GANEFO I: SPORTS AND POLITICS IN DJAKARTA

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The Atmosphere

November 10, 1963, was no ordinary day in Djakarta. Already, early in the morning, a steady stream of people was proceeding along the newly-paved Djalan Djeneral Sudirman, festively decorated with thousands of yards of red and white buntings, and along the just-opened American-built bypass. They were going to witness the opening of GANEFO I, the Games of the New Emerging Forces, to be held at the enormous 10 million dollar Bung Karno sports complex which had been constructed with Soviet aid.

As the day progressed, the congestion of traffic became intolerable. One thousand seven hundred traffic policemen were required by Djakarta during the Games. To supplement the city's traffic force of 900 men, additional policemen were brought in from other districts in Java and South Sumatra.[1] The sports complex itself was bristling with troops guarding against what the Indonesians call "undesirable eventualities." It was rumored in the city that 17,000

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[1] Antara News Bulletin, October 2, 1963.

troops were brought in to guard the area. A number of armored vehicles were posted near the gates. One couldn't quite be sure whether they were there to fire the salute to the Games or as part of the security arrangements.

By three o'clock the main sports stadium, capable of holding over 100,000 spectators, was filled to capacity, and thousands more were pressing at the gates. The Indonesian armed forces bands opened the proceeding and took their turns in playing military marches. President Sukarno arrived by helicopter at four p.m., at which time the opening ceremonies for the First Games of the New Emerging Forces were formally commenced.

The athletic procession was headed by a phalanx of hundreds of Indonesian youths carrying red-and-white flags. The following two hours were taken up by a parade of athletes from various countries marching in alphabetic order, each contingent preceded by its national flag. In all, 51 countries were represented.[2]

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[2]Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Laos, Lebanon, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, People's Republic of China, Philippines, Poland, Republic of Mali, Rumania, Sa'udi Arabia, Senegal, Somali Republic, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Uruguay, Venezuela, North Viet Nam, Yugoslavia.

(Not all the above countries were represented by official government delegations. About one-third were unofficial teams. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain a complete breakdown on official as opposed to unofficial delegations.)

Under the watchful gaze of the entire diplomatic corps, President Sukarno singled out for recognition the Chinese delegation. As the enormous contingent from People's China marched past the diplomatic box and the presidential stand, "...President Sukarno rose to shake hands with China's Vice Premier Ho Lung who was on the receiving stand, having been invited by the Indonesian Government to the opening of GANEFO."[3] It may be noted that the President made no comparable gesture towards any of the other nations represented at the Games.

For days past a number of runners had been carrying burning torches from various parts of Indonesia which would be used to light the "eternal flame" of GANEFO. The moment the flames touched the GANEFO torch, the specially designed GANEFO flag was raised, and the GANEFO hymn was played. As President Sukarno spoke the single sentence in Indonesian, French and English pronouncing the Games officially opened, guns boomed their salute, balloons were released over the stadium, thousands of doves of peace fluttered away and the spectators cheered with excitement and joy.

On the agenda of the next 12 days were various competitions -- many of them the classic sports but also others not included in the traditional Olympic Games such as tennis, ping pong, badminton, etc.

What was GANEFO? How did it start? How could it compare with other international sports contests? And, perhaps most important, was GANEFO anything more than an international sports competition? It is not the purpose of

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[3] Peking Review, November 15, 1963.

this article to discuss the merits or otherwise of GANEFO from the point of view of a sports columnist, but rather to examine the Games both in terms of their impact as an instrument of politics and the manner in which they were used for this purpose by the various countries involved -- primarily Indonesia and Communist China. In this analysis it may be useful to trace briefly the origins of GANEFO since they directly pertain to the political aspect of the Games.

Origins of GANEFO

In August-September 1962 the IVth Asian Games were held in Djakarta. At the time, Indonesia, after having invited various countries to attend, including Israel and Nationalist China, "failed to issue visas" to athletes of these latter two countries. The Indian Vice President of the Asian Games Federation, Sondhi, chided the Indonesians for allowing political considerations to mar the Games. These remarks sparked a demonstration against the Indian Embassy in Djakarta. In the end, Mr. Sondhi had to make a hasty departure from Indonesia as persona non grata. In general the visa incident developed into a rather sordid scandal.

As a result of all this, the International Olympic Committee meeting in Lausanne on February 7, 1963, suspended Indonesia from the Olympic Games on the basis that politics had been allowed to enter the non-political field of sports during the Asian Games. The I.O.C. informed Indonesia that the suspension would be lifted if she would assure the I.O.C.

that this incident would not be repeated. It may be noted that in the 69 years of its existence it was the first time that the I.O.C. had suspended one of its affiliate members.

Needless to say, Indonesia was furious at the International Olympic Committee. Its anger was directed particularly toward the American president of the I.O.C., Avery Brundage. A few days later, the idea of GANEFO -- Indonesia's answer to the Olympics -- was announced. On February 13, 1963, during a speech in which he addressed the Conference of the National Front Committees,[4] President Sukarno gave the following order:

> ...As President of the Republic of Indonesia, as Supreme Commander of the Republic of Indonesia, as great leader of the Indonesian revolution, and as supreme leader of the National Front, I now order Indonesia: Quit the I.O.C.....
> Brothers, besides my order to quit the I.O.C., I also order: Organize as fast as possible GANEFO, the Games of the New Emerging Forces -- Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the socialist countries....
> Pak Bandrio[5] has clearly said that sports cannot be separated from politics. Therefore, let us now work for a sports association on the basis of politics. We do not want to put on any masks; let us create a sports association on the basis of the new emerging forces.[6]

Indonesian Minister of Sports, Maladi, was given the task of organizing the GANEFO Games. Twelve countries

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[4]The National Front was organized after 1959 as a supra-party national organization.

[5]Familiar form of address referring to Subandrio, the Foreign Affairs Minister in the Indonesian Cabinet.

[6]Modelski, George, The New Emerging Forces, pp. 88, 89.

were invited to attend the Preparatory Conference for GANEFO held in Djakarta from April 27-29. Actually 10 attended as full members of the conference: Cambodia, Communist China, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Pakistan, Mali, North Vietnam, UAR and USSR, while Ceylon and Yugoslavia sent observers only. Nevertheless, when the emblem of GANEFO was designed, a globe with flagpoles on it, 12 flagpoles were drawn to represent the 12 sponsoring nations -- though in fact there were only 10.

The Preparatory Conference was held behind closed doors, but documents later published on the conference results indicated that a number of differing views emerged on the political nature of the Games.

(1) Indonesia had made it clear that the purpose of GANEFO was to be politically directed against the International Olympic Committee and the imperialists, which Indonesia claims are served by the I.O.C. In addressing the conference, President Sukarno had this to say:

> The International Olympic Games have proved to be openly an imperialistic tool.[7] They (are) said to have sports without politics in the Olympic Games, to have them only among nations who are not communistic, who are not against imperialism, colonialism and the I.O.C. have excluded Indonesia from the Int. Olympic Committee, because we have behaved not

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[7] President Sukarno's statement that "The International Olympic Games have proved to be openly an imperialist tool," seems ironic when one considers that the Soviet Union is currently one of the pillars of the Olympics. The Soviet Olympic Committee received official recognition from the I.O.C. in May 1951, which made it possible for the Russians to participate in the 1952 Olympics after an absence of 40 years. In the subsequent Games of 1956, 1960 and the recent Winter Olympics of 1964, the performance of the Soviet athletes has placed their country ahead of all others in terms of number of medals won.

> pleasantly to their concept. Now after that experience, we Indonesians thought, let us better speak frankly....When they excluded Communist China, is that not politics? When they are not friendly to the UAR, is this not politics? When they are not friendly to North Korea, is this not politics? When they exclude North Vietnam, is this not politics? I propose to be frank. Now let's frankly say, sports have something to do with politics. Indonesia proposes now to mix sports with politics, and let us now establish the Games of the New Emerging Forces, the GANEFO...against the Old Established Order.[8]

The reaction of the other countries represented in the Preparatory Conference was mixed. Some, such as Communist China which is not a member of the I.O.C., gave Indonesia wholehearted support. Others, such as Cambodia, expressed their support for the holding of a sports meet but glossed over the political implications suggested by Indonesia.

(2) A number of international sports federations had already intimated that affiliate members who took part in GANEFO would be expelled from those federations and would so jeopardize their participation in the 1964 Olympics. Thus certain countries, especially those which held realistic hopes for gold medals in the forthcoming Olympics, made it clear during the Preparatory Conference that though they wish to take part in GANEFO as a sports competition, their participation would not automatically mean endorsement of the anti-Olympic nature of GANEFO. Significantly, Evgeni Valuev, head of the Soviet delegation to the conference, told the GANEFO Preparatory Conference:

> Obviously participation in these games should not be restricted by any limitations concerning the participation of national sports organizations in the future in the world of

[8] GANEFO Bulletin No. 1, July 1963, pp. 5, 6.

> the sports movement, such as official world championships, continental and regional games and the Olympic Games.[9]

Though the Soviet Union was a member of the Preparatory Conference, the formal announcement of the Soviet Union's decision to participate in the Games did not appear in Pravda till October -- a full six months after Valuev had expressed the cautious Soviet position on GANEFO.[10]

(3) In order to make the Games a successful sports competition as well as a useful arena for political maneuvers, it was most important for Indonesia that as large a number of countries attend as possible. President Sukarno made it possible to circumvent the problems posed to certain countries by the threats of expulsion made by international sports federations by supplying a deft definition of "New Emerging Forces." He explained that New Emerging Forces are those forces born of the struggle, or which are still struggling, against colonialism and imperialism created by the Old Established Forces. Among the New Emerging Forces are the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and all the socialist countries.[11] But, forces are not necessarily countries. The implication is that there are progressive forces opposed to colonialism and imperialism even in countries which would fall in the category of the "Old Established." These "forces" could send athletes to compete in the Games for which their country as such would not qualify because of its Old Established nature. In this way, an unofficial group from the Netherlands, certainly in Indonesian eyes one of the world's most likely candidate countries for the title of Old Established, was nevertheless

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[9] Documents Sur La Conférence Preparatoire des GANEFO, p. 29 (Author's translation from the French text).

[10] Pravda, October 15, 1964, p. 4.

[11] Documents Sur La Conférence Preparatoire des GANEFO, p. 11.

present. Their presence was made possible by President Sukarno's definition. They were representing the progressive forces in the Netherlands, and so one more flag was added to those flying in Djakarta during the Games.

Professor Modelski, in his recently published monograph, "The New Emerging Forces," estimated that about one-third of the 51 countries were represented by "local or unofficial teams rather than national sports delegations."[12]

Another ploy used by countries to participate in GANEFO without risk of compromising their top sportsmen for the Olympics was simply to send teams composed of second-rate athletes not of Olympic calibre -- even in sports for which they are famous. On the other hand, countries which were not members of the I.O.C., such as Communist China and North Korea, understandably sent their very best. This artificially imposed uneven quality of the teams present provided an amusing unpredictability to almost every event at GANEFO. In this way, for example, the Soviet Union lost the gold medal for gymnastics to China while Japan was defeated in judo, its national sport.

(4) The controversial anti-Olympic and anti-imperialist purpose of the GANEFO Games could have easily led to a collapse of GANEFO at the stage of the Preparatory Conference. Indonesia seems to have realized this. It was more important for her that the Games be held and, once in progress, could then be used for political purposes than to demand prior political commitments from the participating countries. At this Preparatory Conference phase, Indonesia emphasized the general enthusiasm for holding a sports competition and

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[12] Modelski, op. cit., p. 87.

was rather vague and general about the political implications. As a matter of fact the only political note that was left in the documents issued by the Preparatory Conference was in the form of an omission. In listing the qualifications a country has to fulfill in order to take part in GANEFO, the document was so worded that it lacked any clause making it possible for the United States to attend.[13] In general the result of the Preparatory Conference was to leave it to the individual participants to decide how, if at all, politics would be introduced at the Games.

(5) The conference delegates decided that a number of events be held in the context of GANEFO. These, though not directly related to sports, could be used for political purposes. It was arranged that, in addition to the sports competitions, there would simultaneously be held a cultural exhibition of handicrafts and works of art from participating countries. The program was later still further expanded to include cultural evenings presented to entertain the athletes,[14] post-games trips to various parts of Indonesia for visiting athletes and delegates, a Conference of the New Emerging Forces (CONEFO) held two days after the close of the Games and, finally, a GANEFO Rally to which President Sukarno gave a very political speech.

In brief, the Preparatory Conference laid the ground

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[13] See Appendix, Qualifications for Participation in the GANEFO.

[14] Cultural evenings were presented by Cuba, Communist China, Indonesia, Mexico, North Korea and the Soviet Union.

for the political manipulation of GANEFO in two basic ways. First: The fact that the origin of the Games was traced to political motivations implied that politics was not taboo in this particular international sports event. It meant that countries interested in playing politics as well as sports could do so. Second: The vagueness of the vocabulary and lack of consensus on the specific political purpose of GANEFO imposed no restrictions on the way the Games could be used by various countries.

Indonesian Political Benefits

It has often been said by political scientists studying Indonesia that the inner dynamics of the Indonesian polity require an external diversion towards which the attention of the people can be siphoned so as to take the public mind off internal difficulties. If Indonesia really does need such diversions, then GANEFO was an extremely effective and popular one.

The Indonesian government, by stressing national effort, tried to give every Indonesian a degree of responsibility for the success of the Games. Members of the Police Force and Army contributed one per cent of their salaries to a GANEFO fund. By government decree, students were given a two-week vacation in order to act as guides and ushers at the Games. Cars were requisitioned from the public to

provide transportation for the visiting athletes. And all of Djakarta had been subject to severe rationing of electricity to insure that there would be no power shortage to illuminate the sports complex during the events. In addition to all this the President made many public appeals asking that everyone do all that is in his power to make GANEFO a success. In this way everyone was made to feel that he was in some way contributing personally to the success of the Games and, thereby, to the prestige of his country. It was very effective.

GANEFO was effective as a diversion primarily because the Games were popular. The public interest shown in the Games as evidenced by the crowds that gathered for every event was great indeed. This is especially understandable in a country which has so little to offer in the way of entertainment for the people -- and GANEFO certainly was large-scale entertainment that was fun while it lasted and supplied an unending topic for discussion once it was over. It became a status symbol to have tickets and attend some of the events. As a result, of course, a thriving black market developed.

In President Sukarno's view, the world is divided into the Old Established Forces and the New Emerging Forces. The presence of so many unofficial teams from the countries of the Old Established Forces could be interpreted by the

Indonesian government as further proof of the crumbling and decadent nature of the Old Established Countries which cannot control the progressive historic forces, even in their own midst, to prevent them from attending GANEFO. Indonesia avoided all criticism both of countries sending unofficial teams as well as the obviously substandard quality of some of the athletic contingents. Her very diplomatic manner in handling the situation could not have gone by unnoticed or unappreciated by the teams concerned.

GANEFO also provided an international forum in which Indonesia could project an image of strength and influence and so promote her apparent quest for power. Her ability to organize international games in her multimillion dollar sports complex which were attended by so many countries, including all the Communist countries, in defiance of the "imperialist" West, showed Indonesia to be well versed in the techniques of global public relations.

The presence of representatives from all the Communist countries without exception at GANEFO could also be interpreted as significant in this day of the Sino-Soviet split. It may be interesting to note that 25 members of the Albanian GANEFO team visited on November 22 the offices of the Indonesian Communist Party and met PKI leaders. On the occasion, Aidit, General Chairman of the PKI, and the Albanian leaders issued a joint statement on the close and friendly relations between the PKI and the Albanian Workers' Party.[15]

GANEFO offered an excellent opportunity for Indonesia to pursue the now so popular "people-to-people" diplomacy.

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[15] Antara News Bulletin, November 23, 1963.

Young Indonesians were able to meet youths with similar interests from 50 other countries, to show them what they could of their own country and to make friends. During GANEFO every effort was made to entertain the visitors royally, and when the Games were over, interested athletes were taken on tour of various parts of Indonesia where they competed with local teams and had an opportunity to see more of the country.

Just before GANEFO opened, President Sukarno invited the Indonesian athletic contingent to Negara Palace where he told them that the important thing in GANEFO was not only to show their ability on the sports field but also to befriend the other athletes.[16] President Sukarno also held a number of parties at the palace to meet and entertain the foreign athletes. So Indonesia had the opportunity to project an image of herself as a country with an indigenous culture and national identity, hospitable and friendly -- an image which could not easily be gathered from what the international press has had to say about Indonesia's behavior in the more recent past.

The effectiveness of propaganda often depends on the receptivity of the audience to which it is directed and the predisposition of the audience to accept certain themes. In his speeches at various GANEFO events, President Sukarno played on the anti-colonialist anti-imperialist theme. For this he had an unusually receptive audience, since most of the countries represented at GANEFO were either countries which had been subject to some form of colonialism or were Communist countries who are, at least in theory, opposed

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[16] Antara News Bulletin, November 9, 1963.

to both these phenomena. He probably used this theme partly out of conviction but also probably as a technique to lower the propaganda-resistance of his audience before proceeding to other subjects such as anti-Malaysia propaganda.

By mid-November, when the Games opened in Djakarta, Indonesia was deep in the second stage of its policy of Confrontation against Malaysia. Indonesia took advantage of the international audience gathered at GANEFO to publicize and make known her position in the dispute. For example, on November 26 President Sukarno addressed the GANEFO Rally which was attended by many of the foreign visitors and which was also addressed by delegates from Bulgaria, Cuba, the UAR and North Korea. President Sukarno told the rally:

> The old bloc wants to defend the present state of the world in which imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism exist because at present they are rich, their bellies bulging; the Old Established Forces want to defend to the death imperialism and colonialism by among other things creating new puppet pseudostates like "Malaysia."[17]

Not only were speeches used to impress the Malaysia Confrontation on the visiting athletes, but also slogans, posters and banners. In the city and sports complex there were innumerable posters, the most frequent of which read, "Sukseskan GANEFO Ganjang Malaysia": Success to GANEFO Crush Malaysia -- with no punctuation between the non sequitur as though to imply that by participating in GANEFO a country endorsed the Indonesian position in the Malaysia dispute!

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[17] Antara GANEFO Supplement, November 26, 1963.

In general Indonesia grasped at every opportunity offered by the presence of an international forum to make known its stand on the Malaysia issue.[18] An interesting aside is that the GANEFO slogan "Onward, No Retreat" has since become the slogan of the anti-Malaysia Campaign.

During GANEFO Indonesia also utilized other rather obvious propaganda methods. For example a little booklet was published and distributed to the delegates entitled, "Indonesia and the International Olympic Committee." It was basically an attack on the Olympics and an effort to demonstrate that the Olympics serve the "imperialists." A brief excerpt will illustrate the tone:

> What steps have been taken by the I.O.C. or the International Sports Federation against countries which do not permit participation (in international games) by the German Democratic Republic? They have voiced regret, but they have never taken any steps to suspend the membership of an offending country.
>
> If the question should be asked why, the answer is a very simple one: because the countries concerned belong to what we in Indonesia call the "old established forces," whose interests run parallel with those of the old group of Brundage in the I.O.C.....

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[18] I was in Malaysia about two weeks after the Games closed. While there I heard, on numerous occasions, complaints that Malaysia, in contrast to Indonesia, had seriously neglected to make known to the world her position in the Confrontation. Since that time Malaysia has made efforts to remedy the situation, notably, by sending a good will mission led by Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew on tour of various African countries in February 1964 with the specific purpose of promoting sympathy and understanding of the Malaysian cause.

> In issuing this small booklet, containing facts about the unfair and discriminatory treatment of the Indonesian Olympic Committee by the Executive Board of the International Olympic Committee, we hope to have made it clear that there is no use for Indonesia to remain a member of the I.O.C. as long as this body is still dominated by people who may want to serve the interests of certain political groups in the world and completely ignore the interests of the new emerging forces which make up three-fourths of the world population.
>
> The Indonesian Olympic Committee[19]

There was one other way in which Indonesia used the international gathering to further her own particular international purposes. On November 24 and 25, two days after GANEFO officially closed, Indonesia convened CONEFO, the Conference of the New Emerging Forces. The purpose of this was to institutionalize GANEFO and give it permanence before the various delegations dispersed. At the conference it was decided that the existing Preparatory Committee for GANEFO I consisting of 12 countries would become the permanent GANEFO Council Congress, and its membership would be enlarged to 14 to include Cuba and Mexico. The Executive Board would consist of representatives of Indonesia, Communist China, the UAR and the Soviet Union. Finally it was agreed that GANEFO Games will be held every four years, with the responsibility for organizing GANEFO II in 1967 falling to the UAR with China as alternate. In this way Indonesia made sure that her efforts would be made permanent and not forgotten.

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[19] Indonesia and the International Olympic Committee, pp. 19, 20, 32.

Throughout the whole GANEFO affair Indonesia once again demonstrated the political dexterity of her leaders in their ability to take political advantage of a given situation. Though certain political motives were behind the GANEFO idea from the start, one cannot by any means say that all the above uses to which GANEFO was put were premeditated by Indonesia. It was rather a case of clever utilization of opportunities as they presented themselves.

China in GANEFO

Communist China was not only the most active and wholehearted foreign participant in GANEFO, she was also a very active sponsor of the Games. Of all the countries involved, she gave Indonesia the most unqualified support, both in the decision to hold the Games and in the political anti-Olympic origin of the Games. Of all the participating teams, only that of the host country exceeded in numbers the Chinese delegation, which was over 200 athletes, supplemented by a cultural group.

China also contributed financially to the Games. Exact figures were not publicly available, but according to Djakarta rumors, China contributed between one-third and the full amount of the foreign exchange costs of the Games, which were estimated at $1.5 million. The foreign exchange was primarily used to finance the travel costs of the athletes. Indonesia supplied the eight billion rupiah local costs.

Communist China made her debut in global sports gatherings at GANEFO. The Chinese teams, unhampered by Olympic considerations, were outstanding, not only in the sheer numbers of contestants and in their athletic achieve-

ments of international caliber, but also in their courtesy and sportsmanlike behavior. As her athletes won medal after medal, China became the center of attraction at GANEFO. GANEFO provided the avenue not only for Communist China's appearance at an international gathering, but her appearance in the capacity of leading country over all others present, including the Soviet Union.

The following table, showing the medal standings of the top seven countries, is indicative of the Chinese performance.[20]

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF MEDALS WON: GOLD	SILVER	BRONZE
China	68	58	45
USSR	27	21	9
Indonesia	21	25	35
UAR	22	18	12
North Korea	13	15	24
Argentina	5	-	4
Japan	4	10	14

It is important to mention that Communist China made a very noticeable and successful effort to win the good favor of Indonesia, not only during GANEFO, but also before the Games. As noted above, China gave Indonesia every possible support in the period prior to the holding of the Games, praising the anti-imperialist spirit of the Games and paying part of the costs of the event. Liu Shao-chi and Chou En-lai personally sent congratulatory messages to President Sukarno on the holding of the Games.[21] A delega-

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[20] Antara GANEFO Supplement, November 24, 1963.

[21] Antara News Bulletin, November 11, 1963

tion from the Indonesian Ministry of Sports was invited to visit Peking to witness the elimination matches to determine the composition of the Chinese teams. Indonesian athletes were invited to Peking to compete with their Chinese counterparts in pre-GANEFO trials.

Once GANEFO was under way, it was easy to see that the Chinese teams were second as favorites only to their hosts as far as the Indonesian spectators were concerned. This favoritism did not go unnoticed by the other countries present. An interesting incident occurred during the finals of the gymnastics competitions when China faced the Soviet Union in a struggle for the gold medal. The spectators, the majority of whom were Indonesian and who filled the galleries to capacity, cheered the Chinese on to victory and booed the Soviets. In the presence of representatives from all the Communist countries, including Cuba, this popularity of the Chinese must have been particularly embarrassing to the Soviets. The unique gesture President Sukarno made to the Chinese delegation during the opening ceremonies was also significant of the growing cordial relations between the two countries. In general, the public behavior of Indonesia and Communist China during GANEFO, intentionally or otherwise, seemed to indicate if not a rapprochement, then at least a cordial relationship between them with a substantial quantity of warmth.

Important also was the fact that through GANEFO Communist China was able to project an attractive image to a vast international audience. This audience saw China's spectacular achievements in the sports events -- which appeared all the more favorable when compared to the relatively poor performance of the Soviet athletes. The

Chinese Communist Anthem was played so often that it soon became a familiar tune. China, so to speak, took her place in the international community of sports, and did so in a brilliant manner.

Perhaps the most important political significance of GANEFO to China was the opportunity it provided for "people-to-people" diplomacy. In past months the Chinese seem to have become interested in pursuing both wider as well as more personal international relations. The recent foreign tour of Chou En-lai may be an indication of this. At GANEFO young people from half the world had the opportunity to meet young Chinese athletes on a common footing. The very spectacular performance of the Chinese athletes made them naturally sought after, at least for a congratulatory pat on the back if an interpreter was not around to facilitate further friendship.

The Peking Review placed much emphasis on this:

> Besides the mammoth Bung Karno Sports Complex, the International Village where the various teams live has witnessed numerous friendly get-togethers by men and women from many parts of the world. At these gatherings, they swapped experiences on the field and learnt from each others common progress; this has helped promote understanding and friendship among people of all lands.

It went on to say:

> The world sports meet taking place in the Indonesian capital not only has been the scene of sterling performances on the field but it has been a common meeting ground for men and women from Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe.[22]

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[22] Peking Review, "Ganefo: New Wave in Sports and Friendship," November 22, 1963.

In contrast to the propagandistic manner in which Indonesia exploited the political opportunities offered by GANEFO, Communist China took advantage of the sports meet in a more subtle way. She made her presence felt and respected not by what she said, but rather in what she did. The Chinese athletes really gave excellent performances in every sport they entered. The cultural performance which China presented was technically superb and totally a-political, with the aim of winning the audience through perfection rather than persuasion. The cultural evening consisted of the traditional Chinese juggling and acrobatics which were skillfully executed and a few mimic comedy acts to which the spectators wholeheartedly responded with roars of laughter.

It may be interesting to note that the Communist Chinese press and news agencies gave very full coverage of GANEFO.[23] The propaganda benefits Communist China derived from GANEFO did not necessarily end when the Games did. The Film Bureau of the Chinese People's Republic, in cooperation with the Indonesian National Committee for GANEFO, had undertaken to make a full length color film of the Games.

In brief, GANEFO proved to be politically valuable to China in basically three ways: (1) it gave China the opportunity to score against the Soviet Union; (2) it

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[23] In contrast it is interesting that the three leading newspapers of the Soviet Union, Pravda, Izvestiia and Red Star gave extremely little coverage to GANEFO or even to the Soviet performances at the Games. The few articles that did appear were general in nature and mainly emphasized the friendship aspect of the games.

provided an excellent forum for person-to-person diplomacy; (3) it seemed to be a public demonstration of a growing cordial relationship between Indonesia and China.

In retrospect GANEFO might appear as an important symptom of the re-alignment of political forces in the world. It may mark at least the beginning of a Sino-Indonesian rapprochement and perhaps even the recasting of concepts such as neutralism, as evidently the "New Emerging Forces," far from being coextensive with neutralism, embrace all the Communist, non-Communist and even anti-Communist forces willing to line up against the former imperial powers of the West.

Some Other Participants

Though Indonesia and Communist China were the major political actors at GANEFO, the very nature of the Games politically implicated all those who participated. A country's presence -- or absence -- was by itself significant. What mattered was presence, not performance.

One of these countries or, more accurately, groups, whose presence was significant was Arab Palestine. The Palestinian athletic delegation was small, and their sports victories were nil; nevertheless, the Palestinian flag flew among those of 50 other countries of the world and so contributed to keeping alive the idea of a Palestine.

There were also a number of countries that, in deciding whether to attend GANEFO, may have taken into consideration their bilateral relations with Indonesia, the host country. In this category may perhaps fall Mexico and Japan, both countries important trading partners of Indonesia. Though

obviously unwilling to offend President Sukarno by not attending, both Japan and Mexico were seriously hampered by their interest in the Olympics. Japan is host to the Olympics in 1964. The forthcoming Olympics are particularly noteworthy in that they are the first to be held in Asia. There is, of course, no way of telling whether the trade factor played a role in the decision of groups in Japan to send a delegation to GANEFO, which, though unofficial and poor in quality, was at least large in numbers.

Mexico was also in an embarrassing situation, as she was, till the eleventh hour, awaiting the I.O.C. decision whether the Olympics would be held in Mexico City in 1968. A small unofficial delegation was sent to GANEFO. Then, a mere few days before the opening of the Games, the I.O.C. did award the '68 Olympics to Mexico. Now that the cat was in the bag, Mexico quickly assembled a second official government delegation to GANEFO and, as though to sweeten up any ill feeling that may have arisen due to her procrastination, Mexico threw in a group of "mariachis" to entertain the 2700 delegates who assembled in Djakarta. One may add that the "mariachis" were a great hit in Indonesia.

The attendance of some of the Arab countries, such as the UAR, may have been partly motivated by a debt of honor to President Sukarno incurred when Indonesia was suspended from the I.O.C. for denying visas to Israel and Nationalist China for the IVth Asian Games. Needless to say, Israel and Nationalist China were not invited to GANEFO.

Another interesting case was that of the Philippines. In the Malaysia dispute the Philippines was aligned with Indonesia against the newly formed Federation. But the

Philippines had also to consider their special relations with the United States, not to mention the everpresent Olympics. In the end, the Philippines did send a 94-member delegation drawn by the government largely from the armed forces because the Filipino Sports Association declined to send their athletes in order not to prejudice the '64 Olympics.[24] Mike Ligon, sports columnist for the Manila Bulletin, writing about a week before GANEFO opened, had this to say in predicting the Filipino prospects in the GANEFO Games:

> The Philippines is taking part in GANEFO despite stern warnings from the International Olympic Committee and the Philippine Amateur Athletic Federation....And to add insult to injury, we are sending athletes who are not even second-rated. The tennis team is made up of so-so netters; the basketball team is not even worth mentioning; and it will come as a big surprise if the badminton trio wins a single match.[25]

A similar column could have been written for many of the other teams.

Conclusions

The use of sports for propaganda and political purposes is not new. Nevertheless, GANEFO proved to be an ingenious move at this stage of Indonesia's international politics. It cost Indonesia very little. The sports complex had already

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[24] Antara GANEFO Supplement, November 6, 1963.

[25] Antara GANEFO Supplement, November 4, 1963.

been built by the Soviets for the IVth Asian Games. The Americans had just completed the Djakarta bypass which provided easy access from the port of Tangjung Priok right to the sports complex. The Japanese had recently completed the only hotel of international standards in all of Indonesia which could accommodate the GANEFO overflow from the athletic village. Rupiah costs did not mean much in a country where inflation is rampant and money in circulation increases by tens of billions from year to year. The foreign exchange burden was taken over or at least partly relieved by Communist China.

Though the costs were low, the political dividends were high for Indonesia. To the underdeveloped and socialist countries Indonesia demonstrated leadership by successfully defying the old and well-established Western tradition of the Olympics. She indirectly snubbed the United States and proved herself capable of putting on a surprisingly well-organized international competition. As an instrument of political warfare, the Games were a success. Through the simple gimmick of a sports meet, Indonesia was able to project a favorable image of herself to young people from many countries. The timing of the Games was particularly propitious, since it was a period when Indonesia's foreign policy was projecting an entirely different image of a potentially aggressive and not so friendly nation.

By staging GANEFO, Indonesia in the long run not only defied the Olympics but even managed to bring the I.O.C. to its knees. On June 26, 1964, seven months after the Games had been held in Djakarta, the Executive Board of the International Olympic Committee yielded to pressures

brought to bear by some of the Arab states and gave Indonesia permission to take part in the 1964 Games in Tokyo.[26] Though the I.O.C. lifted its suspension of Indonesia as a country, the international sports federations involved did not withdraw their suspensions of individual Indonesian athletes who had taken part in GANEFO I. Indonesia, in composing her delegation to the Olympics, ignored the fact that some of her athletes were thus disqualified. In Tokyo Indonesia adopted an intransigent stand: all members of its team would be allowed to participate or the whole team would go home. The sports federations stood their ground ... and the Indonesians went home.

In November 1964, on the first anniversary of GANEFO I, President Sukarno took one parting shot at the Olympics. He said, "Go to hell with the I.O.C. We of the New Emerging Forces are having a new sports grouping -- GANEFO."[27]

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[26] Los Angeles Times, June 27, 1964.

[27] Associated Press from Djakarta, November 26, 1964.

APPENDIX

QUALIFICATIONS FOR PARTICIPATION

IN THE GANEFO

IN DJAKARTA, NOVEMBER 1963*

I. Invitations to take part in the first GANEFO in Djakarta will be sent out to all countries of the NEW EMERGING FORCES, which are:

(1) Countries, which are faithful to the BANDUNG PRINCIPLES:

(2) Countries participating in the Preparatory Conference of the GANEFO in Djakarta 27-29 April 1963;

(3) Countries which have stated that they support the GANEFO IDEA:

(4) Socialist countries;

(5) Other countries or communities of the new emerging forces in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe which apply to take part in the first GANEFO in Djakarta.

II. a. The Conference Authorizes the Organizing Committee for the first GANEFO in Djakarta to provide the countries as mentioned above in article 1 sub (5) with all information about the GANEFO and to invite them to join the GANEFO -- Movement;

b. Applications received by the Organizing Committee from these countries shall be circulated to all members of the Presidium of the Preparatory Committee for approval, after which approval the Organizing Committee may send out invitations to those countries.

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*GANEFO Bulletin No. 1, July 1963.