

**SPORT AND PEACE:
AN ANALYSIS OF BASEBALL AS A FORM OF IMPERIALISM,
NATIONAL IDENTITY, AND DIPLOMACY:
THE CASE OF JAPAN AND CUBA**

**WILLIAM D. PERRY
MA DISSERTATION**

**UNIVERSITY OF BRADFORD
© 2013**

*In memory of Jackie Robinson, a
Man who understood
that every time he stepped onto the field,
It was about more than baseball*

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	4
Keywords	4
Acknowledgements.....	4
Abbreviations	4
Introduction	5
0.1: What is Sport for Development and Peace?	7
0.2: Baseball Without Borders.....	13
0.3: Structure	15
1: Giulianotti's Theoretical Framework for Sport in Global Society	17
1.1: Sport, Colonization and "Civilization"	18
1.2: Sport, Nationalism, Post-Colonialism and Development.....	19
1.3: Sport, Development and Peace.....	19
2: Baseball in Japan.....	22
2.1: Baseball Imperialism.....	22
Meiji Era	23
Post-war Baseball Colonialism.....	26
2.2: Baseball and National Identity in Japan	28
Bushido	28
2.3: U.S. – Japan Baseball Diplomacy.....	32
1934 All American Tour	33
Outbreak of World War II	35
Post-war Baseball Diplomacy	37
Wally Yonamine	39
Ichiro Suzuki	42
2.4: Conclusion.....	43
3: Baseball in Cuba	43
3.1: Baseball Imperialism in Cuba	44
3.2: Baseball and National Identity in Cuba	48
3.3: U.S. – Cuba Baseball Diplomacy	49
1975 Petitions to the U.S. Department of State	51
1999 Baltimore Orioles-Cuban National Team	52
3.4: Conclusion	54
4: Discussion	55
4.1 Application	55
Stage 1: Baseball Imperialism	55
Stage 2: Baseball and National Identity.....	56
Stage 3: Baseball Diplomacy	57
4.2: For Further Consideration	58
Cuba and Brazil.....	58
Conclusion.....	59
Bibliography.....	66

*"It is said that baseball is only a game. Yes, and the Grand Canyon is only a hole in Arizona."
– George F. Will (Dickson, 2011:235)*

Abstract:

The relatively new field of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) lacks substantial analysis exploring the historical development and application of sport as a peacebuilding tool. Acknowledging the dearth of applied SDP theoretical frameworks and baseball-focused studies within the SDP sector, this work is intended to fill that research lacuna through the historical analysis of baseball's imperialistic, nationalistic and diplomatic role in Japan and Cuba.

Keywords:

Sport for Development and Peace (SDP), Conflict Resolution, Baseball, Diplomacy, National Identity, International Relations, Imperialism, Reconciliation, Peace Studies, Olympic Truce, Richard Giulianotti, Japan, Cuba.

Acknowledgements:

David Curran – Dissertation supervisor
Tom Woodhouse – Mentor
Valori Perry – My best friend and better half
Chris Infanger – The big brother I always wanted

Abbreviations:

IBAF International Baseball Federation
IOC International Olympic Committee
MLB Major League Baseball
NPB Nippon Professional Baseball
UN United Nations
UNOSDP United Nations Office of Sports for Development and Peace
WBC World Baseball Classic

Introduction

This dissertation contributes to the broad research field of conflict resolution, which, according to Giulianotti (2011a:208), “has largely ignored the role of sport and other cultural practices within peacemaking processes.” Considering the immense amount of research and literature and the number of studies in the growing field of peace and conflict studies, there is very little literature on sport and peace (Sport and Dev, *b*). It is my intention to address the dearth of research within the relatively new field of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) (Giulianotti, 2011a, 2012) by exploring the historical context of sport and its association to imperialism, national identity and peacebuilding.

My historical approach will help locate and give context for the role of sport within global society. Giulianotti (2011a) stresses the importance of historical analysis of sport in order to determine its role in shaping the global society of communities, races, and nations. Acknowledging the limited range of extant SDP analysis on sports other than soccer (football¹) (Lea-Howarth, 2006), this work is intended to contribute to the research lacuna of baseball scholarship within the SDP sector. Scholars have suggested, “Baseball’s influence on society, culture, and literature is far more pervasive than that of any other sport” (Lewis, 2006:37); this work is written under the assumption that this tenet is true, but attempts to explain why.

The study will draw upon the research and theories of Richard Giulianotti², applying his framework to the historical context of sport within

¹ ‘Football’ is the popular British term synonymous with soccer.

² Professor of Sport Sociology at the University of Loughborough.

global society. Specifically, his framework will be applied to two case studies analyzing baseball in Japan and Cuba. The few studies that do exist on sport and peace are not grounded in SDP frameworks (Sport and Dev, *b*), therefore it is essential to introduce this subject into the academic consciousness using a theoretical framework from the emerging SDP academic discipline. This paradigm shift is critical, as it acknowledges the importance of SDP in the discussion of sport and conflict resolution, rather than relying on other sports science or social science theories, which are peripheral to the concept of sport as a vehicle for peacebuilding. Giulianotti (2011*b*) notes that the SDP sector is where the most systematic and material growth in sports' social policy is occurring.

The main purpose of this study is to apply an established SDP theoretical framework for understanding the historical development of sport, to baseball, a sport which has received little attention from SDP scholars and practitioners. Focusing largely on the development of baseball in Japan and Cuba, this paper will apply Giulianotti's SDP framework. Rather than leaping ahead to suggest a specific application of baseball to peace, this paper is intended to exposit and explore the history of baseball in Japan and Cuba in order to better understand the "systematic and material growth in sports' social policy" which has already occurred.

This discussion has wider methodological benefits for SDP analysts and baseball historians as it provides an example of SDP theory in examining sports

other than soccer which may enhance understanding of intra- and inter-societal development, conflict, and avenues for conflict resolution.

Questions which will guide this work:

- Are sports mostly political tools used by nations to pursue nationalistic interests?
- Why did Japan and Cuba allow baseball (an American export) to become ingrained into their national identity?
- Is “sport diplomacy” an effective method of reconciliation between nations in conflict?

0.1: What is Sport for Development and Peace?

As a conflict resolution instrument, Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) projects utilize sport as an interventionist tool to promote various types of social development and peaceful social relations throughout the world (Giulianotti, 2012). In academia, SDP has become a recognized multidisciplinary field of study focused on the analysis of sport and its role in peace and conflict studies. SDP analysis and projects have often been focused on sport in developing regions and in war-torn or post-conflict settings.

Sports’ historical association with peace and development dates to the Olympic Games in Ancient Greece. In 776 BC, an Olympic Truce was declared among all warring city-states to ensure safe passage for all athletes and spectators participating in the games. Although the modern Olympic Games were restored in 1896, it was not until the 1990s that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) revived the Olympic Truce. Since 1993, via UN Resolution

48/11 (UNa, 1993), the Truce has been supported by the United Nations prior to each Olympic Games (Giulianotti, 2012:287).

At the time of this writing, twenty-one UN resolutions have been unanimously passed which identify the potential contributions of sport to the achievement of the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs). Many of these resolutions also identify the potential of sport to contribute to overall societal well-being (UNb). Since the late 1990s, the use of SDP has grown expansively, largely due to the partnership of the IOC and the UN in promoting sport globally and encouraging governments, development agencies and communities to build on the understanding that sport has the potential to unite and inspire cooperation between nations (a view consistent with the UN Charter), (Coalter 2007:68).

[F]rom indigenous sport to global sporting events, sport has “convening power”.... Sport can contribute to economic and social development, improving health and personal growth in people of all ages – particularly those of young people. Sport-related activities can generate employment and economic activity at many levels. Sport can also be used for conflict resolution by bringing people together on common ground, crossing national and other boundaries to promote understanding and mutual respect (UNOSDP, b).

When sports are centered on peacebuilding, Giulianotti (2012) maintains they will adopt positive sociocultural and political characteristics. He points to the story of the 1914 Christmas Truce when British and German soldiers put down their weapons, and met in no-man’s land to exchange greetings, sing songs, and play soccer (2012). Half a century earlier, during the American Civil War, there is a similar account where fighting was suspended between the

Union and Confederate troops so they could join together and play baseball in no-man's land (Elias, 2010; Kirsch, 2003).

After several decades of cold and fragmented political relations between the United States and China, it was an American ping-pong team, of all things, which began to thaw and lubricate relations between the two nations. Mao Zedong, having observed an impressive American ping-pong team in Japan, invited the squad to play in China³. Within a year, Zedong followed up with an invitation to U.S. President Richard Nixon to meet with him in China. The result of this “ping-pong diplomacy” was ultimately a vast improvement in trade and diplomatic relations—a clear example of sports’ sociocultural success leading to legitimate political improvement.

It is clear that sport can be used to promote peace, but it can also be used to promote nationalism, violence and even war. Therefore, caution must be used to not evangelize as a panacea with “magical powers” to cure conflict (Woodhouse, 2011). Jacques Rogge, president of the IOC, is also careful to not over-idealize sports’ potential: “Sport alone cannot enforce or maintain peace. But it has a vital role to play in building a better and more peaceful world” (olympic.org). Jay Coakley⁴ (2004:457) states, “Ideally, sports can be vehicles for cultural exchanges through which peoples from various nations *share* information and develop *mutual* cultural understanding.” Coakley acknowledges the *ideal* of sport is to build peace, but remains cognizant that, “history shows

³ In April of 1971, China unexpectedly invited the American ping-pong team to compete in Beijing. The invitation signaled the first possibility of improved relations between the two nations since the communist takeover in 1949.

⁴ Professor of Sport Sociology at the University of Colorado, Colorado Springs.

that most nations have used sports and sports events, especially the Olympic Games, to pursue their own interests, rather than the collective goals of international communication, understanding, friendship, and peace” (2004:455).

D. Stanley Eitzen (2005) observes that it is “inherently contradictory,” to analyze the social construction of sport. He posits that these inherent and unavoidable contradictions are a characteristic common to all human institutions, citing the following contradictory characteristics of sport as examples. He notes that sport:

1. Is both unifying and divisive
2. Provides solidarity yet demeans through names, logos, and mascots
3. Is rule-bound but open to violation
4. Promotes health but pushes performance beyond good health
5. Stabilizes via social control but maintains discriminatory practices
6. Promotes democratic ideal but subject to tyrannical leadership
7. Is integral to higher education but detracts from academic pursuit
8. Enhances social mobility but creates unrealistic expectations
9. Benefits cities but costs them dearly (Lewis, 2006:40-41)

A timeline of key events which have occurred in the SDP field in recent years include:

- 2000 – The International Olympic Truce Foundation and the International Olympic Truce Centre are founded by the International Olympic Committee.

- 2001 – The United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP) is introduced by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan to enhance the network of relations between UN organizations and the sports sector.
- 2003 – First International Conference on Sport & Development and Peace held in Magglingen, Switzerland. It was the first international, high-level event on Sport & Development, including participants from sports federations, governments, UN agencies, the media, athletes, business and civil society.
- 2004 – The Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) is established as an inter-governmental policy initiative to increase collaboration across the SDP sector.
- 2004 – MLB establishes “Jackie Robinson Day” on April 15, a day when every player wears #42 to honor Robinson’s achievement in breaking the racial barrier in U.S. professional baseball in 1947.
- 2005 – UN lists 2005 as the International Year of Sport and Physical Education (IYSPE).
- 2006 – World Baseball Classic is introduced as an international baseball tournament, sanctioned by the IBAF and created by MLB.
- 2007 – First “Peace and Sport” Annual conferences are held in Monaco.
- 2009 – First UN-IOC Forum on Sport for Development and Peace held in Lausanne, Switzerland.

- 2010 – Sportanddev highlights Sport & Development at the 2010 FIFA⁵ World Cup
- 2011 – *Beisbol por la Paz* (Baseball for Peace) project is implemented in the cities of Medellin and Cartagena, Colombia. In partnership with IBAF and “Peace and Sport”, they use baseball as a tool for social integration and peace education.

Government agencies, non-profits, high profile sports organizations and major corporations have contributed to the growth of the SDP field. Giulianotti (2012:282-283) suggests four broad categories into which these varied institutions and agencies may be differentiated: Nongovernmental, nonprofit; Intergovernmental, governmental; Private sector; Radical NGOs. Examples of Nongovernmental, nonprofit organizations include: Right to Play⁶, Pitch In For Baseball⁷, Peace Players International⁸, Street Football World⁹. Intergovernmental and governmental include: UNOSDP, IOC, FIFA, U.S. State Department’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA)¹⁰.

Giulianotti (2012) explains that these categories help to clarify the diverse organizations involved in the SDP sector. He notes that many of the

⁵ Abbreviation for the Fédération Internationale de Football Association, its membership comprises 209 national associations.

⁶ Toronto-based NGO which uses the transformative power of play - playing sports, playing games - to educate and empower children facing adversity around the world.

⁷ Philadelphia-based NGO which delivers baseball equipment to underserved communities around the world.

⁸ Washington, D.C.-based NGO which uses basketball, seen as a neutral sport, as a peacebuilding tool in four conflict zones: Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Israel and South Africa (Perry, 2013).

⁹ Berlin-based NGO which uses soccer, the world’s most popular sport, to affect social change through its worldwide programs.

agencies are multi-dimensional and will adopt distinct functions, which may be reflective of the different categories listed.

0.2: Baseball Without Borders

*There is no room in baseball for discrimination. It is our national pastime and a game for all¹¹.
– Lou Gehrig*

If baseball ever was truly an “American sport”, it did not last long, though that was largely by design. The sport grew rapidly on the east coast of the United States during the 1840s-1850s, endured the Civil War (which sowed the seeds of baseball nationwide and propelled the sport to increased prominence), and was quickly spread to other countries around the world.

One of baseball's most ardent evangelists was Albert Goodwill Spalding, baseball promoter and sporting goods millionaire. He had an express desire to market baseball to the world, the will to see it done, and the means to make it happen. He organized an ambitious World Tour in 1888, hoping to expand his sporting goods empire abroad. After receiving a crucial endorsement from U.S. President Grover Cleveland, “for purposes of wrapping the game in the flag” (Elias, 2010:21), Spalding went about recruiting players with the slogan “Join the Majors, See the World.” During an era when U.S. imperialism was on the rise, Spalding endeavored to link baseball to notions of American superiority and civilization, however flawed. He visited: Hawaii, New Zealand, Australia, Sri Lanka, Egypt, Italy, France, England and Ireland; but with the exception of

¹⁰ Housed within ECA is a ‘Sports United’ initiative with the purpose of helping youth around the world learn to translate athletic success to life skills.

¹¹ (Dickson, 2011:99)

Australia, he was largely unsuccessful in igniting a baseball passion among the peoples visited.

During the mid- to late-nineteenth century, it was widely accepted that baseball evolved from a matrix of early English folk games, most notably rounders (Lewis, 2006). Spalding, having toured England, was especially aware that baseball's lineage did not begin in America. Nevertheless, Spalding became the most vociferous voice in speaking out against the notion that the rising national pastime had any connection to their colonial past. The duplicitous Spalding and his cronies held a special commission to declare (officially) that baseball began in Cooperstown, New York, through the invention of a man (deceased at the time) named Abner Doubleday. Baseball and its "Cooperstown-Doubleday myth" no doubt played an important role in helping form the national identity of America (Burns, 1994¹²), but the sport would do the same, perhaps more deeply, in Japan and Cuba, countries where Spalding's tour ironically had never reached (Bjarkman, 2006; Thorn, 2011).

Other than the United States, the two nations which have most fully made baseball their own are Japan and Cuba. They serve as the home bases of the two most talent-filled and history-rich leagues outside the continental United States. According to Bjarkman (2006:127):

In multiple ways the long evolution of the sport in both locales provides intriguing and even quite startling parallels. Both island nations originally uncovered in the culture of baseball the key to a new national identity, and did so at the crucial moment of their own nineteenth-century cultural awakening and fledgling political independence.

¹² Ken Burns noted: "Baseball is a mirror in which we can see the whole of America—political, social, racial, everything—and its story is an odyssey that helps tell us who we are, because how we play is also who we are."

Furthermore, the spread of the “baseball creed” was not limited to the expanses of the United States. Giulianotti (2012) notes that sports “are an immediate way of building contact” with individuals and groups because they can be easily taught in most global settings. The Japanese and Cubans were, as Bjarkman (2006:127) notes, “both largely baseball imperialists in their own right.” The Japanese introduced baseball throughout Asia, including Korea, China and Taiwan. Baseball’s cultural influence in Japan also carried the sport to unlikely places like Brazil¹³, home to the largest Japanese immigrant community in the world (Azzoni; Azzoni; Patterson, 2006). Although there was somewhat of an American influence in the Caribbean when the Cuban “baseball apostles” arrived, the adoption of baseball in Venezuela, Mexico, Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico can often be traced to the zeal of the baseball-loving Cubans.

0.3: Structure

The remainder of this work will be outlined in chapter form, and will rely on the foundational explanation of Sport for Development and Peace and the brief history of the globalization of baseball above. The chapters will be presented as follows:

Chapter 1 will introduce the theoretical framework for this dissertation. It will explain Richard Giulianotti’s SDP framework in its three stages, which, crucially, are not mutually exclusive, nor are they necessarily chronological:

¹³ Baseball in Brazil was imported from Japan with the first waves of Japanese immigration in 1908. The sport has survived in Brazil because of the influx of Japanese immigrants in São Paulo, the second largest “Japanese” city in the world, after Tokyo.

1.1 Sport, Colonialization and “Civilization”

1.2 Sport, Nationalism, and Post-Colonialism

1.3 Sport, Development and Peace

Chapter 2 will introduce a case study of U.S.-Japan relations via baseball. Giulianotti’s framework will be applied to baseball relations between the two nations. It will directly apply his framework to Japan’s use of baseball to the following topics:

2.1 Colonization and “Civilization” of Japan

2.2 Japanese national identity as identified by its adoption of baseball

2.3 Baseball’s role in promoting peace and reconciliation between Japan and the United States

Chapter 3 will introduce the second case study of U.S.-Cuba relations via baseball. Giulianotti’s framework, providing the historical context of sport in global society, will similarly be applied to baseball relations between the two nations. It will directly apply Giulianotti’s theory to Cuba’s use of baseball to the following topics:

3.1 Colonization and “Civilization” of Cuba

3.2 Cuban national identity as identified by its adoption of baseball

3.3 Baseball’s role in attempts to break the ice between the U.S. and Cuba through “baseball diplomacy”

Chapter 4 is a discussion and analysis of the case studies presented through the application of Giulianotti’s framework. Questions from the

dissertation will be discussed, analyzed and possible solutions set forth. Potential areas for further research will also be suggested.

1: Giulianotti's Theoretical Framework for Sport in Global Society

Development of a canon of academic literature regarding SDP is still in its early stages. Although the number of articles and books being published in recent years is steadily increasing, there is still a dearth of theoretical frameworks discussing sport in the realm of peace and conflict studies.

When sports studies scholars refer to interdisciplinary matters, they generally mean crossing over into other sport and exercise science subdisciplines, not peace studies or development literature. Similarly, when peace studies scholars refer to interdisciplinary matters, they will generally consult social science disciplines such as: sociology, cultural anthropology, psychology, history, or political science. Theory specifically addressing sport in the context of peacebuilding is sparse (Schrag, 2012). The most apposite theoretical framework, and the one employed in this work is from Richard Giulianotti, a recognized expert in the SDP sector.

Giulianotti (2011a:223) argues that "SDP projects need to be understood within their historical context (via sports' role in making the global society) and their political setting (global civil society)." This work applies Giulianotti's theories regarding historical context and stages of sport in global society to better understand and contextualize historical complexities of sport and its role in global civil society. For the purpose of this dissertation this framework has been termed the "sport-related contact" theory.

Giulianotti (2011a:209) maintains that sport has functioned as a “highly important socio-cultural and political-ideological tool in shaping Global North-South relations, particularly in circumstances defined by immense power inequalities.” He presents three stages of “sport-related contact” to explain the historical context of sport in global society. He is careful to note that the stages “are not hermetically sealed; thus, trends identified within each stage may spill over into other periods” (2011a:209). The three historical stages are:

1.1: Sport, Colonization and “Civilization”

- a. Late-eighteenth to mid-twentieth century
- b. Sport is a critical factor within “wider *colonial projects*.” e.g.
European colonization of land and the extermination and control of indigenous peoples across non-European territories.
- c. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, sports were quickly adopted by powerful countries to support their social, political and ideological functions to sustain imperial rule.
- d. For some countries, sports were “civilizing” instruments of cultural genocide. Giulianotti notes that “the US sport of baseball was spread through “neo-colonial” spheres of American influence, notably Central America and the post-war Far East” (2011a:210; Guttman 1994; Guttman and Thompson, 2001).
- e. This stage in Giulianotti’s theory is supported by some conflict theorists¹⁴ who “point out that sport is used by most countries as

¹⁴ Conflict theory views sport as an “opiate.” Some conflict theorists suggest sport intensifies alienation, social control, commercialism and nationalism (Eitzen, 2005:26-33).

the showplace for displaying their national symbols and military strength” (Eitzen, 2005:32).

1.2: Sport, Nationalism, Post-Colonialism and Development

- a. 1940s - 1990s,
- b. Sport was a highly contested field in colonial and post-colonial contexts
- c. Sport, in this stage, is seen as a focus of struggle and resistance for colonized populations
- d. Examples include the international boycott on sporting relations with South Africa in response to continued apartheid, and the Caribbean, where cricket “served to dramatize struggles of liberation, notably through victories over England.”
- e. The stage also demonstrates the importance sport governing bodies placed on the global *development*, and not just establishment of sport.

1.3: Sport, Development and Peace

- a. Mid-1990s to the present
- b. “The colonial, post-colonial, and development of sport themes have remained prominent.”
- c. Now the SDP sector has fully emerged; with evidence found in the partnerships between charities and sports institutions, or by the “Olympic Truce”, established in 1992 and backed by pre-Olympic UN resolutions since 1993.

- d. Close partnerships are continuing to be forged within the sport system and the wider development and peace sector.
- e. Herbert Kelman¹⁵ (2001) asserts that conflict resolution becomes an option when nations accept the possibility that certain elements of identity may be shared with the “other” (a view consistent with the SDP sector).

For the purposes of this dissertation, to more directly apply to the chapter structure of this work, and in accordance to the flexibility of his framework, the application of these three stages to this work are referred to as:

1. Baseball Imperialism
2. Baseball and National Identity
3. Baseball Diplomacy

Giulianotti’s three historical stages guide this paper, especially the case studies of Japan and Cuba, which comprise the two main parts of the work. Analysis of the case studies of US-Japan and US-Cuba baseball relations through the application of Giulianotti’s “sport-related contact” framework provides relevant and necessary historical context requisite to further any study of SDP.

Giulianotti (2011a) places sport within the context of global civil society, which Kaldor (2003:590-1) asserts is a “policy platform or political field wherein highly diverse institutional actors argue about, campaign for (or against), negotiate about, or lobby for the arrangements that shape global

developments.” Global civil society is clearly not a frozen policy terrain, but in a perpetual state of change as social forces work to shape its structure (Giulianotti, 2011a). It is in the context of the global civil society that this section introduces baseball’s role in this ever-changing arena by providing a historical analysis of the sports’ global development.

Grant Jarvie¹⁶ (2006) suggests that sport can play a significant role in the “making of nations.” He provides the example of South Africa in the 1990s when Nelson Mandela argued that sport had become part of the glue that held the nation together¹⁷. Mandela’s belief in sport as a type of “national glue” was exemplified in South Africa’s victory in the 1995 Rugby World Cup, a victory widely viewed as symbolic of a new post-apartheid era. In the following section, the historical context of baseball’s role in Japan’s national identity will be set forth.

Tom Woodhouse¹⁸ (2011:352) suggests that there are many examples of different sports working explicitly in a conflict resolution manner, and where “sport has been seen as a bridge-building activity and an alternative to violence and destructive conflict.” In highlighting one of the positive sociocultural and political characteristics of sport, Giulianotti (2012:286) writes,

¹⁵ Emeritus Professor of Social Ethics at Harvard University, and former Director of the Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution at Harvard’s Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

¹⁶ Professor of Sport Sociology at the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁷ For further information on this topic, consult John Carlin’s book entitled: *Playing the Enemy: Nelson Mandela and the Game That Made a Nation*.

¹⁸ Professor of Conflict Resolution at the University of Bradford, and the author’s mentor in the Sport, Peace and the Resolution of Conflict (SPARCS) working group within the department of Peace Studies.

Sports may provide a playful, competitive, rule-governed context for relations to be built with “the other.” The presence of a confirmed set of rules in sport, which are agreed upon by the participants and which underpin their interaction, is particularly important for facilitating play and, more seriously, for offering a basis for future, rule-governed interaction off the field of play.

2: Baseball in Japan

If Bushido is a metaphor for baseball, however imperfect, then baseball is similarly a metaphor for Japanese society¹⁹. – Robert Whiting

2.1: Baseball Imperialism

According to Roberto González²⁰ (2000:145), “Baseball spread to various parts of the world as the United States became a world economic and military power, just as soccer had on the heels (or feet) of British imperialism.”

Apart from times when sports are associated with public diplomacy, history shows that most nations have used sports and sport events, especially the Olympic Games, to pursue their own interests, rather than the collective goals of international communication, understanding, friendship and peace. Nationalist themes have been clearly evident in many events, and most nations have used sport events regularly to promote their own military, economic, political, and cultural goals. This was particularly apparent during the Cold War era following World War II and extending into the early 1990s. In fact, the

¹⁹ (Whiting, 2006:111)

²⁰ Professor of Hispanic and Comparative Literature at Yale University and leading Cuban baseball expert.

Olympics often were presented as extensions of so-called superpower politics” (Coakley, 2004:455).

Meiji Era

Baseball reached Japan in a fashion similar to the rest of Asia, courtesy of missionaries and the military during the days of U.S. expansion. In 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry arrived with his Black Ships and forced the Japanese to end nearly three hundred years of feudal isolation and open their ports to the West. The American presence in Japan prompted a national revolution in Japan, the Meiji Restoration, designed to unite the nation under strong central leadership and avoid foreign domination (Reaves, 2004).

According to Robert Fitts²¹ (2012:165), “many Japanese feared that the country was losing its native culture and abandoning time-honored traditions and values in favor of shallow materialism and frivolous Western fads.”

In the early years of the Meiji Era (1867-1912), Horace Wilson, a young American professor, who was sent to Japan to teach history and English, introduced his students to the fundamentals of baseball. According to Reaves (2004), the game became immediately popular among the Japanese elite and later among the wider population. According to George Gmelch²² (2006), practicing baseball would become sanctioned by the Japanese government as an activity with high education and health benefits.

Japan, during this period, was undergoing a transformation from a feudalistic medieval society into a modern nation with radically new political,

²¹ Anthropologist and Japanese baseball scholar.

²² Professor of Anthropology at the University of San Francisco.

economic, educational, and social institutions. Western influences were being increasingly absorbed; baseball being among the most visible and pervasive of these influences (Elias, 2010). The grandiose U.S. invasion, protected by the long-term docking of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, allowed baseball to spread throughout the island nation.

According to Robert Elias²³ (2010:28-29), “baseball was the first American cultural export in [the] early era of globalization”, and in Japan, “was one of the earliest cultural intrusions.” In addition, Mark Twain, a famous American writer, once said, “Baseball is the very symbol, the outward and visible expression of the drive and push and rush and struggle of the raging, tearing, booming nineteenth century” (Dickson, 2011:220). This follows Giulianotti’s (2011a:209-210) “Sport, Colonization and ‘Civilization’” stage where he notes, “the U.S. sport of baseball was spread through “neo-colonial” spheres of American influence.” Albert Spalding, though he bypassed Japan on his 1888 World Tour, observed, “Wherever our soldiers and sailors go [baseball] is immediately introduced, the natives acquiring it with avidity” (Elias, 2010:45). Baseball, by then noted as a clear by-product of American imperialism, stood the chance to “Americanize” the Japanese people and consequently threaten the Meiji government’s goals to unite the country through deep nationalism and avoid foreign domination.

The threat of American colonization led to the philosophy of *wakon yosai* (Japanese spirit, Western technology), the idea that Japan could import

²³ Professor of Politics at the University of San Francisco and founder of the university’s Peace and Justice Studies program.

Western technology, institutions, and even ideas but would imbue them with Japanese spirit. Japan's project, therefore, was to mirror Japanese, not American, values in baseball. The Meiji government, who had been searching for ways to unite the Japanese people, consciously indoctrinated the nation with the values and ideals of the samurai—seen as the essence of Japanese national character, “much like the cowboy is often used to personify the American national character” (Fitts, 2012:165). The samurai, although only making up 10 percent of Japan's population, had become the shared heritage of all Japanese.

Baseball during Meiji Era-Japan was intended to establish American national legitimacy, but if anything, it did the opposite. Japan's rapid baseball success played an important role in the Meiji government's aims to unite its people and resist foreign control. After annihilating an American ball team in 1896, by the score of 29-4, and winning the rematch 22-6, baseball was serving to establish the aggressive character of their national spirit (Bjarkman, 2006). Gerald Gems (Elias, 2010:29) suggested that baseball “provided a comparative tool [for] the Japanese to measure their worthiness to assume Asian leadership and a place among the world's powers.”

While the United States and European nations were busy “colonizing” the globe (sport figuring prominently in their conquests), Japan had imperial visions of their own. Elias (2010) notes that Japan's imperial conquests would later be imposed in places such as Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria, and Pearl Harbor. Without giving a full history of Japan's role as the singular evangelists

of baseball in Asia, it should be noted that they were, and still are, the unquestioned powerhouse and paladin of baseball in that region (Reaves, 2004).

For the American government, the strategy of using baseball to colonize and “civilize” Japan, was not a one-time affair. As Giulianotti (2011a) notes, the historical stages of sports-related contact may spill over into other periods. This first stage of Sport, Colonization and “Civilization” thus blurs into post-war, U.S. occupied Japan.

Post-war Baseball Colonialism

Giulianotti (2012) suggests that sport may be one of the first post-war contacts for nations or societies in conflict; sport, as an inherent element of the lives of both victor and vanquished is an arena in which political, cultural, linguistic and even militaristic differences can be superseded. Put simply, even when differences rise to the level of violence, parties in conflict can still agree to play by the rules of the game.

Nearly a century after Commodore Perry’s invasion, General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, would arrive into Tokyo Bay in command of a victorious U.S. fleet, two weeks after Emperor Hirohito’s surrender. MacArthur’s mission was to pacify and administer the affairs of the former enemy, while keeping the threatening “Red Menace” of Communism at bay.

It appears to have been taken for granted by the occupying regime that baseball could aid MacArthur’s administration, known as SCAP, to

“Americanize” and “civilize” the Japanese people during its post-war reconstruction era. Indeed it was a top priority of MacArthur, who immediately began working with Japanese baseball and government officials to restore baseball, once banned by Japanese “war lords” (Crepeau, 1982:70). SCAP, as part of their efforts to pacify the Japanese, banished traditional Japanese sports associated with the military (e.g. kendo, archery and martial arts). In its place, great efforts were made to restore the pre-war passion for baseball in Japan.

SCAP undertook intensive renovation projects to both rebuild Japan and revive Japanese baseball. Baseball stadiums had been used to store munitions during the war and those still standing were filled with rubble, unexploded ordinance and fuel. SCAP renovated parks, helped organize amateur and youth leagues and supplied bats and balls. They encouraged the Japanese to restart scholastic baseball programs, and on January 21, 1946, the major Tokyo newspaper, the Asahi Shimbun, announced that the high school championship tournament at Kōshien would be held later that year to “help mend young souls twisted by war, and contribute to the development of democratic spirit and the reconstruction of Japan”(Fitts, 2012:269).

The United States and Japan understood that baseball was not merely a game, but an instrument to unite Japanese society and reestablish U.S.-Japanese relations. Ryuji Suzuki, an early pioneer in Japanese baseball, demonstrated this point:

America is occupying Japan. We are wondering what will happen to our people's life if we fail to get along with America. Baseball is the national sport of America. That's why we need to reorganize the game here. We

have to use diplomacy, not weapons. Baseball will build a bridge (Fitts, 2012:269).

Just three months after Japan's surrender, Frederick Lieb, a famous American sportswriter and baseball historian, wrote, "It may take America a long time to forget the treachery of Pearl Harbor, the march from Bataan, the horror of the prison camps, but the baseball field may furnish some future meeting ground with our erstwhile foes" (2012:269).

The avuncular embrace of MacArthur's occupation helped revive baseball once again in Japan. Even with the nation in ruins and the economy wrecked, over a million and a half fans still plopped down five yen each to attend the games. The American style of play, although once rejected, was seen as making the league more exciting and financially stable, and was thereby adopted. Frank Gibney (1971:98), writes that, "thanks to the postwar occupation and their own peculiar reaction to the one military defeat in their history, the Japanese rarely think of the United States as an enemy, past or present—except in the sense of an economic competitor..." He notes that "the ideal baseball team to beat is still the U.S. World Series champions."

2.2: Baseball and National Identity in Japan

Bushido

As mentioned above, American forces in the Meiji Era, posed to colonize and "civilize", threatened the national unity and culture of Japan. Remarkably, Japan was able to mirror and reinforce traditional Japanese values through baseball, even as it was America's largest cultural and imperial export. Through baseball, the Japanese people maintained and promoted the "Japanese spirit"

during both pre and post-war Japan. Just as baseball was deliberately linked to strong nationalistic symbols such as the military in the United States, it was similarly linked to *Bushido*, “the way of the samurai” in Japan. It has been said that to understand America, one must become acquainted with baseball²⁴, similarly, it could be said that for one to understand Japan, one must become acquainted with *Bushido* (Nitobe, 1904).

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Inazo Nitobe penned an English language tome entitled *Bushido*, in an attempt to introduce “traditional Japanese culture” to the West (Whiting, 2004). Nitobe (1904:146-147), writes:

What Japan was she owed to the samurai. They were not only the flower of the nation but its root as well. All the gracious gifts of Heaven flowed through them. Though they kept themselves socially aloof from the populace, they set a moral standard for them and guided them by their example. I admit *Bushido* had its esoteric and exoteric teachings; these were eudemonistic, looking after the welfare and happiness of the commonalty, while those were aretaic, emphasizing the practice of virtues for their own sake.

Bushido is a samurai warriors’ code of moral principles dating from the thirteenth century. Robert Whiting²⁵ (1977) defines *Bushido* as the “Way of the Samurai,” referring to the armed retainers who did battle in the service of the great *daimyo*, or feudal lords. The code sets forth rules of conduct that developed out of the intimate relationships between sword-wielding samurai and their masters. Furthermore, *Bushido* allowed Ronin, or masterless samurai, to market their skills as martial arts instructors, bodyguards and peacekeepers (Whiting 2004). It incorporated elements from Confucianism, Zen, Buddhism,

²⁴ Historian Jacques Barzun stated, “Whoever wants to know the hearts and minds of America had better learn baseball, the rules and the realities of the game.”

and Shinto thought, and stressed such values as loyalty, honor, self-discipline, reverence for nature, simplicity, modesty, and unquestioning obedience. In addition, it connotes a strong love for Japan and devotion to the idea of being Japanese (Whiting, 1977, 2004).

Nitobe (1904:153), writing during the height of the Meiji Era, when Western influence was becoming increasingly prevalent, asks, “Is *Bushido* still alive? or has Western civilization, in its march through the land, already wiped out every trace of its ancient discipline?” Nitobe’s sentiments of love and loyalty to country are evidenced in his writing. Kelman (1997:171) asserts that individuals can say they have acquired a sense of national identity when they “have come to see themselves as constituting a unique, identifiable entity, with a claim to continuity over time, to unity across geographical distance, and to the right to various forms of collective self-expression.” *Bushido*, according to Nitobe (1904), was the “nation’s soul” and “motor force” of Japan—the one constant through the years²⁶. The preservation of it [*Bushido*] seemed a critical task.

The mantle of maintaining Nitobe’s “national soul” has been taken up by baseball, arguably the most compelling successor to the *Bushido* code extant in contemporary Japan. Whiting (1977:38), writes, “It [*Bushido*] has helped shape

²⁵ Author and leading expert on Japanese baseball.

²⁶ A reference to the film, *Field of Dreams*, highlighting the similar role of baseball to American national identity as *Bushido* was to Japan: “The one constant through all the years, Ray, has been baseball. America has rolled by like an army of steamrollers. It’s been erased like a blackboard, rebuilt, and erased again. But baseball has marked the time. This field, this game...it’s a piece of our past. It reminds us of all that once was good. And that could be again. People will come. People will most definitely come” (Field of Dreams. 1989. [DVD] Gordon Company: Phil Alden Robinson, p.102).

the everyday world of education, business, politics, and, of course baseball.”

The rigorous training methods of Japanese players in preparation for Japan’s national high school baseball tournament, held each year at Kōshien stadium, demonstrates how interwoven *Bushido* is to baseball in Japan (*Kokoyakyu*, 2006). Furthermore, it reinforces Giulianotti’s (2012:285) idea that a perceived benefit of sport is its inclusion in schools as an educational tool.

High school baseball in Japan is very literally viewed as an education. It is believed that the exhaustive training is a really a spiritual practice—a test of the heart and an embodiment of what was once called “fighting spirit” [*Bushido*]. Since 1915, the national high school tournament has been a revered national institution. Whiting (2004) maintains that high school baseball in Japan is almost a religion and is bigger than high school football in Texas. To further his point, Whiting explains that parents in Japan take the same care in selecting high schools for their baseball gifted boys as their counterparts in the United States do when selecting colleges for their sons. If a youth stars on a team that made it to the Kōshien tournament, he is virtually guaranteed a pro contract upon graduation. High school baseball is believed to have an enormous effect in the development of the heart—it is believed to have a similar effect on the mind and body as the ancient/traditional sport of Kendo (*Kokoyakyu*, 2006).

The Japanese adoption of baseball demonstrates that “sport is transcendent and satisfies a human desire to identify with something greater than oneself” (Lewis, 2006:41). Baseball, or *Yakyū*, in Japan has become a way to harness the samurai spirit and retain that spirit as a national heritage in modern form. There is no disputing the fact that baseball in Japan was unlike the baseball in America. In 1981, Masaru Ikei, professor of Japanese diplomatic history at Keiō University, wrote: “Baseball in Japan, though an imported sport, has been assimilated into the natural culture. Japanese values have suffused the sport” (Reaves 2004:15). “Sports came from the West,” a Meiji Era player reportedly said, “In Ichiko baseball, we were playing sports but we were also

putting the spirit of Japan into it... *Yakyū* is a way to express the samurai spirit [*Bushido*]" (Fitts, 2012:165).

For the Japanese, there is a lot more to baseball than *baseball*. Nitobe (1904:176), wrote, "*Bushido* as an independent code of ethics may vanish, but its power will not perish from the earth; its schools of martial prowess or civic honor may be demolished, but its light and glory will long survive the ruins." The traditional culture and national identity embodied in *Bushido* lives on today in Japanese baseball.

Because baseball figured into U.S.-Japan relations since the beginning, its role in Japan would extend beyond the imperialistic "civilizing" force and the national identity it expressed in *Bushido*. Baseball would increasingly become a common currency between the United States and Japan into the twentieth century. The next chapter will introduce how baseball diplomacy between the United States and Japan figured into their plans to avert war and maintain friendly relations.

2.3: U.S. – Japan Baseball Diplomacy

The positive characteristics and potential for sport as a bridge-building activity and an effective method to set "ground rules" for interaction off the field of play provide a sound foundation for Giulianotti's (2011a) third stage in the historical context of sport: "Sport, Development and Peace". The following section applies the third stage of Giulianotti's theory to U.S.-Japan baseball relations and their attempts to create an alternative to violence while building sociocultural and political bridges both before and after World War II.

1934 All American Tour

In the early 1930s diplomatic and political tensions between Japan and the United States were increasing. Japan was seen as dangerously imperialistic, and the United States maintained an uneasy mix of isolationism and wariness left over from the Great War. Baseball was viewed as having the potential to ease these diplomatic tensions. Baseball exchanges had been a longstanding tradition between the two nations and people on both sides of the Pacific believed an American baseball tour in Japan could help prevent war by fostering positive cross-cultural relationships and strengthening diplomatic ties. In an effort to promote “baseball diplomacy”, a Japanese man told the *Sporting News*:

As long as Japan and the United States have something in common like baseball, there is bound to exist nothing but the best of feelings and relations between these two countries. It's the Gospel truth, too, that on the diamond peace is being made between these two countries that politicians and demagogues in general cannot break. All the so called “peace conferences” that may be held won't have as much real effect toward reaching an understanding as one season of baseball in which Americans and Japanese can meet on the common ground of the diamond (Fitts, 2012:15).

The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs hoped that bringing Babe Ruth, an American baseball player who was wildly popular in both the U.S. and Japan, to Japan could reconcile the two nations and forestall some of the omens of war. On November 20, 1930, the Japanese ministry telegraphed Renzo Sawada, the Japanese consul in New York. “Yomiuri Newspaper would like to invite 15 or 16 players in addition to Babe Ruth....The newspaper would

like to do something for the good relationship between Japan and America so please negotiate and telex a reply” (Fitts, 2012:15).

Mutual agreement was reached on both sides of the Pacific to send an American team of 15 players to tour Japan in an effort to promote goodwill and strengthen U.S.-Japan relations. The day before the All Americans arrived in Japan, an editorial in the *Sporting News* summed up the desire for baseball diplomacy between the two countries, an ideal that supports Giulianotti’s (2012:285) idea that “sports may enable new social contacts and relationships to be established between different groups within play-focused contexts.”

When the two meet on the diamond, they have something in common. They come to realize that sportsmanship is the same in any language.... International competition in sports and the exchange of ideas for its improvement and the interpretation of its rules will not bring the millennium of peace by itself, but the mutual respect thus engendered is certain to furnish the basis on which all nations can meet to discuss their problems without ill feeling. Therefore, as Americans are making the Orientals baseball-conscious, they are in consequence making themselves better understood. We hope that someday the Orient will have developed so far in the game that it can send to this country a team able to meet the best in the United States on equal terms and prove to the Americans that the so-called “yellow peril” wears the same clothes, plays the same game and entertains the same thoughts. In other words, that we are all brothers (Fitts, 2012:227).

News of the tens of thousands of baseball crazed Japanese fans who greeted the 15 baseball diplomats was trumped by headlines across the globe bringing worrisome news that the American-British-Japanese naval talks had broken down. Japan was among the three most powerful maritime powers in the world, but felt it was being muscled out by unfair naval treaties restricting the size of their navy. Their request for global parity was rejected outright by the British and American governments, resulting in Japan’s withdrawal from the

treaty and the announcement of a new domestic policy that involved nationalizing foreign oil companies (Fitts, 2012).

Outbreak of World War II

On December 7, 1941, the Empire of Japan conducted a colossal surprise attack on the U.S. Naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Most Japanese, according to Fitts (2012), felt the attack was justified; they believed that the American and British governments were not only thwarting Japan's right to control Asia, but were also unfairly strangling the nation through oil and material embargoes.

Typical wartime propaganda stoked the furor of the Japanese public and deepened the divide between the two countries. Many Japanese were euphoric upon receiving news of the attack on Pearl Harbor, proud to have "landed a punch on those arrogant great powers Britain and America" (Fitts, 2012:259). On the other side of the Pacific, some argued that Japan was not worthy to play the sacred game of baseball, proposing that MLB "withdraw from Japan the gift of baseball", arguing that the Japanese were unworthy to "share the benefits and the God-given qualities of the great game" (Fitts, 2012:249). Babe Ruth, who had previously believed baseball could seal the friendship between the two countries, would become a prominent voice against Japan during the war. However, just before his death in 1948, Ruth opined that the attack on Pearl Harbor was "another example of how a crackpot government can lead a friendly people to war" (Fitts, 2012:257).

Although tensions were at an all time high between the U.S. and Japan, Moe Berg, a player who had returned from the 1934 tour infatuated with Japan, had a message for the nation of Japan. Berg's ability to address the Japanese people on such a public scale supports Giulianotti's (2012:285) contention, which states, "Sports may feature individuals at local, national, and global levels who have high volumes of symbolic capital and are thus effective in communicating messages." On February 24, 1942, in fluent Japanese, he addressed Japanese listeners on shortwave radio:

We appreciated it when thousands of you gave our All American baseball team a great reception in 1934, waving American flags. *I ask you, what sound basis is there for enmity between two peoples who enjoy the same national sport?* This war is no great surprise to me. Exactly ten years ago I could see that war was imminent unless you, the Japanese people, could rise up and break the power of the warlords....I know your glorious history, about your samurai, the Cult of *Bushido*, your love of the Confucian classics. I was impressed by your hospitality and customs—all these things I still admire. But you betrayed your friends—you made a sneak attack on Pearl Harbor while your Ambassadors Nomura and Kurusu were carrying out diplomatic conversations with us; you have lost face and are committing national seppuku. We assumed you were civilized even in battle—we thought we saw that when we taught you our national game and watched you play it. We thought that you played and would fight according to rules. But you have outraged us and every other nation in the world with the exception of two—two that are tainted with blood, German and Italy. They welcome you as friends. But your temporary victories will bring you only misery. You cannot win this war. We and the twenty other republics of America are unified—we are united. Your leaders have betrayed you. They have misinterpreted democratic freedom and debate for weakness. The Matsuokas, your Jingoist army and navy officers, and your Axis partners, Hitler and Mussolini, have misjudged us, have misled you...Believe me when I tell you that you cannot win this war. I am speaking to you as a friend of the Japanese people, and tell you to take the reins now. Your warlords are not telling the truth. The people of the United States and the people of Japan can be friends as they were in the past. It is up to you!" (Fitts, 2012:247-248; *emphasis added*).

Unfortunately, reconciliation between the two nations would take time. Three and a half years after Berg's address, the United States dropped two nuclear bombs, wiping out the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and killing nearly a quarter million people. Reconciliation, as Darby and MacGinty (2003:228) explain, is a "process and not an outcome and, in times of transition, a fraught and haphazard process at that." Lederach (1999:31) writes:

In the midst of war, we find it difficult to understand the feelings and perceptions of people involved. We want to assist and help create the space for reconciliation, uprooting the ferocious weeds of war so that peace can be planted. But that goal appears remote. Most of the time it seems to be hopeless, a utopian dream. I am consistently faced with perplexing questions: How do we move from merely talking about peace to actually building peace? How can we promote a concern for human life and justice in settings of devastating violence and oppression? How do we bring enemies together?

Darby and MacGinty (2003:230) add, "In deeply divided societies it is important to understand reconciliation (among other understandings) as an expression of potential, while acknowledging that much work will remain to be done in the post-settlement period."

Post-war Baseball Diplomacy

In this post-war stage, we see another overlap of stage one (Baseball Imperialism) and stage three (Baseball Diplomacy) of Giulianotti's sport-related contact framework. While it is clear that the U.S. used baseball for their occupation goals to "Americanize" and "Democratize" Japan, baseball's role is not "hermetically sealed" in the first stage. Baseball, near the end of the occupation period, once again became a peacebuilding tool, designed to bring reconciliation to the Japanese and American people.

Lefty O'Doul, one of the 15 players from the All American Tour, was enlisted by MacArthur to head the rebuilding of Japanese baseball. He became a critical piece in the post-war baseball diplomacy stage. O'Doul, like Moe Berg, had established lasting friendships with the Japanese people during their 1934 Tour. In 1949, O'Doul returned to Japan determined to "cement friendship" between the two countries. Returning now as the coach of the San Francisco Seals, O'Doul was welcomed by friendly throngs of Japanese people waving American flags (Fitts, 2012).

Baseball was helping heal the memories of war. In the opening ceremony of the first game, "the American and Japanese flags were raised together in a symbolic gesture of unity as both national anthems were played. It was the first time since the war that the flags were raised simultaneously, and it caught many Japanese by surprise. The gesture moved many to tears" (Fitts, 2012:271). Six "goodwill games" were played between the American and Japanese teams in an effort to foster cultural relations at every level (Rymer, 2013).

O'Doul's use of sport to further development and peace made a great impression on the Emperor. Before his team left Japan, O'Doul was brought to the Imperial Palace for a personal audience with Emperor Hirohito. The Emperor praised O'Doul's work, telling him, "I certainly am appreciative and proud of the good work the Seals have done on this tour and very happy it has been successful. It is by means of sports that our countries can be brought closer together" (Fitts, 2012:271). Furthermore, General MacArthur declared

that O'Doul's Tour was, "the greatest piece of diplomacy ever" (Vescey, 2008:115).

Wally Yonamine

In 1951, in a move too similar to ignore the parallel to Branch Rickey²⁷ signing Jackie Robinson to the Brooklyn Dodgers and breaking the race barrier in American baseball, Lefty O'Doul called up Wally Yonamine to be the first American player to play professional baseball in Japan after World War II. Yonamine accepted an offer to play for the Tokyo Giants on a two year guaranteed contract (Fitts, 2005:23).

Yonamine was carefully chosen as the guinea pig in a grand experiment of trying to build closer ties between Japan and the United States. The Tokyo Giants wanted to sign an American who would help improve their game while also attracting more fans. Japanese government officials and MacArthur's SCAP approved the idea, hoping it would help the peacebuilding effort. However, since anti-American feelings still ran high, it was thought best to avoid the blue-eyed, fair skinned American stereotype to avoid stirring memories of the war, which were still fresh. Consequently, at the recommendation of Lefty O'Doul, Yonamine, a Hawaiian *Nisei*²⁸, became the perfect man for the task. Although he looked Japanese, he had to overcome many obstacles, not only because of his nationality, but the underestimated obstacle of being *Nisei* (Rymer, 2013).

²⁷ Branch Rickey was the General Manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers who became a close friend of Jackie Robinson. In 1947 he extended a major league contract to Robinson, helping him break the "color line" and bring racial reconciliation to U.S. professional baseball.

The “Hawaiian Samurai” (Whiting, 1977:145), as he was often called, was essentially a U.S. envoy, in a delicate position. He was expected to represent America well, but government officials had not recognized the enormous degree of resentment Japan felt toward the American *Nisei*, viewing them essentially as traitors. Fans often threw things at him from the stands, and one occasion they went so far as to rush the field and chase him into the dugout after one of his aggressive slides into second base. Yonamine recalled, “I went through hell that first year. I couldn’t count the number of times I heard the phrase “Yankee Go Home.” The Japanese didn’t like me because I was a *Nisei* and because they thought I was a dirty player. But I knew I had to make them change their minds—for the others after me as well as myself” (Whiting, 1977:145-146).

Ultimately, and despite the difficulties faced in his first season, Yonamine led his team to a Japan Series win; perhaps more impressively, he earned the respect of his coach. After his first year, his coach Chiba-san told Yonamine, “As a rule, we don’t like *Nisei*. But you’re one good *Nisei*. You did everything we did. You slept with us, you ate the food, and you didn’t grumble. You go back to Hawaii, get married, bring your wife, and I’ll back you up one hundred percent” (Fitts, 2005:25-26). Yonamine later recalled, “I came to Japan in 1951 only six years after the War, and some of my teammates had fought against the United States. So I was really worried about how they were going to accept me as an American and a *Nisei*.” Highlighting the role baseball played in both the

²⁸ Japanese, second generation, born in the United States.

reconciliation process and his personal acceptance as a team member, he recalled, “the players didn’t talk about the War, just baseball” (2005:25).

Together with Lefty O’Doul, Yonamine did what Branch Rickey and Jackie Robinson had accomplished in America. The floodgates opened and a bevy of foreign players, including some of the blue-eyed genre, started playing on Japanese professional teams. Many honor Yonamine by calling him the “Jackie Robinson of Japan”, but he recalls, “although I had it rough, he had it much rougher than I did” (Fitts, 2012:24). In 1994, Wally Yonamine was the first American inducted to the Japanese Baseball Hall of Fame. In 2002, Lefty O’Doul was likewise inducted; Horace Wilson was posthumously inducted in 2003. To date, Yonamine, O’Doul, and Wilson are only Americans to have been honored in the Japanese Baseball Hall of Fame.

Yonamine paved the way for U.S. major-leaguers to play in Japan. However, due to a combination of Nippon Professional Baseball (NPB) contractual restrictions and cultural barriers, players coming east were much rarer. Aside from what was essentially a freak occurrence in 1964 with the signing of Masanori Murakami (a move that threatened to destroy baseball relations between Japan and the U.S.), the first Japanese player would not play in MLB until Hideo Nomo arrived in 1995. However, the Japanese player to make the biggest improvement in U.S.-Japanese relations is the 10-time All-Star Ichiro Suzuki.

Ichiro Suzuki

Coakley (2004:450) notes that “any team or athlete representing a specific group has the potential to bring people together and to create emotional unity among group members.” In the context of U.S.-Japanese relations, the Japanese athlete who has done more to improve relations between the two nations than any other is unarguably MLB star Ichiro Suzuki. In 2001, Ichiro captured the admiration and respect of the city of Seattle almost overnight after signing a contract to play for the Seattle Mariners. His wild popularity and symbolic capital is evidenced in the development of sushi stands at Safeco Field (the Mariner’s ballpark) selling “Ichirolls” and young American boys holding up signs that read, “I want to be Ichiro when I grow up” (Whiting, 2004:30, 41). The “Seattle Samurai”, as Ichiro was benevolently nicknamed, became a national icon in the United States.

Ichiro’s presence in the United States provided a window through which Americans could gain understanding and respect for the Japanese people and culture. Meanwhile, despite a 16-hour time difference on the other side of the Pacific, Ichiro converted an entire nation into avid Seattle Mariner fans, who religiously turned on their television sets each morning to watch Ichiro play. He was once asked what he thought the significance of his accomplishments in the U.S. was, Ichiro replied, “I think I have narrowed the gap between America and Japan” (2004:38).

2.4: Conclusion

American imperialism brought baseball, its largest cultural export to Japan. However, instead of allowing the sport to replace their identity, Japan uniquely suffused the American pastime with *Bushido*, becoming an important national symbol for the nation. Maintaining and establishing peace through baseball has been a goal between the two nations since before World War II; an effort supported by Giulianotti's (2012:286) idea that "sports-based interventions may help to routinize forms of contact and interaction with former enemies, and to challenge the demonization of the absent or imagined 'other.'" As the evidence suggests, sport was not enough to prevent the governments of Japan and the United States going to war, but it did foment and strengthen important person-to-person contacts, some of which became critical pieces in post-war "baseball diplomacy."

3: Baseball in Cuba

I had heard that Cubans are a deeply religious people. In two days here, I have learned that baseball is their religion²⁹. – Sam Lacy, 1947

Team sports are part of the process by which modern nations came to exist (González, 2000; Jarvie, 2006). Furthermore, it is acknowledged that sport is an important tool for "imagining" nationhood and constructing identity (Coakley, 2004). Governments use sport to establish their nation's legitimacy in the international sphere, and in the case of Cuba, to promote independence and compete against colonial powers. This chapter discusses Cuba and the

historical context of baseball to provide better understanding for potential SDP projects wishing to do work in Cuba. Cuba's story differs somewhat from Japan's in that the stages of Baseball Imperialism (Sport, Colonization and "Civilization") and, Baseball and National Identity (Sport, Nationalism, Post-Colonialism and Development) are more closely related in a historical context.

3.1: Baseball Imperialism in Cuba

Baseball was introduced to Cuba in 1864, during a period of increasing Cuban discontent with Spanish rule. Cuba sought freedoms to promote their own interests, express themselves politically, and progress economically and culturally as their North American neighbors were doing. The rising popularity of baseball in the United States coincided with immense waves of Cuban immigrants who were coming to the United States in search of improved education, employment and standard of living.

Jose Martí, pathfinder of Cuba's independence movement, was living in New York in the mid-1880s, and he viewed the popularity of baseball with inquisitiveness. "In every neighborhood there is a baseball game," Martí observed. "Children ... in New York like baseball and pistols more than they like books.... They go into the streets and hide from the police to play baseball in the courtyards" (Perez Jr., 1994:499).

Cuba's quest for *Cuba Libre*, a free and independent Cuba, spanned decades, with the impact of American ways deepening as time went on. The frequent contact the Cubans had with the United States, their ways, freedoms

²⁹ (Price, 2000:121)

and progress led to increased chafing under subjection to Spanish rule. Baseball was one of American influences that particularly caught hold upon the Cuban conscience. For many Cubans, baseball was used as physical and psychological preparation for war, which supports Giulianotti's (2012) assertion of sports' historical link with aggressive militarism. Additionally, baseball was viewed as an expression of change and it was believed that the sport possessed elements of modernity and progress because of its association with the United States.

According to Louis Perez Jr.³⁰ (1994), Cubans subsumed notions of civilization into baseball. Whereas they increasingly viewed bullfighting, associated with Spain, as barbaric and inhumane. Baseball and bullfighting provided a stark juxtaposition of the Old World Cuba sought to escape and the New World it sought to join. José Martí bluntly called bullfighting: "a futile and bloody spectacle...and against Cuban sentiment as being intimately linked with our colonial past" (1994:505).

Baseball sharpened the distinctions between Cubans and Spaniards. The Spanish government recognized that the increasing popularity of baseball could potentially threaten their colonial grip on the island. As Giulianotti (2012) suggests, [baseball] was enabling new social contacts and the formation of relationships to be built—Cuba was using baseball to build a rapid relationship with *El Norte* (The North). Spain acknowledged baseball's subversive power, which led them to officially ban baseball as an "anti-Spanish activity" in 1873.

³⁰ Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, and Cuban baseball scholar.

The uneasy climate created through Cuba's adoption of baseball was not lost on Cuba. The more Spain insisted baseball was a "revolutionary activity," the more it gave rise to baseball's popularity on the island and more deeply ingrained into the revolutionary spirit of Cuba.

U.S.-Cuban relations strengthened as Cuba searched for freedom from Spain. However, Elias (2010) suggests that the U.S. had its own subversive purposes in baseball, noting that the U.S., from the very beginning, had an early obsession with Cuba, wherein baseball figured prominently. The inclusion of baseball into the imperial motives of the U.S. is supported by Coakley (2004:566), who maintains, "History shows that the dominant sports in most societies have been grounded in the values and experiences of men concerned with military conquest, political control, and economic expansion." Furthermore, Elias (2010:30) asserts, "while most Cubans had their eyes on one imperial power (Spain), another one (the United States) was sneaking up behind it."

In 1898, the triumph of baseball over bullfighting was definitive (Perez Jr., 1994). The United States, forcing their way into Cuba's war of independence, helped deliver the downfall of Spanish colonial rule on the island. Finally, after thirty years of fighting against Spanish colonialism, Cuba gained its freedom. Or so they thought. The victory over Spain was viewed with just as much excitement from the North, if not more, than it was in Cuba. The bruises of Spanish colonialism did not have time to heal before another power sought to colonize the newly liberated nation. In 1899, the U.S. military

occupied Cuba, declaring in that same year: “Bull fights are absolutely forbidden in the island of Cuba” (1994:516).

The popularity of baseball in Cuba increased dramatically during U.S. occupations. After 1898, the U.S. government began to see the many ways in which baseball could figure into their foreign policy as a potential instrument of political order and social control. A United States minister to Cuba expressed these musings in the years following Cuban independence.

The American national game of baseball is being played and supported here with great enthusiasm. The remarkable effect of this outlet for the animal spirits of the young men, is that they are leaving the plazas where they were in the habit of congregating and talking revolution and are resorting to the ball fields where they become wildly partisan each for his favorite team. The importance of this new interest to the young men in a little country . . . should not be minimized. It satisfies a craving in the nature of the people for exciting conflict and is a real substitute for the contest on the hill-sides with the rifles, if it could be fostered and made important by a league of teams in the various towns in the country. . . [This] well might be one factor in the salvation of the nation (Perez Jr., 1994:517).

It should be noted that while the U.S. envisioned useful political applications for baseball, Cuba, like Japan, had become the dominant “baseball missionaries” of Latin America. It is largely Cuba, not the United States, which brought the sport to the nations in the Caribbean sphere. They went to the Yucatán, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic. Puerto Rican major leaguer Rubén Gómez claimed, “Don’t say the U.S. Marines [brought] baseball. Oh no, this game, it’s in our blood!” (Elias, 2010:33). According to González (2001:187), “Cuba rejected the notion that baseball was exclusive to the U.S. by adopting baseball as a wholly Cuban pastime, with its own traditions, influence and symbolism.” From essentially the 1890s, baseball

became a pillar of Cuban national identity, echoing, but not imitating the role the sport had played in Japan and America (Elias, 2010:32).

3.2: Baseball and National Identity in Cuba

Baseball has been a part of Cuba's national identity almost as long as it has been a part of America's. A favorite saying in Cuba is "*todos los niños nacen con un guante en sus manos*," which means, "all boys are born with a baseball glove in their hands" (Cwiertney, 2000:391).

As demonstrated in the first of Giulianotti's stages of sport-related contact, baseball in Cuba became intensely tied to the cause of *Cuba Libre* as they sought independence from Spain. Baseball, from early on, was associated with independence and nationalism in Cuba. According to Peter Bjarkman (Elias, 2010:30), "building national pride on the battlefield [of] the baseball diamond... enjoys a rich history [and] ... the island's professional league and its status as a sovereign nation were born hand in hand" in the late 1870s, well before Cuba's actual independence."

It has been argued that symbols should unite, not divide (Eitzen, 2005:116). By the first decade of the twentieth century, baseball represented, beyond being an enjoyable game, a rallying symbol for a free and independent Cuba and a common link to their new friends and allies in *El Norte*. It was later said that it was not so much America, but "baseball that lent concrete support to the rebellion" against Spain (Elias, 2010:30). Cubans, like the Japanese, were able to construct from baseball their own unique national identity to serve a rising national conscious. Louis Perez Jr. (1994:517) writes:

Cubans demonstrated early that they could derive from baseball what they needed and discard the rest, that the meanings, values, and symbols ascribed to baseball could be radically different in a Cuban context than in a North American one, and that they could serve Cuban needs as defined by Cubans. In the course of the twentieth century, baseball emerged as one of the principal expressions of Cuban nationalist sentiment, a way to incorporate Cubans into the nation, a means to project the nation abroad and to promote social integration at home.

Baseball, according to Roberto González (2001:186), “has become completely woven into the fabric of Cuban nationalism as part of a complicated relationship with the United States.” This complicated relationship expressed itself during the Cold War, when U.S. intelligence grew very nervous when surveillance images revealed the construction of soccer fields. The U.S. knew the Cubans were not interested in soccer. Tim Wendel (2004:7) opined, “Only their new friends, the Soviets, played that game.” One should note the striking similarity of U.S. anxiety with the construction of soccer fields in Cuba during the Cold War to the anxiety Spain experienced nearly a century earlier when baseball fields were being built in Cuba.

3.3: U.S. – Cuba Baseball Diplomacy

Giulianotti (2012:285) writes, “Sports are understood as offering particularly effective meeting spaces for “breaking the ice” between those who have been in conflict. Baseball would seem a perfect vehicle to foster improved relations between the U.S. and Cuba, however, the symbiotic baseball relationship came to an unfortunate end with the Cuban revolution of 1959 (Frankel, 2005:389). Fidel Castro, Cuba’s new dictator, forced the closure of the Cuban professional league and restricted all travel to the United States. Castro,

like MacArthur in post-war Japan, liked baseball and understood its importance to national identity. Baseball is said to be “virtually the only aspect of U.S. culture embraced by the Cuban Revolution, an enterprise based largely on resisting American imperialism³¹” (Dickson, 2011:76).

Before the Cuban revolution, trade between the U.S. and Cuba was rampant and there were 110 Cubans playing on MLB rosters in the United States (Cwiertney, 2000:391). In previous decades, Cuba was the spring training home for some MLB teams. Even Ernest Hemingway, the American writer, coached Little League while living as an expatriate in Cuba for nearly twenty years. Cubans frequently travelled to *El Norte* because it provided an opportunity to learn baseball and gain a first-rate education. However, the political relationship between *El Norte* and Cuba was rapidly deteriorating, and in 1962, the Eisenhower administration had instituted the initial stages of the U.S. embargo on Cuba, initially intended as a political maneuver to squeeze the economy, thereby forcing Castro from power.

Eisenhower’s embargo grew and became an entrenched fixture of U.S.-Cuban relations. As it stands today, the embargo provides:

[P]ersons subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, meaning not only persons in the United States and American citizens, but also entities anywhere that are controlled by American persons, are prohibited from engaging in virtually all types of transactions with Cuba unless they have received a specific license from the U.S. Treasury Department’s Office of the Foreign Assets Control (Cwiertney, 2000:395).

³¹ Although Castro would shutdown professional baseball almost immediately after the Cuban Revolution, amateur leagues would continue.

1975 Petitions to the U.S. Department of State

In 1975, MLB Commissioner Bowie Kuhn telegrammed Henry Kissinger, then U.S. Secretary of State, to allow for “baseball diplomacy” between the neighboring nations. Kuhn, keenly aware of the baseball talent in Cuba, argued that the sole aim of the proposed trip “would be to engender cordial relations between Baseball in Cuba and in the United States. There would be no political aspect or purpose” (The National Security Archive, n.d.). He petitioned Kissinger for six months that year, in hopes of reestablishing some sort of a baseball relationship with Cuba.

The Assistant Secretary of State, William D. Rogers, and Kissinger’s top aide on Latin America, wrote to Kissinger that meeting Cuba on the baseball field “would have symbolic significance not limited to the sports pages,” and “would also reawaken memories of your China moves³²” (The National Security Archive, n.d.). It was hoped that by playing Cuba, and winning, would sit well with Americans at home “who are depressed by the regimented victories of the Communists in Olympic games” (The National Security Archive, n.d.).

A declassified State Department Memorandum, entitled “Cuba”, dated February 24, 1975, was sent from William D. Rogers to Secretary Kissinger.

I called off the baseball game. And I took the liberty of saying that you were grateful for Commissioner Kuhn’s understanding and cooperation. He realizes that there are “problems somewhat larger than baseball.” He hopes that we will call him when and if a major league visit to Cuba is appropriate (The National Security Archive, 1975).

³² Four years had passed since the successful ping-pong diplomacy in 1971 that helped thaw relations between the U.S. and China. MLB Commissioner Bowie Kuhn envisioned baseball as having the same potential to improve political relations between Cuba and the U.S., two governments at loggerheads for decades.

In the years to follow, there has been sporadic unofficial baseball exchanges in one form or another. However, it has been observed that “both countries have attempted to use baseball as a weapon to gain some advantage over the other” (Jamail, 2000:130), and that Castro and nearly every U.S. administration has utilized baseball as a political tool, taking no real interest in thawing relations.

1999 Baltimore Orioles-Cuban National Team

In January 1999, the U.S. Department of State deemed it “appropriate” to allow the Baltimore Orioles to play in a two-game series against *equipo Cuba*, the Cuban National Baseball Team. The series was aimed, at least ostensibly, at promoting “people-to-people contacts” (Cwiertney, 2000:421). However, it was later discovered that the exchange was packaged as part of a U.S. foreign policy initiative (Jamail, 2000). This use of sport supports Giulianotti’s (2012:288) idea that states: “sport has also been a device of social intervention for serving the political interests of dominant social groups.”

While some viewed the games as an example of “baseball diplomacy,” there were no indications that either government softened their hard-line positions, or that they cared about an immediate change in the relationship (Jamail, 2000). The Baltimore Orioles, though winning the first game in Havana, seemed to care very little about the exhibition. On the other hand, *equipo Cuba*, after winning the second game in Baltimore, returned home to a nigh-on military pageant after a major victory overseas. For Cubans, “defeating the *yanquis* at their own game” (Jamail, 2000:148) seemed to do little more than strengthen

Cuban national identity. The exhibition demonstrated that sports do not necessarily directly influence political discussions or the outcome of such discussions. Public discourse was indeed affected, but as Coakley (2004:455) notes, “the games had no discernable impact on political relations between the two countries.”

Ricardo Alarcón, president of the National Assembly and one of Cuba’s top government officials, explained the difference between the Baltimore-Havana game and *El Norte*’s ping-pong diplomacy with China.

More than ping-pong, it was the discovery by the United States of the People’s Republic of China, a country which had normal relations with so many other countries. I am certain that something similar will happen with Cuba, I just don’t know when it will happen. I don’t know how many games we will have to play until we reach that day, but we are ready to wait until it happens. But if it takes many games, I hope we win most of them (Jamail, 2000:146).

In 1995, a Bill was introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives; entitled “A Bill to Waive Certain Prohibitions With Respect to Nationals of Cuba Coming to the United States to Play Organized Professional Baseball.” The Bill did not progress very far in the legislative process. Had it passed, it would have prevented the Cuban embargo from prohibiting Cuban baseball players from entering the United States on a visa valid for the duration of a baseball season. The visa, as proposed, would not need renewal as long as the player had a valid contract with an American professional baseball team. Recently the Bill has been reintroduced as H.R. 215, entitled “Baseball Diplomacy Act” (Cwiertney, 2000:422).

Continual White House administrations have pledged to organize more sporting events between the two nations in the future, but since the Helms-Burton Act of 1996 gives Congress complete power to amend the embargo, Presidential authority can only go so far (Cwiertney, 2000:422).

3.4: Conclusion

In the case of Cuba, sport served as an instrument of empire and as a source of liberation and nationality. Baseball was used by the U.S. government to “civilize” and maintain social control during successive occupations, while also serving as a symbol of *Cuba Libre* in Cuba’s fight against Spanish colonialism. Interestingly, baseball served to both free and bind the Cuban people in different junctures of their history. On the government level, baseball was more often used as a political tool ostensibly representing a diplomatic olive branch, and almost never as a purely diplomatic exercise, protestations of the respective governments to the contrary. Cuban victories in baseball³³ have proved monumental to patriotism, national identity and as a political-psychological victory over *El Norte*.

The historical context of sport between the United States and Cuba has done little to promote “development and peace” (Giulianotti, 2012), especially when compared to the success of baseball in healing post-war memories and building bridges between the U.S. and Japan. Frankel (2005) suggests the dismal state of baseball relations between the United States and Cuba is evidence of the failure of Castro’s revolution and the much contested U.S.

³³ IBAF ranks Cuba #1 in the world, they have dominated Olympic contests, Pan-American tournaments and are a dominant force in the WBC.

foreign policy³⁴ toward Cuba (UNc). However, Greller (1999) remains hopeful that while baseball diplomacy is not a panacea, it can act as a catalyst to move both nations toward friendlier relations.

4: Discussion

With historical context of baseball as Japan and Cuba's favorite pastime in place, the question of the significance of the sport in each instance remains. Baseball played a substantial role in the formation of national identity in both island nations during crucial times of cultural awakening. This analysis is in complete agreement with González (2000), who argues that team sports are inseparably linked to the discussion of how modern nations came to exist. In both Japan and Cuba, baseball reflected, and perhaps fomented progress, modernity and for Japan, Westernization. As history has demonstrated, sport, as Woodhouse (2011) suggests, can be antithetical to peacebuilding work and in effect create division between groups and nations. The following three paragraphs encapsulate the case studies of Japan and Cuba and apply each to Giulianotti's framework so as to consider their potential use in the analysis of other sports.

4.1 Application

Stage 1: Baseball Imperialism

Baseball was clearly a primary cultural export of the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. During a time of rising imperialism in

³⁴ U.S. foreign policy toward Cuba has repeatedly been contested by the UN—2013 marking the 21st year it has urged the United States to end its embargo on Cuba (UNc, 2012).

the West, Japan stood to lose much if it failed to preserve its rich national heritage and remain independent from the West. Cuba had a similar crisis, as it was trying to establish itself as a post-colonial, independent nation. In both Japan and Cuba, examples the U.S. government intentionally used baseball in their political efforts to “civilize”, pacify, “Americanize,” “Democratize” and altogether exert social control over the Japanese and Cubans. Giulianotti’s framework, then, proves both useful and accurate in describing and analyzing the colonial and “civilizing” stages of sport in global society.

Stage 2: Baseball and National Identity

Japan and Cuba each successfully, and remarkably, uniquely suffused their national character and value into the United States’ most powerful national symbol to create a national symbol of their own. In this second stage of sport-related contact, baseball is demonstrably an effective means of promoting nationalism – and not just American nationalism.

For Japan, baseball, or *Yakyū*, became a means of preserving and suffusing their national identity into a modern symbol. By doing so they were also able to compete with the West through “battles on the diamond”, thus gaining increased national legitimacy with their success. It is entirely legitimate to suggest that in some ways, baseball helped preserve *Bushido* and served as a buffer to Western influences during the Meiji restoration.

In Cuba, baseball was not the means of *preserving* nation, but *creating* nation. For Cubans, there was no need to associate baseball with the United States, because, from early on it had become so deeply woven into the fabric of

Cubanidad. In comparison to Japan and *Bushido*, in the case of Cuba, baseball helped form a nation and similarly provided a buffer to U.S. imperialism by intelligently, purposefully suffusing the sport with its own national identity.

Stage 3: Baseball Diplomacy

Using baseball to improve relations, promote peace, and build bridges is clearly more complicated than simply organizing international games. The examples of U.S.-Japan and U.S.-Cuban relations amply demonstrates this point, as the successes in Japan were far more fraught than anticipated, and ulterior diplomatic motives have overwhelmed and subsumed the few cross-border games between the U.S. and Cuba. The application of this third stage, “Sport, Development and Peace,” is indeed appropriate and accurate to the history of the sport, but its application took on extremely different meanings in Japan and Cuba.

Before war broke out between Japan and the United States, evidence of the positive impact the 1934 Tour had on players from both sides of the Pacific was clear, but goodwill created through baseball was not enough to stave off war and transcend politics.

Logic declares that baseball was obviously not at fault for failing to prevent Japan and the United States going to war. Baseball relations post-conflict proved highly successful in Japan, whereas the opposite is true in the case of Cuba. In the case of Japan, individuals such as Lefty O’Doul, Wally Yonamine and Ichiro Suzuki each contributed to the normalization and restoration of friendly relations between the U.S. and Japan. The examples of

U.S.-Cuba baseball diplomacy were not only fewer but made little impact, if any, to improve relations between the two nations. The 53-year-old Cuban embargo is still forcibly in effect and the U.S. State Department maintains Cuba as one of its four countries on its list of “State Sponsors of Terrorism” alongside Iran, Syria and Sudan (Dept. of State, 2013).

4.2: For Further Consideration

Two areas of inquiry suggest themselves for future research:

1. **Cuba** - Empirical research, beyond the scope of a Master’s dissertation, needs to be undertaken in order to better understand why baseball diplomacy has failed in the case of U.S.-Cuban relations. Recognizing that it is the general position of the U.S. government that baseball diplomacy will not have a chance until Castro is ousted from power, and Cuba transitions to a democratic form of government, further research needs to be done to determine whether baseball diplomacy should be made a political priority for both governments to solve the “political pickle” keeping them at loggerheads.
2. **Brazil** - A potential exception to Giulianotti’s three-stage theory, or perhaps an anomalous variant thereof has been identified. The case of baseball in Brazil does not clearly conform to Giulianotti’s theoretical framework. It is unclear whether baseball in Brazil has been a form whatsoever of imperialism, national identity or diplomacy. Poor Japanese immigrants carried baseball to the metropolitan areas of São Paulo in the early twentieth century, not by imperial motives of any government to

colonize or “civilize.” There is no research yet to show that baseball has had any affect on Brazilian national identity, other than perhaps providing a sense of community for Japanese immigrants in the São Paulo region. Nor is there evidence which supports that baseball has had a peacebuilding or diplomatic role in the nation. Acknowledging that much of this is a result of the slow growth of baseball in a soccer-dominated nation and perhaps is also a result of the largely non-existent role of the U.S. in Brazilian baseball (with a few notable exceptions³⁵). Brazilian baseball’s expansion is largely due to foreign coaches from Cuba and Japan and their recent success qualifying in the 2013 World Baseball Classic. Jorge Otsuka, longtime president of the Brazilian Baseball and Softball Confederation (CBBS) stated that Brazilian baseball’s “biggest problem is that [we] need more people playing the game” (Azzoni; Azzoni; Patterson, 2006:206). Paramount to the growth of baseball in Brazil is access to the necessary equipment to play the sport (a need that the author has personally sought to address through fundraising efforts to send more equipment to Brazil³⁶) (see Miller, 2013).

Conclusion

The application of Giulianotti’s three-stage framework to understand the historical context of baseball in the nations of Cuba and Japan reveals the

³⁵ Since 2011, MLB has shown increased interest in Brazilian baseball. In 2011, MLB hosted a one-week ‘Elite Camp’ in the city of Ibiúna to teach practical skills to the best young baseball players in Brazil. In 2012, the Tampa Bay Rays invested millions in the city of Marília to establish a baseball training facilities. In 2013, American MLB Hall of Famer Barry Larkin coached the 2013 Brazilian National World Baseball Classic team.

relationship between sports and peacebuilding is, at best, highly situational (Giulianotti, 2012). Consideration of this history is a reminder that any adequate analysis of the SDP sector should avoid slipping into what Giulianotti (2012:289) terms, “‘sport evangelism,’ wherein sport is assumed to be inherently good and an innate source of positive and social relations.”

Perez Jr. (1994:494), in demonstrating the ever-changing function of sport, writes, “A sport can serve as an instrument of empire and a means of social control, but in another place and at a different time, it can just as readily serve as a source of liberation and a means of nationality.” The use of Giulianotti’s framework to understand the historical context of sport in furtherance of SDP initiatives is accurate and applicable to global societies.

In Giulianotti’s first stage, Sport, Colonialism and “Civilization,” applied to the case studies of Japan and Cuba, we have seen the neo-colonial utilization of sport during the heady days of imperialism from the mid-nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. Sport has clearly factored significantly in government’s imperial visions to “civilize” and “pacify” the “other.” Interestingly, while baseball arrived to Japan and Cuba via U.S. imperialism, both nations became baseball imperialists in their own right.

For Japan, the United States’ largest cultural export (baseball), was introduced at the beginning of the Meiji Era when Japan was reinventing itself. Japan was searching for a way to preserve its rich national heritage and imbue something Western with *Bushido*, or its “Japanese spirit.” Baseball was notably

³⁶ The author journeyed across England in the summer of 2013, raising enough money to equip an entire community in São Paulo, Brazil with baseball equipment.

used during the U.S. occupation as a tool to “Americanize” and “Democratize” post-war Japan.

For Cuba, baseball became a dual symbol representing opposition to Spanish colonialism and the acceptance of American influence. The sport was also used by successive U.S. occupations as an instrument of “social control” among the people of Cuba.

In the second stage, Sport, Nationalism, Post-Colonialism and Development, both Japan and Cuba are extraordinary examples of a non-native sport being completely integrated into the fabric and identity of a modern nation. The parallels between Japan and Cuba in the historical development of baseball are both intriguing and startling. Baseball arrived to the two island nations in the same decade of the nineteenth century, and has been radically transformed into something unique to each. The role of baseball played similar roles in the development of both Japanese and Cuban national identities and was a potent factor in social integration for both nations.

Baseball was so deeply ingrained in Japan that they changed the name of the sport to “*Yakyū*,” the only Western sport in Japan not called by its native name. The Japanese have turned baseball, something once thought to be uniquely American and transformed it into something that is, without question, intensely Japanese (Reaves, 2004:15). Baseball also became a means of expressing the Japanese cultural need to compete with the West.

Cuba also wholly adopted baseball, giving it an unmistakable and intense Cuban flavor. Curiously, though not consequentially, it did so around

the same time as Japan, when both nations were undergoing a major shift in their national identities. Baseball became a sort of glue that tied the struggling nation together. Perez Jr. (1994:494), writes, “baseball has long served to give expression to Cuban nationality, both as a means to nationhood and as a metaphor for nation.”

In the third stage, Sport, Development and Peace, baseball’s role in peacebuilding efforts between the two nations beyond the prominent development of SDP in recent years is evident, as Giulianotti (2011a) notes. Although Giulianotti (2011a) remarks on the rapid growth of the sport for development ethos and SDP sector, SDP work to thaw U.S.-Cuba relations remains slow moving. Meanwhile, U.S.-Japan relations have flourished through transnational contacts both outside and within the realms of sport.

Baseball has been an instrument to build friendly relations between the United States and Japan since the first decade of the twentieth century. There has been a longstanding tradition of baseball exchanges across the Pacific, none as significant as the 1934 Tour when 15 Americans toured Japan in hopes of building a bridge that would prevent Japan and the U.S. going to war. Although baseball in itself was not enough to stop the momentum of war, the tour did leave an enduring impact on several players, such as Lefty O’Doul, who would return to Japan after the war to cement friendship between the two nations through baseball. O’Doul, Moe Berg, Wally Yonamine, and Ichiro Suzuki are all examples of Giulianotti’s (2012) belief that athletes, because of their symbolic capital, have the potential to communicate messages that can

result in helping to build bridges between nations in conflict. The U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs has directly applied this ideology by calling former MLB stars such as Ken Griffey Jr., and Cal Ripken Jr., to become American Public Diplomacy Envoys to travel overseas with the intent purpose of representing the U.S. and building bridges with other nations (Seattle Times, 2008).

Attempts to promote peace and build bridges between the United States and Cuba through baseball have been altogether less unsuccessful. The 1975 attempt to organize an exhibition between the two countries never materialized, and the approved 1999 two-game series between the U.S. and Cuba left no noticeable impact on improved U.S.-Cuba relations. Although this is an acknowledged stage in Giulianotti's (2011a) three-stage historical context for sport in global society, in the context of U.S.-Cuba relations, this phase is extremely underdeveloped and apparently underutilized or misused by both nations.

Sport is only as powerful as the people make it. Sports are complex social phenomena which are capable of both exacerbating and resolving conflict (Perry, 2013). The ideals ostensibly embraced by the Olympic Games are the most cogent representation, however flawed, of the potential for peacebuilding through sport. Even these high ideals have been, at times, hijacked for political gain or pretensions of national legitimacy or superiority.

The IOC and the UN have attempted to develop the potential of sport to build relationships between nations; however, there must be buy-in from the

local or world community for sport to be an effective peacebuilding instrument. The power of sport, then, is only as effective as the people wielding the instrument. In the 1936 “Nazi” Olympic games held in Berlin, Adolf Hitler used sport to promote Nazi ideology in his quest for international recognition and legitimacy.

Less nefarious, but equally as contrived are the examples of A.G. Spalding’s craftiness to use baseball to promote nationalism, patriotism and a source of national pride, all in the service of a business endeavor. Likewise, in U.S.-Cuba relations, baseball has been overburdened by politicians seeking a political advantage rather than as a genuine instrument of peacebuilding. However, other positive examples, such as post-World War II Japanese-American baseball, the ping-pong diplomacy between the U.S. and China, and the use of rugby for reconciliation in South Africa, serve to demonstrate the ability of sport to build, heal, and foster international relationships.

Japan and Cuba adopted baseball as their own; each country observed first-hand how masterfully the U.S. used the sport to form a sense of being “American” during their early years as a post-colonial modern nation. Japan and Cuba, ironically both targets of U.S. imperialism during the same decade of the nineteenth century, used baseball in a strikingly similar way to the U.S. and with remarkable effectiveness. Both nations became “baseball imperialists” themselves and used the sport to define their nation, preserve their heritage as part of their national identity and develop, or at least attempt to develop, functional, peaceful international relations.

Jarvie (2006:3) wrote, "The extent to which we understand fully the complex ways in which sport contributes to national identity, civic and ethnic nationalism and internationalism remains an open question." By examining the development of baseball in Japan and Cuba through Giulianotti's three-stage framework, the potential of sport for peace becomes less ambiguous. Sport can be an effective instrument to foster reconciliation and develop friendly relations in global society, however, as evidenced in the case studies of Japan and Cuba, it is ultimately subject to the will of global society. The power of sport has been exemplified in its ability to give expression to national identity, while also serving as a political tool to further nationalistic interests. Sport is not a panacea to global conflict because its power is inseparably linked to the aspirations of human beings, however flawed. Ergo, sport can be highly effective as a peacebuilding instrument, while also possessing the ability to mirror and exacerbate sociopolitical tensions.

Bibliography

Printed Resources

- Azzoni, C., Azzoni, T., Patterson, W. (2006) "Brazil: Baseball is Popular, and the Players Are Japanese!" In: Gmelch, G. *Baseball Without Borders: The International Pastime*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, pp. 196-211.
- Coakley, J. (2004) *Sport in Society: Issues and Controversies*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Coalter, F. (2007) *A Wider Social Role for Sport: Who's Keeping the Score?* London: Routledge.
- Darby, J., & Mac Ginty, R. (2002) *Contemporary Peace Making: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dickson, P. (2011) *Baseball Is--*. Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications.
- Eitzen, D. (2005) *Sport in Contemporary Society*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
- Elias, R. (2010) *The Empire Strikes Out*. New York: The New Press.
- Fitts, R. (2005) *Remembering Japanese Baseball*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press.
- Fitts, R. (2012) *Banzai Babe Ruth*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Gmelch, G. (2006) *Baseball Without Borders: The International Pastime*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- González Echevarria, R. (2001) *The Pride of Havana: A History of Cuban Baseball*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Guttmann, A. (1994) *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Guttmann, A. and Thompson, L. (2001) *Japanese Sports: A History*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Jamail, M. (2000) *Full Count*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Jarvie, G. (2006) *Sport, Culture and Society*. London: Routledge.
- Kelman, H. (2001) "The Role of National Identity in Conflict Resolution" In: Ashmore, R.D., Jussim, L., Wilder, D. *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Reduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 187-212.

- Kirsch, G. (2003) *Baseball in Blue and Gray*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Lederach, J. P. (1999) *The Journey Toward Reconciliation*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press.
- Nitobe, I. (1908) *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*. Tokyo: Teibi Publishing Company.
- Price, S. (2002) *Pitching around Fidel*. New York: Harpers Collins.
- Reaves, J. (2004) *Taking In a Game*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Thorn, J. (2011) *Baseball in the Garden of Eden: The Secret History of the Early Game*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Vecsey, G. (2008) *Baseball*. New York: Modern Library.
- Wendel, T. (2004) *The New Face of Baseball*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Whiting, R. (1977) *The Chrysanthemum and The Bat*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.
- Whiting, R. (2004) *The Meaning of Ichiro*. New York: Warner Books.
- Woodhouse, T. (2011) "Conflict in Art and Popular Culture: Sport and Conflict Resolution". In: Ramsbotham, O., Woodhouse, T., Miall, H. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Third Edition, Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 351-358.

Journals

- Bjarkman, P. (2006) "American Baseball Imperialism, Clashing National Cultures, And the Future of Samurai *Besuboru*." *Studies on Asia*. 3 3(2), pp.123-140.
- Crepeau, R. (1982) "Pearl Harbor: A Failure of Baseball?" *Journal of Popular Culture*. 15 (4), pp. 67-74.
- Cwiertney, S.M. (2000) "The Need for a Worldwide Draft: Major League Baseball and Its Relationship with the Cuban Embargo and United States Foreign Policy." 20 Loy. LA.
- Frankel, M. (2005) "Major League Problems: Baseball's Broken System of Cuban Defection." 25 *B.C. Third World L.J.* 383.
- Gems, G. (2006) "Sport, Colonialism, and United States Imperialism." *Journal of Sport History*. 33 (1), pp. 3-25.

- Gibney, F. (1971) "Reinventing Japan...Again." *Foreign Policy*. 119, pp. 74-88.
- Giulianotti, R. (2011a) "Sport, Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution: A Contextual Analysis and Modelling of the Sport, Development and Peace Sector." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 34(2), pp. 207-228.
- Giulianotti, R. (2011b) "The Sport, Development and Peace Sector: A Model of Four Social Policy Domains." *Journal of Social Policy*. 40, pp. 757-776.
- Giulianotti, R. (2012) "The Sport for Development and Peace Sector: An Analysis of its Emergence, Key Institutions, and Social Possibilities." *Brown Journal of World Affairs*. 18(11), pp. 207-228.
- González Echevarria, R. (2000) "The Magic of Baseball." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*. 8(1), pp. 145-165.
- Gould, W.B. (2000) "Baseball and Globalization: The Game Played and Heard and Watched 'Round the World' (with Apologies to Soccer and Bobby Thompson)." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*. 8(1), pp. 85-120.
- Greller, M. (1999) "Give Me Your Tired, Your Poor, Your Fastball Pitchers Yearning for Strike Three: How Baseball Diplomacy Can Revitalize Major League Baseball and United States-Cuba Relations." *American University International Law Review*. 14(6), pp. 1647-1713.
- Ikei, M. (2000) "Baseball, Besuboru, Yakyu: Comparing the American and Japanese Games." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*. 8(1).
- Kaldor, M. (2003) "The Idea of Global Civil Society." *International Affairs*. 79(3), pp. 583-93.
- Kelman, H. (1997) "Patriotism in the Lives of Individuals and Nations." *Tel-Aviv University*. pp. 165-189.
- Perez Jr., L. (1994) "Between Baseball and Bullfighting: The Quest for Nationality in Cuba, 1868-1898." *The Journal of American History*. 81(2), pp. 493-517.
- Perry, W. (2013) "A Neutral Sport Builds Peace in Northern Ireland." *University of Bradford Division of Peace Studies Newsletter*. 1(4), pp. 4-5.
- Whiting, R. (2006) "The Samurai Way of Baseball and the National Character Debate." *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*. pp. 104-122.

PhD/MA Theses

Banas, J. (2003) The Complex Relationships Between Demography, Conflict, and Identity. PhD Dissertation: Washington University (St. Louis).

Lea-Howarth, J. (2006) Sport and Conflict: Is Football an Appropriate Tool to Utilise in Conflict Resolution, Reconciliation or Reconstruction? MA Dissertation: University of Sussex. Available at: http://www.football4peace.de/Downloads/Publications/Lea-Howarth_Dissertation.pdf [Accessed: 26 May 2013]

Lewis, R.F. (2006) "Softball" Marketing the Myth and Managing the Reality in Major League Baseball. Published PhD Dissertation: University of New Mexico.

Schrag, M. (2012) The Case for Peace-building as Sport's Next Great Legacy: A Literature Review, Assessment, And Suggestions for Applying the 'Slow Child' in the Emergent Field of Sport for Development and Peace. MA Dissertation: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Online Resources

(2008) Griffey becomes American Public Diplomacy Envoy. The Seattle Times, 18 November.

Miller, D., (2013) Fan Walking Across UK to Spread Game to Kids in Brazil. Available at: http://mlb.mlb.com/news/article.jsp?ymd=20130702&content_id=52439232&c_id=mlb [Accessed: 07 July 2013].

MLB, (2013) Opening Day Rosters Feature 241 Players Born Outside the U.S. Available at: http://mlb.mlb.com/news/article.jsp?ymd=20130401&content_id=43618468&vkey=pr_mlb&c_id=mlb [Accessed: 15 August 2013].

Rymer, Z. (2013) Ways Baseball Has Helped Distract, Heal the World During Dark Times. Available at: <http://bleacherreport.com/articles/1609456-ways-baseball-has-helped-distract-heal-the-world-during-dark-times> [Accessed: 12 July 2013].

Sport and Dev.org(a), (n.d.) Defining Peace and Relationship-Building. [online] Available at: http://www.sportanddev.org/en/learnmore/sport_and_peace_building/defining_peace_and_relationship_building/ [Accessed: 19 June 2013].

Sport and Dev.org(*b*), (n.d.) Sport and Peace. Available at:
http://www.sportanddev.org/en/toolkit/research_corner/knowledge_gaps_in_sport_development/sport_and_peace/ [Accessed: 28 July 2013].

The National Security Archive, (1975) Beisbol Diplomacy. Available at:
<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB12/nsaebb12.htm>
[Accessed: 10 April 2013].

The Truce Factsheet, Official Blog of the International Olympic Truce Centre
<http://olympictruce.wordpress.com/olympic-truce-history/the-truce-factsheet/> [Accessed: 01 August 2013].

UN(*a*), General Assembly Resolution 48/11, (1993) Observance of the Olympic Truce. Available at:
http://www.un.org/wcm/webdav/site/sport/shared/sport/pdfs/Resolutions/A_RES_48_11/1993-10-25-A-RES-48-11_EN.pdf [Accessed: 10 August 2013].

UN(*b*), UN General Assembly Resolutions on Sport. Available at:
<http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/home/resourcecenter/resolutions/pid/19431> [Accessed: 1 September 2013].

UN(*c*), (2012) General Assembly Renews Call for End to US Embargo Against Cuba. Available at:
<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=43482&Cr=cuba#.UiK3YWTEIvd> [Accessed: 12 June 2013].

UNOSDP(*a*), (2012) UN Member States Confirm Sport's Role in Development and Peace-building. Available at:
http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/home/sport/template/news_item.jsp?cid=37032 [Accessed: 29 July 2013].

UNOSDP(*b*), (n.d.) Why Sport? Available at:
<http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/home/sport> [Accessed: 01 August 2013].

U.S. Department of State, (2013) State Sponsors of Terrorism. Available at:
<http://www.state.gov/j/ct/list/c14151.htm> [Accessed: 12 June 2013].

Video

Baseball (1994) [DVD] PBS: Ken Burns, Lynn Novick.

Kokoyakyu: High School Baseball (2006) [DVD] PBS: Kenneth Eng.

Recommended Websites

International Olympic Committee: olympic.org/ioc

International Federation of Baseball: ibaf.org

Major League Baseball Community: MLBcommunity.org

Nippon Professional Baseball: npb.or.jp/eng/

Peace and Sport: peace-sport.org

Pitch in For Baseball: pifb.org

Society For American Baseball Research: sabr.org

Sport and Dev: sportanddev.org

United Nations Office of Sport for Development and Peace: un.org/sport

World Baseball Classic: worldbaseballclassic.com