

# ***M\*A\*S\*H, The Longest Yard, and the Integrationist Imagination in the Postsegregation Era***

**Austin Gorman**

## **I**

Toward the end of Richard Hooker's 1968 satirical novel *M\*A\*S\*H*, the soldier-surgeons of the 4,077th unit of the Mobile Army Surgical Hospital (MASH) compete in a football game against another team composed of US military medical personnel—the Evacuation (Evac) Hospital of the 325th division. At the time of the contest, both units are actively deployed in providing medical aid to wounded combatants during the Korean War—a harrowing and horrific task that is made (somewhat) more bearable by the dark humor Captains Benjamin “Hawkeye” Pierce, Augustus “Duke” Forrest, and “Trapper” John McIntyre adopt as they go about their job of reattaching severed limbs and removing shrapnel from human flesh. Participating in a football game might seem to offer a welcome diversion from their bloody employment. The surgical team of unit 4077, however, does not treat their game against the Evac Hospital squad as mere recreational amusement. For Hawkeye, Duke, and Trapper, as well as their commanding officer, Colonel Henry Blake, beating the team of division 325 is a serious affair. The Evac Hospital possesses the veritable football powerhouse of the Far East war theater, and to upset General Hammond, the coach of the 325th, and his squad, Hawkeye plots to bring in a ringer: Dr. Oliver Wendell Jones, a black army neurosurgeon who, as a civilian, played professional football for the Philadelphia Eagles.<sup>1</sup>

The outlandish conceit of Jones living a double life as a pro football player and neurosurgeon, while attesting, in no small measure, to the ironic aspects of Hooker's work, serves a practical purpose in the novel: it draws attention to a salient issue of military racial politics—and, by extension, American racial politics in other contexts—during the 1960s. The seriousness with which Hawkeye and his unit approach the game underscores Hooker's commitment to exploring racial integration in the armed services as it pertained to black participation in recreational activities with their white comrades. In this way, *M\*A\*S\*H* evokes an integrationist imaginary, which derives its significance from the potent forms of racism that persisted in the mid- and late 1960s in the military and other institutions, despite the American political system's and the military's avowed commitment to ensuring racial equality. Following the passage of the Johnson administration's Civil Rights Bill in 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, formal racial segregation was eliminated across the country. The question for civil rights advocates and racial liberalists changed in the aftermath of these landmark pieces of legislation: once united in battling racial segregation and Jim Crow laws, civil rights proponents wondered how, with formal segregation dismantled by congressional law, equality might be achieved.<sup>2</sup> What civil rights proponents, along with those sympathetic to its cause, discovered was that it was easier to change the laws regarding racial segregation (no minor task in the 1960s given the intransigence of Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans in Congress opposed to the passage of civil rights) than to change white attitudes about race, which led, in turn, to various kinds of informal racial segregation outside the purview of the law.

The American military provides a fascinating point of reference for the conversation that emerged between the dismantling of formal segregation and the persistence of informal segregation in the 1960s. In a RAND Corporation (an important global policy think tank in California) study commissioned in mid-1990s, and eventually published in 1998 under the title *Foxholes and Color Lines: Desegregating the U.S. Armed Services*, researchers Sherie Mershon and Steven Scholssman offer a history of integration in the military that demonstrates both the achievements and the failures of this American institution in enacting racial equality before the landmark civil rights legislation of the 1960s. Mershon and Scholssman's work describes the events that led to the desegregation of US combat forces during the Korean War; although some experiments in integrating black and white troops were initiated in the European theater in World War II (WWII), the major coup in military racial policies came later, with the issuing of President Truman's Executive Order 9981 in 1948. Executive Order 9981 was a political solution to the problem of segregation in the US armed services, which mattered greatly when it came to its implementation by the various branches of the military. As Mershon and Scholssman argue, the lack of practical policies for implementation in Truman's order that would have ensured that integration became a reality in the American military was intentional: the president's advisers reasoned that "for desegregation to work ... each of the

armed forces would need the latitude to devise its own plan through its own decisionmaking process.”<sup>3</sup> Giving control and responsibility to the armed services to decide how to fulfill this mandate resulted in certain branches, namely the US Army and Marine Corps, arguing vehemently against, and ultimately resisting, Truman’s executive mandate. In his testimony to the Fahy Committee, which was assembled by Truman and his advisers to oversee military compliance with his order, Secretary Kenneth Royall, the civilian head of the army, explained that “racial segregation ... was simply a matter of making a rational division of labor for the army as a whole.”<sup>4</sup> Employing the oft-used argument that racial integration proved a detriment to military efficiency, which Mershon and Scholssman show relied on the notion that whites would be greatly averse to working alongside blacks in combat battalions, Royall demonstrated the opposition of many military officers and commanders to pursue the commitment toward racial equality outlined in Executive Order 9981.

Despite the pressure applied by the Fahy Committee on the heads of the army to implement a plan to desegregate their organization, in practice soldiers in this branch of the military—which contained the largest number of African American enlistees—did not follow through on integration efforts until the inefficiencies of segregation were made visible during the Korean War. In 1950, with the army facing huge casualties as a result of an unforeseen Chinese offensive, officers faced the logistical problem of resupplying decimated US combat units. Due to segregation and the informal dictate of the army that black soldiers serve only in all-black battalions, “black units around the world,” Mershon and Scholssman explain, “found themselves overstrength.” Segregation had created a problem wherein there were simply not enough spots available in all-black units in Korea to match the number of blacks deployed to fight. In response to this problem, “some Army officers concluded that the logical thing to do was to use some of the incoming blacks as ‘fillers’ in under-strength white combat units, rather than trying to fit them into the existing segregated system.”<sup>5</sup> By this account, integration in the army resulted not from Truman’s executive order, which merely provided the legal framework that enabled officers to do “the logical thing” in desegregating combat units in Korea, but rather as a response to a personnel crisis. During the early months of the conflict, when white soldiers were in short supply and black soldiers were abundant, it was no more than a practical solution to a staffing problem that caused commanders to insert blacks into previously all-white units.

The 4,077th division of MASH in Hooker’s novel similarly suffers from these staffing problems, which was a common dilemma faced by American commanders during the Korean War. During a period referred to in the book as The Great Deluge, the surgeons find themselves inundated with injured combat soldiers: “for a full two weeks the wounded would come and keep coming,” Hooker writes, “and for a full two weeks every surgeon and every nurse and every corpsman, as the shifts overlapped, would work from twelve to fourteen to sixteen hours a day, every day, and sometimes some of them would work

twenty out of the twenty-four.”<sup>6</sup> Under such grueling conditions, the medical staff of unit 4077 begins to suffer from exhaustion and morale problems. However, they lack not only the requisite number of doctors, nurses, and other medical staff to offer relief to the personnel in their unit but also the surgeons with relevant medical expertise. When an “unconscious Negro private” arrives with a “neurological problem,” Hooker notes that “the 4077th had no neurosurgeon.”<sup>7</sup> The novel here foreshadows the later arrival of the black neurosurgeon Jones and acknowledges the problem of racial segregation in military combat as a personnel matter. The lack of qualified staff in the 4,077th unit presents the same problem that actual army officers faced in the Korean War in deciding whether to staff white units with black soldiers: given the military’s pressing need for soldiers and staff, it appears illogical, to Hooker and real officers alike, to avoid using African American military men.

The inclusion of a black neurosurgeon in MASH unit 4077, which occurs after The Great Deluge has passed, makes the novel a distinctly Korean War fiction. Jones’s commission to serve as the unit’s neurosurgeon effectively integrates unit 4077, as well as solving its staffing problem. However, *M\*A\*S\*H* moves beyond the context of desegregation in the army of the early 1950s to take up the issue of integration in the 1960s. Given the novel’s publication date, it comes as no surprise that the matter of racial equality in Hooker’s novel concerns less the problem of integrating military units—no one in a position of authority opposes Jones in joining MASH—than the dilemma posed by informal segregation and racism in the American military. As Mershon and Scholssman demonstrate in their history, the military was, by many important measures, ahead of the curve when it came to the implementation of policies of racial equality in the postwar era. In 1954, just as the nation was coming to grips with the implications of the Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education*, the military had already successfully accomplished the desegregation policies that America’s public education system was just beginning to enact. What began in Korea in 1950 with the inclusion of blacks in all-white units was expanded to include the entire military; by 1954, the all-black segregated units of years past were demolished, both on the warfront and in US domestic and foreign military installations worldwide.

As a result of this dramatic about-face in military racial policy, civil rights advocates and others began to deemphasize inequality in the American armed services. “In general,” Mershon and Scholssman explain, “military racial policies and practices received relatively little public attention between 1954 and 1963, and most reportage about them was favorable.”<sup>8</sup> Once formal segregation was dismantled in the armed services and interracial units became the norm, both military officials and the public tended to ignore the racial inequalities that persisted in this institution. Without a doubt, the racial desegregation of the American armed services benefited black servicemen enormously; African Americans in the military enjoyed an array of career opportunities in the late 1950s and early 1960s that were unavailable to them in earlier decades, and they

faced significantly less discrimination as a result of the civilian government's commitment to advancing the cause of racial equality in the armed services. At the same time, however, the contrast between military and civilian society on questions of race created a great deal of tension, particularly since many domestic military installations were located in the South. "The sharp distinction between enforcing nondiscriminatory policies on military property and adhering to local custom," Mershon and Scholssman write, "beyond military property held throughout the 1950s," and on through much of the 1960s.<sup>9</sup> Whereas black servicemen were treated equally, at least in theory, while they were on base, they often found themselves victims of Jim Crow off base. In particular, "black members of military bands, choirs and athletic teams were often excluded from off-base events in which these organizations regularly participated since the appearance of blacks in civilian recreational facilities violated either local law or local custom."<sup>10</sup>

Given this history, Hooker's focus on sport as the relevant context for a discussion of racial issues—after formal integration makes a significant degree of sense. The implication that Jones—who possesses the racist nickname "Spearchucker," ostensibly referring to his former prowess as a college javelin thrower—is being brought to unit 4077 for his football skills, rather than his abilities as a neurosurgeon, occurs because football is precisely the type of thing that needs to be integrated in the military of the late 1960s. When it comes to integration and sports, the most common cultural touchstone is Jackie Robinson's celebrated breaking of the color barrier in Major League Baseball in 1947. The impact of this event cannot be overstated: it gave Americans, both white and black, concrete proof that integration was a practical and feasible goal. In what follows, I seek to locate an alternative integration narrative in the cultural discourse involving sports—one that occurs at a later date. The period that marked Robinson and other African American ballplayers' inclusion in this nation's most popular pastime coincided with a civil rights movement, which, broadly speaking, sought to secure equal access to institutions such as schools and other public facilities during the years beginning at the end of WWII up to Congress's passage of civil rights legislation in 1964 and 1965. However, the era that interests me here followed the end of formal desegregation: the period, roughly, between 1965 and the mid-1970s.

The politics of acknowledging, and celebrating, racial differences, rather than seeking to mute these differences through race-neutral policies, has often been seen as a critical divide between the way race was perceived in the 1970s and 1980s and the integrationist philosophy of the 1950s and early 1960s. This paper seeks to complicate our understanding of the presumably neat historical divide between the proponents of civil rights and race equality (1945–65) and those committed instead to a positive assessment of, and commitment toward, racial difference (from the mid-1960s on). It does so by offering a reading of two important, albeit marginalized, texts that appeared during the period when racial integration was hardly a settled matter—not, at least, in the areas where it

counted most: in places in which the formal policies of desegregation advanced by the US political system did not or could not ensure racial equality. Focusing on the recreational activity of football as a context in which informal desegregation, which can be seen as the willingness of whites and blacks to engage in social events outside of the professional organizations to which they belonged, is a focal point of Hooker's *M\*A\*S\*H* and Burt Reynolds's 1974 film *The Longest Yard*.

While *M\*A\*S\*H*'s commercial and cultural success as a television (TV) series is well-known, both the novel and the Robert Altman movie upon which the TV show was based have experienced a measure of critical neglect. This is not altogether surprising; published in 1968, Hooker's concern with racial integration was still a salient issue—particularly in the military, which was trying to reconcile its commitment to desegregation as an organization with the local customs of the communities where its personnel interacted when off duty—that has been subsequently perceived as an outmoded concern. In his provocative work *What Was African American Literature?*, Ken Warren argues, “African American literature took shape in the context of [a] challenge to the enforcement and justification of racial subordination and exploitation represented by Jim Crow.” Given these rather narrow conditions of the purpose of African American literature, Warren claims that “with the legal demise of Jim Crow the coherence of African American literature has correspondingly, if imperceptibly, eroded as well.”<sup>11</sup> The erosion of African American literature, or to be more precise, the erosion of the purpose for writing African American literature, would appear to be a problem for those writers who view their fiction as meaningfully depicting the social and political dimensions surrounding matters of race in the United States. But at the same time, the demise of Jim Crow in the mid-1960s could be seen as an opportunity, an invitation if you will, to represent the persistence of racial segregation in other social contexts. The formal messiness of *M\*A\*S\*H*—the work is not a coherent narrative but depicts, rather, a series of loosely connected episodes involving the surgeons of the 4,077th unit—can be seen, in this light, as a product of the uncertain meaning of race and the goals of equality following the demise of Jim Crow and formal segregation policies.

*M\*A\*S\*H* and *The Longest Yard* are examples of cultural texts written in the aftermath of Jim Crow that undermine Warren's tidy periodization of what constitutes African American literature. Neither the book nor the film could be said to belong to the canon of African American fiction, but both are interested in resolving the matter of racial inclusion in imaginative ways. In this sense, these popular cultural texts embrace Toni Morrison's description of the “Africanist presence” that is central to the Anglo-American literary tradition writ large. “As a disabling trope within literary discourse,” Morrison explains, “Africanism has become ... both a way of talking about and a way and policing matters of class, sexual license, and repression, formations and exercises of power, and meditations on ethics and accountability.”<sup>12</sup> Morrison's understanding of how racial tropes are inflected in Anglo-American literature, along

with her argument that Africanism enables white writers and cultural producers to indirectly discuss (other) controversial and taboo topics, offers a significant reason why and how Hooker's novel and Reynolds's film depict race as they do. The antibureaucratic and anti-institutional ethos of the novel and film informs, and is informed by, interest in race as a mechanism for amateur play outside the normative confines of professional athleticism.

To this end, both works seek to pursue racial equality in areas outside of organizational bureaucracies. These texts, in short, imagine that the relevant arena in which to pursue integrationist policies is not professional sports—Robinson had already shown how large, wealthy sports organizations such as Major League Baseball could become integrated—but rather semiprofessional football clubs. Both *M\*A\*S\*H* and *The Longest Yard* draw on a particular historical example in order to demonstrate how the integration of recreational, and by extension professional, football mattered: each invoke the battle between the National Football League (NFL) and an upstart enterprise called the American Football League (AFL) in order to demonstrate why informal social cooperation between the races was of paramount importance for the country after the legal basis for Jim Crow had eroded.

## II

The name of the football squad that Hawkeye and his fellow surgeons form in *M\*A\*S\*H*, the Red Raiders, resonates with a team who adopted a similar philosophy when it came to the recruitment of black players: Al Davis's Oakland Raiders of the AFL. Pete Rappoport, the sports journalist and historian of the AFL, explains that the success of the emergent AFL largely depended on its recruitment and drafting of African American athletes. Black Southern colleges, in particular, gave the AFL a pool from which to cull football talent that had been passed over by the NFL. In the 1960s, the powerhouse programs of the South, such as the University of Alabama and Louisiana State University (LSU), remained racially segregated, which meant that star African American players could often be found at all-black colleges like Grambling State University, Morgan State, and North Texas State. The AFL, and in particular Davis's Raiders, made a conscious effort to go after football talent from all-black universities in order to increase the entertainment value of their newly formed league.<sup>13</sup> Jones suffers a fate similar to many black athletes born in the segregated South; unable to play for a lauded program such as the Alabama Crimson Tide, he goes unrecognized by the NFL. Hawkeye explains Jones's predicament to his friends and fellow surgeons Trapper and Duke:

Spearchucker went to some jerkwater colored college, but ... did well enough to get into med school. He had played football in college, but no one had ever seen him. When he got out of med school he got married, and he wanted to take a

residency. He needed some dough so he started playing semi-pro ball on weekends around New Jersey. Somebody scouted him and the Philadelphia Eagles signed him. He was great even though he couldn't work at it full time.<sup>14</sup>

Playing at some “jerkwater colored college” not frequented by NFL scouts provides Hawkeye with an opportunity: since no one else is aware of Jones's football prowess, the Red Raiders were easily able to draft him. Employing careful subterfuge, Hawkeye and the rest of his unit “kept [Jones's talents] under cover” as they proceed to slowly raise the monetary stakes of the game with General Hammond and his team from the 325th Evac Hospital.

Jones's participation on the Red Raiders team parallels his previous time spent playing “semi-pro [football] on weekends around New Jersey” with one critical difference: becoming a member of the Red Raiders does not serve as a trial for his eventual signing to a professional organization such as the Philadelphia Eagles. Jones's professional status in the context of the novel is not as a football player but rather as a neurosurgeon, which does not depend on his success on the field. The notion that Jones's racial identity would not matter in his role as a neurosurgeon practicing on white soldiers, which stretches the reader's suspension of disbelief to extraordinary proportions, affirms Hooker's objective that the sole black character in his novel open an imaginative space for overturning the hierarchy of work and play as it pertains to the norms of military life. For Hooker, the fact that Jones is allowed to participate in recreational activities with white soldiers, which implies a social intimacy and camaraderie, is far more important than his professional role as a doctor. Predictably, Duke, a white Southerner, is the sole member of the group to express concerns about Jones's recruitment: “‘Now, wait a minute,’ Duke said, ‘I know how you Yankees think. Y'all wanta get this nigra [*sic*] up here to live in The Swamp. Right?’”<sup>15</sup> “The Swamp” is the pet name that Hawkeye, Duke, and Trapper give to the tent that they share, and Duke's initial reluctance about Jones has little to do with his inclusion as a fellow surgeon but rather involves the fact that he will be required to have close physical contact with, as he puts it, a “nigra.” Hawkeye, for his part, doesn't balk at the implications of this racial intermingling, explaining with a solid “yes” that this is precisely what he intends to do. Duke does not put up much of a fight, rationalizing that he is “washed up at home anyway, after living with two Yankees,”<sup>16</sup> but the novel nonetheless offers a sense of what is at stake in Jones joining the MASH team. Allowing black neurosurgeons to serve in all units was one thing in the 1960s; encouraging their participation in white military sports teams and sharing sleep quarters with them was another matter.

Jones's success on the field trumps any reservations that Duke, or others, might have about fraternizing with blacks in nonprofessional environments. With his help, the Red Raiders beat General Hammond's squad and the medical staff of unit 4077 collects on the bets they placed against the Evac Hospital of



the 325th. Although Jones's primary function in the novel has ostensibly been served after he plays an integral role in the Red Raider's win, Hooker includes him in the book's subsequent chapter to reinforce the professional versus recreational dialectic, drawing even further attention to the integrationist theme embedded in the narrative. Following the game, two new surgeons unexpectedly arrive to alleviate the strenuous workload of unit 4077's existing medical staff. Captain Pinkham and Captain Russell are new recruits to the armed services, and they arrive at MASH from their private practices located stateside. They immediately strike Hawkeye and his cohort as out of place; Jones, in a conversation with Trapper, identifies the surgeons as "Ivy League types," which not only conveys their overeducation and snobbery but also their by-the-book approach to medicine.

From the start, Pinkham and Russell are critical of the surgical practices of the 4,077th unit; their arrival invites "a comparison between methods being employed at MASH and the techniques taught in the high-level state training hospitals"<sup>17</sup>—and the comparison, at least as far as these "Ivy League types" are concerned, is not a favorable one. Aghast in encountering the "meatball surgery" that Hawkeye and the other surgeons perform daily, Pinkham and Russell dutifully go about practicing medicine as they learned it in the American hospitals where they were trained. Given the volume of wounded soldiers that the MASH staff must treat, however, along with the severity of their injuries and the limited number of doctors that the armed services has employed in Korea, following strict medical protocol can do more harm than good. The two new doctors soon learn the wisdom of MASH's triage approach to surgery:

Once ... on a busy night while Hawkeye was occupied elsewhere [Captain Pinkham] spent six hours on a case that should not have taken more than two hours and managed to miss a hole in the upper part of the stomach. The patient almost died, early, from too much surgery and, later, from the missed hole. Hawkeye took that one back to the table and, two days later, with the patient well on the way to recovery, he was able to make this the case in point. "Now I'll offer you some thoughts," he told the much relieved Captain Pinkham. "This is certainly meatball surgery we do around here, but I think you can see now that meatball surgery is a specialty in itself. We are not concerned with the ultimate reconstruction of the patient. We are concerned only with getting the kid out of here alive enough for someone else to reconstruct him. ... That's hard to accept at first," he [Hawkeye] said, "but tell me something doctor. Do you play golf?"<sup>18</sup>

Pinkham's inclination to follow the standards of medical procedure taught at "high-level" hospitals works against him in his role as military surgeon: a

patient almost dies because he displays too great a concern for following surgical protocol. For his part, Hawkeye views the new surgeon's near-failure as a pedagogical opportunity: as he explains to Pinkham, the kind of treatment that the medical staff of MASH practices "certainly" deserves the classification of "meatball surgery," which focuses on keeping the patients alive long enough so that they stand a chance of being reconstructed at a later date by doctors with a shorter waiting list.

But, Hawkeye does not disparage the meatball surgery that he and his fellow MASH doctors perform as inferior to the kind practiced by Pinkham and Russell. Instead, he insists that meatball surgery should be treated as a "specialty in itself"—different from the professional methods of medicine that surgeons in stateside hospitals perform, although nonetheless crucial as a technique appropriate to the battlefield. Hawkeye elevates the status of meatball surgery as an alternative specialty that has its place in the medical profession, particularly given the constraints that surgeons in Korea operate under in the treatment of patients. In this passage, Hawkeye effectively overturns the hierarchy between professional medicine and its semiprofessional variant, demonstrating the wisdom and necessity of improvisational medicine under traumatic conditions. At first, the relationship between the meatball surgery and the football game played between the Red Raiders and General Hammond's squad may not be clear, but what Hooker intends, in offering these two episodes in succession, is to uphold the notion that outliers, whether in medicine or sport, matter greatly when it comes to the organizational efficiency of institutions.

For this reason, Hawkeye's question to Pinkham of whether he plays golf demonstrates more than his insouciant and playful humor and should be taken at face value: playing golf, and other sports, is an important aspect of military service from the standpoint of Hooker's novel. (The presence of blackness is, not surprisingly, moot when it comes to the golf, which has historically been viewed as a sport reserved exclusively for whites of a certain social status.) On one occasion in the narrative, Trapper and Hawkeye leave base on an assignment to attend to a young army private, the son of a congressman, in Kokura, Japan; they take advantage of this opportunity to participate in a Japanese golf tournament.<sup>19</sup> Arriving in Kokura, the two surgeons discover, to their initial dismay, that the "eighteen-hole course not far from the hospital" is "closed to the public" because the Kokura Open is set to begin the following day. This leaves Hawkeye and Trapper with, as they put it, "a big decision to make": whether, as Hawkeye explains, "to operate on this kid first and then qualify for this Kokura Open, or we can qualify first and then operate on this kid, if he's still alive." The sergeant in charge of the hospital can only mutter "goddamn army" as he listens to the banter between the MASH doctors.<sup>20</sup> Although this sequence is intended to make a mockery out of the army and commanders like the sergeant, it serves another, more noble purpose: it validates, again, the idea that play and recreational activities must be an essential part of organizational cultures and bureaucracies such as the military.

One of the most routine gestures of sociological literature of the 1950s was to decry the boredom and detriment to individual initiative produced by organizational and corporate enterprises.<sup>21</sup> Even sports, which perhaps, on the face of it, could be seen as more freewheeling than other American institutions, were not immune to the soul-nullifying effects of bureaucratic control. In an article published in 1951, titled "Football in America: A Study in Culture Diffusion," sociologists David Riesman, of *The Lonely Crowd* fame (see endnote 021), and Reuel Denney discuss the corporatization of college football in the postwar era, along with describing the historical evolution of the sport from its English origins to its current status as an expressly American game.<sup>22</sup> For Riesman and Denney, the difference between football's precursor, English rugby, and its American counterpart comes down to a distinction between amateurism and professionalism: the hurly-burly and makeshift style of rugby, which they write "seems like one of the many feudal survivals that urbanization and industrialization have altered but not destroyed,"<sup>23</sup> stands in stark contrast to football in the United States, which has, at least since 1945, embraced notions of efficiency and management borrowed from industrial organizations. They argue that the "innovations" in the game in the late 1940s changed football from a "star system," in which a player such as Jim Thorpe played multiple positions on the field and succeeded through his "individual initiative," into a "cooperative enterprise," with the entire team working together under the direction of a signal-calling coach.<sup>24</sup> This presents a dilemma, as far as Riesman and Denney are concerned, because it undermines football's original status as a purely recreational endeavor; postwar football took a sport played by amateurs and turned it into a bureaucratic organization run by managers and coaches.

Football is but one example of a general trend "in American culture as a whole," which Riesman and Denney argue has blurred the "sharp line [that] exists between work and play."<sup>25</sup> Whether one sees this as a moral argument (that is, there should be a sharp line between work and play) or merely a sociological argument (postwar culture has dismantled the formerly sharp distinction between work and play), the stakes remain the same: how to isolate recreation in American culture from one's professional identity. Hooker's novel is clearly invested in the project of subverting military bureaucratic norms by celebrating the freedom of play in recreational activities such as golf and football. Published at the height of the American counterculture's political and social rejection of organizational bureaucracies, it would be easy to read *M\*A\*S\*H* as a work that basks in the glory of individual rebellion and anomie in a battle against rule-making and norm-enforcing institutions. Such a reading would make Hooker's fiction more about the Vietnam War than the Korean conflict: during Vietnam, a populist youth movement challenged not only the *casus belli* of America's military intervention in Southeast Asia but also, in its less lucid moments, the rationale for having an armed services in the first place—or, for that matter, having a US government. A faction of the 1960s' youth counterculture movement sought not to simply end America's involvement in Vietnam or

encourage the passage of desegregation laws but rather to overturn the rule of law and install their utopian version of society.

Hooker, despite harboring serious doubts about the American military, does not embrace this vision of radical political and social upheaval. Hawkeye, Duke, and Trapper are often thorns in the side of Colonel Blake, breaking rules and generally misbehaving, but they never shrink from the seriousness of their role as military surgeons: the nonchalant posture that Hawkeye and Trapper adopt in addressing the sergeant in the hospital in Japan is merely a ruse. Before signing up for the Kokura Open, they visit their patient and determine that “he [is] no immediate danger.”<sup>26</sup> They perform the first part of the operation with relative ease and instruct the hospital staff to monitor their patient before heading off to play golf. What enables Hawkeye and Trapper to engage in recreational activities that are independent of their duties as military surgeons is their exceptional professional competency. Even in all its mockery, *M\*A\*S\*H* is not an aggressively antimilitary or antigovernment screed; rather, the novel’s politics involve reaffirming a distinction between work and play, which bears a similar temperament to notions advanced by liberal centrists such as Riesman regarding the importance of divesting the recreational activities that Americans enjoy from the control of organizational entities.

### III

Recreational activities mattered to institutions like the US military in the 1960s, in Hooker’s mind, not only because they allowed personnel the freedom to pursue activities outside of their professional duties as soldiers but also, and more importantly, because they focused attention on the persistent problem of informal racial segregation. While organizations, with the armed services as the prime example, proved relatively adept at transforming their policies to increase racial equality in the 1960s when the civilian government demanded it, altering behavior in settings beyond organizational oversight proved a more difficult task. By 1968, changing social attitudes about race was the main focus of those who held firm to integrationist principles. In validating the 4,077th unit’s semipro practice of meatball surgery and staging an amateur football competition that includes an African American neurosurgeon, Hooker’s novel draws our attention to the importance of ensuring racial equality at the fringes of, and outside of, large institutional enterprises. In addition, and as importantly, the racial inequality that existed beyond the purview of American organizational life in this period enables *M\*A\*S\*H* to interrogate and challenge the norms of the military. As Morrison suggested earlier, race serves as a convenient trope for a liberal white writer to challenge the “formations and exercises of power” that he saw as an important restraint to postwar society.<sup>27</sup>

Like Hooker’s novel, Reynolds’s 1974 film *The Longest Yard* is an interesting cultural artifact because it provides an alternative narrative to the usual story of integration by focusing on a football game between a semipro team and

a prison club in the backwaters of Florida. The oeuvre of Reynolds has not been much studied by film scholars or cultural historians. As Christian Long argued, however, the odd thing is not that postwar scholars are writing about Reynolds, but that Reynolds has been largely ignored by postwar scholars. “Critical respect,” Long writes, “and Reynolds are near strangers to each other. Despite the fact that, by many measures, Reynolds was the most important movie star of the 1970s, indeed one of the most significant stars in Hollywood history.”<sup>28</sup> The primary reason Reynolds has been ignored, from Long’s perspective, is that he addresses a particular audience, white Southerners, who are not afforded much of a place in the opinion of cultural tastemakers in the postwar era. But, as Long claims, Reynolds’s films are important because they offer key insights into the urbanization of the South as a region during the late 1960s and 1970s and the rising dominance of the Sunbelt states as a political and economic power bloc on the national scene. *The Longest Yard*, directed by Robert Aldrich, wrestles with one particular aspect of the South’s reemergence and its unification with Northern social and economic norms: its gradual acceptance that insisting on racial segregation did not serve its long-term interests as a region, along with its subsequent adoption of a more integrationist approach to racial policies. Football serves as the context under which a progressive racial policy appears in Aldrich’s film, which makes sense given the sport’s history in the South and how it factored in arguments for and against integration. The movie tells the story of Paul Crewe (Reynolds), a former pro-football quarterback for the Green Bay Packers who, in the film’s brief exposition, commits an act of domestic violence against his girlfriend, steals her expensive sports car before driving it off a dock, and finds himself under custody by the Florida state police. As a result of his misdeeds, Crewe receives an eighteen-month sentence in the “Citrus State Prison.” The name of the prison immediately resonates with the Florida Citrus Bowl, a postseason college football game played annually between two teams from different conferences. The Citrus Bowl, which now goes by the appellation of its corporate sponsor, Capital One, dates back to 1947, making it one of the oldest bowl games. When *The Longest Yard* was released, it was known as the Tangerine Bowl, an acknowledgement of one of Florida’s staple crops.

The history of the Tangerine Bowl offers a sordid racial legacy in the 1940s and 1950s, which was complicated, at times, by the bowl committee’s desire to invite quality college football programs from the North to compete in their contest. Many schools in the North had integrated their athletic programs by the 1940s, which ran up against Jim Crow laws that forbade blacks and whites from participating together in interregional sports competition. The first incident of note concerning the matter of race in connection with Florida’s Tangerine Bowl occurred in 1955, when coach Muddy Waters of Michigan’s Hillsdale Chargers declined an invitation from the bowl committee because local law would have required him to bench his black players. In 1958, this story repeated itself, with the University of Buffalo’s football team voting (as a team) against compet-

ing in the Tangerine Bowl in a show of allegiance to the squad's two African American members.<sup>29</sup>

In earlier decades, regional competitions between football programs in the North and the South had required covenants between athletic directors, in which Dixie teams benched a comparable white player to prevent racial intermingling: for example, in a 1934 matchup between the Michigan Wolverines football team and the Georgia Tech Yellow Jackets, Fielding Yost—a lionized figure in college sports' history—agreed to bench the Wolverines' single black football player Willis Ward in an informal agreement that required the Yellow Jackets coach to bench one of his white athletes.<sup>30</sup> During the 1950s, however, responding to civil rights agitation and the changing tenor of national race relations, football programs in the North began to resist the pressure of Southern schools to conform to the social norm of segregation. Southern football programs themselves began to see how racial segregation negatively affected their opportunities in collegiate sports—and in football in particular.

The historian Kurt Edward Kemper, in *College Football and American Culture in the Cold War Era*, demonstrates the fear of Southern college football programs that they would be excluded from participating in what was quickly becoming America's new national pastime because of their strict racial policies, which presented them with "a fate worse than integration."<sup>31</sup> When, according to Kemper, LSU was offered the opportunity to play in the Rose Bowl in 1961 against the University of Washington Huskies, the racially mixed champions of the Athletic Association of Western Universities (AAWU)—which was the precursor to the Pacific-10 Conference (Pac-10)—factions arose on both sides to debate LSU's involvement in the bowl game.<sup>32</sup> "The possibility of a Rose Bowl invitation," Kemper writes, "caused almost every Southern school mentioned to jockey for position in hopes of landing the coveted invitation."<sup>33</sup> At the time, the Rose Bowl was seen as the most prestigious of all postseason college football bowl games, "The Granddaddy of Them All" as its honorific title claims, and LSU's desire to compete in a game of such national prominence overrode their concerns about maintaining segregation. Public opinion in Louisiana was mixed on whether football mattered more than holding firm on Jim Crow. "Many [daily] newspapers" in the state, Kemper explains, with "well-burnished segregationist credentials, lauded Louisiana State University for its decision to play in a bowl game against an integrated opponent." "What drove the segregationist media in the Pelican State," he continues, "to endorse such a move" was not some newly discovered commitment to racial equality but rather "the cultural force of football during the period and its identification with distinctive American values."<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, politicians in the Louisiana did not agree with the endorsement of the "segregationist media" that LSU should set aside its racial policy of segregation for a football game, regardless of the national prestige at stake, and they were successful in blocking the athletic department's efforts to secure a Rose Bowl bid. The 1961 Rose Bowl ended with

the Washington Huskies of the AAWU beating the Minnesota Golden Gophers of the Big Ten Conference by a score of 17-7.

The integration of collegiate athletics in the South, unsurprisingly, moved at a slower pace than in the North. The Alabama Crimson Tide teams under the stewardship of the famous Paul “Bear” Bryant dominated football in the Deep South during the 1960s, winning national championships in 1961, 1964, and 1965. As impressive as the decade was for the Tide in showcasing its ability to beat regional opponents, the question remained of how Alabama would fare against teams from the Midwest and West. Bryant suggested that his football team might loosen its racial restrictions to compete against teams from other regions and conferences. The coach finally got his wish to play an integrated opponent outside of the Southeastern Conference or Big 12 Conference when the University of Southern California (USC) Trojans came to Birmingham for the season opener in 1970. USC’s famous “all-black backfield,” which included fullback Sam Cunningham, running back Clarence Davis, and quarterback Jimmy Jones, promptly routed the Crimson Tide 42-21 (all six of USC’s touchdowns were scored by their black players). Although it is probably apocryphal, Alabama’s decision to field a black player, John Mitchell, in 1971 was seen as a result of the embarrassment Bryant suffered at the hands of USC’s African American triumvirate. Nonetheless, the game between USC and Alabama in 1970 marked a significant turning point for the racial integration of college athletics in the South.

This history is important in understanding a film such as *The Longest Yard*, because it serves as a reminder that many regions of the country maintained local customs of racial segregation long after 1965. By casting Reynolds, a Florida boy, as the lead in his movie, Aldrich offers Southern audiences in particular a politically charged admonition regarding their recent history of racial exclusion in sports and other areas of life. The disgraced Crewe of *The Longest Yard* belongs to a different class than his fellow inmates at Citrus State Prison and initially dismisses Warden Hazen (Eddie Albert) and his appeal that Crewe coach his semipro football team, composed of prison guards, and help them win a league title. It comes out that Hazen has pulled significant bureaucratic strings in order to get Crewe assigned to his prison with this particular hope in mind. The warden begins his entreaty to Crewe upon his arrival, heaping lavish praise on the game of football, which he maintains, “embodies what has made our country great.” This sentiment aligns Hazen with the notion that had been expressed by Southern college programs throughout the 1960s in Kemper’s account: put simply, football is a national game that transcends local differences in racial policy. Crewe, however, remains unmoved by Hazen’s praise of the game and responds, with arrogant indifference, that “semi-pro [football] is a joke.”

The next ninety minutes of the film seeks to prove Crewe’s statement about semipro football wrong and to educate Reynolds’s character on the importance of recreational athletics. Although Hazen is unable to draft Crewe as the coach

of his team, he eventually compels him to create his own team of prisoners to play in an exhibition match against his guards. (It is unclear why this compromise satisfies Hazen, but it undoubtedly helps to move the narrative forward.) Crewe agrees to this because it comes attached to the promise of a reduced prison sentence. The ex-pro begins recruiting players from the prison population through the enticement of violence: he assures them that they will be able to hit the guards with impunity and enact revenge upon their sadistic jailers. This tactic works with the white prisoners, but the black inmates remain dubious of Crewe's intentions. When Reynolds's character approaches a group of black men playing basketball in his early efforts to draft his makeshift team, he is met with considerable resistance from them about participating in a "white man's game" [Figure 1]. Violence, however, eventually serves as the catalyst for the black inmates' participation in the game as well: in an important scene, the black prisoners watch while Granville, who is initially the only black prisoner to join Crewe's team, suffers humiliation and abuse at the hands of the white/prisoners and guards turned football players, which brings the black prisoners en masse to join the team.

Both Hooker's *M\*A\*S\*H* and *The Longest Yard* represent football as essentially a bloodbath masquerading as a sport. Violence is the point of the game in Aldrich's film, at least initially; in Hooker's novel, while winning the bet is the most important goal, the way to win is by knocking the skilled players from the other team out of the game. The violence involved in football in both the novel and the film has a racial element in that it serves as an outlet for black anger against whites.<sup>35</sup> Violence also plays a key role in football's rise as a televised sport. During the 1960s, the schism that emerged between the NFL and the AFL, two leagues competing for fans in the same way the American and National leagues in baseball competed decades earlier, coincided with the emergence of TV as the medium for broadcasting football games. Although the sport was televised before the 1960s, it wasn't until this decade that the leagues and the TV networks (CBS, ABC, and NBC) were able to realize the lucrative potential of football on TV. As Rappoport explains in his account of the AFL, "TV saved [the emerging] league." In 1965, Pete Rozelle, the commissioner of the NFL, signed an incredibly rich deal with CBS, which was the most prominent network at the time, for \$28.2 million over two years. This, in turn, benefited the AFL, because NBC, which did not have the financial clout of CBS but worried about not having football rights, offered the newer league the generous sum of \$36 million over five years.<sup>36</sup>

The question remains, however, as to why football proved to be such a success within the medium of TV, along with what role violence played in this success. In *M\*A\*S\*H*, Hooker offers a description of a play that helps to answer this question by evoking the power and potency of televisual violence: Hawkeye "goes untouched by blockers" to make a tackle on one of General Hammond's ringers, a soldier who formerly played second string for the Rams. As Hawkeye closes "in from the outside," the halfback makes his "cut." "He



made that beautiful cross-over,” Hooker writes, “the right leg thrust across the front of the left, and just at the instant when he looked like he was posing for a picture for the cover of the game program, poised as he was on the ball of his left foot, the other leg in the air and one arm out, he was hit.”<sup>37</sup> The hit the former Rams halfback suffers, which evolves a high–low combination tackle by Hawkeye and Duke, knocks him out of the game. What makes this sequence interesting is that it insists upon a fluid temporality in the visual aspect of the game. At the precise moment that the halfback appears poised to make “a picture for the cover of a game program”—what in modern sports culture parlance would be referred to as “posterizing” Hawkeye and the rest of the Red Raiders team—to be forever commemorated in the static monument of a photograph, he finds himself on the receiving end of a jarring tackle. This passage recognizes the difference between the documenting of sports through the medium of photography and the real-time action of the televisual; furthermore, it insists on the prominence of the latter. There will be no Heisman poses for the unlucky halfback of General Hammond’s team.

Hooker’s acknowledgement of football’s televisuality, which implies a constant motion that replaces the static image of photography, offers a rejoinder to Riesman and Denney’s cultural history of football mentioned earlier in this article. Riesman and Denney note that the primary innovation in the United States was the creation of the line of scrimmage. “The Americans,” they write, “set in motion a redesign of the game that led ultimately to timed centering from a fixed line of scrimmage ... [and football thus] lost the fluidity of the original game.”<sup>38</sup> As George Will, a vociferous proponent of baseball and sometimes detractor of football, reminds fans, football has more down time—when players are not playing—than the purported boring game of baseball. No major American sport, unless one counts golf as a major sport, has less going on than football. In the modern game, following each play, sometimes as much as forty seconds of game time passes before the ball is snapped again and the play resume.

How, then, has football been such a success on a platform that seems to demand motion? An article by Frederic Jameson published by *Critical Inquiry* in 2003, with the title “The End of Temporality,” offers useful insights that help to answer this question. Jameson takes up the debate concerning the end of temporality, challenging and expanding the conventional description of the moderns as “obsessed with the secret of time [and] the postmoderns with that of space.”<sup>39</sup> Toward the end of his philosophically acute essay, Jameson interprets Jon de Bont’s film *Speed* (1994) to make an argument about the relationship between violence and perception of time in our postmodern epoch: “Behind the narrative device of the bomb’s mechanism [in *Speed*],”<sup>40</sup> Jameson writes, “there lies an even more fundamental formal principle ... and that is something like the unity of place, or, at least a confinement within a closed space of some kind.” Such “closure” is necessary, according to Jameson, because it maximizes and “ensures an absolute saturation of violence.”<sup>41</sup> However, Jameson claims

violent pornography is not “a form of immortality” that can be viewed as post-modernism’s flight from the strictures of time but rather a “symptom” of a “specific temporality” that combines maximum speed with the “closure” conducive to “absolute ... violence.”<sup>42</sup>

Grasping the relationship between postmodern time and space in this way allows us to see how football became America’s televised pastime, despite what might be perceived as its misaligned relationship to the medium. Football offers, to employ Jameson’s terminology, a “specific temporality” that is not quite static space (it is not, that is, the photograph on the football program showing the heroically posed player) but is still closed to complete fluidity (or unimpeded time) in its commitment to unremitting violence and pain. Hooker’s novel portrays this paradox of football’s twin emphases on fluid temporality and violent closure: as the Red Raiders’ pro ringer explains, “You’ve got to get him [the halfback] in a confined situation” to knock him out of the game. After Hawkeye and Duke injure the halfback, the opposing team calls a timeout. “It took quite some time,” he writes, “In about five minutes they got the halfback who had played a year of second-string with the Rams on his feet, and they assisted him to the sidelines and sat him down on the bench.”<sup>43</sup> Had the game between the Red Raiders of unit 4077 MASH and General Hammond’s Evac Hospital been televised today, fans would have been treated to a series of beer commercials, but the point is better made in the book: football requires an agonizing amount of time spent attending to those who require medical care. The motion of the game is always impeded by violent stoppages and rents in the time of play: injuries, huddles, and timeouts.

*The Longest Yard*, for its part, does an even more efficient job in drawing the connection between the violent closure and the fluidity of football as a televised spectacle. Unexpectedly, the Mean Machine, which is the name that the prison team has fittingly adopted, is in the lead at halftime against the purportedly more skilled team of prison guards. Hazen confronts Crewe in the locker room and threatens him with a longer sentence unless his team throws the game. Faking an ankle sprain early in the second half, Crewe removes himself from the contest; his fellow inmates know that he is not truly hurt and are disappointed that he has decided to simply quite playing. Crewe reenters the game to redeem himself and his team when Grady Granville (the Mean Machine’s first black recruit) is intentionally injured by the warden’s team. Reynolds’s character must first earn back the respect of the inmates; initially the Mean Machine players, black and white alike, refuse to block for him. For his momentary cowardice, Crewe endures a trial by blood, sustaining hit after hit from the opposition, before his teammates finally recognize his intentions as genuine and begin to work together.

The violence that Crewe experiences in his comeback animates the formal device of the split-screen shot, which is employed to simultaneously show the game’s action, the inmates in their cell blocks cheering for the Mean Machine, and Granville in a hospital bed listening to the contest over the prison’s public

address system [Figure 2]. As Reynolds's character redeems himself from his past crimes of gambling on games and restores football's integrity, the intimate connection between fans and players becomes crystallized. In Aldrich's film, the full impact of televised football appears: the game no longer can be viewed as a local affair that upholds regional customs but rather must be seen as a national tribute to an especially violent sport. By the 1970s, there was too much at stake for Southern athletics, particularly when it came to football, to maintain their Jim Crow bona fides. The AFL, which became the American Football Conference after their 1970 merger with the NFL, had brought the Miami Dolphins into the national spotlight with Super Bowl victories in 1973 and 1974—in an indirect way, the AFL had brought the New Orleans Saints and Atlanta Falcons into the NFL as well in the 1960s, simply by showing an interest in extending franchises to these cities; the NFL commissioner, Rozelle, fought hard to grab these Dixie metropolises first and bring them under the umbrella of his professional league. The success of the AFL and its impact on the televised broadcast of sports proved that it was no longer a joke; it was no longer even semipro football. Interracial harmony became a social norm, at least in sports, as it was brought under the scrutiny of greater public opinion and as it became disseminated through TV across broader swathes of America's national landscape.

## Notes

1. Richard Hooker, *M\*A\*S\*H* (New York: William Morrow, 1968), 149.
2. This was not an inquiry pursued solely by a leftist who desired a more radical solution to racial inequality rather than formal desegregation but a concern of President Johnson. In his address following the signing of the Voting Rights Act, Johnson, as he acknowledged on more than one occasion, admitted that "it is not enough to give men rights. They must be able to use those rights in their personal pursuit of happiness. The wounds and the weakness, the outward walls and the inward scars which diminish achievement are the work of American society." Johnson argues, in short, that work remains to be done to diminish the impact of centuries of racism on blacks, who remain at distinctive social and economic disadvantages from whites despite their newly acquired rights. He is not interested simply in "the rights woven into law" but also, tellingly, in those rights "woven into the fabric of our Nation." Johnson is interested, in other words, in informal racial prejudices engrained in the "fabric of [the] Nation" that cannot be overcome by merely enforcing legal integration.
3. Sherie Mershon and Steven Scholssman, *Foxholes and Color Lines: Desegregating the U.S. Armed Services* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998), 184.
4. *Ibid.*, 206.
5. *Ibid.*, 224.
6. Hooker, *M\*A\*S\*H*, 96.
7. *Ibid.*, 97.
8. Mershon and Scholssman, *Foxholes and Color Lines*, 263.
9. *Ibid.*, 272.
10. *Ibid.*, 276.
11. Kenneth Warren, *What Was African American Literature?* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 1.
12. Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 6–7.
13. Pete Rappoport, *The Little League That Could: A History of the American Football League* (Lanham, MD: Taylor Trade, 2010), 121.
14. Hooker, *M\*A\*S\*H*, 146. Pierce's comments about Jones attending a "jerkwater colored college" demonstrate his social and racial bias more than anything else. Black institutions of higher learning, at the time, were quite adept at turning out a successful class of black professionals.
15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*, 150.

17. *Ibid.*, 182.

18. *Ibid.*, 187–88.

19. *Ibid.*, 72.

20. *Ibid.*, 75–76.

21. William Whyte's famous sociological treatise, *The Organization Man* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956), which elucidated the psychological costs that the increasing importance of corporations and their bureaucratic management structure had on America's white-collar force, was one example of this; others include David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1950), C. Wright Mills's *White Collar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), and Lionel Trilling's *The Liberal Imagination* (New York: Viking Press, 1950).

22. David Riesman and Reuel Denney, "Football in America: A Study in Culture Diffusion," *American Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1951): 309–25.

23. *Ibid.*, 321.

24. *Ibid.*, 324.

25. *Ibid.*, 323.

26. Hooker, *M\*A\*S\*H*, 78.

27. Hooker's racial liberalism is not beyond criticism. While he imagines situations in which blacks and whites interact as social equals, he does not envision the same circumstances as pertaining to white/Asian interactions. Two instances, in particular, stand out as significant in this regard: Hawkeye Pierce, Duke Forrest and Trapper John assist a Korean houseboy in gaining admittance to Pierce's stateside alma mater. "Each doctor's tent at the MASH," Hooker writes, "had a young Korean to clean... keep the stove going, shine shoes, and do laundry and other chores. He was called a houseboy" (59). Hawkeye et al.'s houseboy is named Ho-Jon, and they go to great lengths, as a group, to help him "with reading and writing English." When Ho-Jon is suddenly drafted into the Republic of Korea Army and has to leave the unit, Hawkeye and his men express great sadness and shower the boy with gifts on his departure (60). When Ho-Jon returns to MASH with a mortar fragment buried in his chest, the men show great surgical acumen and skill in saving his life; Hawkeye then appeals to his former Dean, James Lodge, at the fictional Androscoggin College, and Ho-Jon is sent to the United States to begin his education. Despite the men of the Swamp's affection for young Ho-Jon, however, their attitude toward him and the other Korean "boys" who perform various menial tasks around their unit smacks of a degrading kind of racial paternalism. Hawkeye and Trapper John's feelings about their Korean allies are most pronounced in the context of sport. At one point in the narrative, during a lull in the combat activities, Trapper and Hawkeye take up playing golf: "They had established a practice range of sorts in the field behind the officers' latrine. The Korean houseboys were excellent ball shaggers, so the golfing Swampmen spent much of their free time hitting wood and iron shots." The "houseboys" play a subservient role in athletic contests of the white military surgeons, which only reinforces the conspicuous lack of Koreans involved in providing medical treatment at the MASH unit in the novel. Historically, South Koreans had only marginal roles in the units, but they served in a greater capacity than as mere "houseboys," providing doctors with hands-on assistance and not simply cleaning their bunks as the book would have it. Hooker's degradation and effeminizing of Koreans as "houseboys" and "ball shaggers" offers a racist counter to the treatment that Oliver Jones receives in the novel.

28. Christian Long, "Burt Reynolds, Hollywood's Southern Strategy," *Post-45*, June 24, 2013.

29. Eric Neel, "All or Nothing," *ESPN.com*, November 20, 2008.

30. John U. Bacon, "The Other Side of Fielding Yost," *The Ann Arbor Chronicle*, March 16, 2012.

31. Kurt Edward Kemper, *College Football and American Culture in the Cold War Era* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 80.

32. The possibility arose when Ohio State declined to play in the Rose Bowl after a schism developed between the faculty and the school's athletic department over the place of football in college life. According to tradition, the winners of the Big Ten Conference and the Pac-10 meet in the Rose Bowl on January 1 of each year.

33. Kemper, *College Football and American Culture*, 82.

34. *Ibid.*, 80.

35. Deacon Jones, the famed defensive end for the Los Angeles Rams team, who coined the term "sack" to describe his tackling of the opposing side's quarterback, saw football as a way to unleash his anger toward the white racism he both saw and experienced as a black teenager growing up in Eatonville, Florida. In an article published shortly after the Hall-of-Fame end died in 2013, *New York Times* journalist Richard Goldstein relates "an incident [Jones] witnessed as a youngster [that] remained seared in his psyche and fueled his determination to escape... life in the segregationist South." Standing outside of church one Sunday morning, the 14-year-old Jones and his fellow black congregants were the targets of watermelon hurled from a passing car of white teenagers; the watermelon struck an elderly woman who later died from the injuries she sustained. Recalling

the event years later, Jones expressed relief that he played football: "Thank God I had the ability to play a violent game like football," he said, because "it gave me an outlet for the anger in my heart."

36. Rappoport, *Little League That Could*, 77–80.

37. Hooker, *M\*A\*S\*H*, 166.

38. Riesman and Denney, "Football in America," 316.

39. Frederic Jameson, "The End of Temporality," *Critical Inquiry* 29 (Summer 2003):4.

40. The plot of *Speed* involves Keanu Reeves and Sandra Bullock hurtling through downtown Los Angeles on a bus that Dennis Hopper has rigged with a bomb set to explode if their speed drops below fifty miles per hour.

41. Jameson, "The End of Temporality," 715.

42. *Ibid.*, 718.

43. Hooker, *M\*A\*S\*H*, 166.