International Relations & Global Politics*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, Oxon, United Kingdom (UK) at page 189

<sup>13</sup> Everett, L. & Worthington, Jr. (2009) *A Just Forgiveness: Responsible Healing Without Excusing Justice*, IVP Books, InterVarsity Press, Illinois, United States of America (USA) at page 205

<sup>14</sup> Worthington, E.L. & Aten, J.D. (2010) *Forgiveness & Reconciliation in Social Reconstruction After Trauma, Trauma Rehabilitation After War and Conflict*, Springer, Springer Science + Business Media, New York, United States of America (USA) at page 65

<sup>15</sup> Ropers, N. (2004) *From Resolution to Transformation: The Role of Dialogue Projects, Transforming Ethno-Political Conflict: The Berghof Handbook*, Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden GmbH, Wiesbaden, Germany (GER) at page 255. See also Walters, T. & Ali, S.H. (2017) *Borders as Zones of Experiential Learning: The Case of the Balkans Peace Park Project, Part II – Bridges: Resilience, Restoration and Reclamation, The Social Ecology of Border Landscapes*, Anthem Press, Wimbledon Publishing Company, London, United Kingdom (UK) at page 82

<sup>16</sup> Sevin, E. (2017) *Public Diplomacy & the Implementation of Foreign Policy in the U.S., Sweden and Turkey*, Palgrave Macmillan Series in Global Public Diplomacy, Palgrave Macmillan, Springer Nature, Springer International Publishing AG, Cham, Switzerland at page 3

<sup>17</sup> Osemeka, I.N. (2020) *Political Leadership & Conflict Resolution in Africa: Sudan and Cote D'Ivoire in Focus, Part II: Representations of Institutions, Reflections on Leadership and Institutions in Africa*, Rowman & Littlefield International Limited, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at page 173

<sup>18</sup> Stanford, K.L. (1997) *Beyond the Boundaries: Reverend Jesse Jackson in International Affairs*, State University of New York Press, State University of New York (SUNY), New York, United States of America (USA) at page 10

<sup>19</sup> Fisher, R.J. (1997) *Interactive Conflict Resolution*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse University, New York, United States of America (USA) at page 117

<sup>20</sup> Valdes, L. et. al. (2017) *Global Ocean Science Report: The Current Status of Ocean Science Around the World*, Inter-Governmental Oceanographic Commission, UNESCO Publishing, United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), Place de Fontenoy, Paris, France (FRA) at page 160

between unofficial representatives of conflicting States in an unofficial diplomatic resolution setting.<sup>21</sup>

Unofficial interactions between the non-official representatives are normally in the form of consultation, dialogue and training.<sup>22</sup> *Track Two Diplomacy* is widely considered as supplementing the shortcomings of *Track One Diplomacy*<sup>23</sup> whereby the focus is on rebuilding the trust between the conflicting parties;<sup>24</sup> involving more civilians than geopolitical figureheads<sup>25</sup> and less intense during the negotiation process.<sup>26</sup> *Track Two* differs from *Track One* in which it approaches the conflict by identifying the root cause of the diplomatic problem<sup>27</sup> with the aim of improving relations<sup>28</sup> and building a sustainable relationship between the parties.<sup>29</sup> The abolition of the apartheid regime in South Africa was an example of *Track Two Diplomacy* in successfully resolving international humanitarian crisis.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Kelley, J.R. (2014) *Agency Change: Diplomatic Action Beyond the State*, Rowman & Littlefield, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at page 57

<sup>22</sup> Notter, J. & Mc Donald, J. (1996) *Track Two Diplomacy: Non-Governmental Strategies for Peace, The Process & The Players, U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda: American Perspectives on Conflict Resolution, An Electronic Journal of the United States Information Agency*, Volume 1, Number 19, Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, December 1996, Washington D.C., United States of America (USA) at page 32

<sup>23</sup> Odgaard, L. (2007) *China: Security Cooperation with Reservations, Part III – Eurasia, Global Security Governance: Competing Perceptions of Security in the 21st Century*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, Oxon, United Kingdom (UK) at page 209. See also Marien, M. (1990) *Future Survey Annual 1988-1989: A Guide to the Recent Literature of Trends, Forecasts & Policy Proposals*, Volume 9, World Future Society, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at page 9

<sup>24</sup> Nimer, M.A. (2001) *Reconciliation, Justice & Coexistence: Theory and Practice*, Lexington Books, Lanham, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at page 77. See also Faure, G.O. & Zartman, I. W. (2005) *Strategies for Action, Part IV: Conclusion, Escalation & Negotiation in International Conflict*, International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA), Cambridge University Press, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, United Kingdom (UK) at page 319

<sup>25</sup> Hastedt, G.P & Felice, W.F. (2020) *Introduction to International Politics: Global Challenges & Policy Responses*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group Incorporated, Lanham, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at page 176

<sup>26</sup> Klein, M. (2017) *Negotiating Jerusalem: The Impact of Track Two on Track One, Part I – The Theoretical & Historical Background to the Jerusalem Old City Initiative (JOCI), Track Two Diplomacy and Jerusalem: The Jerusalem Old City Initiative*, Routledge, Francis & Taylor Group, Oxon, United Kingdom (UK) at page 104

<sup>27</sup> MacQueen, B. (2009) *Political Culture & Conflict Resolution in the Arab World: Lebanon and Algeria*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne University Publishing Limited, Melbourne University, Victoria, Australia (AUS) at pages 12-13

<sup>28</sup> Carstarphen, N. (2004) *Making the “Other” Human: The Role of Personal Stories to Bridge Deep Differences, IV. Negotiation, Conflict Resolution & Inter-Cultural Communication, Intercultural Communication and Diplomacy*, DiploFoundation Malta & Geneva 2004, Geneva, Switzerland at page 194

<sup>29</sup> Kim, D.J. (2019) *The Korean Peace Process & Civil Society: Towards Strategic Peacebuilding*, Palgrave Macmillan, Springer Nature Switzerland AG, Cham, Switzerland at pages 13-14

<sup>30</sup> Rosenfelt, D. S. (Editor) (1998) *Women’s Studies Quarterly: An Educational Project at the Feminist Press at The City University of New York in Cooperation with Rochester Institute of Technology*, The Feminist Press & Graduate School and University Center, The City University of New York, New York, United States of America (USA) at pages 51-51

### 3.4. Track One and Half Diplomacy (Track 1.5 Diplomacy)

It refers to the unofficial interactions<sup>31</sup> between official representatives of the conflicting States<sup>32</sup> and/or political entities which are often mediated by a non-partisan and/or unofficial third party.<sup>33</sup> It bridges *Track One* and *Track Two Diplomacy*<sup>34</sup> by promoting complementarity between these Tracks of Diplomacy.<sup>35</sup> This is achieved by combining the official approach in *Track One* with the unofficial diplomatic approach in *Track Two Diplomacy*.<sup>36</sup> It involves the interventions by highly respected individuals<sup>37</sup> or non-government organisations (NGOs) in international conflict resolution process.<sup>38</sup> *Track One and a Half Diplomacy* also allows a neutral mediator to mediate either via direct mediation or conciliation.<sup>39</sup> These experienced individuals whom are supported by independent organisations are skilled and seasoned to carry out peacemaking efforts.<sup>40</sup> Due to their reputation, obtaining funding from the private and/or public bodies is relatively convenient than most of the *Track Two Diplomacy* practitioners.<sup>41</sup> It allows the third party mediator the diplomatic flexibility to alternate from *Track One* to *Track Two Diplomacy*'s dispute

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<sup>31</sup> Nan, S.A. (2003) *Track I Diplomacy*, June 2003, Beyond Intractability, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, United States of America (USA).

Source: [https://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/track1\\_diplomacy](https://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/track1_diplomacy)

<sup>32</sup> Jones, P. (2017) *Track Two Diplomacy & The JOCI Project: Some Points to Look For, The Theoretical and Historical Background to the Jerusalem Old City Initiative (JOCI), Track Two Diplomacy & Jerusalem, The Jerusalem Old City Initiative*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, Oxon, United Kingdom (UK) at page 16

<sup>33</sup> Younus Fahim, M. (2010) *Diplomacy, The Only Legitimate Way of Conducting International Relations*, Lulu Press Incorporated, Morrisville, North Carolina, United States of America (USA) at page 62

<sup>34</sup> Fisher, R.J. (2005) (Editor) *Paving the Way: Contributions of Interactive Conflict Resolution to Peacemaking*, Lexington Books, Lanham, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at page 161

<sup>35</sup> Mapendere, J. (2001) *Defining Track One and A Half Diplomacy: Its Complimentarity & The Analysis of Factors That Facilitates Its Success*, Royal Roads University, Victoria, Canada (CAN).

Source: <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk3/ftp04/mq64769.pdf>

<sup>36</sup> Nan, S.A. (2004) *Chapter 4 – Track One and a Half Diplomacy: Searching for Political Agreement in the Caucasus, NGOs at the Table, Strategies at Influencing Policies in Areas of Conflict*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Incorporated, Lanham, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at page 57

<sup>37</sup> Jones, P. (2015) *Track Two Diplomacy in Theory & Practice*, Stanford University Press, Stanford University, Stanford, California, United States of America (USA) at page 20

<sup>38</sup> Zartman, W.I. (2007) *Conclusion: The Use of Methods & Techniques in a Conflict's Lifespan, Part Four – Positive and Negative Inducements in Foreign Policy, Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods & Techniques, Revised Edition*, United States Institute of Peace (USIP), Washington D.C., United States of America (USA) at page 475

<sup>39</sup> Chigas, D. (2005) *Negotiating Intractable Conflicts: The Contributions of Unofficial Intermediaries, Understanding Intractability, Grasping the Nettle: Analyzing the Cases of Intractable Conflict*, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington D.C., United States of America (USA) at page 130

<sup>40</sup> Lund, M. (2015) *Learning from Case Studies: Impacts & Explanations, Part III: Findings & Implications, Across the Lines of Conflict: Facilitating Cooperation to Build Peace*, Woodrow Wilson Center Press, Washington D.C., Columbia University Press, Columbia University, New York, United States of America (USA) at page 355

<sup>41</sup> Schiller, B.R. (2019) *What is a Track 1.5 Diplomat?* Diplomat Magazine, Den Haag, The Netherlands (NED) dated 03.08.2019. Source: <http://www.diplomatmagazine.eu/2019/08/03/what-is-a-track-1-5-diplomat/>

resolution techniques; depending on the changes of the circumstances.<sup>42</sup> Hence, it may be concluded that *Track One and a Half Diplomacy* is a hybrid of *Track One* and *Track Two Diplomacy*.<sup>43</sup> While it effectively influences the political structures of the conflicting States, *Track One and A Half Diplomacy* is not motivated by any politicians or government's political agendas.<sup>44</sup> For instance, the Carter Centre which was founded by former U.S. President and Peace Nobel Prize Winner Jimmy Carter is a non-profit organisation helmed by a highly respected personality who specialises in *Track One and A Half Diplomacy*.<sup>45</sup> When Jimmy Carter successfully intervened in the U.S. – North Korea nuclear weapons crisis in 1994,<sup>46</sup> he has already completed his term as the U.S. President after his defeat to seek for re-election in the 1980 U.S. Presidential Elections.<sup>47</sup>

### 3.5 Multi-Track Diplomacy

The idea of expanding the *Track One and Two Diplomacy*<sup>48</sup> into a *Multi-Track Diplomacy* is built upon the understanding that every component of the society i.e. the media, entrepreneurs, education sector, religious institutions and the ordinary citizen should be included in the peace-negotiating process.<sup>49</sup> A sustainable peace agreement is only achievable

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<sup>42</sup> Goumenos, T. (2018) *Parliamentary Diplomacy as Track 1 ½ Diplomacy in Conflict Resolution*, E-International Relations, Bristol, United Kingdom (UK) dated 11.07.2018 at page 4. Source: <https://www.e-ir.info/2018/07/11/parliamentary-diplomacy-as-track-1-1-2-diplomacy-in-conflict-resolution/>

<sup>43</sup> Oxford, R.L. (2013) (Editor) *The Language of Peace: Communicating to Create Harmony*, Information Age Publishing Incorporated (IAP), Charlotte, North Carolina, United States of America (USA) at page 95

<sup>44</sup> Mapendere, J. (2006) *Track One and A Half Diplomacy & The Complimentarity of Tracks*, Culture of Peace Online Journal (COPOJ), 2 (1), Tabula Rasa Institute at page 72

Source: <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Track-One-and-a-Half-Diplomacy-and-the-of-Tracks-Mapendere/4ed0f69423fe5651611f44210f1411b659ecf022>

<sup>45</sup> Peck, C. (1998) *Sustainable Peace: The Role of the UN & Regional Organisations in Preventing Conflict*, Carnegie Commission on Preventing Conflict, Carnegie Corporation of New York, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Incorporated, Lanham, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at pages 194-195

<sup>46</sup> Greenberg, M.C. et al. (Editors) (2000) *Words Over War: Mediation & Arbitration to Prevent Deadly Conflict*, Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, Carnegie Corporation of New York, Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Incorporated, Lanham, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at pages 328-331. See also Kihl, W.Y. (1997) *Confrontation or Compromise? Lessons from the 1994 Crisis, Part 3, Strategy: Calculus & Confidence Building Measures, Peace and Security in Northeast Asia – The Nuclear Issue & The Korean Peninsula*, An East Gate Book, M.E. Sharpe Incorporated, Armonk, New York, United States of America (USA) at pages 190-192

<sup>47</sup> (2019) *Jimmy Carter*, History, A&E Television Networks, New York, United States of America (USA) dated 09.11.2019. Source: [https://www.history.com/topics/us-presidents/jimmy-carter#section\\_5](https://www.history.com/topics/us-presidents/jimmy-carter#section_5)

<sup>48</sup> Langholtz, J.H. & Stout, C.E. (Editors) (2004) *The Psychology of Diplomacy: Psychological Dimensions to War & Peace*, Praeger Publishers, Greenwood Publishing Group Incorporated, Connecticut, United States of America (USA) at page 106. See also Moore, S.K. (2013) *Military Chaplains as Agents of Peace: Religious Leader Engagement in Conflict & Post-Conflict Environments*, Lexington Books, The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group Incorporated, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at page 14

<sup>49</sup> Weissmann, M. (2008) *Peacebuilding in East Asia: The Role of Track 2 Diplomacy, Informal Works and Economic, Social and Cultural Regionalisation, Section I: General Approaches to Conflict Management &*

if the peacemaking process is inclusive.<sup>50</sup> *Multi-Track Diplomacy* now comprises of *Track One*, *Track Two*, *Track One and a Half*, *Track Three (Business/Private Sector)*, *Track Four (Private Citizens)*, *Track Five (Education – Research & Training)*, *Track Six (Activism/Advocacy)*, *Track Seven (Religion)*, *Track Eight (Funding)* and *Track Nine (Media)*.<sup>51</sup> In short, *Multi-Track Diplomacy* views peacemaking process as a living ecosystem that depends on the effectiveness of and contributions from each players.<sup>52</sup> In recognising diplomatic dispute as a realm of multiple segments (i.e. actors and non-actors) in which different and flexible forms of preventive actions are required,<sup>53</sup> *Multi-Track Diplomacy* encourages complementarity of various *Tracks of Diplomacy*.<sup>54</sup>

In a modern world whereby most countries function inter-dependently and conflicting parties' background mutually affect each other,<sup>55</sup> *Multi-Track Diplomacy* underpins on the efficiency of networking<sup>56</sup> amongst the various types of *Tracks of Diplomacy*. It balances between the competing national and global interests.<sup>57</sup> Thus, inclusivity and networking are the elements that secure suitable and sustainable solutions to diplomatic issues.<sup>58</sup> Examples of *Multi-Track Diplomacy* are the inter-continental Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) and the 2001-2004 Palestinian-Israeli Dialogue Group organised by the Institute of Multi-Track Diplomacy

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*Third-Party Mediation in East Asia, Conflict Management, Security and Intervention in East Asia – Third Party Mediation in Regional Conflict*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, Oxon, United Kingdom (UK) at page 70

<sup>50</sup> Davies, J. & Kaufman, E. (Editors) (2002) *Second Track/Citizen Diplomacy: Concepts & Techniques for Conflict Transformation*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Incorporated, Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at page 55

<sup>51</sup> Ezell, D. (2012) *Beyond Cairo: U.S. Engagement with the Muslim World*, Palgrave Macmillan Series in Global Public Diplomacy, Palgrave Macmillan, St. Martin's Press LLC., New York, United States of America (USA) at page 75

<sup>52</sup> Wekke, I.S. & Suyatno (2018) *Governance in Southeast Asia: Indonesia-Malaysia Perspective on Politics & Social Studies*, Deep Publish, Deep Publisher, Yogyakarta, Indonesia (INA) at pages 80-81

<sup>53</sup> Byrne, S. & Keashly, L. (2000) *Working with Ethno-Political Conflict: A Multi-Model Approach, Peacekeeping & Conflict Resolution*, Frank Cass Publishers, Frank Cass & Company Limited, Oregon, United States of America (USA) at page 116

<sup>54</sup> Rupesinghe, K. (1998) *Coping with Internal Conflicts: Teaching the Elephants to Dance, Part I: Overcoming & Preventing Violence, The Future of the United Nations System: Potential for the Twenty-First Century*, United Nations University Press, The United Nations University, Tokyo, Japan (JPN) at pages 173-174. See also Rupesinghe, K. (1999) *From Civil War to Civil Peace: Multi-Track Solutions to Armed Conflict, Part I: Security Issues, Future Multilateralism – The Political & Social Framework*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, United States of America (USA) at page 30

<sup>55</sup> Kulkarni, D.V. (2017) *Sustainable Peace in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Bridging the Gap from Theory to Practice*, Information Age Publishing (IAP) Incorporated, North Carolina, United States of America (USA) at page 57

<sup>56</sup> Holton, R.J. (2005) *Making Globalisation*, Palgrave Macmillan, St. Martin Press LLC., Palgrave Macmillan Limited, New York, United States of America (USA) at page 76

<sup>57</sup> Dookeran, W. (2015) *Crisis & Promise in the Caribbean: Politics & Convergence*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Surrey, England, United Kingdom (UK) at page 220

<sup>58</sup> Benedek, W. (2011) *The Relevance of Multi-Stakeholder Approach & Multi-Track Diplomacy for Human Rights Diplomacy, Human Rights Diplomacy: Contemporary Perspectives*, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands (NED) at page 253

(IMTD). The former being a unison between China and the European Union (EU) to weather through the ongoing global economic slowdown<sup>59</sup> and the latter being a neutral platform for stakeholders from both countries to reach a common ground on contested issues.<sup>60</sup>

### 3.6 SPORTS DIPLOMACY AS A BRIDGE & WAY FORWARD IN MALAYSIA-NORTH KOREA FUTURE IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

*Sports Diplomacy* is not alien to Malaysia's foreign policy. The resumption of Malaysia-China's (PRC) suspended diplomatic relations was initiated through *Sports Diplomacy* (i.e. badminton).<sup>61</sup> Similarly, *Sports Diplomacy* has long been practised in North Korea as well.<sup>62</sup> In fact, the spark of diplomatic relations between Malaysia and North Korea was ignited through *Sports Diplomacy* in 1971 via friendly football and table tennis matches (i.e. *Ping Pong Diplomacy*).<sup>63</sup> While football<sup>64</sup> and table tennis<sup>65</sup> are amongst the top sports in North Korea, football is the most popular sport in Malaysia and in the world.<sup>66</sup> *Track 1.5 Diplomacy* in the form of *Sports Diplomacy* could pave the way to mend the suspended diplomatic relations between Malaysia and North Korea. This is especially so when the Malaysian government announced in January 2019 of her intention to rejuvenate the severed diplomatic relations with DPRK.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Gorawantschy, B. et. al. (Editors) (2016) *The Age Connectivity: ASEM & Beyond*, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Bukit Pasoh Road, Singapore (SIN) at pages 7 & 13. See also Benedek, W. (2011) *The Relevance of Multi-Stakeholder Approach & Multi-Track Diplomacy for Human Rights Diplomacy*, *Human Rights Diplomacy: Contemporary Perspectives*, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands (NED) at page 256

<sup>60</sup> (2019) *Israel & Palestine, Achievements*, Institute of Multi-Track Diplomacy (IMTD), Arlington, Virginia, United States of America (USA). Source: <https://www.imtd.org/israel-palestine>

<sup>61</sup> Baginda, A.R. (2016) *China-Malaysia Relations & Foreign Policy*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, Oxon, United Kingdom (UK) at page 110

<sup>62</sup> Vandenberg, L. (2019) *Sports Diplomacy: The Case of the Two Koreas*, The Diplomat, Features, Policy, East Asia, Diplomat Media Incorporated, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington D.C., United States of America (USA) dated 10.10.2019. Source: <https://thediplomat.com/2019/10/sports-diplomacy-the-case-of-the-two-koreas/>

<sup>63</sup> Ping, H.C. (2019) *No Positive Outcome*, The New Straits Times (NST), The New Straits Times Press (M) Berhad, Media Prima Group, Jalan Riong, Bangsar, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (MAS) dated 28.02.2019. Source: <https://www.nst.com.my/opinion/columnists/2019/02/464824/no-positive-outcome>

<sup>64</sup> Foran, R. (2013) *North Korea*, ABDO Publishing Company, ABDO Consulting Group Incorporate International, Minneapolis, United States of America (USA) at page 82

<sup>65</sup> Jeffries, I. (2013) *North Korea, 2009-2012: A Guide to Economic & Political Developments*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, Oxon, United Kingdom (UK) at page 768. See also Guttman, A. (2002) *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, University of Illinois Press, University of Illinois, Champaign, Illinois, United States of America (USA) at page 165

<sup>66</sup> Fatt, O.T. & Aziz, M.S. (2014) *Association of Spectators Based Brand Equity (SBBE) and Fans Attendance: A Case of Selangor Football Fans, Part II: Sports Technology and Management, Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Sports Science, Exercise, Engineering and Technology 2014 (ICoSSEET 2014)*, Springer, Springer Science+Business Media, Singapore (SIN) at page 137

<sup>67</sup> Parameswaran, P. (2020) *A Closer Look at the Context Behind the Move As Well As Its Potential Significance*, The Diplomat, Diplomat Media Incorporated, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington D.C., United States of

The 2018 Winter Olympic in PyeongChang, South Korea (09 – 25 February) was testament to the effectiveness of *Sports Diplomacy* to reconcile diplomatic tensions between South Korea and North Korea.<sup>68</sup> During the women's ice hockey event, North Korea and South Korea laid aside their animosity to compete under a united flag<sup>69</sup> and singing their unofficial national anthem (i.e. *Arirang*)<sup>70</sup> in spite the fact that both countries are still at war.<sup>71</sup> This diplomatic move is reminiscent to the German's participation in the 1992 Summer Olympics in Barcelona, Spain whereby the West Germany and East Germany contested under a unified flag<sup>72</sup> after a successful German Reunification in 1990.<sup>73</sup> Kim Jong Un personally believed that *Sports Diplomacy* during the 2018 Winter Olympic was the best venue to display North Korea's pride in sports and to improve diplomatic relations with South Korea.<sup>74</sup> The 2018 Winter Olympic in PyeongChang had resurrected the inter-Korean dialogue<sup>75</sup> thus, easing the global pressure on the North Korea's nuclear weapons and

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America (USA) dated 07.01.2020. Source: <https://thediplomat.com/2020/01/whats-behind-malaysias-north-korea-embassy-reopening-announcement/>

<sup>68</sup> Easley, L.E. (2018) *North Korea Diplomacy & the Winter Olympics*, Newsletter, Korea Chair Platform, Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS), Rhode Island Avenue, Washington D.C., United States of America (USA) dated 06.02.2018. Source: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/north-korea-diplomacy-and-winter-olympics>

<sup>69</sup> (2018) *Monthly Current Affairs for Competitive Exams*, January 2018, Volume 1, DISHA Publications, New Delhi, India (IND) at page 4. See also Kerrigan, H. (2019) *Historic Documents of 2018*, SAGE Reference, SAGE Publications Incorporated, CQ Press, Congressional Quarterly Incorporated, California, United States of America (USA) at page 260

<sup>70</sup> Strother, J. (2018) *Why Arirang is the Perfect Song for a Divided Korea*, The World, Public Radio Exchange (PRX), Massachusetts, United States of America (USA) dated 08.02.2018.

Source: <https://www.pri.org/stories/2018-02-08/why-arirang-perfect-song-divided-korea>. See also Atkins, E.T. (2016) *Arirang: Korean Folk Song, Pop Culture in Asia & Oceania*, ABC-CLIO, ABC-CLIO LLC., Santa Barbara, California, United States of America (USA) at pages 6-9. Also at Brener, D. & Lau, N. (2007) *The World at Your Fingertips, Music History & Culture from Around the World with Early Inter-Mediate Piano Arrangements, Book 1*, Alfred Publishing Company, Van Nuys, Los Angeles, California, United States of America (USA) page 16

<sup>71</sup> Lowery, C.G (2011) *The Untold Experiences of a Navy Corpsman, A U.S. Navy Hospital Corpsman with a U.S. Marine Corps Reconnaissance Patrol Team in the 1950's on Covert Korean Missions*, ArtHouse, Bloomington, Indiana, United States of America (USA) at page ix. See also Wong, E. (2013) *Post-Punk Perception: Living in the Social Milieu*, Xlibris Corporation, Bloomington, Indiana, United States of America (USA) at page 98

<sup>72</sup> Sen, A.K. (2018) *When Politics Became an Olympic Sport*, Atlantic Council, Washington D.C., United States of America (USA) dated 07.02.2018. Source: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/when-politics-becomes-an-olympic-sport/>. See also Epstein, A. (2003) *Sports Law*, DELMAR, CENCAGE Learning, New York, United States of America (USA) at page 193. Also at Kumaraswamy (2018) *The Modern Olympic Games 1896 to 2016*, Lulu Publication, Raleigh, North Carolina, United States of America (USA) at page 125

<sup>73</sup> Boyn, O. (2011) *The Divided Berlin 1945-1990: The Historical Guidebook*, Christoph Links Verlag GmbH, Berlin, Germany (GER) at page 115. See also Hacke, C. (2002) *Ten Years of German Unification: Transfer, Transformation, Incorporation?* University Press, University of Birmingham Press, The University of Birmingham, Birmingham, West Midlands, United Kingdom (UK) at page 115

<sup>74</sup> Shin, D.W. (2018) *Rationality in the North Korean Regime: Understanding the Kims' Strategy of Provocation*, Lexington Books, The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group Incorporated, Lanham, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at page 284

<sup>75</sup> Jackson, V. (2019) *On the Brink: Trump, Kim & the Threat of Nuclear War*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge University, Cambridge, United Kingdom (UK) at page 171

ballistic development (Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles-ICBM).<sup>76</sup> The Games immediately opened up a direct diplomatic contact with Kim Jong Un (*Track One Diplomacy*) for President of South Korea and U.S. President Donald Trump.<sup>77</sup> For instance, Kim Jong Un had invited President Moon Jae In for diplomatic talks in Pyongyang after the conclusion of the 2018 Winter Olympic.<sup>78</sup> The invitation, however, was personally extended to President Moon by Kim's sister – Kim Yo Jong – during the Games.<sup>79</sup> The positive vibe from the Games had also persuaded the U.S. to engage North Korea in an official diplomatic dialogue held in Singapore on 12 June 2018.<sup>80</sup> Undoubtedly, South Korea will take full advantage of the ongoing inter-Korean negotiations in order to explore further diplomatic cooperation with North Korea.<sup>81</sup>



***Kim Yo Jong (left) shook hands with Moon Jae In (right) after she personally delivered an invitation to the South Korean President for a summit in Pyongyang, North Korea during the 2018 Winter Olympics held in PyeongChang, South Korea.***

[Source: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-43014269>]

<sup>76</sup> (2018) *OECD Economic Surveys Korea, June 2018*, Organisation for Economic Cooperation & Development (OECD), OECD Publishing, Paris, France (FRA) at page 64

<sup>77</sup> Yoo, T.J. (2020) *The Koreas: The Birth of Two Nations Divided*, University of California Press, University of California, Oakland, California, United States of America (USA) at page 292

<sup>78</sup> Josh, J. (2018) *Current Affairs April 2018 e-Book*, Jagran Prakashan Limited, Jagran Media Network Investment Private Limited, Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh, India (IND) at page 156

<sup>79</sup> Kerrigan, H. (2018) *Historic Documents of 2018*, SAGE Reference, CQ Press, SAGE Publications Incorporated, California, United States of America (USA) at page xlv. See also (2018) *Winter Olympics 2018: North Korea Invites South President to Pyongyang*, Asia, News, BBC News Services, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), London, United Kingdom (UK) dated 10.02.2018.

Source: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-43014269>

<sup>80</sup> Doyle, J.E. (2019) *Diplomatic Opening, Chapter 6: Confronting a Nuclear North Korea, Nuclear Safeguards, Security & Non-Proliferation – Achieving Security with Technology and Policy, Second Edition*, Butterworth-Heinemann, Elsevier, Oxford, United Kingdom (UK) at page 152

<sup>81</sup> In, M.J. (2018) *Moon Jae In, President of the Republic of Korea: Selected Speeches*, Cheongwadae (The Executive Office & Official Residence of the President of Republic of Korea), Jongno Gu, Seoul, South Korea/Republic of Korea (ROK) at pages 66-69

Although the momentum of the *Sports Diplomacy* was short-lived,<sup>82</sup> the diplomatic move should be seen positively; taking into account Pyongyang's reluctance to initiate peaceful discussions nowadays.<sup>83</sup> The 2018 Winter Olympic in South Korea will be remembered in history as the event that halted the nuclear weapons standoff between the U.S. and North Korea, albeit temporarily.<sup>84</sup> In short, the 2018 Winter Olympic was a conducive setting for diplomatic negotiation for North Korea, South Korea and the United States<sup>85</sup> and President Moon Jae In also hoped the diplomatic fervour from the Winter Olympic would continue after its conclusion.<sup>86</sup> North Korea's joint participation in the 2018 Winter Olympics was a progression towards a diplomatic reconciliation and a basis for further diplomacy in the future.<sup>87</sup>

Since North Korea exploited sporting events and/or *Sports Diplomacy*<sup>88</sup> to display national pride and competitiveness,<sup>89</sup> Malaysia should further explore the opportunity to

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<sup>82</sup> Chandran, N. (2018) *Sports Diplomacy May Not Fix the North Korea Problem – But It Could a Start to Something, Tokyo Olympics 2020*, CNBC, CNBC LLC., NBC Universal LLC., New York, United States of America (USA) dated 10.01.2018. Source: <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/01/10/north-korea-at-winter-olympics-what-it-means-for-nuclear-talks.html>

<sup>83</sup> Davenport, K. (2019) *What Comes Next in U.S.-North Korean Negotiations?* Issue Briefs, Volume 11, Issue 5, March 20, 2019, Arms Control Association (ACA), Washington D.C., United States of America (USA) dated 20.03.2019. Source: <https://www.armscontrol.org/issue-briefs/2019-03/what-comes-next-us-north-korean-negotiations>. See also Haggard, S. (2017) *Limited Options: Trump & the North Korea Conundrum*, Volume 12, No. 14, December 2017, Articles, Global Asia, The East Asia Foundation, Seoul, South Korea/Republic of Korea (ROK). Source:

[https://www.globalasia.org/v12no4/cover/limited-options-trump-and-the-north-korea-conundrum\\_stephan-haggard](https://www.globalasia.org/v12no4/cover/limited-options-trump-and-the-north-korea-conundrum_stephan-haggard)

<sup>84</sup> Lee, J.S. (2018) *An Olympic Window for Korean De-escalation*, Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), New York, United States of America (USA) dated 08.01.2018. Source: <https://www.cfr.org/blog/olympic-window-korean-nuclear-de-escalation>

<sup>85</sup> (2020) *North Korea Praises South After Delegates Return from Olympic Visit*, News, Deutsche Welle (DW), Bonn, Germany (GER). Source: <https://www.dw.com/en/north-korea-praises-south-after-delegates-return-from-olympic-visit/a-42559017>

<sup>86</sup> Ingle, S. (2018) *Pyeongchang Winter Olympics 2018: The Games of New Horizons?* Winter Olympics 2018, Sport, The Guardian, Kings Place, London, United Kingdom (UK) dated 25.02.2018. Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2018/feb/25/pyeongchang-winter-olympics-2018-the-games-of-new-horizons-russia>

<sup>87</sup> Moon, C.I & Moon, M.J. (2020) *Introduction, Routledge Handbook of Korean Politics & Public Administration*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, Oxon, United Kingdom (UK) at page 5. See also Leibo, S.A. (2019) *East & Southeast Asia, 2019-2020, 52<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, Stryker-Post Publications, The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group Incorporated, Lanham, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at page 152

<sup>88</sup> Choi, J. (2015) *White Paper on Human Rights in North Korea 2015*, Center for North Korean Human Rights Studies, Korea Institute for National Unification (KINU), Seoul, South Korea/Republic of Korea (ROK) at page 412

<sup>89</sup> Yoon, J.W. (2016) *Ideocratic Legitimation in North Korea: Its History & Challenges, Part II: Ideocratic Regimes in History & the Present Day, Ideocracies in Comparison – Legitimation-Co-optation-Repression*, Routledge, Oxon, United Kingdom (UK) at page 229. See also Riordan, J. (1999) *The Impact of Communism in Sport, Part I, The International Politics of Sport in the Twentieth Century*, E&FN Spon, Taylor & Francis Group, London, United Kingdom (UK) at page 56

peacefully engage with North Korea via *Sports Diplomacy*.<sup>90</sup> Malaysia should emulate Indonesia's inclusive approach in *Sports Diplomacy*. For instance, during the 2018 Asian Games held in Jakarta and Palembang, Indonesia, President Joko Widodo invited both North Korea and South Korea to participate.<sup>91</sup> Indicative of improved diplomatic relations following the 2018 Winter Olympics, both countries again agreed to field joint teams for the 2018 Asian Games under a unified flag in the basketball, canoeing and rowing events.<sup>92</sup>

Further, in April 2018 North Korea participated in a friendly football tournament commemorating the 88<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Indonesian Football Federation (Persatuan Sepak Bola Seluruh Indonesia/PSSI) in Bogor, West Java.<sup>93</sup> The friendly competition was won by Bahrain whereby North Korea only drew two matches (against Uzbekistan and Indonesia) and lost one against Bahrain.<sup>94</sup> Considering sporting events (e.g. soccer/football) are increasingly being globalised, *Sports Diplomacy* has been consistently developed as an important agenda in international relations.<sup>95</sup> When the conventional diplomacy fails to be delivered, the flexibility of *Sports Diplomacy* is often considered as an alternative.<sup>96</sup> The universality of sports<sup>97</sup> has encouraged governments, diplomats and scholars to regard *Sports*

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<sup>90</sup> Grzelczyk, V. (2018) *North Korea's New Diplomacy: Challenging Political Isolation in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Palgrave Macmillan, Springer Nature, Macmillan Publisher Limited, London, United Kingdom (UK) at page 206

<sup>91</sup> (2018) *Asian Games 2018: Indonesia Invites Both Korean Leaders Moon Jae In & Kim Jong Un to Jakarta Asiad*, Sport, Other Sport, South China Morning Post (SCMP), Hong Kong (HK) dated 16.07.2018. Source: <https://www.scmp.com/sport/other-sport/article/2155513/asian-games-2018-indonesia-invites-both-korean-leaders-moon-jae>

<sup>92</sup> (2018) *Koreas to Field Joint Teams in Three Asian Games Sports*, Sports News, reuters.com., Reuters, London, United Kingdom (UK) dated 28.06.2018. Source: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-games-asia-koreas/koreas-to-field-joint-teams-in-three-asian-games-sports-idUSKBN1JOORC>

<sup>93</sup> Sheany (2018) *Bahrain Looks Forward for Fruitful Participation in Asian Games*, Jakarta Globe, Jakarta, Indonesia (INA) dated 26.06.2018. Source: <https://jakartaglobe.id/news/bahrain-looks-forward-for-fruitful-participation-in-asian-games/>

<sup>94</sup> (2018) *Bahrain Olympic Team Lift Soccer Crown in Indonesia*, GDN Online.com., Gulf Digital News (GDN), Manama, Kingdom of Bahrain dated 04.05.2018. Source: <http://www.gdnonline.com/Details/350549/Bahrain-Olympic-team-lift-soccer-crown-in-Indonesia>

<sup>95</sup> Keys, B. (2010) *International Relations, Part I: Theory, Methods & Key Themes in Sports History*, Routledge Companion to Sports History, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, Oxon, United Kingdom (UK) at page 256

<sup>96</sup> Kobierecki, M.M. (2020) *Sports Diplomacy: Sports in the Diplomatic Activities of States & non-State Actors*, Lexington Books, The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group Incorporated, Lanham, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at pages 25-28

<sup>97</sup> Yang, B. (2014) *Research on Education Based on Ethnic Traditional Sports Cultural Inheritance, 2014 International Conference on Social Science & Management*, DEStech Publications Incorporated, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, United States of America (USA) at page 379. See also Liu, E.T. (2015) *Global Health Diplomacy, Chapter 11, Part III: Science for Diplomacy: Using Science Cooperation to Improve Relations Between Countries, Science Diplomacy: New Day or False Dawn?* World Scientific Publishing Company Private Limited, Toh Tuck Link, Singapore (SIN) at page 219

*Diplomacy* as an evolving diplomacy.<sup>98</sup> *Sports Diplomacy* can provide a platform of peaceful cultural exchange<sup>99</sup> which can be a foundation for further dialogue<sup>100</sup> and assists conflicting countries to build trust with each other.<sup>101</sup>

On the other hand, *Sports Diplomacy* if successfully carried out will reflect a neutral image of Malaysia to the rest of the world.<sup>102</sup> *Sports Diplomacy* is an area that should be explored and angled by Wisma Putra since Kim Jong Un is a devoted fan of the American basketball (NBA); an interest he shared with his late father Kim Jong Il.<sup>103</sup> As a matter of fact, ahead of the second U.S.-North Korea Summit in Vietnam in 2019 Kim Jong Un had specifically requested a team of famous American basketball players to be sent to North Korea for a cultural exchange between both countries.<sup>104</sup> Jong Un's passion for the sport is evident especially when the written request was made integral to the plan of denuclearisation of North Korea by the United States.<sup>105</sup> Further, his close friendship with former NBA star Dennis Rodman is also publicly known.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Beck, P.J. (2020) *Conclusion: "Good Kicking" Is Not Only "Good Politics" but Also "Good Diplomacy"*, *Soccer Diplomacy: International Relations & Football Since 1914*, The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, United States of America (USA) at page 244

<sup>99</sup> Arment, J.F. (2012) *The Elements of Peace: How Non-Violence Works*, McFarland & Company Incorporated Publishers, Jefferson, North Carolina, United States of America (USA) at page 101

<sup>100</sup> Loh, K. (2020) *Sports Diplomacy & Conflict Framing: An Analysis of How Celebrity Athletes Influence Discourse in Race and Politics, II: Societal Approaches, The Role of Conflict on the Individual & Society*, Lexington Books, The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group Incorporated, Lanham, Maryland, United States of America (USA) at page 99

<sup>101</sup> Ratten, V. (2018) *Sport Entrepreneurship: Developing & Sustaining an Entrepreneurial Sports Culture*, Springer, Springer Nature, Springer International Publishing AG, Cham, Switzerland at page 135

<sup>102</sup> Potter, E.H. (2009) *Branding Canada: Projecting Canada's Soft Power Through Public Diplomacy*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, Canada (CAN) at pages 53-54

<sup>103</sup> Pickrell, R. (2019) *Kim Jong Un Reportedly Demanded to Hang Out with 'Famous' Basketball Players During Nuclear Negotiations with US*, Military & Defense, Business Insider, Insider Incorporated, Axel Springer SE, Hamburg, Germany (GER) dated 11.05.2019. Source:

<https://www.businessinsider.com/kim-jong-un-demanded-to-hang-with-basketball-stars-for-nuke-deal-2019-5>

<sup>104</sup> Rodrigo, C.M. (2019) *Kim Wanted US to Send 'Famous Basketball Players' to North Korea: Report*, Policy, The Hill, Capitol Hill Publishing Corporation, News Communication Incorporated, Washington D.C., United States of America (USA) dated 09.05.2019. Source:

<https://thehill.com/policy/international/442957-kim-wanted-us-to-send-famous-basketball-players-to-north-korea-report>

<sup>105</sup> Palmeri, T. (2019) *Kim Jong U Wanted 'Famous' US Basketball Players as Part of Denuclearisation Deal: Sources*, ABC News, ABC News Internet Ventures, ABC News Network, New York, United States of America (USA) dated 10.05.2019. Source:

<https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/kim-jong-wanted-famous-us-basketball-players-part/story?id=62920773>

<sup>106</sup> Lavender, J. (2020) *Inside Dennis Rodman's Bromance with Kim Jong Un that Started with 'Shots and Hotties'*, Sport, Mirror, Daily Mirror, London, United Kingdom (UK) dated 21.05.2020. Source:

<https://www.mirror.co.uk/sport/other-sports/inside-dennis-rodman-bromance-kim-22049961>

In the long run, *Sports Diplomacy* are the complimentary efforts on integrating North Korea with the rest of the world<sup>107</sup> and her eventual denuclearisation.<sup>108</sup> After all, Malaysia's diplomacy is not about achieving diplomatic victory *per se* but to improve the existing diplomatic goodwill.<sup>109</sup>

### 3.7 CONCLUSION

Diplomacy is dynamic, hence developing a variety of 'Tracks' to manage the evolution and the changes it brought to international relations is necessary. The diversity of diplomacy (i.e. *Multi Track Diplomacy*) is simply the variants and/or the composite of the main forms of diplomacy, namely *Track 1* (Official), *Track 2* (non-Official) and *Track 1.5* (Hybrid). The root causes of diplomatic conflicts are manifold – economic, legal, political, religious, and cultural. Thus, a comprehensive solution needs to include all stakeholders and requires relevant opinions sought from multiple angles.

Solutions which are inclusive and democratic will produce a framework that is sustainable for the future. Uniquely, the various *Tracks of Diplomacy* operate in an ecosystem which compliments each other instead of competing against each other. Democratic, interdependency and inclusiveness are the foundations of a lasting diplomacy, particularly so with the involvement from the non-conventional actors/players in international relations such as the academicians, religious leaders, entrepreneurs, and athletes. In modern diplomacy, these non-actors have achieved the celebrity-like status that carries diplomatic leverage. *Sports Diplomacy*, although not new, is growing in terms of its importance and contribution towards peacemaking process. As both a social and thriving commercial activity, a sporting event can bring conflicting parties to compete and consult with each other on equal standing. Hence, it is unsurprising that many lasting diplomatic relations are initiated with *Sports Diplomacy* such as the *Ping Pong Diplomacy* between China and the United States of America in 1970s.

Reunification of separated nations (e.g. East Germany and West Germany in 1991) was also celebrated during the Olympics games. These phenomena are proof that *Sports*

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<sup>107</sup> Yip, D. (2018) *Diplomacy at the Olympics: North Korea's Participation at PyeongChang 2018 May Be a Step Towards Integration*, Sports, The McGill Daily, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada (CAN) dated 26.02.2018. Source: <https://www.mcgilldaily.com/2018/02/diplomacy-at-the-olympics/>

<sup>108</sup> Park, T. (2018) *How Sports Diplomacy Could Lead to an Unprecedented Shift for Koreas*, Opinion, Maclean's, Toronto, Canada (CAN) dated 05.01.2018. Source: <https://www.macleans.ca/opinion/how-sports-diplomacy-could-lead-to-an-unprecedented-shift-for-the-koreas/>

<sup>109</sup> (1964) *News Bulletin, Malaysia Information Service*, Embassy of Malaysia, Washington D.C., United States of America (USA) at page 7

*Diplomacy* is not merely symbolic but a powerful diplomatic tool that is advantageous to all stakeholders – the conflicting countries and the host nation. *Sports Diplomacy* has the potential to be engineered by Wisma Putra in facilitating the negotiating process that is carefully tailored to suit both countries' rights, needs and demands. This is especially so when Kim Jong Un emphasised on *Sports Diplomacy* as a crucial part of the agreement to denuclearise North Korea. In hindsight, as a country that loves and integrates sports as a lifestyle, Malaysia ought to exploit the cultural similarities she shared with North Korea. This will smoothen the negotiation process and further underscores Malaysia's role towards peaceful co-existence in the region and *Neutrality* with all nations.

With her vast experience in handling diplomatic relations with other recalcitrant States such as North Korea, Malaysia could lead the way in the peacemaking process. Diplomatic disputes can also be addressed via a variety of methods of Diplomacy such as *Track One*, *Track Two* and *Multi Track Diplomacy* that involve different players at different levels. Hence, emphasising on the ingenuity to utilise and manipulate different *Tracks of Diplomacy* in suiting different circumstances, in order to achieve different aims.

*Track One and a Half Diplomacy (Track 1.5 Diplomacy)* in the form of *Sports Diplomacy* clearly serves as the bridge to initiate diplomatic relations between Malaysia and North Korea. *Sports Diplomacy* has the potential to be exploited by Wisma Putra to facilitate the negotiating process that is carefully tailored to suit both countries' rights, needs and demands. This is especially so when Kim Jong Un emphasised on *Sports Diplomacy* as a crucial part of the agreement to denuclearise North Korea. It shows that innovative diplomacy is workable and is sometimes preferred by countries which share little similarities.

The final chapter (i.e. Chapter 4) concludes this Thesis on a positive note that the diplomatic relations between Malaysia and North Korea is still viable. Chapter 4 also elaborates on Malaysia's strength in the art of diplomacy (i.e. *Seni Diplomasi Bangsa Melayu*) and the alternatives to make the diplomatic relations between both countries sustainable.