Daniel Widener. Race and Sport. *Oxford History of Sports*.

Sport and race belong equally to the world of modern global capitalism that developed from the midpoint to the end of the 19th century. To be sure, patterns of play and rhythms of recreation trace back to ancient, to say nothing of medieval, and early modern, times. So, too, do patterns emerge of classifying and differentiating others on the basis of observable and supposedly immutable characteristics. Despite these antecedents, contemporary notions of sport, tracing distinctions between amateur and professional, adhering to commonly understood rules, and engaging questions of spectatorship, must be seen as quintessentially modern.

Equally recent in origin are the two general and competing understanding of race, the biological and social. Yet as observes as distinct as Ron Takaki, Amy Kaplan, Elliot Gorn, and Gail Bederman make clear, the late 19th century stands apart.[i] For with its conjoined processes of industrial expansion, overseas imperialism, scientific racism, and ideologies of manliness and vigor, the years on either side of the Gilded Age illustrate the extent to which, in both the American and broader global contexts, one must speak of race and sport at the same time.

At times, racemaking and the modernization of sport proceeded along parallel, if disconnected tracks. During the 1840s and 1850s, editorials urged Victorian citizens to take outdoor exercise, new regulations governing sporting contests came into being, and magazines—crucial to building the audiences that would financially underpin professional sport—circulated in ever-greater numbers. These, two, were crucial years for the global history of race, as emancipation and free labor brought about new, ostensibly "scientific" conceptions of biological differences; as Indian Removal, war with Mexico, and the transpacific "coolie" trade brought about a polyethnic republic through which, as Melville famously wrote, "the blood of the whole world" flowed. Thus one can see a temporal link between, for example, the Yale-Harvard Regatta (1852), commonly understood as America's first collegiate sporting event, and the appearance, between 1853 and 1855, of Arthur de Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines.*

The bond between race and sport as modern concerns was more than a matter of common timing or part of a generalized set of changes taking place in a world transformed by industry, technology, and empire. Rather, sport emerged as a crucial terrain in which race and racial inequality was viewed, understood, and contested. Sport in its modern form was shaped in fundamental ways by the racial changes taking place in America and Europe at the end of the 19th century. Race, too, was shaped by sport, as the terrain provided by athletic contests quickly became a crucial area for challenging prevailing ideas about inferiority and circumventing established patterns of exclusion. To paraphrase Mayakovsky, race both reflected and shaped the world of sport.

The essay that follows takes up the shifting relationship between race and sport from the late 19th

through the early 21st centuries. The discussion divides roughly into three periods. The first, lasting up until the Second World War, is characterized principally by racial exclusion. The second, comprising the decades of decolonization, national liberation and civil rights, runs from the 1940s through the 1970s. Confrontation is the crucial byword for this period. The final segment defies easy summary, concerned as it is with the uneven landscape of race and sports, on a global scale, in the so-called "post-racial" era. In each case, as is to be seen, the world of sport offers a crucial terrain for understanding unfolding patterns of racial formation and race relations.

Intended as a kind of analytic tour d'horizon, this essay aims to present the twin concepts of "race" and "sport" as fundamental to each other and as crucial to understanding the unfolding of race on a global scale since at least the middle of the previous century. This essay offers neither a historiographical treatment, nor a detailed discussion of any of the three moments it surveys. Rather, the focus is on tracing a broad outline of the ways in which race and sport have intertwined, while drawing attention to crucial works that have addressed this conjoining.

To be sure, any discussion of race and sport, especially one that seeks to provide a global overview, must begin with the work of Trinidadian scholar and political radical C.L.R. James. *Beyond a Boundary*, James's crucial study of cricket, colonialism, and race reached its fiftieth anniversary this year. Although his sporting masterpiece is known to most scholars of sport, far fewer of them realize that he authored the work between two crucial works of political writing: *Party Politics in the West Indies* (1962) and *A History of Pan-African Revolt* (1969) and alongside the revised second edition of his other masterpiece, the *Black Jacobins* (1963). The temporality of this bibliography is helpful to recount, as it serves to make clear how James's study of sport was integrally connected to his larger struggle for the worldwide liberation of African peoples.

Unsurprisingly, little of the subsequent scholarship on race and sport seeks to connect its subject to such lofty aims. Nonetheless, race and sport do continue to attract the attention of progressives. Particularly sophisticated approaches to the study of society and sport, taking account of questions of both race and coloniality, can thus be found in the work of the Anglophone scholars Brett St. Louis, Ben Carrington, and Grant Farred. Among American historians, the work of Jeffrey Sammons stands out for its thoroughness and early attention to the mutual importance of race and sport to each other. Writing nearly two decades ago, Sammons characterized the "absurd neglect" of many black intellectuals on the subject, and scored the *Journal of Sport History* (and by implication the larger subfield) for its uneven attention to the subject. In the intervening period, a proliferation of works has appeared, whether sociological (as works by European scholars tend to be), historical (more common among North American black scholars), or popular (as in the case of journalists like Dave Zirin or "public" intellectuals like Michael Eric Dyson).[ii]

Writing in 1903, W.E.B. Dubois argued **"**the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the

color-line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea."[iii] His comment reminds us of the need to view the question of race and sport through a broad enough lens to encompass European and American colonialism alongside domestic patterns of racial exclusion. Indeed, the case of sport in the colonial context highlights distinct patterns of racist politics. Although Finney cautions against repeating melancholy generalizations about the decline of “traditional” sports under the colonial onslaught, Native Hawaiians had by 1900 almost entirely ceased practicing traditional sports of *ulu maika* (disk-rolling), *kukini* (foot-racing), and *holua* (landsledding). He’e nalu, which would in time be resurrected as modern day surfing, had also reached a nadir, with the few remaining practitioners generally regarded as unsatisfactory while the surrounding cultural matrix of which surfing was a part suffered an acute decline.[iv] Across the pacific, Monroe Wooley noted that “how best to manage the Phlippines is one of our gravest national problems,” before proposing baseball as a civilizing remedy. As Gerald Gems notes, under the auspicies of the YMCA and others affiliated with colonial “civil” society, basketball, track, American football, polo and golf would all be introduced to America’s pacific possessions. In the Caribbean, baseball would take hold with such fervor that many in the Spanish Caribbean would deny it as a colonial import, and, as Louis Perez has written, more than a few Cubans took baseball as an anticolonial repudiation of Spain. In the British Empire, cricket would serve as a crucial carrier of Victorian values, while football would spread through military and commercial circuits into Africa, South America, Asia, and the Middle East.[v]

If overseas colonial sport seemed concerned principally with a kind of highly supervised cultural instruction, domestic sport in the late 19th century United States grew increasingly fixated with the removal of nonwhite participants. In 1875, federal law backed by Union Army bayonets explicitly forbade racial segregation in public accommodations. Twenty-one years later, Plessy V. Ferguson upheld the constitutionality of racial segregation under the “separate but equal” clause. By 1900, uneven patterns of racial exclusion had taken hold. Professional baseball had maintained a color line since 1867, while sports like golf, tennis, and heavyweight boxing would promote racial exclusion with varying degrees of success. College football was more mixed, with segregated Southern universities retaining white teams until the 1960s, in several cases, while northeastern universities allowed integrated competitions throughout the Jim Crow era. It is crucial, however, to resist the temptation to view the American dilemma as a purely Southern problem. Charles Martin notes in his study of the desegregation of collegiate athletics that Fritz Pollard, who played football for Brown University during World War I, was taunted with cries of “catch that nigger” and serenaded by Yalies singing “Bye Bye Blackbird.”[vi]

In this era, a few prominent black sportsman rose to the fore. Marshall “Major” Taylor became a championship cyclist despite his formal exclusion from the League of American Wheelmen; in 1901, jockey James Winkfield won 220 races, including his second consecutive Kentucky Derby; the case of boxer Jack Johnson, heavyweight champion between 1908 and 1915, is of course well known. For the era of segregation as a whole, there is a strong literature in what African American scholars call the

"vindicationist" tradition that explores these and other figures.[vii]

For the pre-World War II period, the most extensive research into race and sport concerns racial segregation in baseball. This is unsurprising, given that sport's pride of place as "America's pastime." As noted, African Americans were completely excluded from top-level competition by 1900. The most celebrated response to this exclusion was the development of a parallel tradition of Negro League Baseball. Bolstered by legendary players like Satchel Paige, Josh Gibson, and James "Cool Papa" Bell, as well as teams like the Homestead Grays, Kansas City Monarchs, and Pittsburgh Crawfords, black professional baseball represented a proud, if financially precarious, form of "race" business during the Jim Crow era. As the most exhaustive study of the finances of the NAL and NNL makes clear, the most prosperous period of Negro League baseball coincided with the boom in wartime employment and general social mobility during the Second World War.[viii] [ix]

Baseball proved exceptionally popular among other nonwhite American ethnicities as well. Jeffrey Powers-Beck's 2004 book details "the dozens of American Indians who played Major League Baseball between 1897 and 1945, the hundreds who played Minor League ball, and the thousands who played collegiate and semipro ball."[x] The bibliography on Japanese American baseball is substantial and continues to grow, aided by the efforts of the nonprofit foundation Nisei Baseball Research Project.[xi] The case of Mexican Americans and baseball during the Jim Crow period is likewise complex, as it contains both a transnational dimension (given the established Mexican professional leagues) and the contradiction between the reality of racial subjugation in the Southwest and the constantly shifting racial definitions applied to "Hispanic" people, especially between 1920 and 1940. Jose Alamillo's "Peloteros in Paradise" uses a Jamesian framework for thinking about how "Mexican Americans used baseball clubs to promote ethnic consciousness, build community solidarity; display masculine behavior, and sharpen their organizing and leadership skills."[xii] Beyond this communitarian frame, Alamillo notes the presence of ethnic Mexicans (legally defined as white during the 1920s and 1940s but not during the 1930s) on Major League rosters during the Jim Crow period. A recent book, Francisco Balderrama and Richard A. Santillan's *Mexican American Baseball in Los Angeles* highlights the centrality of Southern California to discussions of the Mexican American engagement with sandlot, minor league and major league baseball.[xiii] In the case of Cuban and Puerto Rican baseball, there is an extensive bibliography. Adrian Burgos' work stands out for its attention to the particular ways in which Latino players from the Caribbean served to complicate and challenge the color line, both by their proximity and interaction with African Americans and through the difficulty their own racial mentalities posed for whites eager to maintain the color line.[xiv]

As this history makes clear, it is crucial that we avoid the temptation to limit a discussion of race and sport to African Americans and whites. Indeed, there is a growing bibliography of works detailing the history of Native American, Mexican American, Cuban and Puerto Rican and Asian Americans in sport

more generally. During the era of segregation, each of these communities developed distinct sporting traditions as well as intriguing "interethnic" links across racial boundaries. Baseball furnishes numerous examples of these, from exhibitions in California between Nisei and barnstorming Negro League teams; the presence of Spanish- Caribbean players on "Negro" teams like the Cuban Giants; the presence of African Americans in the Mexican professional leagues; and the widespread practice of African American winter baseball in Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. Each of these phenomena was slightly different, but the overarching narrative was one of contact among marginalized minority populations.

If baseball furnishes contrasting examples of exclusion and episodic contact, boxing, particularly heavyweight boxing, highlights evolving patterns of racial conflict. To be sure, prizefighting has served as a terrain where all sorts of questions of identity and enfranchisement could be worked out. Gender, class, immigration status, and national identity, offer a few examples. Fundamentally, however, the regulation of boxing grew alongside racial exclusion: both were tied to ideas about civilization and progress during the 19th century. Writing against this grain, *Ring* editor and publisher Nat Fleischer's *Black Dynamite*, unearthed for readers a hidden history of black boxing champions dating back to the period of the Early Republic.

Men like Joe Lashley, Tom Molineaux, Henry Sutton and Massa Kendrick were part of a 19th century cohort with nicknames like "Old Chocolate," "The Morocco Prince," and "The Liverpool Darkey," and "Old Starlight." Some of these men began as slaves. Others were free. Most fought in England or outside the United States, and more than a few ended their lives in exile from North America.[xv]

These men, of course, were the forebears of Jack Johnson, whose 1910 victory over legendary heavyweight Jim Jeffries ranks only a little bit behind Little Bighorn, the Tet Offensive, and the 1972 Olympic basketball final on the list of world historical defeats of the American white man. With his riches, white wives, and irresistible talent, Johnson was among the most visible and controversial of sportsmen. Perhaps the most effective challenger to American white supremacy prior to Marcus Garvey, Johnson was eventually forced to earn his living outside the borders of the United States, foreshadowing the career of Muhammad Ali. Johnson would also serve as a crucial "other," for subsequent black sportsmen like Joe Louis and Jesse Owens, who would find success and celebrity provided they matched Johnson's achievements while comporting themselves in ways that whites found less objectionable.

Although the United States, the European colonial powers, and various racist democracies like Brazil preferred to view their racial problems through internal, or even internally regional lenses, questions of race and sport often received an international airing in the decades leading up to World War II. Theresa Runstedtler's fascinating recent history traces Jack Johnson's antiracist itineraries across Cape Town, Paris, Havana, Mexico City, London, and Sydney.[xvi] The confrontations between Joe Louis and Jesse Owens and the Nazi regime and its occasionally ambivalent sporting representatives is better known, though no less important. Moreover, as Jeremy Schaap recounts, Owens compared his official reception in Nazi Germany,

where he had been allowed to stay in hotels with white guests, and where he had received an inscribed photograph from the Fuhrer, with the segregated United States, where FDR was silent on his triumph. Ironically enough, European fascism helped usher in the age of the multiethnic *jogo bonito*, as Mussolini's search for South American talent (of suitably Italian ancestry) helped end the age of amateurism (and racial exclusion) that had characterized the first epoch of Brazilian football.[xvii]

In the case of Brazilian domestic football, the opening of space for the entry of Afro-Brazilians came as part of a process that was simultaneously about the introduction of working-class participation and professionalism as well. With social relations shaped by the lateness of abolition (1888), fears of popular participation, and the tendency of elites to import fashions, practices, and ideas (including both football and the national slogan Ordem e Progresso) from Europe, it comes as little wonder that the blacks would initially find themselves barred from football pitches. In contrast to that other marker of Brazilian national identity, Samba, football was linked to sporting clubs that generally excluded nonwhites, and the gradual democratization of the sport was uneven and slow. Despite this, football became an active part of debates about national identity during the middle of the 20th century, attracting the attention of two of Brazil's most celebrated public intellectuals. In general, exclusionist racism gave way to a shifting pattern (from tolerance to inclusion) of ideas that regarded some form of "racial admixture" as a positive good. Much of the subsequent scholarship touches on football indirectly, insofar as the sport serves to corroborate or debunk the larger issue of Brazil's supposed "racial democracy." Rogério Daflon and Teo Ballvé provide a useful summary, observing that questions of race and class are so thoroughly intertwined in Brazilian football as to make consideration of either in the absence of the other impossible. To date, however, Brazilian football awaits an English language monograph on the intracacies of race and class along the lines of Marc Hertzman's recent *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil*.[xviii]

As a number of observers, CLR James foremost among them, have observed, no game provided so precise a means for delineating the intricacies of caste, class, and color during the colonial epoch as did cricket. Writing of the implications of his decision to choose between a club comprising members of the brown-skinned middle class and a club composed of darker-skinned, lower-middle class islanders, James argued that "Cricket had plunged me into politics long before I was aware of it. When I did turn to politics, I did not have much to learn." *Beyond a Boundary*, however, is a book about politics and *art*. For James, Cricket's very difficulty leads it to an aestheticism. This aestheticism, expressed through individual acumen set within a profoundly social world of racial representation, makes the game the critical arena for comprehending Trinidadian, and, indeed, Caribbean society. In this case, to paraphrase from James' other crucial text, the *Black Jacobins*, to reduce cricket to politics is to commit an era only less grave as that of absenting politics from the discussion of the sport at all.

In the 50 years since *Beyond a Boundary* appeared, many excellent studies have appeared that track the interplay between Victorian culture, colonialism, anticolonial resistance, and the problems of postcolonial identity on and off the cricket pitch in South Asia, the West Indies, Australia, and Africa. In

part, cricket scholarship seems to benefit from the sport's distinct placement as an Angolphone imperial legacy. That is, the writing on it is neither so parochial as that on American boxers or baseball players, nor as dispersed as studies on football in locales separated by language, colonial status, and other markers or modern difference.

Crucial changes affected the entire globe during the last half of the 19th century. The spread of modern sport and the emergence of truly global patterns of white supremacy were two of these. New ideas regarding recreation and leisure grew alongside, and indeed shaped, new restrictions on the social and physical mobility of nonwhites. Thus in the United States, among the colonial powers, and within the newly independent but racially stratified societies of Latin America, race and sport combined in diverse, but fundamentally similar, ways. The principal dynamics that shaped this era were those of exclusion and diffusion, with new sports spreading to new places even as provision was made to avoid embarrassing incidents across the color line. In this context, resistance as such is delimited by the proliferation of separate traditions like negro baseball and "colonial" cricket; highly charged and largely symbolic contests, such as the Louis-Schmelling fights; and the biographies of pioneering individuals like the cricketer Krom Hendricks, the footballer Walter Tull, the boxer George Dixon or the cyclist Marshall "Major" Taylor.

***

A permanent alteration of race relations within and beyond the United States was one important legacy of the world historical changes wrought by the global confrontation between fascism, communism, and liberal democracy between 1939 and 1945. In the United States, blacks who had a generation earlier been urged by their leaders to "close ranks" in the hope of a post-Armistice seat at the table now pushed for a "double victory" over fascism abroad and racism at home. Between 1941 and 1944, tens of thousands of black industrial workers took jobs and struck for better conditions and pay; thousands more promised to join A. Phillip Randolph's threatened March on Washington Movement. The federal government instituted new regulations aimed at eliminating employment discrimination. The segregated military began to commission increasing numbers of black officers.
Older civil rights organizations like the NAACP grew, while new ones, like the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), were formed. Under legal pressure from Latinos, African Americans, Jews, and Asian Americans, the edifice of segregation showed its first cracks, as the courts declared restrictions like the State of Texas's all-white primary elections to be unconstitutional.

Other legal victories would come forth in a gradual and uneven way. By 1948, military segregation and racial restrictions in home sales would go, well in advance of school segregation (1954) or anti-miscegenation laws (1967). For some, this progress was not enough, and wartime incidents of draft resistance on the part of urban hipsters (Detroit Red/Malcolm X), musicians (Charlie Parker), and political

activists (Elijah Muhammad) foreshadowed the proliferation of black power critiques of American society. Small wonder, then, that one historian would term the Second World War the "forgotten years of the Negro revolution."[xix]

As with all revolutions, cultural changes both shaped and reflected the altered racial landscape. In 1946, pressure from activists who noted that the local professional football franchise, the Los Angeles Rams, played its home games in a stadium supported by public funds, forced the franchise to offer a professional contract to an African American player, Kenny Washington. This brought about the beginning of the end of segregation in professional football, although the Washington Redskins refused integration until threatened by the administration of President John Kennedy in 1962. The first nonwhite player in the National Basketball Association, Japanese American point guard Wataru Misaka, joined in 1947, following two college championship titles interrupted by a stretch as part of the American occupation Army in Japan. Three years would pass before a trio of African Americans would join the league. Integration of college basketball and football, as well as minor league baseball, accelerated during this period as well.[xx]

During the middle of the 20th century, however, basketball and professional football were little more than footnotes in an American sporting scene dominated, above all, by baseball. As noted earlier, baseball's racial landscape was rich and complex, with barnstorming Negro League outfits, local Asian American and Native American clubs, interracial exhibitions held outside the United States, integrated Mexican Leagues, and Latinos whose shifting places along the color line repeatedly exposed the idea of Jim Crow as impossible, in practice, to maintain.

All of this, however, was different than the existence of a formally integrated, and professional, major league. Unlike, say, a railroad bathroom in Tuscaloosa, there was "no rule, formal or informal…against the hiring of Negro players by the teams of organized ball." So wrote baseball Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis as late as 1942.[xxi] Named after a Civil War conflict characterized by costly frontal assaults by the Union Army (of which Landis' father was a member), the head of organized baseball nevertheless preferred a more circuitous—or duplicitous—language when discussing race relations. Indeed, his prevaricating was in keeping with the "polite" nature of most racist behavior north of the former Confederacy. As such, it was left to others to champion the cause of baseball desegregation.

Indeed, despite the favorable context promised by a world war against the singularly white supremacist Nazi regime, it is unlikely that the integration of sports would have come when and how it did without the intercession of two factors that have disappeared from the landscape of American life, an independent black-owned press and an organized radical left. Pittsburgh Courier journalist Wendell Smith, who has the distinction of having recommended Jackie Robinson to Branch Rickey, had spearheaded a campaign against discrimination in the national pastime.

Between 1933 and 1947, the Courier 's circulation grew from 40,000 to more than 260,000 making the paper by far the largest black periodical in the United States. David Wiggins argues that this growth came about in part as a result of the attention the paper gave its campaign to force the integration of baseball. The Communist press, particular the Daily Worker, was unceasing as well, with sports editor Lester Rodney among the most vocal white critics of racial segregation to be found in the United States in the years before World War II.[xxii]

Given the extensive extant biography of Robinson, including a recently released $40million film, only the briefest of recapitulations is necessary. A children of Georgia sharecroppers who had brought him to California as a child, Robinson was carefully selected by Branch Rickey, a baseball official whose other reforms would include the development of the minor league "farm" system and the introduction of the batting helmet. After searching for two years for a candidate with, as he put it, "guts enough not to fight back," Rickey offered Robinson a minor league contract. Robinson's inclusion would set in motion the rapid desegregation of professional baseball.

Much as Joe Louis had, Robinson rapidly found himself lionized by blacks and marshaled as a racial spokesman by whites. In the context of rising Cold War tensions, this meant entry into debates concerning the relationship between America's racial problems and its international aims.[xxiii] As the global confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union shifted from Europe and the Far East to the rapidly decolonizing regions of Africa, South Asia, and the Arab world, the persistence of domestic racial troubles proved an embarrassing vulnerability for the United States. Efforts to find a counterweight to international depictions of American racism—depictions that could in no way be sloughed off as unvarnished Soviet propaganda—drew African American entertainers and athletes into the orbit of the United States Department of State and other federal agencies. International touring exhibitions were duly organized, and visual artists, jazz musicians, dancers, and athletes were all part of a process meant to highlight an American culture defined by supposedly "free market" values of exuberance, innovation, and spontaneity.[xxiv] As a result, black athletes found themselves cast as actors on a larger and more important stage.

Take, for example, the Harlem Globetrotters. Founded in the 1920s as a kind of touring comedy basketball troupe, the Cold War transformed the team from minstrels to diplomats. In 1951, the American embassy in Berlin wired Secretary of State Dean Acheson asking that he bring the Globetrotters to West Berlin as a counterweight to a massive Third World Festival of Youth and Students being held in East Berlin. By decade's end, the "splendid propaganda stunt" of touring black athletes would culminate in a visit to the Soviet Union, where the team met Soviet Premier Nikita Kruschev and received the USSR's top athletic honors.[xxv]

As part of what a number of scholars term "cold war civil rights," the dual opening provided Robinson (as racial spokesman and symbol of integration) and the Globetrotters and other international

travelers (as representative of core American capitalist values), should not be understated. By the middle of the 1960s, the older forms of anecdotal, exclusionist racism were on their way out. Even bastions of white redoubt saw signs of change. In 1956, Althea Gibson won the first of her 11 major tournaments, having already integrated enough tournaments to receive the sorbiquet "the female Jackie Robinson." Soon after, Arthur Ashe would become, one supposes, "the male Althea Gibson." Between 1956 and 1963, Gibson and Ann Gregory would integrate women's professional and amateur golf, and by 1961, the PGA would remove "Caucasian-only" restrictions, allowing black participation at many, though certainly not all, PGA-sponsored events.

At the same time, the comments made by Russell while in Africa suggested the wave that would soon wash across the landscape of American race relations. The Watts riot of 1965 brought talk of a "second civil war." By 1967, the most important organization in the civil rights movement, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, had expelled its white members, sent delegations to Cuba, Africa, and the Middle East, and publically proclaimed its support for the Palestinian people in their struggle against Israel. The same year, membership in the Black Panther Party rose from under 500 to more than 10,000. By the time, the following year, that MLK was murdered, rioting had become a common enough summer occurence that hte Martha and vandells song "Dancing in the Streets" faced scrutiny from nervous radio programmers wondering if it was a call to action off the dance floor as well. Beyond the United Steates there was the Tet Offensive, Cuba's Year of the Heroic Guerilla, the Cultural Revolution, and Prague Spring.

Within this context, what came to be termed the "revolt of the black athlete" was inescapable. Even before Harry Edwards, then a 25 year-old assistant professor, sought to organize black athletes into a boycott of the 1968 Olympiad, shifting attitudes were finding their way into the worlds of professional and amateur sport. The new visibility of African Americans was part of this, as by 1968 African Americans constituted nearly a quarter of professional baseball players, a third of professional football players, and nearly half of the National Basketball Association. The public turn to Islam by Kareem Abdul Jabbar (Lew Alcindor), Jamaal Wilkes (Keith Wilkes), and others was one part of this. The effort, by the NCAA, to ban the dunk from college basketball, was another. On the one hand, the diffusion of black militancy into the world of sport was highly symbolic, as in John Carlos and Tommy Smith's celebrated protest in Mexico City. At the same time, grievances over the near universal exclusion of nonwhites from managerial, coaching, and ownership positions as well as the obvious inequities of uncompensated, but otherwise professionalized, collegiate sport would remain unresolved well past the 1960s.[xxvi]

Arguably no figure capture better black power's mix of affective and materialist elements than Muhammad Ali. Arguably the greatest boxer of all time, Ali's complex persona and extensive itinerary make allow him to be approached from numerous angles, from Jeffrey Sammons historicist placement within box boxing and black history; Sohail Daulatzai's framing as part of a global anticolonial Muslim international; Grant Farred's depiction of Ali as a postcolonial vernacular intellectual; or Mike Marquesee's

portrayal as simultaneously a global icon of resistance and as a "flawed" hero. Ali's embrace of Islam, unilateral revocation of his 'slave name,' Cassius Clay, and refusal of induction into the Vietnam War-era armed forces cost him popularity and wealth even as these sacrifices endeared him to third world and domestic minorities alike.

There is no doubting the novelty of what Ali offered. Budd Schulberg, Academy Award winning screenwriter, HUAC friendly witness, and mentor to a crucial community black American poets in the aftermath of the Watts riot, wrote that Ali "would fight with weapons never before carried into an American ring, his faith in a non western religion, as well as his growing awareness that…he was part of a global family of nonwhites among whom Caucasians were in turn a minority." Despite his undeniable courage, Ali was ideologically slippery and often displayed poor political judgment, including his frequent recourse to antiblack language when denigrating opponents darker complected than he; his decision to fight in Mobutu's Zaire, Marcos's Manila or Suharto's Indonesia; his decision to abandon Malcolm in favor of Elijah Muhammad; or his appearance on billboards endorsing Ronald Reagan (where Joe Frazier and Floyd Patterson watch as Reagan aims a punch at Ali's jaw under a banner that proclaims 'we're voting for the man.') Small wonder, then, that the American system he despised would eventually appropriate him as a symbol of its postracial unity and self-correcting mechanisms of democracy.

In the former lands of the British Empire, cricket provided a crucial terrain for the juxtaposition of athletic resistance to racism. In the England of Enoch Powell, cricket matches produced few of the racist spectacles or interracial violence seen on soccer pitches and terraces. Prominent West Indians, nonwhite South Africans, and South Asians could be found playing league cricket in England.
International test cricket was different. The cancellation, by the apartheid regime, of a cricket test match with England following the British decision to include the so- called "colored" Basil D'Oliveira accelerated the dramatic isolation of South Africa from international sport. This isolation was partial, as, despite a test hiatus between England and South African from 1965 to 1994, mostly white groups (with a smattering of West Indians and Pakistanis) of England-based crickets did make controversial journeys to South Africa.

How to negotiate the politics surrounding the racist South African regime constituted one of the great questions of cricket and race during the 1970s and 1980s. What to make of the dominant West Indies test side was the other. Led by a quartet of fast bowlers derided as "assassins" and worse, the West Indies lost only 13 of 112 test matches over a 15-year period. During this time, the "Windies" won all five test matches against the British, and beat the Australians, considered the strongest side in the world, five times from six. In the era of Michael Manley and the Cuban Revolution, of Rasta and Rodney, of Bob Marley and Muhammad Ali, the West Indies test side operated as a powerful symbol of anticolonial triumph for Caribbean communities in Britain as well as in the islands. In his foreward to the historian Hilary Beckles's Liberation Cricket, master batsman Sir Viv Richards claimed "In my own way, I would like to think that I carried my bat for the liberation of African and other oppressed people everywhere."[xxvii] In

the postwar period, cricket's anticolonial and antiracist elements attracted the attention of writers and observers based in India, South Africa, and the Kiriwina Islands.[xxviii]

In ways distinct from cricket, the postwar landscape of football likewise illustrates the crucial role of race. The world's most popular sport, international football was dominated between 1974 and 1998 (and afterward, via a chosen successor) by the Brazilian Joao Havelange, who rose to power amidst simmering discontent over the refusal of FIFA's leadership to sanction apartheid South Africa or expand the World Cup finals to better represent the presence of dozens of new nations created in the process of postwar decolonization. Havelange's rule has been dealt with at length in a number of studies, but it bears mention here in that both his rise and governance were achieved through the mobilization of newly independent states in the context of the politics of the 1970s and 1980s. Moreover, in FIFA's unwillingness and inability to translate representation into concrete improvements for players, audiences, or national federations, the dual reign of Havelange and Blatter serves as an echo of the larger and more general process by which national liberation degenerated into neocolonialism.[xxix]

In England, players of Afro-Caribbean descent had been playing professional football since 1883. In 1909, Tottenham Hotspur signed forward Walter Tull, who became the first black professional football player to play in Latin America (during a Spurs preseason tour of Uruguay and Argentina). In addition to his pioneering football career (Tull was the second professional footballer of African descent in England), he was the first Afro-Caribbean commissioned officer of the British Army. However, the numbers of African, Caribbean, and South Asian footballers in Britain grew slowly until the postwar period, when the need for labor led to a relaxation of immigration laws. Numbers rose steadily during the 1970s and 1980s, and by the end of the 20th century, black footballers constituted around 15% of the total population. The conditions faced by both players and black spectators, first in England and later across Europe, has led to a variety of social scientific research projects, educational campaigns, and minor sanctions of teams for the behavior of their fans. Events from the most recent seasons of European football indicate a continuing problem. As with FIFA under Havelange, the status of black, Asian, and Arab footballers in Europe is a postcolonial question raised by the uneven process of decolonization, the inability of many Europeans to imagine a truly multiethnic continent, or even constituent nations, in which nonwhite populations are "insiders and agents" as opposed to permanent, irreducible, and inassimilable others.[xxx]

This pattern of conceptual exclusion, so familiar to American historians of slavery and empire, requires a Europe that is profoundly inattentive to its colonialist past. Yet this past is a constant presence, on and off the playing field. Midway through the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962), midfielder and F.L.N. operative Mohamed Boumezrag persuaded a group of footballers of Algerian to leave France in order to form the core of a football team dedicated to publicizing the cause of Algerian independence. They players, professionals all, risked financial ruin and arrest as they secretly made their way in two groups from France to Algeria. Despite threats that any nation that elected to play the unsanctioned anticolonial

side would face sanction from soccer's governing body, FIFA, the team played 91 competitive matches between 1958 and 1961. These included exhibitions against teams from the newly independent former French colonies of Tunisia and Morocco; a tour of Eastern Europe; and an exhibition played in Hanoi. The symbolic and material value of the F.L.N. team—the Iraqi government made a major financial contribution to the revolutionary movement following a popular tour of Iraq—set the stage for an ongoing dynamic in which the complicated relationship between the two Mediterranean nations would find partial negotiation on the soccer field.

Indeed, of the many permanent consequences of the fierce struggle for Algerian nationhood, including the millions dead, the collapse of the French Fourth Republic; the permanent demographic transformation of urban and suburban France; perhaps none is as visible as the transformation of composition of France's soccer landscape and its attendant implications for who is considered and considers themselves to be French, Algerian, or both.[xxxi]

One month after the formal French acknowledgement of Algerian independence, about 5,000 miles to the South, South African police captured ANC activist Nelson Mandela on the road between Durban and Johannesburg. Mandela's subsequent captivity was not his first, but it was fated to be his longest, as he would spend the next 27 years in prison. Mandela's arrest came two years after the Sharpeville Massacre and one year after the creation of an armed counterpart (Umkhonto We Sizwe) to the banned African National Congress. The year of Mandela's arrest also coincided with calls for a boycott of segregated sports competitions by ANC President Albert Luthuli and the formation of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee by poet Dennis Brutus and others. Two years later, South Africa would be excluded from participation in the 1964 Olympiad, initiating a pattern of growing ostracism that would accelerate in 1970 with the apartheid regime's formal expulsion from the IOC; the spiraling cancellation of cricket, hockey, track and field and football tournaments and exhibitions; and unprecedented efforts to isolate South African cricket and rugby on the world stage.[xxxii] By the time of the Gleneagles Agreement (1977) and the 1985 United Nations International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, the effort to exclude South Africa from the fraternity of international sport had become one of the most visible and successful dimensions of the broader move to place external pressure on the regime to change. These victories came despite the sordid blacklegging of those like Sir Stanley Rous, the New Zealand Rugby Union, and the so-called cricket "rebels" like Colin Croft

Yet it would be a great error to reduce the story of South African sport to its external dimension. Indeed, with the exception of the United States, in no other case is there as developed a bibliography concerning race and sport as in South Africa.

Beyond those studies of global efforts to exclude the apartheid regime, the domestic context contains at least three distinct types of studies. The first of these are books that seek to illustrate the racial elements of apartheid era sport as a whole. These generally include the terms "race, sport and apartheid" in some

combination in their titles, and can be found in sufficient number as to confirm Archer and Bouillon's claim that "South Africa, sport, apartheid: together these three words compose a political know which has fascinated the media and tormented the sporting world."[xxxiii] Some of the best of these are contemporary accounts that trace in fine detail attempts to develop nonracial sport such as Archer and Bouillon's *The South African Game: sport and racism*. These works are related to, but distinct from, those studies that illustrate particular dimensions of domestic sport history such as the football played by prisoners on Robben Island; *Laduma*!, Peter Alegi's history of South Africa football; and *Blacks in Whites: A Century of Cricket Struggles in KwaZulu-Natal*. For the most part, these works tend to operate within, while challenging nonetheless, the basic division of South African sport into the efforts to produce nonracialism in those major traditions favored by the black majority (football), the Afrikanner community (rugby), and among anglophone whites (cricket).

Finally, the period since 1994 has seen the generation of a body of scholarship dedicated to examining South African sport after apartheid. Ashwin Desai's *The Race to Transform: Sport in Post-Apartheid South Africa* is a prime example of this latest tendency. These works are more sociological examining attitudes and representation against the plans generated by various sporting bodies within the country. They can be said to offer two important interventions. First, they afford greater attention to minor sports, thus providing a more nuanced depiction of racial conditions following the transition to multiparty democracy.
Second, they serve as an antidote to the idea that events such as winning the 1995 Rugby World Cup (which famous featured Nelson Mandela donning the Springbok jersey generally reviled as a symbol of Afrikaner nationalism by black South Africans) or hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup Finals illustrate a playing field that is no longer unequal.

***

As the site of Nelson Mandela in a Springbok jersey illustrates, the contemporary landscape of race and sport seems quite different from that of a generation ago. The notion that the Rugby and Football World Cups combined to serve as the final drama in the elimination of apartheid creates an evocative narrative about the power of sport to play a concrete role in social transformation.

And while even the most pollyannish understand that South African society is a far cry from that envisioned by the masses who made up the liberation movement, for many it seems that class, rather than race, is the crucial question. If one sets *Invictus* alongside the recent protests that surrounded the FIFA Confederations' Cup in Brazil, or the lawsuit by Ed O'Bannon and other college athletes demanding compensation for the use of their images in advertising, video games, and other merchandise during their time as adolescents, there is a temptation to argue for global confirmation of the American sociologist William Julius Wilson's contention regarding the declining significance of race. In such a formulation, most of the conflicts that appear racial in character actually highlight questions of resources and access that race

can do only so much to describe. At the very least that the present moment is one in which the nexus of race and sport continues to operate in crucial, if slightly more complicated, ways.

In part, this complexity is a function of the increasingly global nature of sport in the context of the larger neoliberal era. Michael Dyson has discussed the process by which Michael Jordan became a "crossover" icon of widespread appeal to white specatators and consumers.[xxxiv] As the NBA expanded in popularity beyond the United States, Jordan's mantle seemingly passed to Los Angeles Laker guard Kobe Bryant, whose jersey remained the top selling one in China between 2007 and 2012. Bryant's endorsement deals, which include sponsorships with Turkish Airlines, Panini, and Mercedes-Benz, produced more than $60M in income. Just behind Bryant ranks Lebron James, who dominated Bryant among American advertisers.

Alongside these and other basketball players, the increasingly global arena of sport has seen African American surge to the fore of endorsement deals and popularity in pursuits like tennis and golf, that until recently served as bastions of racial exclusion. Unsurprisingly, golfer Tiger Woods led Forbes' list of the 100 highest paid athletes, while Serena Williams, one of only three women to make the list, and the only woman tennis player to have won more than $40M in total prize money, landed at #68.

The visibility and wealth of athletes like Bryant, Woods, and the Williams sisters offers one aspect of the changed racial landscape produced by the era of globalized sport. The sight of athletes of African descent representing the national football teams of ostensibly "white" nations, as in the case of Mario Balotelli (Italy) or Theodore Gebre Selassie (Czech Republic) suggests another. Patterns of talent scouting and labor migration have produced professional soccer teams across the European continent with significant numbers of black players. The managers of the London soccer team Tottenham Hotspur could, if they chose, field a team with ten outfield players of black british descent, while the first team at Manchester United features black players from France (Patrice Evra), Ecuador (Antonio Valencia), Brazil (Anderson), England, (Rio Ferdinand) and Portugal (Nani).

Far below these men are the vast masses of black youth desperate for a career in professional athletics. Henry Louis Gates writes of the challenge of getting black audiences to accept the fact that the United States had twelve times as many black lawyers, and fifteen times as many black doctors, as it did black professional athletes. Less than 2% of all college students receive athletic scholarships, suggesting that even that goal remains out of reach for most. Earl Smith notes that of the 56 colleges that sent teams to postseason bowl games during the 2005-2006 season, 41 (73%) had graduation rates less than 50% among their black players.

The problem is transatlantic. In France alone, as Jean Claude Mbvoumin notes, there are more than 7,000 young Africans living on the streets following failed attempts at making it as professional footballers. Ninety-eight percent of these boys lack immigration documents, and more than 70% are under the age of 18. Nearly all were lured to Europe under false pretense, leaving Mbvoumin to speak of a modern form of slavery in which unscrupulous agents lure children into a life of poverty and loneliness.[xxxv]

Taking the crucial contexts noted above as a point of departure, scholarly and popular works attest to the continuing centrality of racial questions within the world of American and world amateur and professional sport. These range from relatively light representational treatments with titles like Thabiti Lewis' *Ballers of the New School: race and sports in America* to Joseph Price's peer-reviewed economics research which holds that "more personal fouls are called against players when they are officiated by an opposite-race refereeing crew than when officiated by an own-race crew" and that "these biases are sufficiently large" to affect the likelihood of victory or defeat on the basis of the racial composition of a given professional basketball team.[xxxvi] Moreover, there is an evolving body of scholarship that connects two crucial facts of contemporary black life in America: the mass incarceration of African American men and the hypervisilibilty of the black male athlete. Titles in this trend include Billy Hawkins' *The New Plantation*, David Leonard and C. Richard King's *Commodified and Criminalized: new racism and African Americans in contemporary sports*, and William Rhoden's *Forty Million Dollar Slaves*. Working within this trend, Earl Smith takes up the terminology of prison scholars like Ruth Gilmore to speak of an "Athletic Industrial Complex."[xxxvii]

Critical theory scholars increasingly note the ways in which the world of sport serves as the primary redoubt of biologistic racism at a time when many have come to otherwise accept race as a "social" construct.[xxxviii] St. Louis, for example, notes how "suggestions of a racially distributed genetic basis for athletic ability and performance are strategically posited as a resounding critique of the `politically correct' meta-narratives of established sociological and anthropological forms of explanation that emphasize the social and cultural construction of race."[xxxix] Gamel Abdel-Shehid has written of the need to develop a black queer theory of sport and masculinity to move beyond the limitations and silences implied by figures like Harry Edwards and C.L.R. James, both of whom advance a notion of political radicalism that rests upon a potentially narrow notion of a radicalized black radical male subject. Broadly speaking, these sorts of research projects draw attention to the crucial role advanced research has to play in explicating the precise contours of race and racial discrimination within the evermore lucrative world of sport.[xl]

For the critic of current conditions, examples abound. One can cite the continuing lack of minority ownership of major franchises, the absence of significant numbers of African American coaches throughout the world of American football, or the problems arising as a result of the gap between the demographic composition of professional athletes and the audiences that pay to see them play. In recent years, moreover, the fundamental inequities in supposedly amateur sport have become all but impossible to ignore. Black men comprise some 2.8% of all enrolled college students but 59% of college football and 64% of college basketball players. College football, whose 15 richest programs receive revenues in excessive of $1Billion annually, do so while paying their primary labor force—the players—nothing. This

confluence of unpaid labor and a racialized labor force suggests that the problem of college sports is largely one of race. At the very least, it offers eloquent confirmation of Stuart Hall's thesis that "race is the modality through which class is lived."[xli]

Europe illustrates the problem differently. Since the 1970s, football has served as a critical tableau for discussions of race relations, racial discrimination and antiracist politics. Christos Kassimeris provides a helped overview of the patterns of racist behavior and attitudes across the continent. In Italy, football appears to reflect Italian society's general inability to reconcile itself to demographic reality. Thus striker Mario Balotelli regularly faces crowds waving swastikas, throwing bananas, and chanting, "there are no black Italians." His experiences recall those faced by Cecile Kyenge, Italy's first black cabinet member, who was called an "Orangutan" by a Senator from the Northern League party. In France, the 1998 World Cup victory by a team led in part by footballers of Algerian (Zinedine Zidane) and Caribbean (Lilian Thuram) descent birthed a short-lived conversation about the possibility of harmonious integration in France before giving way to recriminations concerning unofficial quotas aimed at limiting the number of nonwhite players in the national team pipeline as well as controversy over the singing of the national anthem by "nonwhite" members of the national team.[xlii]

In the United Kingdom, where mass demonstrations of racist behavior were common a generation ago, black footballers are seemingly integrated enough that Tottenham Hotspur fullback Benoit Assou-Ekotto, of French and African descent, can say

> "I have no feeling for the France national team; it just doesn't exist. When people ask of my generation in France, 'Where are you from?', they will reply Morocco, Algeria, Cameroon or wherever. But what has amazed me in England is that when I ask the same question of people like Lennon and Defoe, they'll say: 'I'm English.' That's one of the things that I love about life here."[xliii]

This integration, of course, does little to preclude racist incidents of the sort perpetuated by Englishmen like John Terry or foreign players like Luis Suarez. Both the sentiments expressed by Assou-Ekoto and the sanctions imposed Terry and Suarez suggest that in England, as in the United States, the most "impolite" forms of openly racist behavior have come to be seen as unacceptable**.**

As these interventions make clear, the ostensibly "postracial" moment is one in which neither exclusion nor resistance is a sufficiently broad rubric to encompass the entirety of events. In the current moment, then, it is probably the case that as yet we lack a vocabulary for determining what the central "problem' of the 21st century is to be. Perhaps issues of economic inequality will provide enough common

ground that "class" will come be the modality in which class is lived. Or perhaps the extension of the contributions of the new social movements, including issues of sexuality, intersectionality, and debates about ablesim, to name a few, will prove sufficient to ignite truly mass movements that echo in the world of sport.

Perhaps a third way will be found that will take us from Marvin Gaye to Ilyich Ulanov—that is, from what's going on to what is to be done. Certainly, as long as sport retains its unique ability to generate dramatic narratives, to counterpoise nations, or to set individuals within a realm pregnant with symbolic meaning, on the one hand, and until the "until the philosophy which holds one race superior and another inferior is finally and permanently discredited and abandoned" on the other, the matrix of race and sport will continue to call attention to the problems and possibilities of our modern world.

---

[i] Ron Takaki, *Iron Cages: race and culture in 19th-century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the the Making of U.S. Culture*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002); Elliot Gorn and Warren Goldstein, *A Brief History of American Sports* (New York, N.Y.: Hill and Wang, 1993); Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States*, 1880-1917).

[ii] Jeffrey Sammons, "'Race" and Sport: A Critical and Historical Examination," *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Fall 1994), 203-278; Brett St. Louis, "The Vocation of Sport Sociology," *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 24:1 (2007), pp. 119-122; Ben Carrington, *Race, Sport and Politics: The Sporting Black Diaspora* (New York: Sage Publications, 2010); Grant Farred, *What's My Name?: Black Vernacular Intellectuals* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); Farred, "Grant *Farred*, "The Maple Man*:* How Cricket Made a Postcolonial Intellectual," in Farred, ed., *Re-thinking C. L. R. James* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 165–186. Dave Zirin, *A Peoples History of Sports in the United States* (New York: The New Press, 2009). For an excellent introduction to the historiography of African Americans and Sport, see the bibliographic essay that concludes David K. Wiggins and Patrick Miller (eds.), *The Unlevel Playing Field: a documentary history of the African American experience in sport* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), pp. 447-477.

[iii] W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: New American Library, Inc, 1903), p. 19.

[iv] Ben Finney, "The Development and Diffusion of Modern Hawaiian Surfing," The Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 69, No. 4 (December, 1960), pp. 315-331

[v] (Gerald R Gems, "Sport, Colonialism, and United States Imperialism," *Journal of Sport History*, 33:1 (2006): 3-25.; Louis A. Perez, Jr., "Between Baseball and Bullfighting: The Quest for Nationality in Cuba, 1868-1898," *The Journal of American History* , Vol. 81, No. 2 (Sep., 1994), pp. 493-517. The bibliography on cricket is extensive. For an introduction, see Hilary McD. Beckles and Brian Stoddart, ed.
Liberation Cricket: West Indies Cricket Culture. New York: Manchester University Press, 1995; Cashman, Richard. "Cricket and Colonialism: Colonial Hegemony or Indigenous Subversion," in J. A. Mangan (ed.), *Pleasure, Profit and Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914 (*London: Cass, 1988); Pamela Devan, "Cricket and the Global Indian Identity," *Sport in Society*, 15:10 (2012): 1413-25.C. L. R. James, *Beyond a Boundary*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993; Ashis Nandy, *The Tao of Cricket: On Games of Destiny and the Destiny of Games.* New York: Viking, 1989; Bruce Marray and Goolam Vahed (eds.), *Empire and Cricket: The South African Experience, 1884-1914* (University of South Africa Press, 2009).

[vi] Charles Martin, *Benching Jim Crow: the rise and fall of the color line in Southern college sports, 1890-1980* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 12.

[vii] On Taylor, see Andrew Ritchie, Major Taylor: The Extraordinary Career of a Champion Bicycle Racer (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); On Winkfield and those who preceded him, see Edward Hotaling, The Great Black Jockeys: the lives and times of the men who dominated America's first national sport (Rocklin, CA: Forum, 1999); On Johnson, as well as other early boxers and other professional athletes, see Ocania Chalk, *Pioneers of Black Sport: The Early Days of the Black Professional Athlete in Baseball, Basketball, Boxing, and Football* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1975). For golf, see Marvin Dawkins and Graham Kinloch, *African American Golfers During the Jim Crow Era* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2000). For tennis, see Sundiata Djata *Blacks*

at the Net: Black Achievement in the History of Tennis (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006). This list is not exhaustive.

[viii] The most attentive discussion of the finances of Negro league baseball is to be found in Neil Lanctot's *Negro League Baseball: the rise and ruin of a Black institution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

[ix] The bibliography concerning the Negro leagues is extensive. For an introduction, see Robert Peterson, *Only the Ball Was White: A History of Legendary Black Players and All-Black Professional Teams* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970).

[x] Joseph Powers-Beck, *The American Indian Integration of Baseball* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 1.

[xi] For an overview of Japanese-American baseball, see Samuel Regalado, *Nikkei Baseball: Japanese American Players from Immigration and Interment to the Major Leagues* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013).

[xii] José M. Alamillo, "*Peloteros* in Paradise: Mexican American Baseball and Oppositional Politics in Southern California, 1930-1950" in Jorge Iber and Samuel Regalado (ed.), *Mexican Americans and Sports: A Reader on Athletics and Barrio Life* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 51.

[xiii] Francisco Balderrama and Richard A. Santillan, *Mexican American Baseball in Los Angeles* (Arcadia, 2011). See also Rich Schultz: El Rey de Los Deportes: a history of baseball in Northwestern Mexico (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California San Diego, 2004).

[xiv] Adrian Burgos, *Playing America's Game: Baseball, Latinos and the Color Line* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007). See also Rob Ruck, *Raceball: How the Major Leagues colonized the Black and Latin game* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011). Ruck has written on the racial dimensions of Major League scouting in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean as well.

[xv] Nat Fleischer, *Black Dynamite: the story of the Negro in the prize ring from 1782 to 1938* (New York : Printed by C. J. O'Brien, inc., 5 vol. 1938-47)

[xvi] Theresa Runstedtler, *Jack Johnson, Rebel Sojourner: Boxing in the Shadow of the Global Color Line* (University of California Press, 2012).

[xvii]Sergio Leite *Lopes*. *Class*, *Ethnicity*, and Color in the. Making of *Brazilian Football* Daedalus, 129 (2010):239–70.

[xviii]Mario Rodrigues, O Negro No Futebol Brasileiro (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Civilização Brasileira, 1964 [2nd edition]); Rogerio Daflon and Teo Ballvé, "*The Beautiful Game? Race and class in Brazilian soccer*." NACLA *Report* on the Americas *37.5* (March-April *2004*). For a discussion on the specific question of coaching and race in Brazilian football, see "Brazilian Football's Race Problem," *When Saturday Comes*, 10 December 2009.

[xix]Richard M. Dalfiume, "The 'Forgotten Years' of the Negro Revolution," *The Journal of American History* Vol. 55, No. 1 (Jun., 1968), pp. 90-106.

[xx] Bruce Adelson, *Brushing back Jim Crow : the integration of minor-league baseball in the American South* (Charlottesville : University Press of Virginia, 1999); Charles Martin, *Benching Jim Crow : the rise and fall of the color line in southern college sports, 1890-1980* (Urbana : University of Illinois Press, 2010); Lane Demas, Integrating the Gridiron: *Black Civil Rights and American College Football* (New Brunswick, N.J. : Rutgers University Press, 2010).

[xxi] Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and his Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 30.

[xxii] Mark Naison, "*Lefties and Righties: The Communist Party and Sports During the Great Depression*," *Radical America* (July-August 1979), 47-59; *Henry* D. *Fetter*, "The Party Line and the Color Line: The American *Communist Party*, the Daily Worker, and *Jackie Robinson*," Journal ofSport History 28 (Fall 2001): 375–402.

[xxiii] Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[xxiv] On the "cultural front" of the Cold War, see Eva Cockcroft, "Abstract Expressionism: Weapon of the Cold War," *Artforum*, June 1974, pp. 39-41; Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: jazz ambassadors play the Cold War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004); Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: the CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: New Press, 1999); Mary Dudziak, "Josephine Baker, Racial Protest, and the Cold War." *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 81, No. 2 (Sep., 1994): 543-570.

[xxv] Damion Thomas, *Globetrotting: African American athletes and Cold War politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), pp. 41-102 (passim).

[xxvi] The starting point for any discussion of the "revolt of the black athlete" must be Harry Edwards, *The Revolt of the Black Athlete* (New York: New Press, 1969); see also William Van Deberg, *New Day in Babylon: the Black power movement and American culture, 1965-1975* (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1992); Amy Bass, *Not the Triumph but the Struggle: The 1968 Olympics and the Making of the Black Athlete* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

[xxvii] Beckles, *Liberation Cricket*, vii.

[xxviii] In addition to James, Nandy and Dewan (op. cit.), see Jack Wililams, *Cricket and Race* (Oxford: Berg, 2001); Ashwin Desai, Vishnu Padayachee, Krish Reddy and Goolam Vahed (eds.), *Blacks in Whites: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwa-Zulu- Natal*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002); See also the fascinating "Trobriand Cricket: An Ingenious Response to Colonialism,"

[xxix] For a précis on the rise of Joao Havelange, see David Goldblatt. *The Ball is Round: A Global History of Soccer* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2006), 514-527. See also Paul Darby, Afria, Football and FIFA: politics, colonialism and resistance (London: Frank Cass, 2002).

[xxx] Fatima El-Tayeb, *European Others: Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xxxix.

[xxxi] Laurent DuBois, *Soccer Empire: The World Cup and the Future of France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), passim, especially 161-206.

[xxxii] As with the general subject of sport in South Africa, the specific topic of sport under apartheid brings forth a large bibliography. For a series of crucial works, see Robert Archer and Antoine Bouillon, *The South African Game: Sport and Racism* (London: Zed, 1982), 1; Dennis Booth, T*he Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1998); Ashwin Desai (ed.), *The Race to Transform: Sport in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2010); Peter Hain, *Don't Play with Apartheid: the Background to the Stop the Seventy Tour Campaig*n (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1971); Christopher Merrett, *Sport, Space and Segregation: Politics and Society in Pietermaitzburg* (University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2009); Richard Thompson, *Race and Sport* (Institute of Race Relations, London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

[xxxiii] Robert Archer and Antoine Bouillon, *The South African Game: Sport and Racism* (London: Zed, 1982), 1.

[xxxiv] Michael Eric Dyson, "Be Like Mike? Michael Jordan and the Pedagogy of Desire," *Cultural Studies*, Volume 7, no.1 (January 1993), pp. 64-72. See also David L. Andrews (ed.), *Michael Jordan Inc.: corporate sport, media culture, and late modern America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).

[xxxv] Henry Louis Gates Jr., "Delusions of Grandeur," Sports Ullustrated, August 19, 1991, 78; http://www.footsolidaire.org; Earl Smith, *Race, Sport and the American Dream* (Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 2009), 101.

[xxxvi] Thabiti Lewis, Ballers of the *New School: Race and Sports in America* (Chicago: Third World Press, 2010); Joseph Price & Justin Wolfers, "Racial Discrimination Among NBA Referees," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, MIT Press, vol. 125(4) 2010, pp. 1859-1887.

[xxxvii] Billy Hawkins, *The New Plantation: Black Athletes, College Sports, and Predominantly White NCAA Institutions* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); David J. Leonard and C. Richard King (eds.), *Commodified and Criminalized: New Racism and African Americans in Contemporary Sports* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2010); William Rhoden, *$40 million slaves: the rise, fall, and redemption of the Black athlete* (New York : Crown Publishers, 2006); Earl Smith, *Race, Sport, and the American Dream*, 119.

[xxxviii] John Hoberman, *Darwin's Athletes: how sport has damaged Black America and preserved the myth of race* (Boston :

Houghton Mifflin, 1997).

xxxix Brett St. Louis, "Sport, genetics and the `natural athlete': The resurgence of racial science. *Body & Society*, 9:2 (2003), pp. 75-95.

xl Gamal Abdel-Shehid, *Who Da Man?: black masculinities and sporting cultures* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2005), 139-149.

xli Stuart Hall, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John N. Clarke, and Brian Roberts, *Policing the Crisis: mugging, the state, and law and order* (London: Macmillan, 1978), 394; Shaun Harper, Collin Wiliams Jr., and Horatio W. Blackman, *Black Male Student- Athletes and Raical Inequities in NCAA Division I College Sports* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Center for the Study of Race and Equity in Education, 2013).

xlii The bibliography on racism and antiracism in likewise continues to expand. Useful overviews are to be found in Les Beck, Tim Crabbe and John Solomos (eds.), *The Changing Face of Football: racism, identity and multiculture in the English game* (Oxford: Berg, 2001); Christos Kassimerris (ed.), *Anti-Racism in European Football* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009); Christos Kassimeris, *European Football in Black and White: Tackling Racism in Football* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008); Phil Vasili, *Colouring Over the White Line: The History of Black Footballers in Britain* (Edinburgh and London: Mainstream Publishing, 2000).

xliii David Hytner, "Benoît Assou-Ekotto: 'I play for the money: Football is not my passion.'" *Guardian*, 30 April 2010.