

Stranded at First Base

*Sixty Years of Hardball Debate and Baseball Diplomacy and
Their Impact on the Game in Cuba and the United States*

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Process Paper: 500 Words

Process Paper

For this year's NHD project, we chose a baseball-themed subject to reflect our love of the game. After Dominick read about last summer's defection of Cuban baseball players to the United States, further research indicated that baseball diplomacy had been used historically to ease Cold War tensions between the two countries. Why, then, do Cuban ballplayers continue to defect? Has baseball diplomacy failed, and if so, why? What issues remain unresolved? What consequences do they hold? With these questions, our research began.

We started by reading secondary sources about the history of Cuba/U.S. relations and the countries' longstanding mutual love of baseball. We researched primary sources in person at the Baseball Hall of Fame's Giamatti Research Center. Accessing digital archives, including the Society of American Baseball Research and declassified documents from the National Security Archives, also proved useful. We read first-hand accounts of Cuban ballplayers caught in the debate, including those who defected and those who stayed. Our six interviewees included: Brayán Peña, a Cuban defector who played Major League Baseball; Peter Kornbluh, Director of Cuban Studies at the NSA; three organizers/attendees of the historic 1999 Orioles/Cuban Nationals game; and an award-winning documentarian who has lived and worked in Cuba.

Because this story needed movement and sound to capture the complicated debate it encompasses, we chose the documentary format. For first-person commentary, we included portions of our interviews; for movement, we added clips from historic games; and for balance, we added voices reflecting both sides of the debate. For our soundtrack, we selected Cuban music combined with the *Field of Dreams* score. We "bookended" our documentary in the iconic words of James Earl Jones, reflecting our belief that U.S./Cuban baseball diplomacy *can* eventually effect change.

Our topic clearly embodies the theme “Debate and Diplomacy in History: Successes, Failures, and Consequences.” Sport has long been used as a diplomatic tool to resolve debates between nations. U.S./China ping-pong diplomacy is one example, but lesser-known baseball diplomacy is also used as a diplomatic tool, especially in Cuban/U.S. relations. Before the Cold War, the two countries enjoyed a shared love of baseball. The Cuban Revolution changed that relationship significantly, and multiple attempts to ease Cold War tensions using baseball diplomacy followed. Whether initiated by Major League Baseball or the U.S. and Cuban governments, the consequences of these efforts have left players caught in the middle, facing the internal debate of remaining loyal to Cuba or being seen as traitors by leaving their families behind to risk the dangerous journey to America. From Cuba’s perspective, these defections meant the loss of its best players, athletes they’d groomed from childhood, not to mention a blow to national pride. From the U.S. perspective, opening diplomatic relations with a Communist country less than 100 miles away is seen by some as abandoning our democratic values. President Obama’s efforts to normalize relations between the two countries, partially through baseball diplomacy, appeared to ease tensions, but with President Trump’s reversal of key policies, the impasse between these neighboring countries continues.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archives

“Béisbol Diplomacy Declassified Documents from 1975 Reveal Secret U.S.-Cuban

Negotiations for Exhibition Games - National Security Electronic Briefing Book 12."

1975. *National Security Archive*,

nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB12/nsaebb12.htm. Accessed 29 Sept. 2021.

These declassified letters and memos from the National Security Archives reveal Major League Baseball's efforts to convince the U.S. government to allow their athletes to play games against Cuban teams and how they were ultimately denied by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Among them are a letter from MLB Commissioner Bowie Kuhn to Kissinger saying that the Cuban government had expressed an interest in having MLB teams play in Havana; letters from William Roger, Assistant Secretary of State for International Affairs; and a confidential cable from Kissinger which states that he is against sending a baseball team to Cuba at that time. We used several of these exchanges in our documentary to show attempts to use baseball for diplomatic reasons.

Bowie K. Kuhn Collection, BA MSS 100, National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, Cooperstown, NY. Accessed 11 Mar. 2022.

At the Giamatti Research Center, located in the Baseball Hall of Fame, we viewed the portion of this collection that focused on baseball diplomacy. In our documentary, we used several examples of the correspondence between the U.S. government and Bowie Kuhn to highlight the ongoing negotiations to take U.S. baseball to Cuba. They include

the highlighted letters that clearly show the intent of the exchange, which was to “undercut the demonology in Cuban propaganda about the U.S.” and “to (bridge)...the gap between the Bay of Pigs and a new relationship with Castro.”

“The History of Cuban Baseball as Told in Cuban Sports Papers, 1899-1901.” *Negro Leagues History*. <https://negroleagueshistory.com/the-history-of-cuban-baseball-as-told-in-cuban-sports-papers-1899-to-1901/>. Accessed 9 Nov. 2021.

Gary Ashwill and Mike Lynch, two leading experts on Cuban baseball history, collaborated to create this archive of Cuban newspapers from the turn of the 20th Century. The collection focuses on the dissolution of Cuban baseball’s color line long before the U.S. broke through that same barrier, relations between U.S. and Cuban baseball teams, and profiles of players and officials. We used the information we learned from these newspapers to develop the portion of our script that highlights the rich history of the sport between the two countries, which dates back to the late 1800’s and early 1900’s.

La Prensa del Béisbol Latino Archives. 1989-2016. Society of American Baseball Research. <https://sabr.org/research/latino-baseball-research-committee-newsletters/>. Accessed on multiple dates.

This collection of newsletters published by the SABR Latino Baseball Committee reveals the many facets of Latin American baseball, past and present. We poured through every newsletter to gain an overview of U.S./Cuban baseball, specifically focusing on attempts to bring the two countries together on the baseball field. Reading these newsletters early on in our research was the impetus for developing our thesis statement and eventually our script.

Milton H. Jamail Papers. BA MSS 203, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown, NY. Accessed 11 Mar. 2022.

This collection of rosters, programs, manuals and articles relating to baseball in Cuba is part of a collection we found at the Giamatti Research Center. Donated to the Center by Milton Jamail, a leading expert, author, and lecturer on Cuban baseball, this collection helped us understand efforts at U.S./Cuban baseball diplomacy between 1990 and 2005. Although the ten-minute time constraint of the documentary prevented us from using any of these images, reading through the collection helped us understand the many attempts at diplomacy during these years, including games in 1992 and 1993 and the Baseball World Cup in 2001.

Orioles vs. Cuba, 1999, BA MSS 196, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown, NY. Accessed 11 Mar. 2022.

At the Giamatti Research Center, we viewed this collection of scoresheets, lineup cards, and programs acquired at the historic game between the Baltimore Orioles and the Cuban National Team in 1999. In our documentary, we included the image of the front-page headlines of the Cuban newspaper celebrating the game that was part of this collection: it was the first time in 40 years that a Major League team had played in Cuba, reflecting the easing of tensions between the two countries.

Books

Block, Ira. *Cuba Loves Baseball*. Salt Lake City, Richards-Cobb Publishing Group, 2018.

Photographer Ira Block spent three years in Cuba capturing colorful images of Cuban baseball as it exists today, from children playing on dusty lots with wadded-up

paper for balls and sticks for bats to ballpark vendors with rickety carts and simple offerings. From this book we learned how ingrained baseball is within Cuban culture. We used four photographs from this book in our documentary, including the final image viewers will see: a photograph of a ballfield sign containing a quote by Antonio Marceo Grajales: *Nada es imposible para los pueblos esforzados y dignos*, or “Nothing is impossible for the brave and worthy people,” which reflects our belief that baseball diplomacy eventually *will* effect change between the two countries.

Castro, Fidel. “Chapter 20: President Jimmy Carter’s Visit.” From *A Spoken Autobiography*. New York City, Scribner, 2006.

Surprisingly, Castro’s autobiography made little mention of his beloved sport of baseball but did include a chapter on then former President Carter’s visit to Cuba in May of 2002 as the first former or sitting U.S. President to visit Cuba since the 1959 Cuban Revolution. Castro’s description of Carter’s time in Cuba showed us that he held Carter in high regard, which may explain why Castro invited Carter to join him on the baseball field – without bodyguards – during a Cuban all-stars game in a display of solidarity and respect. We included an image of this historic event towards the end of our documentary to illustrate one of the many attempts at baseball diplomacy, this one initiated by Fidel Castro himself.

Tiant, Luis. *Son of Havana*. New York City, Diversion Books, 2019.

Luis Tiant is a retired Major League pitcher who left Cuba in 1961 before the only way out was by defection. In his autobiography, Tiant tells of the difficulties of leaving Cuba during the days of the Cuban Revolution and how he worked his way up through the Major League Baseball system in the United States, playing for several MLB

teams and eventually becoming one of the most popular players ever to play for the Red Sox. Tiant's autobiography was one of the first books we read and helped inspire our thesis statement.

Interviews

Armstrong, Scott. Interview by the authors. 6 Apr. 2022.

In the 1990's, retired *Washington Post* journalist Scott Armstrong served as a U. S. government liaison working with a grant from the ARCA Foundation to promote Cuban-American relations. Along with filmmaker Saul Landau, Armstrong spent four years lobbying with the Clinton Administration, the Orioles, the Cuban National Team, and Cuban diplomats to arrange for a series of games to be played between the two teams in Havana and Baltimore. In our interview, a portion of which we included in our documentary, Armstrong shared the obstacles he faced in forging diplomatic ties, the reactions of the players and fans that he experienced as an attendee of both games, and what he viewed as the symbolic value of the games.

Kornbluh, Peter. Interview by the authors. 8 Feb. 2022.

Senior Analyst for the Cuba Project at the National Security Archives and author Peter Kornbluh has spent much of his life studying Cuba/U.S. relations and traveling to Cuba and working with government officials there, including Fidel Castro. As an expert witness who attended many of the games we mention in our documentary, Kornbluh spoke of the long history of baseball diplomacy, the symbolic nature of the games between U.S. and Cuban teams, and the dangers of defection faced by Cuban players who dream of playing Major League Baseball. In our documentary, we included a portion of our interview with Mr. Kornbluh discussing these last two topics.

Maroon, John. Interview by the authors. 6 Apr. 2022.

As the Director of Media Relations during the 1999 Orioles/Cuban National team game in Baltimore, John Maroon served as the Orioles' spokesperson. In our interview, Mr. Maroon discussed how the game had become a political event rather than just a game and how, in the end, he felt the game was not a successful diplomatic tool, an idea we used in our documentary to contrast with the views of Mr. Kornbluh, who also attended the game but who felt that the game had great symbolic value.

Peña, Brayan. Interview by the authors. 15 Apr. 2022.

Out of the dozens of Major League Baseball players who defected to Cuba that we contacted for an interview, Mr. Peña was the only player to respond. We were grateful to receive a response so that an authentic Cuban "voice" could be added to our project. We used a quote from Mr. Peña in our documentary to explain the extremely difficult decision it was for him to defect to the United States to play baseball: he sought freedom and better living conditions, yet it would be six years before he'd be able to see his family again.

Schneider, Ken. Interview by the authors. 11 Apr. 2022.

We interviewed Ken Schneider, director of the documentary *Havana Curveball*, in which he tells the true story of his teenage son's struggle to take baseball supplies to Cuban children in need. Mr. Schneider helped us to understand the love that Cubans have for baseball and the difficult conditions under which they play, using beat-up mitts and splintered bats. Although we did not use the interview in our documentary, speaking with Mr. Schneider reinforced our understanding of the differences between Cuban and

American baseball and the impact of the U.S. trade embargo on the sport of baseball itself.

Zisow-McClean, Jodie. Interview by the authors. 11 Apr. 2022.

As a then-member of the Maryland Coalition to End the Embargo of Cuba, Jodie Zisow-McClean attended the historic 1999 game between the Orioles and the Cuban National team to rally for the embargo's end. She spoke to us about the protesters that were at the game and the impact of NAFTA on the relationship between the United States and Cuba. Her words describing the protests by Cuban-Americans at the game added substance (and a different point of view) to our documentary.

Photographs

Castillejos, Darío. "La Crisis." *Cartooning for Peace*.

www.cartooningforpeace.org/en/dessinateurs/dario-castillejos/. Accessed 11 Jan. 2022.

This political cartoon shows the hand of Cuban leader Raul Castro reaching out to that of President Barack Obama through two thawing blocks of ice. We used the cartoon in our documentary to illustrate the fact that although Cold War restrictions were still in place, a thawing was taking place during the Obama Presidency.

Martin, Dave. "Cuban Refugees Float in Heavy Seas." in "Has Door from Cuba Been Held Open?" *The Brink*. Boston University, www.bu.edu/articles/2015/cuban-immigration/. Accessed 12 Jan. 2022.

This photograph of Cuban refugees floating in heavy seas on the Straits of Florida showed us how dangerous the journey could be and how rough the conditions were as they appear about to capsize on a makeshift boat that is definitely too small and fragile

for conditions. We used photograph in our documentary to illustrate that fleeing Cuba was perilous.

“El Base Ball en Cuba Y America.” *Cuba Béisbol*.

<https://cubanbéisbol.com/post/15809875841/el-baseball-en-cuba-y-america>. Accessed 4 Nov. 2021.

This is a cover of a 1908 book by the same name depicting Christy Mathewson, the Giants star pitcher who was one of the first five inductees elected into the Baseball Hall of Fame. We included this cover in the first part of our documentary when talking about the early symbiotic relationship that existed between Cuba/U.S. baseball because we felt it significant that: 1) the relationship between the two countries was so strong that there was a book written about it as early as 1908 and 2) an U.S. player, Christy Mathewson, was featured on the cover of a history written by Cuban authors, showing the great respect they felt for the player.

Diaz, Al. “Photograph of Presidents Obama and Castro at Podiums.” in “Whiplash: LatAm's Biggest Stories of the 2010s.” *Americas Quarterly*.

www.americasquarterly.org/article/us-cuba-policy-whiplash-latams-biggest-stories-of-the-2010s/. Accessed 21 Jan. 2022.

In this photograph, former Presidents Barack Obama and Raul Castro, stand just podiums apart, discussing President Obama's decision to normalize ties with Cuba and possibly mark the beginning of the end of the Cold War. We used this photograph in our documentary when we talked about partial diplomatic ties between the United States and Cuba being restored.

“A General View of the Cuban Fans Sitting in the Outfield Bleachers Watching the Game Between the Baltimore Orioles and the Cuban National Team at the *Estadio LatinoAmericano* in Havana, Cuba, in 1999.” in “Obama to Attend MLB Exhibition Game in Cuba.” *Politico*, www.politico.com/story/2016/03/obama-cuba-baseball-havana-220066. Accessed 7 Jan. 2022.

This photograph of crowded Cuban baseball stands during the 1999 exhibition game in Havana was included by the editors of this webpage to depict what *might* happen when Obama visited Havana in the same park in 2016. We used this photograph in our documentary to illustrate the simplicity of a Cuban ballpark compared to ballparks in the United States and to show the loyalty and enthusiasm of Cuban baseball fans.

“The Great Curvedores of Cuban Baseball: II. Rigoberto Betancourt.” *Sportcinema*, deportescineyotros.com/2018/03/05/los-grandes-curvedores-del-béisbol-cubano-ii-rigoberto-betancourt/. Accessed 2 Apr. 2022.

This is a photograph of Rigoberto Betancourt, who defected during the 1999 game in Baltimore. The article explains his life and how he played baseball in Cuba prior to his defection. We used this photograph in our documentary when we talk about Betancourt’s surprise defection.

Hartzenbusch, Nanine. “National Anthems.” *Baltimore Sun*, www.baltimoresun.com/sports/orioles/bs-sp-schmuck-column-cuba-0320-20160319-column.html. Accessed 13 Mar. 2022.

This is a photograph of the Orioles and the Cuban National Team standing on the Orioles field as both countries’ national anthems are played during the historic 1999 game. Because this photograph is symbolic of the relationship between the two countries

who are putting aside their ideological differences to play a simple game of baseball, we used the image in our documentary.

---. "Political Cartoon about the UN, the US, and the Cuba Embargo." ProCon.org, 2009, procon.org. Accessed 18 Dec. 2021.

This political cartoon depicts the United Nations trying to get the U.S. to end trade embargos on Cuba. In the cartoon, the smaller size of the vessel depicting the United Nations compared to the much larger image of Uncle Sam as the United States shows the power of the U.S. in maintaining these embargoes, while Uncle Sam's clenched hands, sharp nails, and red eyes show the anger the U.S. has towards Cuba. We used this political cartoon in our documentary to depict the power of the sanctions and how President Obama's lifting of them, in the eyes of the cartoonist, might help "free" Cuba from the powerful hold of the United States.

---. "Ray Miller. Fidel Castro." *Baltimore Sun*, www.baltimoresun.com/sports/orioles/bs-sp-schmuck-column-cuba-0320-20160319-column.html. Accessed 13 Mar. 2022.

This is a photograph of Orioles manager Ray Miller meeting and speaking with Cuban president Fidel Castro before the game in Havana, Cuba in 1999 while a giant microphone is shown between them. This is symbolic of the two countries coming together after over 60 years, playing baseball against each other, *and* engaging in conversation while the entire world watches and listens. We used this photograph in our documentary when we talk about the successful attempts and missed opportunities to use baseball as a diplomatic tool.

“Jackie Robinson in Cuba, 1947.” *Baseball History Comes Alive*,

www.baseballhistorycomesalive.com/jackie-robinson-in-cuba-1947/. Accessed 11 Feb. 2022.

In this photograph of Jackie Robinson playing minor league winter baseball in Havana, Robinson is being warmly greeted by Cuban fans. We used this photo in the portion of our documentary where we talk about how Robinson played in Cuba before he broke the color barrier in the United States.

Lavandier, Marta. “Cuban Exiles Rally at Versailles Restaurant in Miami's Little Havana

Neighborhood in Support of Protesters in Cuba, Monday, July 12, 2021.” in “3rd night, Little Havana Drivers Honk to Join ‘SOS Cuba’ Protest Outside Versailles 14 July 2021.” AP.

<https://www.local10.com/news/politics/2021/07/14/for-3rd-night-little-havana-drivers-honk-in-solidarity-with-sos-cuba-protest-outside-versailles/1>. Accessed 09 Mar. 2022.

This 2021 photograph shows a rally in Versailles, Florida during which Cuban-Americans rally for better living conditions for their families living in Cuba. The photo and accompanying story helped us understand that the Cuban people continue to live under difficult conditions and that the need for diplomatic intervention continues under the Biden administration. We used this image of a woman wearing a T-shirt that reads “*Cubana Anti-communista por siempre*” towards the end of our documentary when talking about the fact that some Americans see baseball diplomacy as an abandonment of our democratic values.

"Major League Baseball Logos." *SportsLogos.net*, 2022,

www.sportslogos.net/teams/list_by_league/4/major_league_baseball/mlb/logos/.

Accessed 8 May 2022.

This database provided images of all of the MLB's past and current logos. We used these images to create an infographic that included the year, team, and original logo at the time the teams became part of the MLB in the 1960s. We then inserted the infographic into our documentary to illustrate the Expansion Period of MLB during that decade.

"Members of the Havana Sugar Kings, a Cuban-Based Minor League Team, During a Game in 1957." in "Havana's Forgotten Baseball Team Played a Key Role in U.S.-Cuba Relations." www.huffpost.com/entry/havana-sugar-kings-obama-cuba-baseball_n_56ed806ee4b084c672206b17. Accessed 6 Jan. 2022.

This is a photograph of Jackie Robinson reaching out and shaking hands with a player on the *Cubano* baseball team during a 1957 game in Havana. We used this photograph in our documentary when we talk about the former glory days of Cuban/U.S. baseball, during which time a symbiotic relationship between the two countries.

"Orioles Interested in Playing Exhibition Game in Cuba." 1999. *Baltimore Sun*, 9 Feb. 2015.

www.baltimoresun.com/sports/orioles/bal-orioles-interested-in-playing-exhibition-game-in-cuba-20150209-story.html. Accessed 9 Apr. 2022.

This is a photograph of a Cuban National player and a member of the Orioles team shaking hands. This photograph is symbolic of Cuba and the United States playing baseball and, for a moment, having a somewhat normal relationship. We used this photograph in our documentary when we talk about the 1999 game between the Orioles

and the Cuban National Team and question whether the game was a success, as represented by the handshake, or a failure, as represented by the commentary of John Maroon, the Orioles' media spokesperson.

Schmidt, Roberto. *Members of a South Florida Anti-Castro Group Calle*. CBS Baltimore, baltimore.cbslocal.com/photo-galleries/2015/02/10/look-back-orioles-vs-cuba-1999/. Accessed 6 Apr. 2022.

This is a photograph of Members of a south Florida anti-Castro group called Mothers Against Repression (MAR) demonstrating outside the Fort Lauderdale baseball stadium before an exhibition game between the Florida Marlins and the Baltimore Orioles. The group is protesting the planned March 28 baseball game between the Baltimore Orioles and the Cuban National Team in Havana. We used this photograph in our documentary to show the debate at the heart of the diplomatic attempts.

"What's Behind Ping-Pong Diplomacy?" *The American Legion Magazine*, Oct. 1971.

This is the front cover of *The American Legion Magazine* that we used as the opening image in our documentary. This cover depicts former President Nixon, Zhou Enlai, and Mao Zedong "playing ping-pong" with a ball that is a globe. The "globe" is symbolic of how ping-pong was used to bring the two nations closer together. We used this magazine cover to introduce the idea that sports could be used as a diplomatic tool.

Yasiel Puig. "Los Angeles Dodgers: Cuban Prospect Yasiel Puig Shows Promise." 17 Aug. 2012. *Bleacher Report*, bleacherreport.com/articles/1301092-los-angeles-dodgers-cuban-prospect-yasiel-puig-shows-promise. Accessed 14 Dec. 2021.

This was a photograph of baseball player Yasiel Puig sporting the uniform of his Cuban team, the *Cienfuegos*. Puig defected from Cuba in 2012 and was held for ransom by human traffickers. We used this photograph in our documentary when we talked about Cuban baseball players defecting to the U.S. and the dangers that they faced in doing so.

Audio/Visual

Camera Captures Moment Boat Carrying Migrants Flips Over. CNN, 03 March 2021.

CNN.com. <https://www.cnn.com/videos/world/2021/03/17/cuba-migrants-flee-boats-oppmann-pkg-intl-hnk-vpx.cnn>. Accessed 4 Mar. 2022.

This dramatic footage shows the capsizing of an overloaded boat filled with Cuban migrants attempting to defect to the U.S. This footage is significant because it shows the extreme dangers of defecting. We used footage of the boat capsizing in the conclusion of our documentary to illustrate the “consequences” portion of this year’s theme and support our thesis statement.

Cuba: Historic Baseball Game Takes Place. AP Archive, 28 Mar.1999. YouTube, www.youtube.com/watch?v=LzbG7BnQsFM. Accessed 4 Mar. 2022.

This was footage from the Orioles/Cuban National Team game that was held in Havana, Cuba in March of 1999. Over fifty thousand baseball fans crammed in to Havana's *Latino Americano* stadium along with Fidel Castro himself to welcome the players before the game. We used footage from this video to depict the most symbolic moments of the game, including the pure joy of the Cuban fans dancing in the stands.

Cuba to Compete in World Baseball Classic. AP Archive, Associated Press, 21 July 2015, www.youtube.com/watch?v=WWrIdGyIPoI. Accessed 6 Nov. 2021.

In order for Cuba to play in the World Baseball Classic, the United States Treasury Department had to issue a license allowing Cuba to participate in the 16-team tournament. In exchange, Cuba said it would donate any profits received to victims of Hurricane Katrina, ensuring that none of the money would go to the communist-run government. Although we did not include this event in our documentary because of time limitations, it is an example of successful efforts at baseball diplomacy.

The First Family Takes in a Baseball Game in Havana, Cuba. Obama White House, 23 Mar. 2016. YouTube, www.youtube.com/watch?v=klG6Q7daivc. Accessed 9 Apr. 2022.

This was footage of former President Obama and his family in Havana, Cuba watching the Tampa Bay Rays and the Cuban National Team play a baseball game. This game was significant because it was the first MLB matchup in Cuba since 1999. We used footage from this game showing the Obamas seated in the stands with Raul Castro to show the excitement of the crowd during this historic visit.

The Greatest Cuban Baseball Player You've Never Heard Of. YouTube, uploaded by VICE Sports, 28 July 2016, www.youtube.com/watch?v=_M59YXJ0-Zo. Accessed 15 Nov. 2021.

This video was about a Cuban baseball player named Carlos Tabares, who had many chances to defect, but decided not to. Tabares explains that he stayed in Cuba because he has pride in his country and "does not want to abandon it," nor does he want to leave his family behind. This helped us understand the internal and external debate faced by players when considering whether to stay in Cuba and attempt to play MLB ball.

How Fidel Castro Came to Power. Secrets of War -Timeline – World History Documentaries.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I2ZuTN_7iHQ. Accessed 4 Jan. 2022.

We needed powerful footage showing Fidel Castro as an enigmatic leader, speaking before large crowds gripped by his words. We used portions from this footage to show just that.

Los Angeles 1984 Official Film | 16 Days of Glory. Produced by Bud Greenspan. Olympics, olympics.com/en/original-series/episode/los-angeles-1984-official-film-16-days-of-glory. Accessed 4 Jan. 2022.

This film includes the opening and closing ceremonies of the 1984 Summer Olympics held in Los Angeles, as well as highlights of the events. The Soviets boycotted the games, claiming that their athletes would not be safe from protests and possible physical attacks, and the Cuban teams followed suit. We used a part of this film in our documentary when we talked about the boycotting of the Olympic Games in 1984 as an example of failed sports diplomacy.

The Lost Son of Havana - A Documentary of Cuban Baseball. YouTube, uploaded by Andr Sor, 20 July 2013, www.youtube.com/watch?v=8_RoW41n-co&list=PL3sxnXyLL-3FU2yI2qa3kaY_vNszfW75O. Accessed 2 Jan. 2022.

This was a documentary about Luis Tiant, who left Cuba in 1961 to play, initially, for the Cleveland Giants and who would go on to enjoy tremendous success in the Major Leagues. The film's focus, however, is not so much on Tiant's successful career but more about the sacrifices he made in not being able to return to Cuba for 46 years. We used the ideas presented in this documentary to develop our thesis statement showing the consequences of players' decisions to leave Cuba and play American ball.

Mannion, Sean. "Interview with Lillian Guerra, Author of 'Poder Negro in Revolutionary Cuba: Black Consciousness, Communism, and the Challenge of Solidarity.'" *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 19 Nov. 2019, hahr-online.com/interview-with-lillian-guerra-author-of-poder-negro-in-revolutionary-cuba-black-consciousness-communism-and-the-challenge-of-solidarity/. Accessed 7 Jan. 2022.

This was an interview with author and University of Florida professor Lillian Guerra, who visited Cuba in an attempt to understand the way of life there. In this interview, she described the struggle for racial equality in Cuba and how people live under the Castro Regime. This gave us a first-hand perspective of life in Cuba under Castro, which we used in our documentary to explain why some players did not want to stay in Cuba and why some stayed loyal to their country.

President Obama Delivers Remarks to the People of Cuba. YouTube, uploaded by The Obama White House, 22 Mar. 2016, www.youtube.com/watch?v=tc_lNz5nPQU. Accessed 30 Nov. 2021.

This was a speech given by former President Barack Obama describing how the United States and Cuba would begin to restore relations under his Presidency. We listened to this speech to help write the portion of our script describing the President's diplomatic attempts to improve relations with Cuba.

30 Clubs in 30 Days: Matt Moore Talks About Facing the Cuban National Team. 25 Mar 2016 MLB Network. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B_TnSzs_6eA. Accessed 10 Mar. 2022.

Matt Moore was the starting MLB pitcher for the 2016 Rays vs. Cuban Nationals game. A clip from his interview shows players from both teams walking across the field with their children, waving to the crowd and carrying Cuban flags. We used this clip in the conclusion of our documentary as a powerful symbol of hope for the future through the images of the children, the flags, and the successful attempt at baseball diplomacy.

Trump, Donald. *President Donald Trump Cuba Policy Change Speech Full*. 16 June 2017, www.youtube.com/watch?v=keeY9Hjo0N8 Miami. Accessed 9 Jan. 2022.

In this speech shortly after he assumes the Presidency, President Donald Trump speaks about his rescinding of policies put in place by his predecessor, former President Obama. Because Trump felt the deal between the Obama Administration and Cuba was unfair towards the United States, he backed out of the agreement, which means, in part, that Cuban baseball players still have to defect if they want to play in the United States. We used a portion of this speech in our documentary to show President Trump announcing the cancellation of these policies.

Web Articles

Boswell, Thomas. "No Matter Who Wins, Castro Suffers a Loss." *The Washington Post*, 6 Jan. 1999, www.washingtonpost.com/archive/sports/1999/01/06/no-matter-who-wins-castro-suffers-a-loss/b1b400ea-390a-49b5-a766-345d452b223a/. Accessed 9 Apr. 2022.

This article related the terms of the 1999 game between the Cuban National Team and the Orioles. From it we learned that, "The only apparent hitch is a proviso that the proceeds go to an appropriate charity, not Castro's government." This revealed the writer's belief that win or lose, the game would be a loss for Castro because the economy

was already suffering and following the game he would lose the proceeds from the game, as well.

"Building Bridges Through a Shared Passion for Baseball." Caribbean Education and Baseball Foundation, www.baseballdiplomacy.org/about-baseball-diplomacy/. Accessed 4 Jan. 2022.

This article was about the Caribbean Educational and Baseball Foundation, an American Minor League Baseball-sponsored organization with a mission of developing a goodwill program of activities and exchanges "to build bridges" among different baseball-loving countries. The program stands as proof that some exchange is happening between the United States and Cuba to facilitate an exchange, but if it means that the U.S. is taking Cuba's best players in the process, then this becomes a problem for Cuban baseball.

DeYoung, Karen. "Trump Administration Cancels Major League Baseball Deal with Cuba." *Washington Post*, 8 Apr. 2019. *Washington Post*, www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-administration-cancels-mlb-deal-with-cuba/2019/04/08/99c7d9be-5a2f-11e9-842d-7d3ed7eb3957_story.html. Accessed 12 Apr. 2022.

This newspaper article was about President Trump canceling the deal that Cuba and the MLB had previously made under the Obama administration to allow for an exchange of Cuban players into the U.S. We used the accompanying photo of the Cuban National Team in their uniforms with their children in the opening minute of our documentary to represent hope for the future.

Gibson, William E., and Rafael Lorente. "Cuba, Orioles Take the Field in Game Filled with Intrigue." 3 May 1999. *Sun Sentinel*, www.sun-sentinel.com/news/fl-xpm-1999-05-03-9905030121-story.html. Accessed 2 Mar. 2022.

This article is about the speculations of the game between the Orioles and the Cuban National Team. It talks about the protestors that will be at the game, whether or not the "Brothers to the Rescue" group would be flying over the stadium to drop leaflets, and the possibility of defection from Cuban players. From this, we learned that there were many different perspectives of what the game would become, and it was interesting to read about the predictions of the game, and then see the aftermath of it.

Justice, Richard. "Orioles Leave Cuba with a Win." *The Washington Post*, 29 Mar. 1999, www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/sports/orioles/daily/march99/29/os29.htm. Accessed 10 Jan. 2022.

This article chronicles a turning point in history: the first Major League team to play a game in Cuba in 40 years before a crowd of 50,000 at *Estadio Latinoamericano*. Reading this article led us to seek further research about the significance of this game and why it represented a diplomatic breakthrough in Cuban-American relations.

Katz, Jesse. "Escape from Cuba: Yasiel Puig's Untold Journey to the Dodgers." *Los Angeles Magazine*, 14 Apr. 2014, www.lamag.com/longform/escape-from-cuba-yasiel-puigs-untold-journey-to-the-dodgers/. Accessed 12 Apr. 2022.

This article is about Yasiel Puig's early years in Cuba and the dangerous defection that ultimately landed him in the United States. In his defection attempts, Puig was held by human traffickers and left stranded on a small island for several days. Even

though he eventually signed a seven-year, \$42 million contract (compared to the \$17 a month he was earning in Cuba), Puig also had to give a large portion of his MLB contract earnings to the smugglers that helped him escape Cuba. We used Puig's story in our documentary to show the dangers of defecting.

Kurczy, Stephen. "Castro Still Unlikely to Play Ball with MLB." *Americas Quarterly*, 21 Mar. 2016, www.americasquarterly.org/article/castro-still-unlikely-to-play-ball-with-mlb/. Accessed 7 Dec. 2021.

This article was about Raul Castro hosting the first Major League Baseball game in Cuba since 1999, which was a potent symbol of the MLB's efforts to take advantage of President Barack Obama's diplomatic opening with Cuba. This article points out that baseball was much more than a game in Cuba; it was a representation of national pride.

"MLB Cautious about O's Vs. Cuba." CBS News, 28 Apr. 1999, www.cbsnews.com/news/mlb-cautious-about-os-vs-cuba/. Accessed 11 Mar. 2022.

This article was about protestors that were at the Orioles/Cuban National Team game. From reading it, we were introduced to Jodie Zisow, who was at the game protesting the trade embargo on Cuba, and John Maroon, the Orioles spokesperson. We followed up on our reading of this article by locating and eventually interviewing Ms. Zisow and Mr. Maroon, both of whom are included in our documentary.

Mooney, Daniel. "Baseball Diplomacy: Impact of Major League Baseball on the Cuban Embargo and Emigration." *MJIL*, vol. 37, www.mjilonline.org/baseball-diplomacy-impact-of-major-league-baseball-on-the-cuban-embargo-and-emigration/. Accessed 11 Jan. 2022.

This article was about how the United States trade embargo affected baseball, more specifically how United States and Cuban baseball officials discussed ways to get Cuban players to easily play in America and vice versa. These tactics, however, were never put into effect, which shows a missed opportunity for improved relations.

Pabon, Julio. "Baseball: U.S. Cuba Relations and Baseball, or Will the Yankees and Mets Be Left Out?" *The Bronx Chronicle*, 12 Feb. 2015, thebronxchronicle.com/2015/02/12/baseball-u-s-cuba-relations-baseball-will-yankees-mets-left/. Accessed 5 Jan. 2022.

Julio Pabon is the President and Founder of Latino Sports LLC. In this editorial, Pabon urges the Yankees and Mets to take "the road less traveled" and organize exhibition games with Cuban teams now that Presidents Barack Obama and Raul Castro have eased restrictions between the two countries. From this article, we learned that there was a relaxation of rules for Cuban baseball players to be allowed to sign with American teams and that it was no longer necessary to get a license from the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control. We used the idea of an easing of relations between the two countries to write the last part of our script.

Siegel, Robert, and Eyder Peralta. "With Improved Relations, Are the U.S. and Cuba Ready to Play Ball?" NPR, 24 Mar. 2015, www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2015/03/24/394905851/with-improved-relations-are-the-u-s-and-cuba-ready-to-play-ball. Accessed 29 Oct. 2021.

This article focuses on the economic crisis that hit Cuba after the fall of the Soviet Union, how President Obama and Cuban leader Raul Castro worked to try to mend Cuban-American relations, and how these attempts at diplomacy might impact the game

of baseball in Cuba. From the article, we learned about Cuba's struggle to accept help from the United States to try to save baseball in Cuba and not have all of the best players in Cuba defect to Major League Baseball. This struggle represents the current state of Cuban baseball today and inspired the last words of our documentary.

"Stealing Home: The Case of Contemporary Cuban Baseball." PBS,
www.pbs.org/stealinghome/index.html. Accessed 8 Jan. 2022.

This website led us to many primary source documents, including first-hand accounts from defectors such as Angel Lopez and Jorge Diaz. It discussed the debate about how defecting from Cuba was seen by some as a show of bravery, but by others as cowardly for fleeing their native country. In our documentary, we quoted the words of Carlos Rodriguez Acosta, the former Commissioner of Cuban Baseball, to illustrate the debate from the perspective of those who chose not to defect.

Strammet, Tyler. "BASEBALL; Cuban Coach Hid for 7 Hours." The Associated Press, 8 May 1999, www.associatedpress.com/1999/05/08/sports/baseball-cuban-coach-hid-for-7-hours.html. Accessed 3 Apr. 2022.

This article was about how Cuban pitching coach Rigoberto Herrera Betancourt defected after the Cuban National Team played against the Orioles in Baltimore. Betancourt hid in a bush in a park for seven hours while he waited for his team to leave for Havana, and then walked up to a Baltimore policeman and asked him for asylum in the United States. We used this story in our documentary to show how the game between the Orioles and the Cuban National Team had detrimental effects, and if another game were to happen, more players could defect.

Strauss, Ben. "Major League Baseball Wants to Let Cuban Players Sign Directly with Teams."

The New York Times, 2 Mar. 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/03/03/sports/baseball/major-leagues-have-proposal-to-ease-path-for-cuban-players.html. Accessed 19 Oct. 2021.

This article states that Major League Baseball submitted a proposal to the United States Treasury Department that outlined a way for baseball players from Cuba to sign directly with Major League teams in the United States. If the proposal would have been approved, it could have changed diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba and changed how Cuban players made their way into the Major Leagues. This is an example of how baseball could have been used as a means to achieve diplomacy and improve relations between the United States and Cuba.

---. "Star Brothers Are Apparently the Latest to Defect from Cuba." *The New York Times*, 8 Feb.

2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/02/09/sports/baseball/yulieski-gourriel-top-cuban-player-slips-away-from-team-hotel.html. Accessed 20 Jan. 2021.

This article was about two brothers, Yulieski Gurriel and Lourdes Gurriel, Jr., who defected from Cuba. The brothers describe how they left their hotel rooms in the middle of the night and then took the dangerous journey to travel to the United States to play baseball. This is an example of one of many arduous journeys prospective players have made in order to defect from Cuba and play for Major League Baseball.

Sullivan, Mark. "Cuba: U.S. Restrictions on Travel and Remittances." 11 May 2021.

Congressional Research Service, sgp.fas.org/crs/row/RL31139.pdf.

This report summarized the restrictions on travel from Cuba. These travel restrictions make it almost impossible for Cuban baseball players to legally come to the United States to play baseball. Instead of coming to the United States legally, they have

to go through the extremely dangerous process of defecting. These restrictions have been debated and changed many times over the years. We depict these debates in our documentary through speeches by President Obama, who speaks of the lifting of restrictions, followed by President Trump, who states that restrictions have once again been put into place.

Reports

Carter, Jimmy. "President Carter's Cuba Trip Report." 20 May 2002. *The Carter Center*, www.cartercenter.org/news/documents/doc528.html. Accessed 17 Mar. 2022.

Former President Jimmy Carter reflects on his historic visit to Cuba with Fidel Castro, during which Carter threw out the first pitch at a baseball game with Castro by his side, but with the obvious absence of bodyguards. This is symbolic of the trust that the U.S. could have with Cuba. We included a photograph of Carter's historic trip at the end of our documentary because we felt it showed a successful diplomatic effort to improve relations.

Secondary Sources

Audio/Visual

"Changuito (Jose Luis Quintana) Solos at Varadero Jazz Festival 1985." YouTube, 1985, www.youtube.com/watch?v=GdhNe1coJyQ. Accessed 21 Mar. 2022.

We used this audio clip of a solo by percussionist Jose Luis Quintana parts in our documentary to give it an authentic Cuban vibe.

"Don't Take Your Base: America's Baseball Diplomacy with Cuba." YouTube, uploaded by The Institute of World Politics, 15 May 2020, www.youtube.com/watch?v=DB6kQodaSMM. Accessed 11 Oct. 2021.

This lecture talked about the relationship between the United States and Cuba and the different acts and embargos that shaped how the relationship between the countries is in the present day. The lecture ended with a discussion of the impact of the Trump administration's nullification of the 2018 Major League Baseball-Cuban Baseball Federation player agreement. We used the ideas presented in this lecture to write the final section of our script.

"Field of Dreams (5/9) Movie CLIP - People Will Come (1989) HD." YouTube, 16 July 2011, www.youtube.com/watch?v=7SB16il97yw. Accessed 17 Mar. 2022.

This iconic speech by James Earl Jones in the classic film *Field of Dreams* symbolizes the importance of baseball and how baseball will always be a constant no matter where you are. We used a part of this speech in the beginning of our documentary to set the stage for the rest of the documentary by showing how baseball is a common language capable of uniting even those with differing ideals and then concluded our documentary with the same words to drive home that point.

"How Some Cuban Players Make It to Major League Baseball." Bloomberg Quicktake: Originals, 2015. YouTube, www.youtube.com/watch?v=TW_hzG8-Zeo. Accessed 6 Apr. 2022.

The video expressed how Cuban players feel about the MLB signing their players, with one Cuban baseball player stating, "It's nothing more than stealing talent from Cuban baseball." The video also revealed surprising statistics, such as the best player on

the *Industriales* (the best baseball team in Cuba) could be making 80-90 million dollars if he signed as a free-agent in the U.S., but instead while playing in Cuba he is making \$38.00 a month. We used footage from this in our documentary to illustrate the temptations that playing in the United States presents to talented Cuban players.

José Luis Quintana "Changuito" Master of Percussion. Havana Music,

havanamusicsschool.com/jose-luis-quintana-changuito-master-of-percussion/. Accessed 15 Feb. 2022.

Jose Luis Quintana is a Cuban percussionist who is credited with revolutionizing Cuba's popular "songo" rhythm, which was the first Cuban popular dance rhythm to blend rumba and North American funk rhythms. We watched a documentary about his life to determine whether Quintana's music matched the tone of our documentary, and as a result, selected his music for many portions of our documentary.

The United States and Cuba: 60 Years after the Bay of Pigs. Narrated by Peter Kornbluh,

YouTube www.youtube.com/watch?v=NXAsz6tipPg. 2021. Accessed 28 Nov 2021.

As a guest on the World Oregon podcast, Peter Kornbluh, Senior Analyst at the National Security Archive in Washington D.C., spoke about his presence at a major conference in Havana regarding the 40th anniversary of the Bay of Pigs invasion. Mr. Kornbluh organized the conference that brought a myriad of individuals, such as retired CIA officials, members of the exiled invasion force, and the surviving members of the Kennedy White House to meet with Fidel Castro and his military commanders. We watched this podcast to prepare for our interview with Mr. Kornbluh.

Williams, John. "Bugler's Dream/Olympic Fanfare and Theme." arr. by Paul Lavendar.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cxop05B2h_k. Accessed 1 Mar. 2022.

This iconic and powerful song is traditionally played during the opening ceremony at the Olympics. We used it in our documentary when speaking about the Olympic games that were boycotted by the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Web Articles

Brenner, Philip, et al. "The Confluence of Domestic and International Interests: U.S. Policy

Toward Cuba, 1998–2001." *International Studies Perspectives*, 28 Feb. 2003,

academic.oup.com/isp/article-abstract/3/2/192/1796350?redirectedFrom=fulltext.

Accessed 9 Dec. 2021.

This article was about the many forces at work to shape U.S. policy toward Cuba since the late 1990s. It demonstrates the entry of new interest groups into the Cuba policy, the executive's constitutionally based interests, the bureaucratic interests, and pressure from outside the United States that all affected the policy making toward Cuba. We used this information to write our script and understand the many factors that complicated attempts to ease Cold War tensions between the United States and Cuba.

Brienerhamm, Wiatt. "How Do Celebrities Contribute to Diplomacy?" *National Museum of American Diplomacy*, 7 Aug. 2015, diplomacy.state.gov/diplomacy/how-do-celebrities-contribute-to-diplomacy/. Accessed 29 Dec. 2021.

The United States Department of State oversees a Sports Diplomacy program whose goal it is to "bridge gaps between the United States and other countries by appointing sports celebrities to reach out to the world community." Reading this article

about that program helped develop and reinforce our thesis statement by showing the impact of baseball diplomacy to "cross over cultural lines," ease tensions, and find a common language to begin the tough task of healing wounds.

---. "Minnie Miñoso's Legacy Lives on as 'Jackie Robinson' of Black Latino Players." *USA Today*, 17 Sept. 2021, www.usatoday.com/story/sports/mlb/2021/09/17/minnie-minoso-mlbs-first-black-latino-star-baseball-pioneer/8320829002/. Accessed 4 Nov. 2021.

This article was about Minnie Miñoso, the first Latino superstar in the Majors, comparing his legacy to the success of Jackie Robinson, as they were both black players who helped break the color barrier in baseball. We learned that the color barrier didn't exist to the same degree in Cuba, which made it extra challenging for those players who attempted to play in the United States, as they faced not only language and cultural barriers but also racial biases they'd not experienced in their native country. We used this in our documentary to show how Cuban-born MLB players served as an inspiration to others.

Butterworth, Michael L. "American Exceptionalism, Baseball Diplomacy, and the Normalization of U.S.-Cuban Relations." *Rhetoric of Democracy in the Americas*, edited by Adriana Angel et al., University Park, Penn State University Press, 2021, pp. 88-104. Penn State University Press, www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9780271089485-007/html. Accessed 19 Jan. 2022.

This chapter discussed President Obama's diplomatic attempts at restoring the relationship between the United States and Cuba through baseball and how those efforts were halted by the overturning of those policies by the Trump administration. The writer concludes by saying that with the walking back of Obama's policies, Cuban baseball

players find themselves in very much the same place they were in following the collapse of the Soviet Union. We used this idea to write the ending of our script.

Carter, Thomas. "The Political Fallacy of Baseball Diplomacy." *Peace Review*, vol. 11, no. 4, 6 Jan. 2011, pp. 579-84,
www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10402659908426310?journalCode=cper20.
Accessed 9 Dec. 2021.

To prove his thesis that baseball diplomacy is ineffective and a fallacy, the writer focuses on the story of the Cuban national team traveling to Baltimore to play a second exhibition game against the Orioles. Carter argues that there was no political discourse between the U.S. and Cuba as a result of the international exchange, even though there was potential. This shows another one of the missed opportunities between the U.S. and Cuba in using baseball as a diplomatic tool, which is the basis for our thesis.

Chadwick, Marc. "BR Bullpen: Cuban Stars." *Baseball-Reference*, 16 Sept. 2021,
www.baseball-reference.com/bullpen/Cuban_Stars. Accessed 30 Dec. 2021.

The Cuban Stars were members of the Negro Leagues, playing in both the United States and Cuba between 1904-1930. Reading this article helped us understand how commonplace an event it was for both countries to join together to play baseball in the first half of the 20th Century and to see how much of an impact Castro's rule and the Cold War had on this exchange. Understanding this helped us write the first part of our script.

Corsa, Lissette. "Striking Out on His Own." *Miami New Times*. 19 July 1999

www.miaminewtimes.com/news/striking-out-on-his-own-6358252. Accessed 12 Apr. 2022.

This article focuses on the months following the defection of Cuban pitching coach Rigoberto Betancourt after the 1999 game in Baltimore. As Betancourt awaited his work permit and word from Joe Cubas, the sports agent who had launched many Cubans into MLB success, he reflected on why he left Cuba ("I felt like I was on Pluto way out there, the farthest planet from the sun") and the pleas of his impoverished family to send money back home to Cuba. We used Betancourt's story in our documentary to show the internal and external debate Cuban players face when making the decision to defect.

Costello, Rory. "Bobby Maduro." SABR, sabr.org/bioproj/person/bobby-maduro/. Accessed 6 Jan. 2022.

This article chronicled the life of Bobby Maduro, one of the majority owners of Havana Sugar Kings. Maduro fled Cuba just two days before the Bay of Pigs and tried unsuccessfully to reestablish the Sugar Kings in New Jersey. His failure to do so became symbolic of the death of professional baseball in Cuba. Although we didn't use Maduro's story in our documentary, it did inspire the overall idea of how the Revolution changed Cuban baseball.

"Cuban Exiles in America." PBS, 2005. American Experience, PBS,

www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/castro-cuban-exiles-america/.

This webpage describes the four waves of Cuban exiles to America: those that left when Fidel Castro first took power, a second wave in the mid to late 1960s when more Cubans turned against the revolution because of economic hardship and the loss of

political freedoms, a third wave in 1980 when Castro decided to open the port of El Mariel to anyone who wanted to leave Cuba, and then the fourth in 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed and Castro allowed Cubans to leave by the tens of thousands. This article helped us understand how and why Cubans left Cuba for the United States. We used this information to write our script.

Eaton, Joseph. "Reconsidering the 1980 Moscow Olympic Boycott: American Sports Diplomacy in East Asian Perspective." *Oxford Academic*, 6 Aug. 2016, academic.oup.com/dh/article-abstract/40/5/845/2403023?redirectedFrom=fulltext. Accessed 16 Nov. 2021.

This article was about the 1980 Moscow Olympic Boycott. President Jimmy Carter thought that the boycott would make the Soviet Union "pay a concrete price for aggression," but historians deem the boycott to have been a foreign policy and sporting "failure of Olympic proportions." We used this in our documentary to show an example of how the United States has used sports as a catalyst to achieve diplomacy in the past.

"Fidel Castro and Baseball." Society of American Baseball Research, 4 Feb. 2017, sabr.org/bioproj/topic/fidel-castro-and-baseball/. Accessed 21 Oct. 2021.

This article helped us understand the relationship between Fidel Castro and baseball. From his early years playing for the University of Havana through the final years of his presidency, Castro was passionate to the point of obsession about using the national sport as a diplomatic tool. We used these ideas to write the part of our script about baseball under Fidel Castro following the Revolution and the reasoning behind Castro making baseball an amateur sport.

Gamble, J.R. "MLB Strikes Deal with Cuba, Ending Dangerous Defections." *The Shadow League*, 21 Dec. 2018, theshadowleague.com/mlb-strikes-deal-with-cuba-ending-dangerous-defections/. Accessed 23 Nov. 2021.

This article covered the proposed agreement between Major League Baseball and the Cuban Baseball Federation that would have eliminated the need for Cuban players to defect to America and instead gain legal access to MLB play. However, this agreement was nullified by President Trump, leaving Cuban baseball players with two choices: defect and risk imprisonment or stay in Cuba. Reading this article solidified our thesis statement that Cuban ball players were caught in the crosshairs of political debate.

Garofolo, Thomas. "Sports Without Diplomacy: The United States, Cuba, and Baseball." Jstor, Sept. 2010, www.jstor.org/stable/43133839. Accessed 13 Jan. 2022.

This article focused on how President Richard Nixon made his signature breakthrough to China with the help of "ping-pong diplomacy" and how it was one of the major success stories in diplomatic history. We used this event as an example of sports diplomacy in the first minute of our documentary.

Grix, Jonathan. "The Mixed Record of Sports Diplomacy." Interview by Elanor Albert. Council on Foreign Relations, 26 Feb. 2018, www.cfr.org/interview/mixed-record-sports-diplomacy. Accessed 3 Dec. 2021.

This interview focused on different ways that countries have used sports as a diplomatic tool, specifically in the Olympics. This helped us understand that sports diplomacy has real potential to effect change and helped us feel confident in our choice of baseball diplomacy as our topic for this year's project.

Krall, Katie. "Community, Defection, and *equipo Cuba*: Baseball under Fidel Castro, 1959–93."

Society for American Baseball Research, 4 Sept. 2015,

sabr.org/journal/article/community-defection-and-equipo-cuba-baseball-under-fidel-castro-1959-93/. Accessed 4 Nov. 2021.

This article focused on the importance of baseball in Cuba, where it is more than just a game; it is a way of life and a representation of the Revolution itself. The article described how in the early 1960's, Fidel Castro ushered in "the golden age of baseball" for Cuba by creating *equipo Cuba*, an amateur league that replaced professional leagues and became the pride of the country. We used this information to write the section of our script about how Cuban baseball changed after the Revolution.

Kurczy, Stephen. "Top 10 Plays in U.S.-Cuba Baseball Diplomacy." *Americas Quarterly*, 22

Mar. 2016, www.americasquarterly.org/article/top-10-plays-in-u-s-cuba-baseball-diplomacy/. Accessed 5 Jan. 2022.

This article was about both the failed and successful attempts to use baseball as a diplomatic tool by the United States and Cuba. It also described the different games that have been played between American and Cuban teams over the years. Of these events, we chose the most consequential to include in our documentary.

Macgranachan, Brendan. "The Cuba Trip of 1911." *SeamHeads*, 4 Sept. 2009,

seamheads.com/blog/2009/09/04/the-cuba-trip-of-1911/. Accessed 7 Mar. 2022.

This article was about the early history of Cuban and American baseball and how many American baseball teams played games in Cuba in the early 1900's. In the beginning of our documentary, we include a photograph of a book cover that says the name "Christy Mathewson" on it. Intrigued by the unfamiliar name, we decided to

research him and came across this article. These games described in this article show the pure passion that both the U.S. and Cuba have for baseball.

Newman, Aaron. "Record Number of Players Defect from Cuba's National Baseball Team."

VOA News, 9 Oct. 2021, www.voanews.com/a/record-number-of-players-defect-from-cuba-s-national-baseball-team/6264655.html. Accessed 23 Dec. 2021.

This article was about Cuban players defecting to play baseball in the United States. It describes how in one case, twenty-four members of Cuba's national team arrived in Mexico for the under-23 World Cup, but only half of these players came home. The rest of the Cuban players defected to the United States. We used this in our documentary to show the significant number of defections by Cuban ballplayers.

Pedersen, Michael. "Timeline of Cuba History." College of Charleston, 8 July 2018,

cubaonthehorizon.cofc.edu/timeline-of-cuba-history/. Accessed 5 Nov. 2021.

This timeline provided us with a background of the history of Cuba. Of particular interest to us were the early days of the Cold War and how diplomatic ties were severed during this time. We used this timeline to create the outline of our documentary, interspersing Cuban-United States history with the history of baseball play between the two countries.

Books

Bjarkman, Peter C. *Cuba's Baseball Defectors*. London, Rowman and Littlefield, 2016.

Peter Bjarkman has long been considered one of the foremost experts on the intertwining of Cuban and American baseball and the politics that prevent the symbiotic relationship of the past. In this book, Bjarkman explores attempts by numerous Cuban

baseball players to escape to the United States to play baseball. Through this book we learned how dangerous it was for players to defect, what motivated them, and the price they paid for defection. We used this information to write the portion of our script that focuses on the debate about defectors: are they being disloyal to their country or do they have the right to pursue their dreams in another country?

---. *The Untold Story: Fidel Castro and Baseball*. Boulder, Rowman and Littlefield, 2019.

In this book, Bjarkman argues that rather than destroying Cuban baseball as many historians believe, Castro was responsible for Cuba's Golden Age of baseball that lasted for more than 50 years. We used this book to write the portion of the script that talks about Cuban baseball after the revolution.

Brioso, César. *Last Seasons in Havana: The Castro Revolution and the End of Professional Baseball in Cuba*. University of Nebraska Press, 2019.

This book explores the impact of the Castro Revolution on professional baseball in Cuba. Through reading it, we learned that despite what others have written, Cuban baseball did not fall apart after the Revolution; it just transitioned from a professional sport to an amateur league controlled by the Cuban government, a league that dominated international play for decades. We used the ideas presented in Brioso's book to write our script.

Kates, Maxwell, and Bill Nowlin, editors. *Time for Expansion Baseball*. Phoenix, Arizona, Society for American Baseball Research, Inc. 2018.

This book that we found on the SABR digital library was about the expansion of baseball starting from the early 1960's. It tells of the story behind the creation of each

franchise and focuses on each new team's key players. We used this information to create the infographic that appears in our documentary when we speak of the 1960's expansion period in Major League Baseball.

LeoGrande, William M., and Peter Kornbluh. *Back Channel to Cuba: The Hidden History of Negotiations between Washington and Havana*. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

This book reveals the untold history of the effects of U.S. and Cuba diplomacy and their efforts toward a positive relationship. We learned about the negotiations made between the two countries in order to try to ease relations. We used this in our documentary to write our script where we talked about the decisions made by various U.S. Presidents to change the relationship for better or for worse with Cuba and ultimately interviewed Peter Kornbluh to add depth to our documentary.

Rucker, Mark, and Peter Bjarkman. *Smoke: The Romance and Lore of Cuban Baseball*.

This book chronicles the history of Cuban baseball. The most useful chapter of this book matched our topic by explaining how Cuban baseball changed with Fidel Castro's revolution and the Cold War that followed. We used several photographs from this book in our documentary, including photographs of the 1959 "Play Baseball" program and the poster advertising El Base Ball En Cuba Y America.

Photographs

"Large Physical Map of Cuba." *GeoAtlas*, www.map-of-cuba.co.uk/large-physical-cuban-map.htm. Accessed 14 Jan. 2022. Map.

This map of Cuba and Florida reveals the proximity of the two countries, a proximity that should/could be good for promoting trade and cultural exchange between them. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, however, it was that distance of a mere 90 miles that put the United States on high alert with the discovery of Cuba's nuclear weapons. We used this map in our documentary to illustrate how close geographically the two countries are and raise the question of why baseball diplomacy between them continues to falter.

"The Special Period." *Cuba Platform*, cubaplatform.org/special-period. Accessed 17 Jan. 2022.

This infographic shows areas in which Cuba's economy declined after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. From it, we learned how the Soviet Union was Cuba's main trading partner and how the relationship between the two countries provided Cuba with economic security. We used this infographic in our documentary to symbolize the turning point in Cuban baseball history: as a result of this lost economic support, Cuba was left in shambles, which in turn led talented Cuban baseball players to defect to the United States in record numbers.

Scholarly Papers

Cuellar, Marcus Felix. "Runners Left on Base: Cuban Baseball Defection Experience and a Reevaluation of Baseball Diplomacy." 2014, escholarship.org/uc/item/3ss205bw. Accessed 13 Dec. 2021.

Cuellar examines the stories of more than 250 Cuban ballplayers who have illegally defected to the U.S. during the first years of the 21st Century in hopes of playing in the Major Leagues, revealing the pain that they and their families suffered due to economic struggles and the dangers of the defecting. The author concludes with a

discussion of how both the U.S. and Cuban governments should work toward a mutually beneficial solution that would allow Cuban athletes to play in the MLB without having to risk their lives. We used these ideas to write the conclusion of our script.

Goorabian, Andrew M. "Baseball's Cuban Missile Crisis: How the United States and Major League Baseball Can End Cuban Ballplayer Trafficking." *UCLA Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 2016, pp. 425-61, www.jstor.org/stable/45302258. Accessed 2 Feb. 2022.

This paper is an in-depth examination of solutions to the problems faced by Cuban players attempting to play baseball in the United States. Strengthening immigration laws and the MLB's Collective Bargaining Agreement, easing diplomatic tensions, and working with Cuban leagues themselves are all suggested as a way to end the current impasse. We used the ideas in this paper to write our script.

Noyes, Matthew J. "Hardball Diplomacy and Ping-Pong Politics: Cuban Baseball, Chinese Table Tennis, and the Diplomatic Use of Sport during the Cold War." University of Massachusetts Amherst, 26 Feb. 2004, scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2977&context=theses. Accessed 22 Nov. 2021.

Noyes contrasts the successes of ping-pong diplomacy between China and the United States with the failure of baseball diplomacy between the United States and Cuba. This supports our thesis statement that there were attempts made by the United States and Cuba to improve relations through baseball, but neither country failed to execute them in every instance.