THE IDEOLOGY OF WEST INDIES CRICKET

by

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INTRODUCTION

The English Sport cricket was introduced into British territories in the West Indies after Emancipation (Bowen, 1970).

At that time, wealthy planters, merchants and the colonial administrators dominated the post-emancipation legislature. A breakdown of the social structure at that time reveals wealthy white planters, merchants and colonial administrators at the top of the pyramid, a predominantly brown mulatto middle class in the middle and a large mass of black people (African, and in Guyana and Trinidad newly arrived indentured East Indians) at the bottom (Rodney 1980; Witter 1981; Cross 1980).

Fearing the breakdown of old rural socio-economic and political relationships (Rodney 1980, Stoddart 1985), they introduced a number of laws to prevent freed slaves from leaving the plantations: the apprentice system, restricted land policy, indentureship, taxation, inheritance laws and the Contract Act.

The number of coercive institutions which administered and enforced these and other laws multiplied (Dodd 1982), but despite this freed black people challenged the authorities. Ex-slaves in Guyana went on strike from as early as 1842 (Rodney 1980). Led by Bogle, landless people in St. Thomas, Jamaica, demonstrated and were executed by the British in the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865. In the Federation Riots of 1876, the ex-slaves sided with the British against the planters and merchants in Barbados (Belle 1977).
Within a few years after Emancipation, the colonial administrators, wealthy planters and merchants in Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad, as well as the agencies of socialization, promoted cricket as both an amateur ideal and an abstract moral ideal through which the values, norms and prejudices of the colonial ruling class (Victorian Style) were symbolized. In the territories of the Anglophone Caribbean, the practice of this functionist cricket ideology ritualized the realities of colonial society (Patterson, 1960) within which racism was the lynchpin.

Demand for change in the administration of cricket, and other manifestations of disenchantment became increasingly evident (Constantine 1954; James 1963; Stoddart 1985). Between the period of L.N. Constantine's century at Lord's in 1900, the West Indies first match victory in Guyana 1930, and the first series victory in England 1950, many of the myths associated with colonial ideology (Lindsay 1981) were shattered by cricketers of African, Chinese and Indian descent.

Simultaneously, the existing social order was being challenged by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union with significant anti-colonial and anti-imperialist consequences for West Indians, Africans, Chinese and Indians worldwide. At a philosophical level, Garvey and his U.N.I.A. movement urged the African peoples of the world to be proud of their roots; establish socio-economic and political links with Africans at home and abroad; introduce socializing agencies; demonstrate
excellence in all spheres and take our place as equals in human society.

In the sphere of sport, the white world's reaction to Jack Johnson's World Title victory over Jim Jeffries and similar discrimination meted out to cricketers including both Constantines, John, Headley, etc., shattered the myth of sport as the bastion of fairplay.

By 1960, aided and supported by nationalist, pro-independence and anti-colonial groups and spearheaded by C.L.R. James, cricket authorities in the region yielded to sustained pressure and appointed a black captain - Frank Worrell. Worrell's approach to leadership mirrored Constantine's model for West Indian cricket. The team's new approach to cricket endeared them to the quarter million Australians who lined the streets to bid them farewell in 1961. More importantly, it symbolized that blacks could lead and win. The colonial ideology of cricket had been disproved.

Since Independence in the four major territories - Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, no attempt has been made (by any government, policy formulator, agency of socialization, the regional university, sponsor or advertiser) to view this important institution of excellence as an important element in any indigenous human resource development strategy. To date, no coordinated approach has been devised to analyze cricket as a potential tool which could assist the West Indian people to achieve qualitative and quantitative development in other
spheres of their lives.

Before this can be done however, it is necessary to identify the dominant ideology as well as other subordinate ideologies of West Indian cricket. This is the aim of the paper.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The paper is situated within a Gramscian theoretical framework which conceptualizes ideology as closely linked to classes and class struggle but not interpreted in exclusively political terms. Ideology is seen as highly sophisticated and elaborated theoretical world views as well as common-sense approaches - those less consistent, vague and unsophisticated sets of ideas which ordinary men and women use to categorize events around them. Additionally ideologies are not merely descriptive but are also prescriptive.

Because of its traditional links with political society and the amount of coverage given to West Indian cricket via all forms of the media in the region, W.I. cricket is established as the dominant sport in the Anglophone Caribbean.

While all sports together make up a sphere or collective institution (Eitzen 1989), a given sport (cricket in this instance) is an institution governed by a centralized administrative and regulatory body which enforces a specific code of law with the assistance of local, regional and international bodies.

This approach acknowledges the relative autonomy of cricket
(rules, selection of players, contracts, etc.) while recognizing the essential dependence of sport on the entire social structure of society.

We locate the sphere of sport at the Civil Society level of the superstructure whereas the organs of the state (including its coercive arm) are located at the other level, political society. Civil society is made up of a number of institutions including public, private, semi-autonomous, and autonomous ones which are 'not political' at all - large companies, schools, churches the mass media, clubs sector associations, voluntary associations, etc.

Consistent with and complimentary to this method of analysis are those approaches which see

"... race relations as the principal superstructural relations which reinforce the principal social relations among classes within the mode of production. Alternatively class relations are the material basis of race relations; race relations in turn reinforce and express class relations at the level of the superstructure." (Witter 1981)

**COLONIAL CRICKET IDEOLOGY**

Mandell (1984) traced the development of modern sport in England and noted that major strides were made during the Nineteenth Century. Guttman (1978) showed the change in spectator behaviour at cricket matches from the seventeenth to nineteenth century. For them, the riots and vandalism linked to cricket spectators gave way to the staid, preferential behaviour normally associated with English cricket.
matches. Guttman noted that white clubs enclosed their grounds, charged high admission fees and therefore prevented the lively crowds associated with eighteenth century cricket from attending (Bowen, 1970).

The Marylebone Cricket Club, the dominant elite club in London, gradually assumed administrative and lawmaking powers and while there were other factions, became the hegemonic body in cricket.

Any attempt to analyze colonial cricket ideology must begin by explaining the dominant ideology governing sport in Victoria England - The Amateur Ideal.

"... The amateur ideal that emerged in that setting reflected a stratified society dominated by an aristocratic elite... The result was that, for the most part, sports contests were organized by specialized sports organizations whose members were from the elite, and sport was engaged in and observed by the affluent few." (Eitzen 1989)

It was this form of cricket which reached the Anglophone Caribbean by the middle of the nineteenth century. By then, the sport had spread overseas and was administered by socially exclusive clubs.

In the first two territories to play competitive cricket, Barbados and Guyana, the earliest cricket grounds were owned by the military. Bowen (1970) notes that the Commander-in-chief of the British army had, in 1841, issued an order providing cricket grounds for every barrack in the Kingdom.

Throughout the Anglophone Caribbean, the sons of wealthy planters, merchants and colonial administrators acquired the
cricket 'code of ethics' and cricketing skills at public/grammar schools in England. Colonial education authorities and many of the Church schools introduced the Arnoldian public school model and saw cricket as central to the cultural reproduction system and maintaining and boosting a code of respectability (James 1963, Bowen 1970, Stoddart 1985). For them and the planter/merchant alliance, cricket was a civilizing institution which recreated and reaffirmed social standards for players and displayed civilized behaviour for the population to emulate. Concepts such as sportsmanship, fair-play, team spirit, that's not cricket etc., were incorporated into other spheres of society. In cricket, the decision of the umpire was sacrosanct. In Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, the administrators of the coercive arm of the state all subscribed to the social message of cricket carried in the planter and merchant class media. This was symbolized by the umpires - be loyal and obedient to constituted authority.

The colonial approach to cricket was functionalist and can be incorporated into Parson's AGIL model where sport is a rigid structure with four main functions: - adaptation, goal-attainment, integration and pattern-maintenance (latency).

For them, sport is

"...a game structured by normal rules imbued with particularized or socially dominant definitions of the moral purpose of individual achievement and social obligations". (ALT 1983)

Eitzen (1989) noted that through the amateur rules and
social arrangements associated with Victorian Sport, upper class sports clubs excluded other classes and women. (In the West Indian case it was women and non-white persons who were excluded from competing with the well-to-do.) For him, the mechanism of amateurism reproduced and justified existing social inequalities in the institution (sphere) of sport. In societies where the amateur was a white male, the amateur ideal justified the racism evident in all other spheres of West Indian society.

On the other hand, there are positive attributes associated with the notion of an amateur. The 'true' amateur (Eitzen 1989) lived by a creed which emphasized fair play, teamspirit and sportsmanship on and off the field, as well as a serious commitment to excellence in sport. Regardless of the interpretation, the amateur in the British West Indies was an influential white man.

Speaking of Barbados, Stoddart (1985) noted that elite clubs measured their "Britishness" by their ability to excel in British institutions. Sport is infectious however, and ordinary people loved and wanted to play cricket. That love, the desire to play, and increasingly to demonstrate that they could play the game as well as the English and local elites, facilitated the initial 'spontaneous consent' by the majority of the population.

By the time the first West Indies team toured England in 1900, there were several clubs established in the English
colonies. The elite clubs - The Georgetown Cricket Club in Guyana, Queen's Park Cricket Club in Trinidad, the Kingston Cricket Club in Jamaica and the Wanderer's Cricket Club in Barbados (as well as other elite clubs in the smaller territories) administered and controlled cricket in their respective territory and gradually established links with the M.C.C. Their grounds were quickly enclosed with seating arrangements symbolizing the racial and class stratification within the societies (Patterson 1969). High entrance fees to spectators and exorbitant membership fees restricted numbers entering both the grounds and the clubs. Members were colonial administrators, planters, wealthy merchants and attorneys.

One source from where black cricketers emerged was these elite clubs. Hired as groundsmen, they were gradually allowed to bowl to club members during practice sessions in the nets.

Cricket was also played at the elite grammar schools in the region - St. Georges College, Jamaica (Bowen 1970), Queen's College, Guyana (Daly 1949), Queen's Royal College, Trinidad (James 1963) and Harrison College, Barbados (Stoddart 1985).

As the middle class (particularly Mulattoes) increased their numbers in these schools, and as a number of secondary schools were established, more persons learnt the cricket creed. Eitzen's 'true amateur' best describes the ideology.

What this meant for cricket was that many more boys were learning cricket and its associated ideology than were going to
be accepted into elite clubs. As a result of this and because of the popularity of the sport, several clubs emerged. Clubs were formed based on Old Boys' Associations, Race, Religion, Class, Location (or a number of permutations of these factors). Interests defending the status quo condemned the level of spectator participation at cricket matches between non-elite clubs, emerging leagues and groups of cricketers.

The sport's popularity spread and businessmen came forward and sponsored trophies and competitions. League cricket, which was popular among the English working class in the North of England (Bowen 1970), was also popular among the groundsmen and artisans in Barbados. In this division, the quest to win, national pride and people participation were central to its popularity.

Organizers in different territories also wanted to win. The better Afro-West Indians were gradually allowed to bowl in inter-territorial matches. None-the-less as in boxing, baseball, etc., segregation and discrimination continued.

WEST INDIAN CRICKET - ORIGIN

West Indian cricket developed out of inter-regional cricket which began between Barbados and British Guiana on the military grounds in Barbados in 1865 (Bowen, 1970). Trinidad and British Guiana played their first match four years later. An inter-colonial tournament was played on Wanderer's Grounds. Barbados won and has dominated regional cricket from that date (Sandiford, 1986). The first triangular inter-colonial
tournament was held in 1891 and became a regular feature of the regional cricket calendar two years later.

Because of its distance from the other cricket playing centres, Jamaica had more matches with English touring teams than with the other three colonies until 1905.

It seems far-fetched to suggest that the representative team made up mainly of members of the Georgetown Cricket Club and three Barbadians was the first West Indies team, however Cozier (1985) states that the team toured Canada and the Eastern United States did travel as the first West Indies team in 1886.

The earliest West Indies Eleven (XI) played the United States at Bourda, Georgetown one hundred years ago (1888) and lost by nine wickets (Cozier 1985). Tours by English teams began in 1895 (Bowen 1970, Manley, 1988). For the February 1897 game in Trinidad the first All-West Indies side was selected. One of the players was a Shannon player, L.S. Constantine.

THE SHANNON CRICKET CLUB

One of the clubs that subscribed to the cricket notions of fair-play, professionalism and excellence at all levels was the Shannon Cricket Club in Trinidad. C.L.R. James (1963) saw the cricket creed, nationalism and loyalty associated with Shannon as pivotal to any understanding of West Indian cricket. He felt strongly that all of Constantine's fierce and sustained attacks on the way West Indian cricket was managed stemmed from Shannon's experience. For him the influence of Shannon's
ideology had a profound effect on West Indian cricket.

Shannon was the club of the black lower middle class - the teacher, the law clerk, the worker in the printing office and here and there a clerk in a department store.

According to James, the Shannon club played brilliant cricket. They played with a spirit and relentlessness and were supported by the crowd with a jealous enthusiasm which even then were using cricket as a medium of expression. It was not mere skill. They played as if they knew that their club represented the great mass of black people in Trinidad and as clearly as if it were written across the sky, their play said - here on the cricket field all men are equal and we are the best on the island. In terms of how the game was played, Shannon had sting without venom. They missed few catches and looked upon one of their numbers who dropped catches as 'a potential fifth columnist'. They were tough with you and with each other and were the best the island could show. James observed that their sportsmanship was clear and good fellowship kept breaking out on the field.

This was the club of L.S. Constantine who, though left out of the first West Indies side to tour England, managed to make the first century in England at Lords during that same series.

The spontaneity with which the cricket fans (including businessmen) raised his fare was proof that cricket fans in Trinidad were prepared to support excellence regardless of race.
L.S. Constantine's son, Learie, himself socialized at Shannon, became the first West Indian to publicly challenge the notion of fair play as it related to cricket. He was also the first West Indian to play league cricket in England. Constantine had a model for West Indian cricket.

CRICKET - 1900 - 1930's

England consistently beat the West Indies between 1900 and 1930. By 1927, a Regional Board had been established, the West Indies Cricket Board of Control (W.I.C.B.C.) with the assistance of a Consultant from the M.C.C. After being awarded Test Status, the West Indies played their first Test Match in 1928.

The 1930 series in the West Indies was different in that the West Indies won the Guyana leg of the series, England won one leg and the other two were drawn. (Manley 1988). This meant that the series was drawn. The difference between this team and the 1930 team was George 'Atlas' Headley, the first black batsman in West Indian cricket. From that time the racial composition of the team was consistently challenged.

SOCIO - ECONOMIC & POLITICAL REALITIES

One hundred years after Emancipation, the inability to achieve social mobility, shortages created by the depression, and economic hardships fueled the existing dissatisfaction of a broad alliance of the middle class, peasantry and unemployed
persons in a number of territories of the Anglophone Caribbean. Several uprisings erupted and many lives were lost. Following a Colonial Commission of Enquiry, the British introduced a number of socio-economic and political reforms including Liberal Democratic constitutions à la Westminster variety.

Political leadership was gradually assumed by the middle class who also assumed leadership of trade unions as well as bodies and association dedicated to bring about socio-economic change. Also at this time a number of newspapers mushroomed.

THE IDEOLOGY OF LEARIE CONSTANTINE

Constantine was a team-mate of Headley's but unlike 'Mass George', he was very vocal about racism in cricket. He experienced discrimination and segregation in the West Indies and in England. In Colour Bar (1954) he stated:

"...Everybody knows, I think, that colour problems enter the realm of sport."

From the 1920's Constantine felt that the Captain of the West Indies should have been a black man. He envisaged a West Indies team which would play with the spirit and fire, the spontaneous self discipline and cohesion of Shannon. For him such a team would be able to compete with the best cricketers in the world.

Constantine did not merely critique the system, he challenged it. Thompson (1964) noted that in 1943 Learie brought a successful legal action against a London hotel for refusing to accommodate him, his wife and daughter when he had come up to
take part in an International cricket match at Lords.

Early in the 1960's he and McDonald Bailey prevented a privately sponsored non-white West Indies team from participating under apartheid condition in South Africa (Thompson 1964).

In interviews with a number of past and present West Indian players, all admitted that Constantine's ideas on and approach to cricket impacted significantly on their understanding of what cricket meant to the West Indian population and thus what was expected of them. For being a 'true amateur', Constantine was knighted by the British monarch.

C.L.R. JAMES' CONTRIBUTION TO THE IDEOLOGY OF WEST INDIAN CRICKET

As a scholarship recipient, James learnt the cricket code at the elite boys school and at club level in Trinidad. He migrated to England where he became a cricket writer and reporter for a number of English newspapers.

After returning to Trinidad in the 1960's, James spearheaded the campaign to have the first black captain - Frank Worrell, appointed. For him, at a time when the four larger territories were moving towards political independence with black leaders, the exclusion of black men from leadership positions in cricket was irrational. (James 1963)

As a believer in the 'cricket code', C.L.R. felt that the notion of fairplay superseded the issue of race and should not be raised unless other approaches failed.

In 1963, he published his classic Beyond A Boundary.
which he posed the question: "What do they know of cricket who only cricket know?". Using socio-economic, political and philosophical ideas and facts, James analyzed cricket and its relation to race, class and territory. He pointed out the link between cricket, social reality, culture and life.

In that work James documented Constantine's cricket ideology.

The Nursery of West Indian Cricket

While most of the ideas on reforms in the administration of cricket in the West Indies came from Trinidadians, Barbados was the nursery of West Indian cricketers. By the 1960's Barbados enjoyed 'top berth' on the list of world cricketing countries (Walcott 1967).

Among the bodies and associations dedicated to bringing about socio-economic and political change in the 1930's was The Friendly Cricket Association formed by Mitchie Hewitt, a journalist on a weekly newspaper.

The origins of the Association (which eventually became the Barbados Cricket League) are important because it was formed to cater to the aspiring cricketer 'whose chances to being his talent to the forefront in cricket did not depend on the school he attended or his social class' (Thompson 1983).

Hewitt, through this association, introduced the Constantine's West Indian cricket creed to the aspiring
According to Walcott (1967)...

"Hewitt...took the names of professionals' interested in contesting the grand summer game on a similar code as those whom they served on the groundstaff and convened a meeting."

Professionals were schooled to be 'true amateurs'.

The League was recognized by the governing body of Barbadian cricket-The Barbados Cricket Association- as it provided a 'truly well organized and competitive spirit'.

After a year, the league established branches in the Windward, Leeward and South divisions.

Walcott (1967) thought the greatest achievement in the League's history was its ability to have annual fixtures arranged against the B.C.A. Further, he recognized the social implications of the body:-

"It is from such a fixture that the league can justly lay claim to being the nursery of Barbados and West Indian cricket...In some respects the contribution of the Barbados Cricket League to West Indies and international cricket can very well be viewed as a break through the penury barrier and a sweeping away of the social barrier."

The links between political society and cricket are observed in that Grantley Adams, the first black leader in Barbados, was also the first President of the League and remained patron until his death (Sandiford 1987). Adams also passed legislation in the 1950's banning discrimination (Sandiford 1986).
THE WORRELL YEARS

The fortunes of West Indian cricket changed in the 1960's after a black middle class Barbadian was appointed captain of the team. Frank Worrell had been educated at an elite school and then at Manchester University.

It is difficult to discuss Worrell without noting that of the four territories being discussed, the racial hierarchy in Barbadian society was the most unyielding (James 1970; Manley 1988). One reason for this is the victory of the planters/merchant alliance over the British (and the ex-slaves) during the Federation Riots of the late 19th Century (Belle 1977). Those settled Barbadian whites who dominated the victorious militia featured prominently in the establishment of elite cricket on that island (Stoddart 1985).

James (1970) noted that Barbados offered black middle class men the opportunity to learn the foundations of what British civilization had to offer, but excluded them from 'the establishment'. To express their knowledge and the principles learnt, meant migration.

Worrell migrated to Jamaica in 1947. He played for Kensington and then joined a working class club - Boys Town. As Manley (1988) noted 'Boys Town was uncompromisingly of the masses in its composition.'

Given the tendency of the middle class to dissociate itself from the masses (James 1962; Beckford & Witter 1982), Worrell was seen as a radical (James 1970). He also refused to tour India.
unless a 'reasonable stipend' was agreed to. According to Manley (1988), his request was treated as an act of impertinence and the Board would not yield. His refusal to tour India set him apart as a man who took a stand on a point of principle. This, his talent and his understanding of the game made him special in the eyes of his colleagues and fellow West Indians. He earned the title 'Cricket Bolshevik' (James 1970).

After being appointed West Indies captain, Worrell demonstrated all that Constantine dreamed of. As James (1953) stated:

"He lifted West Indies cricket to the highest peak possible and everybody knew he had done it."

As the statistics show, the West Indies team is the best cricket team in the world.

Constantine's cricket world view has, in practice, led to that achievement.

THE DOMINANT IDEOLOGY

Colonial cricket ideology was a microcosm of West Indian social reality. Its ideologues were the West Indies Cricket Board of Control, local boards and the elite clubs. Constantine's ideology on the other hand, spoke only to the institution cricket, and more specifically, to the team. Thus, while the West Indies team shattered the racial myth perpetuated by conservative interests, the real brokers of power remain the Boards and elite clubs. The team's power has, however, grown.
Both the Boards and the West Indies team are crucial elements of the institution cricket.

As the regional body, the W.I.C.B.C. exercises hegemonic power within the institution. Manley (1988) noted the undemocratic electoral system associated with the body. Its Chairmen to the 1970's were all from either merchant or planter class families and, as in other spheres, they perpetuated the status quo and resisted change until it was no longer economically feasible (Cummings 1988).

W.I.C.B.C. selectors decide who will make the team from match to match during home series and from series to series for tours. Even the captain is appointed on a series to series basis.

The Board therefore has awesome power over members of the team. Nonetheless, socio-economic and political realities did force the board to reform in a number of areas.

SOCIAL CHANGES

It was years after Headley shattered the myth of whites as superior batsmen, before the Board yielded to regional pressure (James 1963; Manley 1988). By 1960 the Board was forced to appoint Worrell as captain of the team (James 1963, 1970). Fourteen years later, Allan Rae, a middle class mulatto Jamaican lawyer was selected as the first non-white chairman of the Board.
ECONOMIC CHANGES

Under Rae, in the late 1970's (after the Australian Packer's challenge to the cricket establishment with his World Series Cricket) major economic reforms were implemented. Packer's attractive wage offer lured the best cricketers from the West Indies (and elsewhere) to his camp. A weak losing replacement team did not endear the Board to the W.I. people. Interestingly, the W.I. position differed from that of the I.C.C. on some issues during what was seen as major crisis (Manley 1988).

Players received significant improvements to their salaries. As a result of Packer's alternative, international cricketers earned salaries comparable with those earned by the top ten percent of private sector professionals. (Interview with Franz Botek, Treasurer of W.I.C.B.C. 1985; Gleaner 1980; interview with Michael Holding 1986). By demanding better wages the players were continuing the tradition started by Worrell.

Further, the West Indian public were solidly behind the players.

POLITICAL CHANGES

The structure of the W.I.C.B.C. has been reformed to reflect changes that had taken place in other spheres several years before.

One of the more recent changes has been the election of Clyde Walcott, a black Barbadian private sector member as Chairman of the W.I.C.B.C.
Garvey's fear about the absence of black leaders has been lessened in a number of areas including politics and sport. In reality however, by and large (Witter 1981) economic power remains in the hands of minority groups.

THE OTHER ELEMENTS OF W.I.CRICKET

Nixon (1974) argued that sport is manipulated by different interests. Even within one sport we see where different elements reflect different views.

The interests of the sponsors therefore are not the same as those of the team. (Money Index 1989). Similarly the media houses play a pivotal role in promoting those elements of sport which reflect their interests. The traditional media houses - The Gleaner, The Advocate, The Guardian - continue to promote sport as an abstract moral ideal.

Through these avenues sport is also promoted as a symbolic refuge from the harsher realities of life (Lipsky 1979) - where sport is seen as an autonomous sphere devoid of ideological, socio-economic and political problems evident in other spheres of society; as a means of perpetuating the status quo, engendering nationalism and so on.

Individual journalists and non-traditional newspapers and magazines do however analyze sport beyond the moral ideal or statistical presentations. Among these are New World, Caribbean Contact, Tapia, Trinidad and Tobago Review and Sports and Arts.

Governments interests vary. Their inconsistency in dealing
with the South African issue — Montreal 1976, the Jackman Affair 1984 and the Moseley Affair — does not facilitate the emergence of a sophisticated world view. For example, in Jamaica the government justified (on economic grounds) its links with a known sanctions violator — Marc Rich (South Africa Now, 1990).

There are two schools of thought. On the one hand, there are those who demand no links with South Africa until apartheid is outlawed. They see any participation with 'rebel cricketers' as a violation of Constantine's cricket creed. On the other hand, there is a school of thought in the region which sees a cricketer's employment (wherever) and a good salary as more relevant than a nationalist or principled stand (Becca 1990). Aspects of the commercial dimension to sport are evident here (Goldman 1983).

The Board's position here is interesting. Having compromised with the I.C.C. over punishment for 'rebel cricketers' at a time when the West Indies team is the leading cricket power, the West Indies selectors under Walcott, selected a thirty-two year old rebel player for the 1990 series against England. The only political reaction came from an Antiguan opposition leader (Tim Hector). It is indeed interesting to have heard that Moseley was dropped from the Antiguan team for injury since when the crowd invaded the field after W.I. victory, he ran from the ground at a merry clip.

Because of the link between the team and spectators, sports fans are essential to the economic viability of cricket. For
this reason, there is some extent of people power in West Indies cricket.

What cricket means to the West Indian people has been documented by philosophers, historians, authors, poets, artists, etc. As the only regional institution to have achieved world best status, cricket plays a pivotal role in sustaining West Indian pride. (James 1963, Manley 1988). Crowd participation has been a West Indian addition to cricket. Indeed, West Indian cricket means crowd participation (James 1970; Stoddart 1985).

THE FUTURE

The contradictions between competing ideologies; the Board's dominant ideology; different views on sanctions against South Africa; selfish individualistic approaches (at both the level of the individual and nation); economic hardship; the promotion of individualism worldwide and our team's performance in the field during the recent series, all impact on Constantine's world view for West Indies cricket.

Despite this, we do know that using his model we achieved a level of regional unity and unbelievable success. Therefore, regardless of the challenges, Constantine's model must be expanded and spread to other spheres of West Indian society.

Few persons have made the connection between the sphere of sport and overall development strategy. Mandell (1984) made the link between the quantification of time (record keeping) and
industrial development in England. For Witter (1987),

"...sport could be an important element of a
development strategy developing the human being with
the ability to work in an organized fashion and to
provide economic activity for people in society."

The different interests promoted by factions in the society
have not facilitated any coordinated approach to development in
our region. All in the region do accept that the success of the
West Indies cricket team has been phenomenal. As the institution
which united us, it seems rational that we should use the method
implemented by that body to develop other spheres of our society.

History will record our success on the playfields of the
world. Its now time for us to go beyond the boundaries of the
cricket field and link Constantine's ideas to other areas of our
lives. This is necessary, so that the power we now have on the
cricket field can be achieved in all areas of our lives.

As C.L.R. James said in Walter Rodney and the Question of
Power, this must be done -

"...so that as young people grow up and develop and
begin to look at history, they begin to see not only
what has been done to us, but what we have achieved and
what we have to do."

Constantine taught us how to achieve power on the cricket
field. We must now begin -

"...to talk and to think about the taking of power,
because that is what faces you now."
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