

Soccer Diplomacy

International Relations and
Football since 1914

Edited by Heather L. Dichter



UNIVERSITY PRESS OF KENTUCKY

Playing on the Same Team

What International and Sport Historians Can Learn from Each Other

Sarah B. Snyder

I first began thinking about how sport intersected with my research and teaching when I read works by Thomas Zeiler about a late nineteenth-century world baseball tour and by Simon Stevens on English activists who organized a boycott of traveling South African teams. Their research demonstrated how athletes could serve as informal ambassadors overseas, how the business of sport could expand a state's influence abroad, and how a country tied to its identity as a sporting power could be targeted within that sphere for odious domestic practices. It was not until I read a piece by historian Brenda Elsey several years ago that I thought about how soccer per se might intersect with my own research agenda. As Elsey reveals in "As the World Is My Witness: Transnational Chilean Solidarity and Popular Culture," Chile's place in the 1974 World Cup rested on the Soviet team's refusal to play in Chile's National Stadium, the site of summary executions, torture, and indefinite detention in the wake of the 1973 military coup. By forfeiting the game, the Soviets failed to qualify for the tournament. Yet, the team's protest signaled to a broad audience, one potentially traditionally unconcerned with high politics, the Soviet Union's censure of Chile's human rights violations. The Soviet Union achieved a diplomatic objective or, to use a pun, a goal by refusing to take the field in Santiago; it made Soviet soccer players actors in a broad, international campaign against the junta in Chile. Without Elsey's work and that of her colleagues, some of it collected in this volume, international historians would miss important perspectives on and sources for their research.¹

Else is a contributor to this volume, which is fitting as *Soccer Diplomacy: International Relations and Football since 1914* demonstrates the many ways in which diplomatic or international historians will benefit from engaging sport, and specifically soccer, in their teaching and research. Thus far, there has been limited scholarship on the intersection between soccer and diplomacy. Yet, this edited collection demonstrates the varied ways in which football has been used for diplomatic ends. Within that history, the chapter authors show how the dynamics of competition on the pitch (or the field in American English) mirrored and transcended East–West or Cold War competition in the second half of the twentieth century. The contributions that follow also highlight how states have utilized football as a signal to the international community of a new status—using soccer as a rite of passage or power. These chapters, mirroring broader themes in diplomatic history, raise important questions about the unintended consequences of such diplomatic initiatives, including how efforts at diplomacy via soccer have failed or even backfired.

There are different models for thinking about how sport and diplomacy, or soccer and diplomacy, fit together. Euclides de Freitas Couto and Alan Castellano Valente have framed two options as the influence of international sport on diplomacy or the impact of diplomacy on international soccer. But certainly there are others. For example, international sporting events can offer opportunities for bilateral or multilateral negotiations, such as when German chancellor Angela Merkel and Chinese president Xi Jinping watched a Chinese–German youth soccer game together on July 5, 2017. We might term such encounters diplomacy through sport or even diplomacy during sport. In addition, soccer can serve as a type of people-to-people or grassroots diplomacy wherein diplomatic goals are accomplished through low-level or non-state interactions. Finally, soccer can serve diplomatic means through a projection of soft power abroad.

For those used to studying the history of diplomacy, much about soccer will seem familiar. For example, the structure of international soccer lends itself well to international relations scholars' preference for utilizing three levels of analysis: the international, national, and individual. Similarly, in many ways, the structure of the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) is akin to the United Nations General Assembly, granting each member one vote. Given the significant number of postcolonial states in FIFA, it would be interesting to examine to what extent this arrangement grew out of frustration with other institutions, such as the United Nations Security

Council, that entrenched the power of former empires. Furthermore, international soccer and international organizations face similar challenges in terms of recognition of political and sport entities. To address one aspect of these dilemmas, CONIFA (Confederation of Independent Football Associations) exists. CONIFA, as opposed to FIFA, hosts a kind of alternative World Cup in which teams such as Western Armenia, Tibet, and Northern Cyprus compete.

The boundaries that have heretofore separated scholars of soccer and diplomacy in its many forms are artificial. At the time of the 1978 World Cup, which was held in Argentina at the height of the military junta's repression, soccer enthusiasts claimed that soccer was the domain of sports and not of politics.² Yet the two spheres have rarely been wholly distinct, a conclusion many of the chapters in this volume highlight. In one of the most egregious examples of such a blurring between diplomacy and soccer, in the late 1960s conflict between Central American neighbors El Salvador and Honduras erupted over competition for a place in the 1970 World Cup and escalated into cross-border military conflict, all of which have been collectively termed the "soccer war."

In another connection between the historical subfields, a number of authors in this collection demonstrate the extent to which countries can exercise soft power through soccer. For example, soccer competitions (and sport more broadly) can facilitate international connections at times of political isolation. In such instances, winning competitions is secondary. In one case, highlighted in this volume, a popular team was used as a vehicle to advance political interests, showing that sporting relations can occur when formal diplomatic relations are nonexistent or damaged. These contacts, fueled by soccer, function in much the same way as some world's fairs have in the past or as "ping pong diplomacy" did between the United States and the People's Republic of China in the early 1970s.³

Hosting sporting events, especially mega-events such as the Olympics and the World Cup, enables countries to enhance their soft power, in part by engaging in "place branding."⁴ This is a particularly appealing opportunity for countries with less traditional power, such as Qatar. Qatar's bid to host the 2022 World Cup seemed to fit perfectly into a broader campaign to change its regional and international profile. Powerful regional sporting associations such as Central American and the Caribbean Federation (CONCACAF) also enable smaller Caribbean or Central American powers to play roles outsized

to their traditional place in the world. International soccer competitions can bring foreign policy or high politics to smaller countries less engaged in traditional power politics. In an intervention that will be appreciated by scholars focused on the diplomacy of small states, examining the realm of soccer shows that diplomatic gains can be made even by weak teams. Thus the obstacles smaller states encounter in other spheres, such as fielding successful teams and exerting their influence internationally, should garner their interest.

Hosting mega-events can mobilize domestic opposition. For example, Brazil has faced considerable economic, social, political, and cultural costs as a result of hosting the 2014 World Cup, including the destruction of urban neighborhoods and an increase in the polarization of Brazilian politics. In this case, the domestic political dynamic became so fraught that potentially any effort to tout the World Cup potentially strengthened foes of the government. Increasingly, citizens in prospective host cities and countries are asking whether they want to bear the burdens and costs of such an event. Strikingly, the residents of Boston mobilized forcefully against a bid, joining other cities such as Rome, Hamburg, and Budapest in declaring they would not host the 2024 Olympics.⁵

Yet, at the same time, Brazil undertook a significant campaign to intersect increasingly with a globalized world economy. In those respects, hosting the World Cup may have been advantageous as it amplified a dramatic increase in diplomatic engagement by Brazil's leaders. Such analysis reveals a complicated web in which causation is difficult to discern. What is clear is that hosting a mega-event is not necessarily a crowning achievement for an upwardly mobile power.

The mixed record of Brazil's World Cup was not without precedent. As this volume shows, examining the 1962 Chile World Cup might have made proponents of hosting a World Cup cautious. In these cases and others, host countries have come to realize, potentially belatedly, that they cannot always control conditions during the event. In the case of Chile, this dynamic created negative rather than positive impressions, such as those shared by Italian journalists who criticized manifestations of urban poverty in Chile and even the physical attributes of women there. Interestingly, Chileans have positive memories of the World Cup even if it was regarded as disappointing by external observers.

Diplomatic historians have for some time engaged with development as a principal way that the United States and other wealthy countries have sought

to improve the lives of foreign citizens, exert their influence internationally, and advance a particular political agenda. Scholars have also been interested in new types of expertise conveyed through novel types of experts such as Peace Corps volunteers and community development specialists. Examining soccer through a diplomatic lens similarly enables us to understand more about technical education in sport and grassroots diplomacy at the other end of the spectrum. The United States has offered training to soccer coaches, in part to convey soft skills in addition to dribbling and scoring. Such programs aim to enhance bilateral relations. US efforts have also aimed explicitly at developing leadership among coaches as well as fostering female empowerment and ethnic coexistence. In these instances, American soccer coaches served as diplomats, advancing US objectives through technical drills and other training.⁶

More broadly, the volume fits into efforts to illuminate the power of lower-level actors in diplomatic initiatives. This work implicitly builds upon the efforts of scholars such as Akira Iriye and Petra Goedde, who have sought to illuminate the historical role of non-state actors in diplomacy.⁷ This volume helps answer the question, Can we talk about soccer as a form of diplomacy? International historians will benefit from efforts to see footballers, their coaches, and fans as possible actors in international relations. As this literature expands, we will be able to ask, In what ways is diplomacy conducted via soccer distinct, beyond the exchange of striped pants for multicolored jerseys? In other words, what does “soccer diplomacy” mean, and what can it add to the history of international relations?

Historians of foreign relations have examined how non-state actors, whether Zeiler’s baseball players, Brian Rouleau’s mariners, Richard Ivan Jobs’s European backpackers, or Whitney Walton’s American exchange students in France, have influenced international relations in a range of geographic and chronological contexts. Current or former footballers often serve as informal diplomats, and some countries, such as the United States, formally train their athletes as “ambassadors.” Most notably, David Beckham served as an ambassador for Great Britain’s effort to host the 2018 World Cup; in this case, the desired effect, being selected as the host country, was not achieved.⁸

In other instances, the effects of framing soccer players as representatives of a country have been damaging; foreign tours by soccer teams can even create or reinforce negative stereotypes. Misbehavior by football fans, or more

colloquially hooligans, can have similar effects. Repeated incidents of racial, xenophobic, and homophobic abuse show that soccer has its own “ugly” ambassadors. In many ways, soccer and other sports can facilitate expressions of ethno-nationalist stereotypes, inhibiting productive forms of diplomacy.⁹

More could be done in this volume and elsewhere to examine soccer and diplomacy from the perspective of lower-level actors in order to supply, as sports studies scholar Wray Vamplew writes, “its own version of ‘history from below.’” In the ways that international historians have increasingly utilized the records of NGOs, sport historians could examine archives relating to team boosters or undertake oral histories to highlight new types of voices in their work. Such a shift would echo much of the work being done by international historians to reveal the significance of lower-level and non-state actors.¹⁰

The role of corruption as a factor in affiliation, international tours, and, most clearly, the awarding of mega-events such as the World Cup underlies a number of these chapters but is rarely addressed explicitly.¹¹ Both international historians and historians of sport and soccer more specifically should directly confront the degree to which corruption and opportunities for personal enrichment more broadly drive interference with diplomatic or sport initiatives. Efforts to secure soccer matches, and particularly large-scale league, national, regional, and international soccer tournaments, also intersect with the study of diplomacy and other types of international relations. For example, countries are increasingly collaborating militarily to ensure the safety of athletes and spectators at such events. Scholars are beginning to examine such cooperation; its story warrants telling.¹²

Using the framework of the influence of international sport on diplomacy, soccer diplomacy, or sport diplomacy more broadly, can shift public opinion internationally on significant foreign policy questions. These findings echo research done by Penny von Eschen, Yale Richmond, and others on how cultural exchanges have directly and indirectly shaped international relations.¹³ International historians would benefit from expanding their work in the cultural sphere to include sport and soccer. In particular, future scholarship might address the ways in which soccer diplomacy should be seen as a subset of cultural or public diplomacy and the ways in which it is distinct.

When considering the impact of diplomacy or international relations on soccer, however, one should not always assume a positive influence. Indeed, contributors in this volume show that international relations can inhibit sports such as soccer in a range of ways. For example, there can be considerable

obstacles, including diplomatic, to travel by athletes. Diplomats could impede sport competitions both in the prohibition or regulation of athletic teams outside a country and by barring the entry of foreign teams for sporting competitions. Granting visas or other types of permission could even rise to the level of top-level diplomats. A willingness, in some cases, to consider limits on national expressions such as flags and/or anthems suggests that the significance of participating in international sport competition can trump even national identity.

Soccer has intersected with and been shaped by major international events, such as the Second Indochina War (or Vietnam War in US terminology) and the anti-apartheid movement. Integrating the soccer component brings new dimensions, even to very well-developed literatures. Of interest to scholars of European integration and other international historians should be the ways that soccer has connected at multiple points with efforts to foster solidarity among North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies. It is also a sphere in which historical developments and past events such as European colonialism and World War II continue to resonate. For example, the experience of cohosting the 2002 World Cup led to postwar reconciliation between South Korea and Japan. Subsequently the two states, which had not submitted a joint bid, have moved closer together diplomatically and culturally in the wake of the tournament.¹⁴ Soccer, then, is shaping international relations in multiple and unexpected ways that diplomatic historians should consider.

Beyond these models of different patterns of interplay between sport and diplomacy, this volume offers other avenues of inquiry. For example, international or diplomatic historians particularly attentive to questions of race will benefit from the fascinating discussion of soccer in South Africa in this volume. Considerable work, including Stevens's, has shown how anti-apartheid activists targeted the racially discriminatory system by excluding South Africa from international sports competitions and boycotting South African sports teams when they toured internationally. Yet, much as Jamie Miller has turned the attention of international historians to how the apartheid regime sought to maintain power, we should also recognize the ways in which white South Africans made attempts to work around such restrictions, including by fielding two teams in international soccer competitions—one white and one black.¹⁵ In the words of the Football Association of Southern Africa (FASA), for 1966 World Cup qualification, it intended to play a “non-European” team when facing a “non-white” country and a white team against a white country.¹⁶

FASA's efforts to both maintain its racially segregationist system and compete in high-level international sport competitions illuminate different aspects of South African identity and officials' conceptions of South Africa's place in the world.

Within international history, scholars have paid considerable attention in recent years to European integration.¹⁷ For those interested in the dynamics of Europe or other regions, the examination of regional soccer organizations in this volume will offer a new avenue through which to explore those relationships. To that end, utilizing the records and interworkings of Union of European Football Associations (UEFA), Asian Football Confederation (AFC), and CONCACAF, as contributors to this volume do, could be illuminating. Specifically, examining the affiliation decisions of particular countries, such as Australia's move from the Oceania Football Confederation to the AFC, raises questions about national and regional identity and whether such decisions are driven by sporting, diplomatic, or economic factors.

National and subnational identity, a frequent concern for international historians, is also revealed in scholarship on soccer. For example, participation in or rooting for national soccer teams as well as hosting soccer mega-events can forge a stronger national identity among immigrant groups and effectively integrate diverse groups into the broader whole. Within Chile during the 1962 World Cup, passion for soccer drew Italian, Spanish, Czechoslovakian, and Yugoslavian immigrants into a broader cultural experience. Yet, Great Britain's efforts to field soccer teams for the Olympics (which recognizes Great Britain, as opposed to FIFA, in which England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales are each separate teams) show that soccer does not inevitably bring disparate groups together. The national football associations' resistance to the participation of their soccer players on British Olympic teams demonstrates that soccer, and sport more broadly, has yet to overcome long-standing regional and political divisions.

The study of soccer, which today is less national and/or international than ever, also fits into the transnational turn within international history, in which international historians have increasingly analyzed the flow of people, ideas, and goods across borders. Such an approach has given rise to a growing body of literature on migration and transnational protests, to offer just two examples. J. Simon Rofe has shown that being a supporter of a soccer team, such as Manchester United, can be an identity that transcends national boundaries. As one measure, as of July 2010, Manchester United's Facebook

page had 34 million followers. Only months earlier, the population of Manchester was counted at 483,000 and Great Britain's as a whole was 61.8 million. The deep levels of support for other teams in that country suggest many of Manchester United's Facebook fans come from beyond Britain's borders. In part, this shared transnational identity is possible because soccer, like sport more broadly, is based on myth.¹⁸

Using the most recent edition of Frank Costigliola and Michael J. Hogan's *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* as one measure, United States-centered international historians or historians of US foreign relations are currently most concerned with questions of political economy, development, domestic politics, the influence of non-state actors, nationalism, nation branding, and memory. Many of those themes are highlighted in the contributions in this volume.* Considerable opportunities exist for historians of soccer and sport more broadly to integrate into their work questions of gender, emotions, the environment, and religion, all issues of increasing interest to international historians. For example, scholars such as Frank Costigliola, Barbara J. Keys, and Andrew J. Rotter have become increasingly focused on the influence of emotion and/or the senses on international relations. Given the extent to which soccer is also a game of high emotion and sensory experience, it might offer opportunities for further expansion of these scholarly trends. Similarly, for many players, political leaders, and fans, soccer is not "just" a game. Therefore the symbolic value with which soccer losses and victories are imbued might also interest international historians.¹⁹

In Heather Dichter's assessment, sport historians and, by extension, soccer historians and diplomatic historians have too often worked in their respective archives—those of sporting organizations or foreign ministries—and have not sufficiently brought those materials together.²⁰ This volume represents an integration of these two subfields of history, and the rich resources examined here highlight myriad opportunities for future research and collaboration. The contributions to this volume utilize records in six languages (English, French, German, Icelandic, Portuguese, and Spanish) and draw upon the archival collections of a range of regional soccer bodies, foreign ministries, and NATO; and beyond bridging two research traditions, these chapters demonstrate the interconnectedness of these often formerly separate concerns.

Finally, historians of US foreign relations, or more broadly international historians, will benefit from this volume and other efforts to integrate soccer and diplomacy as they help to provincialize the United States. Given the his-

toric lack of popular support for professional soccer within the United States, historians who focus more of their attention there may have overlooked the broader popularity and power of the sport elsewhere in the world. In addition, United States–centered historians may have underemphasized the significance of international organizations such as sporting bodies that are headquartered beyond the United States’ borders. Indeed, more countries are members of FIFA than of the United Nations. Drawing upon the work of sport and soccer historians could adjust such blind spots. At the same time, historians of soccer and sport more broadly might benefit from interaction and collaboration with international historians, as the former seek to move beyond a focus on single country or bilateral relationship and to situate their accounts in broader histories of the period. If historians of international relations and sport work to bridge the borders of their subfields, scholars in each will benefit from new approaches to old questions, new archival collections to mine, and new audiences for their work.²¹

Notes

The author appreciates the feedback of J. Simon Rofe, Heather L. Dichter, and Matthew Jones.

1. Thomas W. Zeiler, *Ambassadors in Pinstripes: The Spalding World Baseball Tour and the Birth of the American Empire* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); and Simon Stevens, “Why South Africa: The Politics of Anti-Apartheid Activism in Britain in the Long 1970s,” in *The Breakthrough: Human Rights in the 1970s*, ed. Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 210–215; Brenda Elsey, “As the World Is My Witness’: Transnational Chilean Solidarity and Popular Culture,” in *Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America*, ed. Jessica Stites Mor (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), 177–178.

2. Patrick William Kelly, *Sovereign Emergencies: Latin America and the Making of Global Human Rights Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 237.

3. See Juan Antonio Simón’s chapter on Real Madrid’s contributions to Franco-era Spain’s international diplomacy; Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004). For more on the influence of world’s fairs amid international tension, see Marco Duranti, *The Conservative Human Rights Revolution: European Identity, Transnational Politics, and the Origins of the European Convention* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 82–93.

4. Stuart Murray and Geoffrey Allen Pigman, “Mapping the Relationship between International Sport and Diplomacy,” *Sport in Society* 17, no. 9 (2014): 1109.

5. Hayden Bird, "The Life and Death of Boston's Olympic Bid," August 4, 2016, <https://www.boston.com/sports/sports-news/2016/08/04/the-life-and-death-of-bostons-olympic-bid> (accessed August 15, 2017). For work on earlier local defeats of Olympics bids, see Mark S. Foster, "Colorado's Defeat of the 1976 Winter Olympics," *Colorado Magazine* 53, no. 2 (1976): 163–186.

6. See for example, Nick Cullather, *Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle with Poverty in Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010); Michael E. Latham, *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science as "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); David Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, *All You Need Is Love: The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); and Daniel Immerwahr, *Thinking Small: The United States and the Lure of Community Development* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

7. Akira Iriye, "The Transnationalization of Humanity" and Petra Goedde, "Challenging Cultural Norms" in *Global Interdependence: The World after 1945*, ed. Akira Iriye (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014).

8. Zeiler, *Ambassadors in Pinstripes*; Brian Rouleau, *With Sails Whitening Every Sea: Mariners and the Making of an American Maritime Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014); Richard Ivan Jobs, *Backpack Ambassadors: How Youth Travel Integrated Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017); and Whitney Walton, "Internationalism and the Junior Year Abroad: American Students in France in the 1920s and 1930s," *Diplomatic History* 29, no. 2 (April 2005): 255–278; J. Simon Rofe, "Introduction: Establishing the Field of Play," in *Sport and Diplomacy: Games within Games*, ed. J. Simon Rofe (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 3.

9. See, for example, "Racist Serb Fans Torment Brazilian Footballer Everton Luiz," <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-39028982> (accessed July 27, 2017). See also Eugene Burdick and William J. Lederer, *The Ugly American* (New York: Norton, 1958).

10. Wray Vamplew, "The History of Sport in the International Scenery: An Overview," *Revista Tempo* 17, no. 34 (2012), doi:10.5533/TEM-1980-542X-2013173402; Barbara J. Keys, "Nonstate Actors," in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 3rd ed., ed. Frank Costigliola and Michael J. Hogan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 119–134.

11. One notable exception is Heather L. Dichter, "Corruption in the 1960s?: Rethinking the Origins of Unethical Bidding Tactics," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 33, no. 6–7 (2016): 666–682.

12. Richard Giulianotti and Francisco Klauser, ed., "Special Issue: Security and Surveillance at Sport Mega Events," *Urban Studies* 48, no. 15 (November 2011): 3157–3366.

13. See, for example, Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); and

Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain* (State College: Penn State University Press, 2004).

14. Wolfram Manzenreiter, "Football Diplomacy, Post-Colonialism and Japan's Quest for Normal State Status," *Sport in Society* 11, no. 4 (2008): 419–420.

15. Jamie Miller, *An African Volk: The Apartheid Regime and Its Search for Survival* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

16. Chris Bolsmann, "Apartheid Football, FIFA and Failed Sports Diplomacy."

17. See, for example, several key works by N. Piers Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain: The Six and the First UK Membership Application* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s: Negotiating the Gaullist Challenge* (New York: Routledge: 2006); and *Roy Jenkins and the European Commission Presidency, 1976–1980: At the Heart of Europe* (New York: Palgrave, 2016).

18. J. Simon Rofe, "Sport and Diplomacy: A Global Diplomacy Framework," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 27, no. 2 (2016): 222; Sarah B. Snyder, "Bringing the Transnational In: Writing Human Rights into the International History of the Cold War," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 24, no. 1 (March 2013): 100–116; Meredith Oyen, *The Diplomacy of Migration: Transnational Lives and the Making of U.S.-Chinese Relations in the Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015); Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in East Germany & the United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); J. Simon Rofe, "It is a Squad Game: Manchester United as a Diplomatic Non-State Actor in International Affairs," *Sport in Society* 17, no. 9 (2014): 1143; and "UK Population Estimates: How Many People Live in Each Local Authority?" <https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2010/sep/21/uk-population-local-authority> (accessed July 26, 2017); and Robert Redeker, "Sport as an Opiate of International Relations: The Myth and Illusion of Sport as a Tool of Foreign Diplomacy," *Sport in Society* 11, no. 4 (2008): 497.

19. Costigliola and Hogan, ed., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*; Frank Costigliola, "Unceasing Pressure for Penetration: Gender, Pathology, and Emotion in George Kennan's Formation of the Cold War," *Journal of American History* 83, no. 4 (March 1997): 1309–1339; Barbara J. Keys, *Reclaiming American Virtue: The Human Rights Revolution of the 1970s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014); and Andrew J. Rotter, "Empires of the Senses: How Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching Shaped Imperial Encounters," *Diplomatic History* 35, no. 1 (January 2011): 3–19.

20. Heather L. Dichter, "Diplomatic and International History: Athletes and Ambassadors," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 32, no. 15 (2015): 1741–1744.

21. For a similar approach regarding the history of human rights, see Mark Philip Bradley, *The World Reimagined: Americans and Human Rights in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 9; Wolfram Manzenreiter, "Football Diplomacy, Post-Colonialism and Japan's Quest for Normal State Status," *Sport in Society* 11, no. 4 (2008): 414.