

Cuba's Challenges Hosting the 1991 Pan American Games and The Spectacle of the Revolution's "Soft" Power¹

*"Distinguidos invitados, atletas, compatriotas,
declaro inaugurado los oncenos juegos panamericanos. Muchas gracias."*

In what was probably the shortest speech of Fidel Castro's life, the 1991 Pan American Games were opened in Cuba.² More characteristically, the official opening of the Villa Panamericana (Pan American Village) the week prior to the start of the actual Games provided the venue for Castro to pontificate at length on sport, revolution, and the impending Games. Rife with symbolism, the opening of the Villa Panamericana took place on 26 July, the most important date in the Revolutionary calendar, the date that named Castro's Revolutionary movement. That ceremony included the recently released Nelson Mandela and other African National Congress dignitaries and more closely exemplified the Cuban use of sport through Castro's common rhetorical strategy explicitly linking local events with the rest of the world and current political events. Linking Mandela's strength of character, experience with Revolutionary struggle, and love of sport with the impending international spectacle, Castro's speech demonstrated the powerful linkages the Cuban saw in the use of the soft power of sport.³

This article parallels Castro's and the Cuban government's ongoing strategy of linking local events with international contexts, events, and concerns by examining various machinations happening in the five years' prior to the 1991 Pan American Games. The international contexts throughout the lead up to the Games demonstrate the swirling eddies of power that help to shape each and every international sport spectacle in relation to the localized national circumstances in those particular moments. As these are constantly evolving political economic processes, it needs to be emphasized that, although Cuba hosted the Pan American Games 25 years ago, the various currents that shaped those Games continue and increasingly affect global sport spectacles, albeit in related yet decidedly different ways.

How these global political currents influenced Cuba's preparations for the 1991 Pan American Games is the explicit focus of this article with an implicit consideration of how they affected Cuba's standing. International sport spectacles serve as attention attractors that can be used to entice others to its siren call. It rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others. This sort of persuasive power is what Nye calls "soft power" because it is a form of diplomatic statecraft that avoids threats or acts of force.⁴ Normally, soft power is associated with intangible assets of a state such as a leader's attractive

personality, a culture, a nation's set of values or institutions and that government's politics are perceived as having moral gravitas and legitimacy. The soft power of a country tends to rest on three principal resources: its culture, its political values at home and overseas, and its foreign policies. Nye points out that soft power is not the equivalent of popular culture and it is not merely the generative influence of the behavior produced through cultural resources. Rather, I extend Nye's concept by arguing that international sport spectacles are explicit deployments of soft power.

To do this, a brief consideration of the ideological underpinnings of the Pan American Games themselves as a potential international relations vehicle is provided. From that outline, the Revolutionary government's emphasis on humanitarian internationalism as part of its ongoing foreign policy strategy and the political instrument that sport becomes are briefly touched upon. Finally, the domestic political economy at the time of the Games serves as the background for a discussion of the construction of the 1991 Games' infrastructure with a dedicated focus on Villa Panamericana on the eastern outskirts of Havana. Throughout these discussions, an awareness of the historiography of Cuban sport and the near total absence of directly related Cuban scholarship constrains the entirety of this article. Further elaboration on this particular limitation is directly addressed below and sets the stage for the rest of this piece.

Historical Contexts of Cuban History and Scholarship⁵

There is a facile sense outside of Cuba that the social sciences and history in Cuban academia are not really "true" academic disciplines with critical scholars engaged in serious enquiry. A prevalent presumption is that the Cuban populace, including its intelligentsia, is so "brainwashed" or indoctrinated into the ways of the Revolution, of Marxist Communism, that they cannot possibly be able to critique or think for themselves. This condescending position is easily disproven by merely going to a bar, café, university classroom, stadium, or *peña* in Havana and listening to the locals. Arguments over baseball, the economy, the government, civil society, or even history all percolate.⁶ It is not that debate is not allowed; in fact, it is encouraged, albeit along certain lines. Cuban intelligentsia drives these debates. An example of this is the ongoing weekly television show, *UltimoJueves* (Last Thursday) in which leading Cuban intellectuals debate a particular topic.⁷ Each season's shows are transcribed and published, fostering further discussion amongst those who viewed the program thus continuing the debate each show initially raised. That debate is to follow certain prescriptions is no different than anywhere else in

the world. There is not a government in the world that does not react violently to the perceived (not necessarily actual) threats by individuals advocating for the overthrow of the government.⁸

The denial of Cubans' capacity to decide for themselves is a legacy of not just the Cold War hostilities between the US and Cuban governments throughout the latter half of the twentieth century but a longer rift in which the US government has never fully recognized the sovereignty of the Cuban nation, instead using military force and economic leverage to impose its will on Cuba. Prior to the Revolution, the US not only occupied Cuba, it forced Cuban leaders immediately after the Cubans' War of Independence – what is blithely called the “Spanish-American War” with Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders the central figures immediately riding/writing the Cubans out of their own history – to write into their own constitution a passage that gave the US Government the right to intervene in Cuba's domestic affairs whenever it was in the interest of the United States to do so. Hated by the Cubans, the Platt Amendment was finally abrogated in 1934 after the 1933 Revolution that ousted the dictator Gerardo Machado, but that did not end the paternalistic relationship in which the US ambassador effectively determined the leadership of the Cuban state.⁹ It was only with the overthrow of the Batista regime in 1959 and the success of Castro-led forces that the Cuban Revolution, a centuries-long nationalist struggle for independence, finally culminated with success that ended US domination of the country.

While historians outside Cuba tend to view the Cuban Revolution as beginning with 1959, Cuban historians in Cuba perceive, and the Cuban national narrative portrays, the events of 1959 and afterwards as part of a longer process of Cuban emancipation; a struggle that continues in the face of not just American imperialism but more recently the soft imperialism of neoliberal globalization.¹⁰ That foreign scholars, especially scholars from the US, fail to acknowledge, much less address, the Cuban perspective is more than a remnant of the US-USSR Cold War of the mid-twentieth century; it is the extended legacy of European colonialism and continuing US imperial designs upon Cuba. Those historically informed ideological blinkers limit the ongoing relationships between Cuba and the United States and, of course, directly affected the awarding of the 1991 Pan American Games to Cuba and the subsequent preparations for those Games.

At the same time, this article uses of a number of pronouncements made by Fidel Castro. These statements are not taken to be verified facts unless alternate, corroborating sources report similar information. Rather, Castro's pronouncements are treated as aspirational and ideological statements intended to convince Cubans and other audiences that his interpretation of the situation on the ground is the correct one. The challenges within Cuban historiography are not separating Castro's perspective from the rest but from gaining access to the documentation that would verify or refute any such claims,

whether Castro's or his critics'. Unfortunately, the difficulties in obtaining such information means this article cannot do much more than acknowledge this particular limitation and context.¹¹

Pan American Games and Pan-Americanism

The Pan American Games are a curious phenomenon. They were not the first global sport spectacle in the Americas, given the antecedents of the Central American and Caribbean Games (begun in 1926). Nor are the Pan American Games the only regional sports spectacles. Others include the South American Games (begun in 1978), the Central American Games (begun in 1973) and even the most recent ALBA Games (begun in 2005).¹² Begun in 1951, the Pan American Games are part of the Olympic network of global sport spectacles. They along with the other International Olympic Committee recognized regional international sport spectacles, the Asian Games, Pacific Games, and All-Africa Games, are organized around the same structure as the IOC in which members' National Olympic Committees form the membership of each regional organization. The Pan American Games thus serve as an Olympic qualifying event and are held the year before any Summer Olympiad on a four-year cycle. However, the Olympic connection is not broadly promoted nor are the Pan American Games portrayed as a "regional Olympiad." The active disassociation and obscuring of the Olympic connection is curious and bears further scrutiny; however, such a concern is beyond the remit of this contribution. Instead, the Pan American Games authorities attempt to make themselves and the Games distinct from any Olympic ethos despite their structural position in the global sports industry.

As an important spectacle, the Games themselves are contradictory in nature. Attention paid to the Games depends greatly on the host nation and each American nation's geopolitical position in the hemisphere. This fragmented interest is indicative of the underlying tension within the Games. Despite the name, the Pan American Games are not ideologically coherent in the way that the Olympic Games promote a specific worldview labeled "Olympism" or even the way other international sport federations promote a singular view of their specific sport. Additionally, the other regional international sport spectacles never had an associated unifying political ideology implied or imbued with those events themselves. The Pan American Games' very name, however, implies political unification under a singular vision of "America". That vision, however, is not singular but bifocal and comes with or without an accent. The Pan American Games in practice counter any unity and instead promulgate opposing Pan Americanist projections that replicate and effectively embody the competing visionary versions, America and *América*, through athletic competition.¹³ That the two most successful countries over the history of the Games are intense political rivals with clearly divergent perspectives and strong political agendas

beyond their own shores, only reinforces the simple realization that there is no unified Pan-American nation despite attempts to forge such links makes the Pan American Games closer to the how the Olympic Games were perceived during the US-Soviet Cold War in which two political camps used international sport to demonstrate symbolically its superiority over the other.

These ideological tensions cloud the purpose of the Pan American Games. Further obscuring our understanding of the spectacle is the simple fact that a comprehensive history of the Pan American Games is yet to be written. Yes, there are various nationally-based publications that provide the statistical evidence that the Games did occur, records of who won, which countries won the most medals, where and when each edition of the Games was held. They prove the Games happen, that they exist, but these records are not history or historiography; they are just that, records. Any history of this hemispheric, atmospheric, sporting festival is problematic for it will be an attempt to speak of Latin American sport. Yet the existence of an entity that we can call Latin American sport is something extremely problematic.¹⁴ To attribute some historical force to Pan- or Latin American sport is dubious since the evolution of sport throughout the Western hemisphere has almost entirely been based on state-building projects tied to national agendas.¹⁵

Part of the problem is the lack of readily available historical documents related to sport throughout Latin America, including Cuba, and the critical study of sport throughout the hemisphere. Aside from the United States and Canadian scholarship, there is a grave paucity of the serious study of sport throughout the rest of the hemisphere. Records are difficult to identify, much less access and what accounts there are have often been written by either journalists or amateur historians. These accounts tend to be populist, descriptive, untheoretical and acritical of any intersecting political economic forces. This is generally the case with Cuban sport as well, with the majority of chronicles being produced by either journalists or former sports figures or administrators.¹⁶ There are, of course, a couple of notable exceptions. One was the internationally recognized scholar Radoul Ruiz Aguilera who sadly passed away in the mid-1990s and a couple of recently emerging scholars, especially Felix Julio Alfonso's work on Cuban baseball.¹⁷ Like Cuban scholarship, the situation has only begun to change elsewhere, especially in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, in this century.¹⁸ Yet the overall point remains: what scholarship there is focuses on the national and there is nothing that considers regional, transnational or global foci that could be construed to be Pan American, Latin American, or other form of Americanisms. Interestingly, Cesar Torres has produced noteworthy work on how global institutions like the International Olympic Committee (IOC) have inserted themselves into the hemisphere and extended the domain of their reach.¹⁹ Others, such as Antonio Sotomayor's studies of Puerto Rico's sport-related politics, are

beginning to approach these self-same politics but not from the imposition of “soft” imperial relations in a post-colonial era but as internal nationalist struggles within the context of a regionalized imperialist structure of power.²⁰ Their work reinforces my point that it is misleading to think of the Pan American Games as an expression of a regional nationalism of either vision of America, with or without an accent, or as some ideological construct that allows for a Latin American construct. Now, even after fifty years, the purpose of the Pan American Games is still not clear.

A few years ago, I asked that greater attention be paid to the global spectacles of sport beyond the obvious -- the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup -- particularly the regional spectacles that underpin the global sports industries.²¹ What most concerned me was that scholars were pursuing the low-hanging fruit; the easy options as it were. And in so doing, coming up with easy answers to perplexing problems. Certainly the Olympic industry and its sundry related elements of the global sports industry should be examined in a most critical manner as a number of scholars have now done.²² Yet their work does not embrace the entire monolithic shibboleth that has become the twenty-first century network of global sport industries that includes, amongst other things, the various other international sport spectacles that feed the Olympic behemoth. For what underpins all these global spectacles are the political wrangling for control of this industry, a cut-throat struggle imbued with internecine political rivalries, corporate greed, self-appointed aggrandizement and, beneath that entire mess, a question of the purpose to which sport should be put and how the answer to that question should be implemented.

Whatever the Pan American Games purport to be, these spectacles barely register in the United States public’s general awareness with the singular exception of when the Cubans compete against the US. They simply do not attract the attention that many other sport spectacles, national and increasingly global, do. Canadians’ view of the Games appears relatively similar although the morbidly rabid fascination with the Cubans is not part of their particular perspective.²³ Yet throughout much of the rest of the hemisphere, the Games take on national significance, especially when athletes have a chance to earn a medal. Cuba is no exception. The Pan American Games play a significant role in the reinforcement of Revolutionary *cubanidad* (Cubanness) and burgeoning nationalist pride on the one hand and Cuban success in the Games serve to symbolically prove the vitality and viability of the Cuban Revolution’s worldview to the rest of the *Américas* as a viable challenger to the bullying hegemony of the US on the other.

The international context leading up to the 1991 Pan American Games

Cuba was awarded the privilege of hosting the 1991 Pan American Games in 1986. That, in itself, was seen as a major victory by Cuban leaders. The awarding of the Games to Cuba was the result of considerable political deliberation by the *Organización Deportiva Panamericana*/Pan American Sports Organization (ODEPA/PASO), the “august” body of National Olympic Committee members of the Western Hemisphere, overseeing the continuing cycle of the Games themselves, and direct bilateral negotiations between the US and Cuban PASO officials.

The deployment of sport’s soft power in international politics was abundantly apparent to all around the world in the decade leading up to the 1991 Pan American Games. Olympic boycotts of the 1976, 1980, and 1984 Summer Games made it abundantly clear that sport was clearly understood as a political instrument by governments around the world. Political hostility between the governments of the US and Cuba fueled speculation over what the 1991 Pan American Games would be like. American political vitriol spilled into the sporting arena long before it was announced that Havana would host the 1991 Games. The tit-for-tat Olympic boycotts of 1980 and 1984 meant that the Cubans had not participated in the Los Angeles Games. There were some questions in international circles, led by speculation amongst US officials, that the Cubans would not participate in the 1987 Pan American Games. Cuba had bid for the Games but was not awarded them. Given their earlier no-show at the 1984 Los Angeles Games, there was a concern that the Cubans would not participate since the Games were to be held in the US mainland (the 1979 Pan American Games were held in Puerto Rico). Unnamed members of ODEPA/PASO expressed concerns over whether the Cubans were serious and how any commitment to Cuba would also bind Cuba to hosting the 1991 Pan American Games. When the Games were awarded in November 1986, Cuba’s right to host the Games was contingent upon their agreement to participate in both the 1987 Pan American Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games.²⁴

A principal driver of these concerns was not political but rather economic factors. Although the US government publicly expressed no concerns, the head of the United States Olympic Committee, Robert Helmick (and thus, the US National Olympic Committee representative for PASO) did have concerns, economic ones that echoed broader ODEPA/PASO concerns about the economic viability of the Games. The main protagonists, however, were private American players, not public bodies. The US television corporation CBS knew that the absence of the Cubans would lessen any potential entertainment value the 1987 Games might hold for an US audience as the Cuban sports contingent was often the only viable competition to American athletes in these Games.²⁵ That this athletic rivalry could be linked to the ongoing Soviet-American Cold War made the spectacle all the more compelling, symbolic, and telling while simultaneously demonstrating how sport consistently promotes specific

worldviews in the realm of international politics.²⁶ CBS's intervention is yet another example of the initiative taken by private sport-related corporate interests rather than the US government.²⁷

US-Cuba relations were already strained as a result of American intransigent insistence that no US company could be involved in the preparations for the 1991 Games. The US Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) prevented various US companies from acting as suppliers of needed materials, construction supplies, sports equipment, and other sundry resources, forcing the Cubans to find alternative, more expensive, if only because of the longer transport costs, suppliers. Those trade restrictions quietly passed unnoticed until the question of media coverage arose. Then the issue became much more public as the three major US media corporations of the time all reported on ABC's difficulties with the US government regarding what they all (NBC, CBS, and ABC) saw as illegal restrictions on their own trade. The difference between the media industry and others prevented from engaging with Cuban businesses was that the media corporations could air their own grievances and thus make what had been a nearly thirty-year practice suddenly become a "public" concern.

ABC came to an agreement with the 1991 Games organizers that the television rights for the US market would cost US\$9 million. However, the Trading with the Enemy Act was still in force (and remains in force). That Act prohibits any American interest (citizen or business) from conducting any form of economic transaction with any Cuban citizen without the express written consent of the OFAC in the form of a "special license."²⁸ ABC applied for just such a license but was refused. ABC went to federal court to allow a payment of US\$8.7 million to be paid to the Pan American Games Organizing Committee.²⁹ However, that avenue also proved fruitless because three-quarters of that money would go directly to the Cuban government to help pay for the Games. ABC appealed, arguing for an exception due to its media status, and that as a news gathering institution, it was inconsistent with the freedom of speech guaranteed in the US Constitution.³⁰ Furthermore, ABC lawyers argued, the US was not prohibiting the thousand strong American contingent of athletes and coaches from traveling to and staying in Cuba for the duration of the Games. The OFAC wanted any such payment to be placed in a blocked account held in a US bank, something that occurred on a regular basis whether the monies were for Cuban disaster relief activities in stricken countries or wealthy Cuban industrialists claiming loss of income due to the nationalization of industries in Cuba in the early 1960s.³¹ Any money in those blocked accounts will only be released when the US Congress decides changes in the Cuban government are sufficiently satisfactory to warrant the funds' release. The funds ABC was providing would have gone directly to the Cubans to help fund the hosting of the Games and it was argued in court that if the funds were not released, coverage of the Games would be impossible. ABC eventually won its case but only by

signing an agreement waiving the fee despite legal arguments that the US Congress' enactment of the Berman Amendment was formal recognition that the Trading with the Enemy Act was subordinate to the First Amendment right to free speech.³²

US media corporations' ability to provide media coverage of the 1987 and 1991 Pan American Games is only one example of the ongoing hostile international relations insinuated into the Pan American Games because of latent US-Cuba hostilities. Most of this overt action has been taken by the US government authorities in direct attempts to prevent the Cuban national teams from competing and also covertly supporting direct violence against the Cuban government and its representatives, including Cuban teams in international competition. The history of these ongoing attempts to exclude the Cubans from the international stage through various antagonistic and punitively pedantic bureaucratic acts predates and continues after the 1991 Games.

For example, US authorities attempted to prevent Cuba's participation in the Tenth Central American and Caribbean Games held in San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1966. US authorities first refused to issue visas to Cuban athletes and then insisted after reluctantly backing away from that position that the Cubans had to enter Puerto Rico from a third country and could not travel direct to Puerto Rico from Cuba. Rejecting such a nonsensical assertion, the Cuban contingent decided to travel by ship.³³ As the *Cerro Pelado* approached Puerto Rican shores, US warplanes intercept the ship, threaten it with destruction, and otherwise attempt to deter its arrival in port.³⁴ The spectacle of overt aggression could only be taken so far.

Passive aggression through tactics of denial, however, could and did continue. US government officials attempted to restrict Cuban participation in the 1979 Pan American Games in San Juan, Puerto Rico as well as the 1987 Games held in Indianapolis, Indiana. This petty antagonism continued with similar tactics attempted for an exhibition baseball game held in Baltimore, Maryland in 1999, which required presidential intervention to allow the event to occur.³⁵ Similarly, US officials attempted to interfere with Major League Baseball's World Baseball Classic by refusing to allow the Cuban contingent to enter the US and by US Congressional representatives suggesting a Cuban "national" team could be formed from Cuban exiles. It required the International Olympic Committee's intercession, via the United States Olympic Committee, to put a halt to that edition of these antagonisms.³⁶

In comparison, Cuban government officials have never hindered the participation of US athletes in international sports events held in Cuba, nor do they consider the actual sporting arenas of international sport competition to be a venue for airing international relations grievances. Rather,

Cuban attitudes toward sport see it as a useful form of soft power for international diplomacy through engagement and rapprochement.

Cuban internationalism

The Cuban approach to internationalism combines aspects of international solidarity, national interest, and the pursuit of development goals at home and abroad. The Cuban government creates and seeks opportunities to engage in collaboration, diplomacy, commerce, and trade in order to project its own concepts of progressive development, while also garnering much needed hard currency and political benefits for its national interests. Cuban internationalism has received significant scholarly attention in policy domains such as health care and the culture industries.³⁷ Despite growing attention paid to the soft power of Cuban cultural industries and the transnational nature of Cuban cultural products (dance, music, literature, film), sport remains absent from these discussions despite sport's pervasiveness in Cuban society. Similarly, much of the scholarship on Cuban foreign policy does not give any credence whatsoever to Cuban sport-based internationalism, although sport's use as a form of soft power by Cuba is beginning to be recognized.³⁸

Nevertheless, Cuba has used sport as an instrument of soft power throughout the twentieth century, particularly throughout the *Américas*. The Cuban government's pursuance of host city for global sport spectacles predates the Revolution and follows on after the 1991 Pan American Games. Havana hosted the second Central American Games in 1930. Since the 1991 Games, the Revolutionary government has twice attempted to make Havana an Olympic host city, failing both times to even make the first cut. Havana has served as a Olympic city for regional qualifying competitions in various sports. It has also hosted other international sporting spectacles, from baseball exhibition games between the Cuban national team and a Major League Baseball team in 1999, to an exhibition match between the Venezuelan and Cuban national teams with both Fidel Castro and Hugo Chavez playing active parts in the exhibition contest, to one of the host cities of ALBA Games, a spectacle designed to solidify the political trade alliance of left-leaning states in the Americas and to help legitimate the ALBA as an international organization. It would appear that the ALBA Games, hosted three times by Havana, have not managed to reinforce what appears to be a dissipating political and economic venture of left-leaning regional alliance building. Despite Cuba's involvement in several other sport-related international initiatives and the ongoing use of sport as a tool for international diplomacy, the 1991 Pan American Games remain the largest direct sporting impact on the Cuban populace of any international sport spectacle.

Villa Panamericana and urban development

Closer to home, the hosting of the 1991 Pan American Games also served domestic agendas. In large part this was due to the construction of the Villa Panamericana. Largely used for housing and health-related construction projects, *microbrigadas* (microbrigades) had often been used in the 1970s only to be disbanded in the early 1980s after heavy criticism as being “unproductive” because they had no economic basis to sustain them. These work-force mobilizations had been used to build hospitals, health clinics, sport and recreation facilities, day care centers, and spectacular spaces such as the grounds for the new international ExpoCuba on the edge of Havana for international business conventions.³⁹ They were revitalized and re-labelled as “social brigades” in the late 1980s in which laborers came from neighbors in a specific area instead of workers from a given workplace.

Microbrigadas’ re-emergence were due in part to the increasing economic strains as the USSR and Eastern European states altered international trade agreements overnight in 1989 and 1990 resulting increasing shortages of petrol affecting transport. When the Cubans initially agreed to host the 1991 Games in 1986, their economy was solid and state leaders did not face any challenges that any other national government faced. However, the Gorbachev-led reforms of the USSR and subsequent dissolution of the USSR and Eastern European state socialism led to a torrential economic collapse. Castro, in addressing the Union of Young Communists in early 1992 claimed

We had an equitable trade exchange; and that exchange was lost from one night to the following morning, from one day to the next. Our country lost more than 50 percent of imports. They were imports of all types: food, raw materials, equipment, everything. Our country lost over US\$4 billion in imports. We have abruptly lost over US\$4 billion in exports. Oil consumption in our country had already reached 13 million tons. Today we are working with figures closer to 6 million tons, less than half.⁴⁰

Castro’s figures are in-line with other economists’ estimates ranging from an overall loss of 50 to 85% of GDP, what is abundantly apparent is that the final push to finish the construction of the Villa Panamericana coincided with the start of the worst domestic economic crisis Revolutionary Cuba had ever known.⁴¹ This situation had to have a direct impact on Cubans’ ability to prepare for the Pan American Games and the government’s priorities. The Pan American Games were not to be the primary emphasis of Cuban economic strategy according to Fidel Castro at the opening of the Villa Panamericana in July 1991:

Our country did not work only on the Pan-American Games projects. They have been a very small part of our efforts. When one day there were 4,000 or 5,000 people working here regularly, there were almost 17,000 voluntary workers in the agricultural camps in Havana

Province. Havana residents in those camps, Havana residents here, and the largest gatherings were on Sundays. When there were 10,000 here, there were 25,000 there.⁴²

These numbers themselves are impossible to confirm. Nevertheless, the costs, to which an economic figure has never been published, were enormous. Delays in obtaining construction materials were demoralizing and rumors of the apartments and facilities being used for foreigners rather than the older, established practice of construction workers being given first chance at these new homes led to some worker-related protests and laying down of tools – though it is difficult to discern what was truly dissatisfaction and unrest and what was ruptures in the transport system inhibiting the delivery of necessary material. However, for many other social brigades elsewhere in the country, the prioritization of the Villa Panamericana over other projects proved fatal to those other projects due to the scarcity of building materials and fuel.

As one of the two major urban housing development projects in Havana in the 1980s, and the last major housing development project in Havana, Villa Panamericana comprised 55 new buildings and a total of 1473 new apartments.⁴³ However, its isolation from the rest of Havana, including the two easternmost outskirts of Habana del Este and Alamar has resulted in the rapid deterioration of the entire neighborhood despite providing state-of-the-art housing. As a bedroom community, it simply has not functioned well due to the ongoing issues with transport throughout the city. Twenty years later, I traveled with friends of mine to visit family members who live in Villa Panamericana. If they are lucky, they see these family members once a year. It had been three years since their last visit to the other side of Havana's bay and it proved to be an all-day odyssey in which the 13 kilometers from Vedado to Villa Panamericana required three to four hours to go one way. As a stand-alone suburb, it has been reinvigorated over the past few years after a decade of rapid deterioration.

Villa Panamericana was not just a housing project, of course. Its purpose was to provide state-of-the-art sporting facilities in an area of the city where they were sadly lacking. This particular strategic practice was not new to the Revolutionary government as outlined elsewhere.⁴⁴ A significant policy strategy throughout the Revolutionary era has been the massification of sport through the provision of facilities throughout the country. The sports project that constituted the Pan American Games resulted not only in the numerous facilities built along the coast between Habana del Este and Alamar but throughout the city. All total 46 sports facilities were constructed as part of the Pan American Games initiative of which 21 were sited in the Villa Panamericana.⁴⁵ Olympic stadiums, tennis courts, swimming pools, and other facilities were built throughout the city and in Santiago. By 1992, Havana had 1206 sport facilities with a seating capacity of 167,000 spectators. The difference being the sport complexes

were integrated with the Villa Panamericana from the outset rather than an ad hoc addition to existing facilities, an insertion into existing urban infrastructure, such as the Kid Chocolate Gymnasium, or something built in a difficult to reach location, such as the Sala Polivalente built in San Jose de las Lajas on the rural outskirts of Havana.⁴⁶ Construction then ground to a sudden halt; the Villa Panamericana was the last new construction project in the capital. Investment in the tourism industry took precedence and the refurbishment of dilapidated hotels and other buildings in Old Havana became the focus of infrastructure investment throughout the 1990s.

Given the domestic economic context at the time of the Games, the purpose of the facilities evolved and shifted as Castro himself asserted when speaking with Mandela a week prior to the opening ceremony. These words were, of course, aspirational.

The stadium can even be expanded, and the areas we have here are for us to build more if we want. Part of these facilities will go to serve tourism. Most of the village will pass into the hands of those who worked to build it. Not all of them, because tens of thousands of people worked on this village, but most of the buildings and apartments will pass into the hands of those who worked regularly to build them. So about 1,000 families-I do not remember the exact number-will live in these palaces we have built as the Pan American Village.⁴⁷

The infrastructure of Villa Panamericana has deteriorated since those heady days in 1991. Buildings have fallen into disrepair, the Estadio Olímpico is empty and padlocked though it has had a recent makeover. Other sporting facilities have also fallen derelict through disuse. The economic pressures of the ensuing decade meant that the maintenance of such facilities was not that high on the government's priority list. Indeed, the Pan American Games facilities were not the only sports facilities to fall into utter disrepair rendering them unusable. Castro noted that

I think there are about 150 pools which were built for recreation... We have to look at all the available facilities-I think there are about 150-and see how they can be organized for mass participation, much greater participation, with these same facilities. Sometimes the problem is a lack of chlorine, or some little pump is broken. The pool in Martí Park has not been open for months, but the pool in Camilo Cienfuegos Park, which is nearby, is working. I told those comrades, we have to fix it. What is needed is minor. How can we close down a pool for so long because of some small part? Sometimes it is a matter of organizing who would transport the chlorine. Sometimes the problem is not a shortage of chlorine but that no truck is available to transport it.⁴⁸

Castro's comments are an acknowledgment of the burgeoning economic disaster that was to become the Special Period in Times of Peace. The effects of this looming crisis affected taken-for-granted, basic everyday interactions. That Cuban officials stuck to the commitments they made five years earlier when the domestic economy and the country's international trade were robust and reliable is significant. The hosting of the Pan American Games demonstrated Cuban resiliency and reliability to its international

commitments – a vital symbolic indication given at a moment when all the terms of international economic agreements were being (re)negotiated.

Conclusion:

The true triumph of the 1991 Pan American Games was not Cuba topping the medal table, outpacing the US for the first time in the Games history. The real success was that Cuba navigated unforeseen and extremely challenging circumstances to host the Games at all. The Games were a success both internationally and domestically from the host's standpoint.

Internationally, the 1991 Pan American Games were a success for they provided concrete evidence that Cuba would abide by its international agreements even in the face of severe adversity. Hosting the Games provided an opportunity for Cuba to renew its existing relations and reopen relations with other Latin American countries. Despite the sudden and unexpected changes in the global political contexts causing an increase of overt political pressure from its antagonist to the North, that Cuba did not renege on its promise reaffirmed the Cuban government's staunch defiance of self-determination in the face outside forces. As much as possible Cuba hosted the Games on its terms. It boycotted the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games despite the stipulation that it would attend as part of the PASO agreement that Cuba would host the 1991 Pan American Games. It found foreign suppliers of materiel that it could not provide, such as the Games' hockey pitch, under favorable economic agreements. Those agreements proved essential as Cuba's international trade agreements and its monetary reserve dissolved practically overnight.

Facing an impending domestic economic disaster, Cuban authorities became even more creative at finding solutions to the challenges they faced. In a stroke from the past, they resurrected the *microbrigadas* from the 1970s and early 1980s. Social brigades did not just build the sports facilities but an entire new suburb of Havana. The construction of the Villa Panamericana was the last major new urban construction project using the *microbrigadas* as construction labor. The *microbrigadas* were not resurrected for the Pan American Games. Rather, that reinstitution of these labor organizations was tactical move to begin to address the plummeting economy as a means to employ an increasingly idle labor force. Their primary focus was the revitalization of neighborhoods with an emphasis on building on empty lots and derelict properties but what they were not used for was the construction of *new* neighborhoods. They were also used for the construction of the Pan American Games facilities in Havana and Santiago de Cuba. Further, the focus of construction moved from social needs like housing

to economic ones, such as the tourism infrastructure, in an attempt to replace the lost revenue stream following the collapse of Cuba's international trade agreements.

Of course, the Pan American Games construction projects were not unmitigated successes. While the facilities in the area around the Villa Panamericana, such as the Estadio Olimpico have become rather dilapidated and requiring further refurbishment, other facilities in the center of Havana, such as the Kid Chocolate gymnasium and Ramon Fonst arena are both vibrant and active sites of Cuban sport. Although Cuban officials followed the usual strategy of Olympic host cities regarding the after-event use of the "athletes' village", the Cubans actually fulfilled their plan: the Villa Panamericana became home to several thousand Cubans. In that regard, the Villa Panamericana has been a greater success than any Olympic Village ever built for a Summer or Winter Games.

This paper contributes a preliminary chapter in a nascent history of the Pan American Games. Overall, this article excavates the underpinning currents in the preparations to the 1991 Pan American Games. Given the circumstances in and beyond Cuba in the years leading up to the very moment Castro made that momentous pronouncement, the opening ceremonies were an enormous achievement in and of themselves. The Cold War contexts underpinning the preparations for the 1991 Pan American Games provided additional challenges beyond the usual sort of planning difficulties faced by a Games host. The unanticipated additional political and economic threats due to the collapse of the country's international trade agreements meant that Revolutionary sport and the Cuban Revolution itself were under enormous pressure. While unanticipated changes in economy and politics are not unprecedented for host nations, the actual threat of the dissolution of the state as part of those changing contexts for a host is unique. The unequivocal athletic and political success of meeting those pressures while hosting the Games effectively bought the time needed for the Cuban government to reorient its tactics and to shift its practices to generate hard-currency income. It was not recognized at the time, but looking back, the 1991 Pan American Games saved not only Cuban sport but provided the spectacular evidence needed to help save the Revolutionary state itself.

¹ I say Cuba because the Games were not sited solely in the capital city. Many of the facilities were in the Habana province, the immediate rural areas surrounding ciudad de la Habana and two were actually on the other the side of the country in the city of Santiago de Cuba.

² Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VbQVpsC9Bvk> [accessed Jan 12, 2015]

³ An English-language transcript of this speech is available at PBS's "Stealing Home: The Case of Contemporary Cuban Baseball" (2000) <http://www.pbs.org/stealinghome/sport/castro91a.html>

⁴ Nye, Joseph S., Jr. 2004 *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: PublicAffairs.

⁵ This section was written prior to the recent diplomatic opening fostered by the Vatican between Presidents Obama and Castro. This beginning of a political rapprochement may help economic interests in the short term but does not shift the perceptions of Cuban scholarship outside of Cuba.

⁶ de las Traviesas Moreno, L. M. and G. Alonso González. (1996) *La Historia y el Oficio de Historiador*. La Habana: Ediciones Imagen Contemporánea. Centro de Estudios Sobre América. (1992) *The Cuban Revolution into the 1990s*. Boulder: Westview Press. Hernández, R. (2003) *Looking at Cuba: Essays on Culture and Civil Society*. D. Cluster, transl. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

⁷ For example, Volume 3 covers topics such as: "The creation and consumption of cultural politics"; "Community, Urbanism, and Social Development"; "Ideological and political fundamentalism"; "What to make of China?"; and "Cuba and the United States, has anything changed?" among others. See *UltimoJueves: los debates de Temas* (2008) La Habana: Ediciones ICAIC.

⁸ The experience of the Centro de Estudios sobre America (CEA) is an example in which several Cuban intellectuals asked penetrating questions regarding the government's economic strategy in the early 1990s. When government decisions went contrary to their proposed reforms, the center was disbanded and the intellectuals took varying paths. Some left Cuba, some became involved in Cuba's international relations, serving the UN, and others entered other intellectual think tanks in Cuba.

⁹ Pérez, L. A. (1998) *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 185-187, 244-

245 and 268-269. Thomas, H. (2001) *Cuba: A History*. London: Penguin. Pp. 262-278, 427-429, 799

¹⁰ López Rivero, S. (2007) *El Viejo Traje de la Revolución: Identidad colectiva, mito y hegemonía política en Cuba*. Valencia: Universitat de València. Cantón Navarro, J. (2001) *History of Cuba: The Challenge of the Yoke and the Star*. La Habana: Editorial SI-MAR, S.A. Lopez Segrera, F. (1989) *Cuba, Cultura y Sociedad*. La Habana: Editorial Letras Cubanas.

¹¹ Cuban media sources are increasingly on-line, most especially the print media outlets, *Granma*, *Trabajadores*, and *Juventud Rebelde*. However, their electronic archives are rather incomplete as yet and do not reach back to the time periods in question for this article.

¹² ALBA is the Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América (Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America or also called the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas). The ALBA Games are a nascent international sport spectacle comprising member states and select, invited nations from the *Américas*.

¹³ Martí, José (1977) "Nuestra America" *Our America: Writings on Latin America and the Struggle for Cuban Independence*. Philip Foner, ed. New York: Monthly Review Press; Sheinin, D. (2000) *Beyond the Ideal: Pan Americanism in Inter-American Affairs*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

¹⁴ Carter, T.F. (2012) "¿Puede hablar sobre deporte latinoamericano? Una cuestión de historiografía deportiva integrada." 3^{ro} Congreso de la Asociación Latinoamericana de Estudios Socioculturales del Deporte, Universidad de Concepción, Concepción, Chile.

¹⁵ West Indies cricket might be seen an exception. The formation of a West Indies cricketing side is more a residual effect of British colonialism in the Caribbean, a complex region in and of itself that encapsulates the entire range of global political quandaries of the entire twentieth century, than a symbol of an aspirant nation-building agenda.

¹⁶ Alfonso, J. (1992) *Algo de Beisbol*. Santiago de Cuba: Editorial Oriente. Alfonso, J. (1994) *Curiosidades Deportivas*. Sanitago de Cuba: Editorial Oriente. Casas, E., J. Alfonso, and A. Pestana. (1986) *Viva y En Juego*. La

Habana: Editorial Científica-Técnica. Ruiz Vinageras, F. (1998) *Un siglo de deporte olímpico: Cuba y América Latina, 1896-1996*. La Habana: Editorial Deportes. Ealo de la Herrán, J. (1984) *Béisbol*. La Habana: Editorial Pueblo y Educación. Forbes, I., A. M. Luján, and J. Velázquez (2003) *Famosos y Desconocidos: Cubanos en Juegos Olímpicos*. La Habana: Editorial Pueblo y Educación.

¹⁷ Ruiz Aguilera, R. (1973). "A Sociological Profile of Educational Sport in Cuba and its Development." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 8(2): 119-121. Ruiz Aguilera, R. (1991). *El Deporte de Hoy: Realidades y Perspectivas*. La Habana: Editorial Científico Técnica. Alfonso López, F. J. (2004). *Beisbol y Estilo: Las narrativas del beisbol en la cultura cubana*. La Habana: Editorial Letras Cubanas. Alfonso López, F. J. (2007). "Los estudios sobre deporte y sociedad: ¿una asignatura pendiente?" *Temas* 49: 4-15. Alfonso López, F. J. (2008). *Con las bases llenas... Béisbol, historia y revolución*. La Habana: Editorial Científico Técnica. Alfonso López, F. J. (2010). *Sociedad, Cultura y Deporte*. Pinar del Rio: Ediciones Loynaz.

¹⁸ Alabarces, P. (2000) *Peligro de Gol: Estudios Sobre Deporte y Sociedad en América Latina*. Buenos Aires, CLASCO. Meneses, G. A. and L. E. Rabadán (2012) *Offside/Fuera de Lugar: Futbol y Migraciones en el Mundo Contemporáneo*. Tijuana and México D.F.: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte and CLAVE Editorial. Magazine, R., S. Martínez López and S. Varela Hernández. (2012) *Afición futbolística y rivalidades en el México contemporáneo: Una mirada nacional*. México, D.F.: Universidad Iberoamericana. Martínez López, S. (2010) *Fútbol-Espectáculo, cultura y Sociedad. Una Revisión Crítica al Negocio Mundial*. México, D.F.: Universidad Iberoamericana. Gonçalves Dias, C.A. (2008) *Urbanidades da natureza: o montanhismo, o surfe e as novas configurações do esporte no Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Apicuri. DaMatta, R. (1982) *Universo do futebol*. Rio de Janeiro: Edições Pinakothek.

¹⁹ Torres, C. R. (2002) "Tribulations and Achievements: The Early History of Olympism in Argentina" *Sport in Latin American Society: Past and Present*. J. A. Mangan and L. DaCosta. London, Frank Cass: 59-92. Torres, C. R. (2006) "The Latin American 'Olympic explosion' of the 1920s: Causes and Consequences." *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23(7): 1088-1111; Torres, C.R. (2008) "Spreading the Olympic Idea to Latin America: The IOC-YMCA Partnership and the 1922 Latin American Games" *Journal of Olympic History*. 16(1): 16-24.

²⁰ Sotomayor, A. (2014) "The Cold War Games of a Colonial Latin American Nation: San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1966" *Diplomatic Games: Sport, Statecraft, and International Relations since 1945*. H.L Dichter and A.L. Johns, eds Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. Pp. 217-250; Nye, J. S., Jr. (2004) *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: PublicAffairs.

²¹ Author 2007.

²² Booth, D. (2011) "Olympic City Bidding: An Exegesis of Power." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 46(4): 367-386. Boykoff, J. (2014) *Celebration Capitalism and the Olympic Games*. London: Routledge. Lenskyj, H. (2000) *Inside the Olympic Industry: Power, Politics, and Activism*. Albany: SUNY Press. Lenskyj, H. (2008) *Olympic Industry Resistance: Challenging Olympic Power and propaganda*. Albany: SUNY Press.

²³ Walking in and talking to locals in Toronto a mere three months prior to the 2015 Toronto Games drove home this point. The apparent blasé ignorance of residents along with virtual absence of any advertising of the Games strengthens this sense of North American apathy towards the Pan American Games.

²⁴ Treaster, J.B. (1987) "Pan Am Games; For Cubans, Politics Are All in the Game" *New York Times* (Aug. 3) <http://www.nytimes.com/1987/08/03/sports/pan-am-games-for-cubans-politics-are-all-in-the-game.html> [accessed Jan 31, 2015]

²⁵ "SCOUTING; At Last, Games Without Boycott"(1986) *New York Times* (November 13) <http://www.nytimes.com/1986/11/13/sports/scouting-at-last-games-without-boycott.html> [accessed Jan. 31, 2015]

²⁶ Wagg, S., and D. L. Andrews (2007) *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War*. London: Routledge. Beacom, A. (2012) *International Diplomacy and the Olympic Movement: The New Mediators*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

²⁷ A major driver of "backdoor diplomacy" was Major League Baseball, who regularly explored the possibility of building a rapport. These on-going efforts occurred throughout the 1970s and then also culminated with the 1999 exhibition series between the Cuba national team and the Baltimore Orioles. See Carter, T.F. and J. Sugden. (2012) "The USA and Sporting Diplomacy: Comparing and Contrasting the Cases of Table Tennis with China and Baseball with Cuba in the 1970s." *International Relations* 26(1): 101-121; Carter, T.F. (1999) "The Political Fallacy of Baseball Diplomacy." *Peace Review* 11 (4): 95-107

²⁸ The Obama administration recently altered the enforcement practices of that Act so that some economic exchanges are now possible, but the actual Act itself remains law. A change in presidency is likely to result in a

change in policy regarding the set of laws that restrict interactions with Cuba, as has been the pattern since the establishment of these various legal instruments.

²⁹ Janofsky, M. (1989) "ABC Seeks Court Order To Show Cuban Games" *New York Times* (December 5) <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/12/05/business/the-media-business-abc-seeks-court-order-to-show-cuban-games.html> [accessed Jan 31, 2015]

³⁰ Saniford, A. (1991) "Foreign Affairs and First Amendment Rights Office of Foreign Assets Control Prohibits ABC's Pan American Games Broadcast. *Capital Cities/ABC, Inc. v. Brady*, 740 F. Supp. 1007 (S.D.N.Y. June 29, 1990)" *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 21: 177-190. Available at <http://digitalcommons.law.uga.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1544&context=gjicl> [pdf downloaded January 31, 2015]

³¹ Kirk, J. M. and M. R. Jiménez (2009). "Cuban Medical Internationalism: Central America, A Decade After Hurricane Mitch." *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 15(2): 83-101.

Gjelten, T. (2008) *Bacardi and the Long Fight for Cuba: The Biography of a Cause*. London: Penguin; Ospina, H.C. (2002) *Bacardi: The Hidden War*. London: Pluto Press.

³² Saniford, p. 190.

³³ Sotomayor, A. (2014) "The Cold War Games of a Colonial Latin American Nation: San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1966" *Diplomatic Games: Sport, Statecraft, and International Relations since 1945*. H.L Dichter and A.L. Johns, eds Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. Pp. 217-250

³⁴ This situation is captured in Santiago Alvarez's brilliant documentary film, *Cerro Pelado* (1966), Available on YouTube at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UN-GOamXLOI>. This film deserves greater recognition along the lines of Leni Reifenstahl's *Olympia* and Kon Ichikawa's *Tokyo Olympiad*. For a discussion of Santiago Alvarez's oeuvre, see Mraz, J. (1990) "Santiago Alvarez: From Dramatic Form to Direct Cinema" *The Social Documentary in Latin America*. J. Burton, ed. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. Pp. 131-150.

³⁵ Carter 1999

³⁶ Carter, T.F. (2014) "The World Baseball Classic: The Politics of Producing a New Global Sport Spectacle" *Power, Politics, and International Events: Socio-Cultural Analyses of Festivals and Spectacles*. Udo Merkel, ed. London: Routledge. Pp. 158-173.

³⁷ Kirk, J. M. (2009). "Cuba's Medical Internationalism: Development and Rationale." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 28(4): 497-511.

Kirk and Erisman 2009; Huish, R. and J. M. Kirk (2007). "Cuban Medical Internationalism and the Development of the Latin American School of Medicine." *Latin American Perspectives* 34(6): 77-92. Hernández-Reguant, A. (2009) *Cuba in the Special Period: Culture and Ideology in the 1990s*. London: Palgrave. Fernández, D. J. (2005) *Cuba Transnational*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. Chávez, L. (2005) *Capitalism, God, and a Good Cigar: Cuba Enters the Twenty-First Century*. Durham: Duke University Press.

³⁸ Erisman, H. M. (2000) *Cuba's Foreign Relations in a Post-Soviet World*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. Erisman, H. M. and J. M. Kirk. (2006) *Redefining Cuban Foreign Policy: The Impact of the "Special Period"*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. Cf. Carter, T. F. (2008) "New Rules to the Old Game: Cuban Sport and State Legitimacy in the Post-Soviet Era." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 15(2): 194-215. Huish, R. (2011). "Punching Above Its Weight: Cuba's Use of Sport for South-South Co-operation." *Third World Quarterly* 32(3): 417-433. Huish, R., T. F. Carter and S. Darnell. (2013) "The (Soft) Power of Sport: The Comprehensive and Contradictory Strategies of Cuba's Sport-Based Internationalism." *International Journal of Cuban Studies*. 5(1): 26-40.

³⁹ Scarpaci, J., R. Segre and M. Coyula. (2002) *Havana: Two Faces of the Antillean Metropolis*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. p. 146.

⁴⁰ "Castro Addresses UJC Congress Closing Session" (1992) Source: Havana Radio and Television Networks. Castro Speech Database. Report 13 April 1992 Vol. VI No. 071

<http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/castro/db/1992/19920404.html> [accessed Feb 3, 2015]

⁴¹ Carmona Báez, A. (2004) *State Resistance to Globalization in Cuba*. London: Pluto Press; Carranza Valdés, J. 2002 "La economía cubana: balance breve de una década crítica." *Temas* 30:30-4; Carranza Valdés, J., P Monreal, P. and L. Gutiérrez (1995) "Cuba: reestructuración económica, socialismo y mercado." *Temas* 1:27-35; Ritter, A. R. M. (1997) "The Cuban Economy in the Mid-1990s: Structural/Monetary Pathology and Public Policy." *Towards a New Cuba? Legacies of a Revolution*. M. A. Centeno and M. Font, eds. Boulder: Lynne Rienner. pp. 151-170.

⁴² "Castro: 1991 at Pan-American Village Ceremony" *Stealing Home: The Case of Contemporary Cuban Baseball* (2000) <http://www.pbs.org/stealinghome/sport/castro91a.html> [last accessed 14 Jan 2015, first accessed 20 Oct 2000]

⁴³ Scarpaci, J., R. Segre and M. Coyula. (2002) *Havana: Two Faces of the Antillean Metropolis*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Pp. 224-225. Ruiz Vinageras, F. (1998) *Un siglo de deporte olímpico: Cuba y América Latina, 1896-1996*. La Habana: Editorial Deportes. p. 288.

⁴⁴ Carter cites figures provided by INDER in Carter, T. F. (2009) "¿Hasta La Victoria Siempre? The Evolution and Future of Revolutionary Sport." *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 15(2): 25-43.

⁴⁵ Ruiz Fabegras p. 288

⁴⁶ Scarpaci, J., R. Segre and M. Coyula. (2002) *Havana: Two Faces of the Antillean Metropolis*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Pp. 306-307.

⁴⁷ "Castro: 1991 at Pan-American Village Ceremony" *Stealing Home: The Case of Contemporary Cuban Baseball* (2000) <http://www.pbs.org/stealinghome/sport/castro91a.html> [last accessed 14 Jan 2015, first accessed 20 Oct 2000]

⁴⁸ "Castro Speaks at Post Pan American Games Ceremony" (1991) Source: Havana Telerebelde Network. Cuba Speech Database. Report 5 Sep 1991. Vol. VI No. 172. <http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/castro/db/1991/19910903.html> [accessed February 3, 2015]