

**Triumph of Representation &  
Tragedy of Repercussion:  
Silent Gesture of 1968**

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## **PROCESS PAPER**

The last few years have witnessed the convergence of civil rights protests within professional sports. Over the past year, I had followed the protests of athletes like Colin Kaepernick closely, finding these events interesting. When I learned of the Silent Gesture through a podcast on National Public Radio, I became intrigued as to its history and its modern-day impact. The Silent Gesture of 1968 seemed to directly parallel political protests that occur in sports today. After conducting some preliminary research, I found the Silent Gesture to fit the “Triumph and Tragedy” theme very well, and I decided to pursue it as my topic.

I conducted my research by utilizing the University of California, Riverside’s library catalog, including Scotty and Melvyl. I used the proxy system to check out various books, periodicals, film, and audio tracks. These sources helped me build historical context and relate my topic to the theme. I then used archives, including the Library of Congress and WorldCat, to access further resources, and reached out to archivists from UCLA, University of Illinois, and UC Berkeley Special Collections, as well as the Nixon and Johnson Presidential Libraries. I obtained footage of the Olympic Games, autobiographies of the athletes, letters to the president regarding the gesture, and additional sources conducive to my research. Additionally, I conducted eleven primary source interviews and four secondary source interviews. I interviewed several 1968 Olympians who witnessed the Silent Gesture, as well as modern-day athletes, which contributed to my understanding of the gesture’s impact. I also had the opportunity to interview Congressman Ken Calvert, who added perspective to my research through his view that political gestures hold no place in sports. The most prominent were my interviews with athletes John Carlos and Tommie Smith, who raised their fists on the podium at the 1968 Olympics. They were able to reveal the triumphs and tragedies that resulted from this action.

With a plethora of media involving the 1968 Olympics, I found it particularly important to show the revolutionary photo that captured the moment. Due to the wide number of available photos, videos, and music, I decided to create a documentary to showcase the emotion that accompanied the images. I created my documentary with the editing software, Final Cut Pro.

The 1968 Silent Gesture relates to the theme, “Triumph and Tragedy,” as Smith and Carlos found triumph through the awareness they were able to raise, accomplished over international television. The gesture that viewers witnessed was a triumph for African-Americans amid very volatile times. However, this action stoked massive controversy, and the athletes faced many tragedies of repercussions through threats, hate mail, and even opposition from their fellow black athletes. They struggled with the backlash against their actions, enduring personal tragedies as their loved ones suffered, too. Their gesture holds significance today as similar issues continue to surface, as represented by athletes like Colin Kaepernick. These events have revealed that when politics enter the sports arena, there is a triumph of representation and a tragedy of repercussion.

(499 words)

## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

#### **INTERVIEWS:**

Barksdale, Sharrieffa. Athlete and 1984 Olympian. Personal Interview. 9 February 2019.

*A 1984 Olympian and African-American athlete, Sharrieffa Barksdale, shared her viewpoint on the gesture when she watched it on television as a black American. She also explained how many people misinterpreted the gesture as being militant, when it was really about peace, harmony, and love. As she would become an Olympian in the future, the gesture affected Ms. Barksdale profoundly, and watching it on television was vital in the development of her views on equality.*

Brown, Reynaldo. Athlete and 1968 Olympian. Personal Interview. 9 February 2019.

*Reynaldo Brown, 1968 Olympian, explained to me how the members of the Olympic Project for Human Rights decided to make a political statement at the Olympics. They wanted to take advantage of the world stage they had, and do something that would capture the attention of the world. They succeeded in this goal and were able to make a gesture that would impact all who watched it.*

Carlos, John. Athlete and 1968 Olympian, Performer of the Silent Gesture. Phone Interview. 6 January 2019.

*Interviewing athlete John Carlos over the phone allowed me to understand the depth of his triumphs and tragedies. He spoke with me about the amazing ability he had to capture the world's attention, and the impact that it had, both on his life and on others' lives. He told me how and why the gesture led to his wife's suicide, which plummeted him into a state of depression. Most striking about this interview, though, was when Carlos told me that he would not change anything about that day, for the triumph and impact it had on people was incredible and long-lasting.*

Clash, James. Professional Adventure Journalist. Phone Interview. 3 January 2019.

*James Clash, who is a professional journalist, was a teenager in 1968. After reading one of Clash's article spotlighting Tommie Smith, I reached out to him for a personal interview to gain insight on how the Silent Gesture impacted him personally and professionally. He was a track and field athlete, himself, and seeing the gesture on television greatly affected him. Clash shared examples of racism that he had witnessed in the '60s, including an experience where the Ku Klux Klan, notorious for lynching black men, came into his neighborhood. Clash explained how the Silent Gesture was a*

*courageous stance in those times, and how it raised awareness that advanced the Civil Rights Movement.*

Correll, Craig. Retired Master Sergeant, Air Force. Personal Interview. 5 January 2019.

*Craig Correll, who was serving in the military at the time of the gesture, explained his viewpoint as a member of the United States military in the '60s. He shared the fact that a majority of the people he associated with opposed the gesture. He said that many people found the gesture to be disrespectful and inappropriate, considering the platform. This interview represents an opposing viewpoint in my research, and expanded my knowledge of the controversy that resulted from the gesture.*

Ferrell-Edmondson, Barbara. Athlete and 1968 Olympian. Personal Interview. 9 February 2019.

*Barbara Ferrell-Edmondson, a 1968 Olympian, explained some of her difficulties as a black female in the '60s. She faced struggles not only as a female athlete, but also as an African-American athlete. The starkest of these difficulties was how often she would experience racism, be it through racial slurs or acts of discrimination. This helped me build historical context regarding what life was like in the 1960s for people fighting for equality especially for African-American women who also struggled to gain a voice within the African-American community.*

Hines, Jim. Athlete and 1968 Olympian. Personal Interview. 9 February 2019.

*Jim Hines, regarded as the fastest person in the world in 1968, is an African-American gold medalist who competed in the 1968 Olympic Games. Hines shared with me the pride that he felt when his teammates, Smith and Carlos, triumphed on the podium and gave the Silent Gesture. He also explained how the victory of one member of the race, and of the Olympic team, was a triumph for all of America. However, Hines also elaborated on the tragedies of repercussion that he had to watch his teammates face following the Silent Gesture.*

Jackson, Harrington. Athlete. Personal Interview. 9 February 2019.

*Harrington Jackson is an African-American athlete who participated in the Olympic Trials, although he did not qualify to compete at the Games. Jackson explained how he had experienced racism throughout his life, starting in high school when his school counselors told him that he wouldn't need to take any advanced courses, as he was African-American, and, thus, wouldn't be getting into college anyway. This very present racism and view of African-Americans in society made the Silent Gesture on television to be that much more prominent and significant, a triumph for its participants and viewers.*

Pender, Melvin. Athlete and 1968 Olympian. Phone Interview. 3 January 2019.

*Dr. Melvin Pender, a 1968 Olympian, spoke with me on the phone about his experience at the Games. He spoke of the racial injustices he faced and of the prejudice held by International Olympic Committee (IOC) President, Avery Brundage. He explained an instance where Brundage threatened to send home all the black athletes if they started any protests. The most emotional part of this interview was when Pender told me that John Carlos and Tommie Smith are his heroes for having the courage to take such a brave stance in 1968.*

Smith, Tommie. Athlete and 1968 Olympian, Performer of the Silent Gesture. Personal Interview. 9 February 2019.

*One of the two athletes who made the monumental Silent Gesture in 1968, Tommie Smith was the first-place finisher in the Men's 200 Meters at the 1968 Olympics. Smith was also one of the founding members of the Olympic Project for Human Rights, or the OPHR. He explained the way that his actions influenced a younger generation to stand up for rights, and how the triumph became present in the people that viewed the gesture. In my interview with Smith, he shared the way that the gesture impacted his life with tragedies that ensued, including the threatening of his wife and two-month-old son.*

Watson, Martha. Athlete and 1968 Olympian. Personal Interview. 9 February 2019.

*Martha Watson explained to me how her track team used to attend an occasional OPHR meeting and how that affected her. She expressed that one thing that stood out in her mind was the fact that Tommie Smith and John Carlos never asked the women what they thought of the protest or if they wanted to be involved. This demonstrated to me some of the controversy within the Olympic team, itself.*

## **BOOKS:**

ABC Sports. Olympics '68. Mexico City: ABC, 1968.

*The events and highlights of the 1968 Olympics are summarized in this book, including various victories by African-American athletes. This source is an original book that was distributed at the time of the Summer Olympics and shows the Silent Gesture, from the perspective of the crowd, as well as photographs of the Games. I obtained historical context, images, and elements of triumph from this source.*

American Olympic Committee. Fair Play for American Athletes. Washington D.C.: American Olympic Committee, 1935.

*This publication explains the American Olympic Committee's view on what was "fair play" in the Olympics. It details International Olympic Committee President Avery Brundage's belief that politics should not have a place in the Olympics, with the goal to publicize his belief prior to the 1936 Games. Additionally, it explains how Brundage put those words into action towards athletes at the 1936 Olympics. This source allowed me to contextualize the uproar that came when the Silent Gesture was performed, and further comprehend the tragedy of repercussion that Smith and Carlos encountered.*

Carlos, John. The John Carlos Story: The Sports Moment That Changed the World. Mainz: ZDF, 1991.

*An autobiography by John Carlos with details reflections from the 1968 Olympics and the events that followed. Carlos describes the tragedies that he faced in the aftermath of the Silent Gesture, including death threats, hate mail, and public shame that he and his family received. Most sorrowful of these tragedies was his wife's suicide, which illustrated the level of despair she felt as the family received consistent harassment and Carlos's personal struggles, including depression. In this book, he reveals information regarding the consequences he had to face both personally and professionally, which shows historical context and perspective. Having read this book, I was able prepare even more meaningful interview questions when I finally had the chance to interview John Carlos by phone and meet him in person.*

Edwards, Harry. The Revolt of the Black Athlete. Florence: Free Press, 1969.

*Harry Edwards, the leader of the Olympic Project for Human Rights (OPHR), authored this book accounting the events of the 1968 Olympics. He writes about his proposed African-American boycott of the Games and the formation of the OPHR. Edwards also describes how the athletes decided to protest in their own ways, which led to the famous Silent Gesture. This book recounts the triumph felt by black athletes and black Americans when the world witnessed Tommie Smith's and John Carlos's monumental gesture.*

Edwards, Harry. The Struggle That Must Be: An Autobiography. New York City: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1980.

*In this autobiography, Harry Edwards, the OPHR's creator and president, describes the personal impact that the Silent Gesture had on his life. He describes the harassment he received, including anonymous people pouring sewage into his car, being watched carefully by the FBI, and coming home to see his two puppies killed on his doorstep. The tragedy that he faced reveals the impact of the movement on Edwards, Smith, and Carlos,*

*and the sacrifices they were willing to make in order to spread their message. After reading this book, I was able to fully understand just how impactful these tragedies were.*

Grombach, John V. The 1968 Olympic Guide. New York City: Pyramid Books, 1968.

*This original copy of an Olympic program from 1968 lists the name and country of every athlete competing. It helped me build historical context for the 1968 Olympics and the representation of black athletes at the Games. It describes many members of the OPHR, including Lee Evans, Ron Freeman, Tommie Smith, and John Carlos, all of whom were competing at the 1968 Olympics.*

Norman, Matt. A Race to Remember: The Peter Norman Story. Melbourne: JoJo Publishing, 2012.

*Written by the nephew of 1968 second-place finisher, Peter Norman, this book includes photographs, anecdotes, and biographical aspects of Peter Norman's life. Norman himself had observed many racial inequalities where he lived in Australia, which inspired him to participate in the Silent Gesture by donning an OPHR badge on his jacket. This book allowed me to learn more about Norman, himself, and how his background led to his involvement with the Silent Gesture. The book also provided helpful insight to prepare for follow-up questions for my phone interview with Matt Norman who resides in Australia.*

Pender, Melvin. Expression of Hope: The Mel Pender Story. Meadville: Christian Faith Publishing, 2017.

*Mel Pender was the roommate of John Carlos at the 1968 Olympics, and they remain friends to this day. I was able to read this memoir and interview Pender, himself, to learn about his experience in the Olympic Games. He explained how he faced discrimination as an African-American athlete, even through his teammates leaving him behind on endeavors because they believed his skin color would hold them back. An athlete in the 4x100 meter event, Pender describes his backstory in this book and explains the way that his association with John Carlos impacted his Olympic experience. My research about Pender through this book and my interview with him expanded my knowledge on Carlos and Smith's fellow athletes' opinions on and significance of the gesture.*

Phillips, Bob. Official Report of the Olympic Games, 1968. XIXth Olympiad, Mexico City, October 12-27. London: World Sports Association, 1968.

*Following the 1968 Olympic Games, this report was issued. It recounts the significant events and highlights of the Games, including the gesture by Smith and Carlos. This report also sums up the victory sign that was given by other OPHR members and the flag waving by George Foreman, as well as other political events that went unnoticed. The*

*Silent Gesture was the first true movement that captured the world's attention. There are also many photos of the Games in this source.*

Smith, Tommie. Silent Gesture: The Autobiography of Tommie Smith. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008.

*In this autobiography, Tommie Smith discusses his childhood as the son of a poor sharecropper. Smith explains how he was always expected to support his family first and how athletics were held to be a low priority in his life. He elaborates on his famous quote that his children can't eat gold medals, which explains the motivation he had for the Silent Gesture: inequalities in housing, in employment, and in daily actions. This book added depth to the triumphs Smith encountered and added context to the devastating tragedies, which I was able to ask Smith to expand on when I had the opportunity to interview him in-person.*

#### **FILMS:**

Australian Olympic Federation. "The Story of the Olympics & Mexico: Souvenir of the Nineteenth Olympiad, Mexico." Sydney: Woolworths National Olympic Foundation, 1968.

*This film addresses the involvement of Australian, Peter Norman, in the protest. Norman was the second-place finisher in the men's 200 meters, and he showed his support for the movement by donning an Olympic Project for Human Rights badge. He is sometimes forgotten, and often overlooked, as a member of the organization; yet, he, too, paid a price for his participation in protest by being excluded from the 1972 Olympic team and the continuous exclusion to expand his athletic career and recognition of his accomplishments. Norman was even excluded from receiving an invitation to attend the Summer 2000 Olympics hosted in Australia.*

Carlos, John. "John Carlos, Who Raised His Hand in a Black Power Salute at the Mexico City Olympics, Speaks of His Job as Good Will Ambassador to Los Angeles Youth for the 1984 Olympic Games." Los Angeles: Global, 1984.

*This film is an interview with John Carlos, who reflects on his financial and employment struggles as a result of the Silent Gesture. He speaks about how his gesture impacted his personal life and discusses the way that he is able to channel that impact into helping young people. Today, Carlos and Smith are honored as heroes, yet they still face tragedies and struggles in their lives.*

“Dr. Harry Edwards Press Conference.” San Jose: Fox Television Stations, 1968.

*In this introductory video to the Olympic Project for Human Rights (OPHR), Dr. Harry Edwards explains his position within the organization, and the formation of the initiative at San Jose State University. This video shows the deliberation involved with the Silent Gesture, which demonstrated its importance. The OPHR was relying on Smith and Carlos to convey their message at the Olympic Games.*

“Dr. Harry Edwards on Olympic Boycott.” San Jose: KPIX-TV, 1967.

*In this press conference, Dr. Harry Edwards, leader of the Olympic Project for Human Rights, announces the proposed African-American boycott of the 1968 Olympics. This footage helped build historical context for the Silent Gesture, and the importance it served to the OPHR and to its viewers.*

“Dr. Harry Edwards on the Olympic Project for Human Rights.” San Francisco: Young Broadcasting of San Francisco, Inc., 1968.

*Dr. Harry Edwards elaborates on the goals of the Olympic Project for Human Rights in this press conference, explaining the organization’s stance against the Vietnam War. He also states the organization’s goal to have South Africa and Rhodesia uninvited from the Olympics, due to the apartheid policies in both countries. This source emphasized the history and consideration behind the Silent Gesture.*

“George Foreman on Black Power Salutes.” Mexico City: Cox Enterprises, Inc., 1968.

*In this video, boxer George Foreman expresses his disapproval of the Silent Gesture. He explains that he did not approve of Smith and Carlos pushing their views upon others, stating that the last person who tried to push their views upon others was Hitler, which resulted in an event as damaging as the Holocaust. This showed separation within the race and within the Olympic Team. Watching this video and understanding Foreman’s point of view showed that even several fellow African-American athletes opposed the gesture as well.*

Norman, Matt. “Salute: The Story Behind the Image.” Tallangatta: Wingman Pictures, 2008.

*Matt Norman, nephew of Peter Norman, uses this film to pay tribute to his uncle’s involvement with the Olympic Project for Human Rights. As the second-place finisher, Australian, Peter Norman, was involved in the protest by donning an OPHR badge on the podium. This film features Smith, Carlos, and Norman, as well as original footage from the 1968 Olympics. It also includes footage that summarizes the racist viewpoint of Avery Brundage, President of the International Olympic Committee.*

“Tommie Smith and John Carlos Arrive at Airport.” San Jose: KPIX-TV, 1968.

*In this news clip, Tommie Smith and John Carlos are being harassed by the news and media, something that would happen to them constantly for the next several years. This was only the beginning of their series of tragedies, and this video shows how the gesture impacted the lives of the athletes. The disrespect of Smith and Carlos by the media indicated the loss of their privacy for many years to come. This was one of the greatest tragedies the two athletes were faced with.*

Wood, Adrian. “100 Years of Olympic Films: 1912-2012.” New York City: Criterion Collection, 2017.

*Accounting for monumental events in the history of the Olympics, this source provides footage of the 1968 Olympic Games. It depicted the triumphant victories of Smith’s and Carlos’s hard work being paid off, and the striking image of Tommie Smith raising his arms in pride as he crossed the finish line. It also shows the beginning of tragedy: the angry crowd booing as the two athletes raised their gloved fists in silent protest. This footage was useful for my documentary.*

#### **LETTERS:**

Kelly, W.P. “Letter to the President.” 29 October 1968.

*In this letter from the Johnson Presidential Library Archives, an American watching the 1968 Olympics writes to the president. He expresses his discontent with the Silent Gesture, comparing it to George Foreman. After winning a gold medal, Foreman had waved an American flag in the ring and sang along to the national anthem. This was a symbol of nationalistic pride, claims the letter, as compared to protests like the Silent Gesture.*

McNair, David C. “Letter to the President.” 23 October 1968.

*This letter to the president regarding the Silent Gesture was written by a black American, who had watched the event on national television. McNair claims that the gesture occurred because Smith and Carlos loved America, not because they hated her. This letter is very powerful in showing the impact that this gesture had on all of its viewers. It shows that the triumph from this gesture reached countless Americans who felt the significance of the movement.*

## **MANUSCRIPTS:**

Edwards, Harry. "Harry Edwards: An Oral History." Bancroft: University of California, Berkeley Publishing, 1971.

*Three years after the Silent Gesture occurred, Harry Edwards conducted an interview detailing his involvement in the Olympic Project for Human Rights and the protest, itself. This source expands upon Edwards's goals during the 1960s. He discusses his recruitment of Tommie Smith and John Carlos to participate in the OPHR during his time as a professor at San Jose State University. This manuscript allowed me to learn more about Harry Edwards, himself, as well as the foundation for the Silent Gesture.*

## **MUSIC:**

Seeger, Pete. "We Shall Overcome."

*This song was an anthem of the Civil Rights Movement, and was a song that empowered African-Americans to stand up for their rights. It really encapsulated what the Silent Gesture was all about, which is why I utilized it in the introduction of my documentary. This song provided a backdrop against which I introduced the Silent Gesture.*

## **NEWSPAPERS:**

Amdur, Neil. "Tommie Smith at 34: His Struggle Goes On." *New York Times*. 24 December 1978.

*Ten years following the Silent Gesture, this newspaper article documents Tommie Smith's life and the impact his protest had on him. Smith gave up his dream and his athletic career in 1968, a personal tragedy that affected him for the rest of his life. Sacrificing his career and aspirations, Tommie Smith felt he had not options but to accept any job, including a coaching job, in order to support his family, never meeting his full potential as a star athlete.*

"Because of Protest, Sprinters Both Are Suspended." *Parsons Sun*. 18 October 1968.

*Written a day after the Silent Gesture, this article spread the news about the tragedy that ensued. Avery Brundage expelled both athletes from the Olympic Village and spread rumors that they would be stripped of their medals. These tragedies extended even further, and this newspaper article represents the beginning of the tragedies that followed Carlos and Smith for the rest of their lives.*

“Black Caucus Flunks Nominees.” *Pittsburg Courier*. 25 October 1968.

*This newspaper article discusses the Silent Gesture and its effects. It helped me to understand the repercussions that followed this event, as well as the triumph and tragedy associated with it. I was able to learn some of the significance and impact that the gesture had on the Civil Rights Movement of the '60s.*

“Boycott Grows for NY Track.” *Chicago Daily News*. 30 January 1968.

*When the OPHR's proposed boycott of the 1968 Olympics became more widespread, many African-American athletes joined the cause. This newspaper publicizes the OPHR's goals and describes the boycott's growth in participation. It added to my research on how the Silent Gesture came to be, and the initial movement that Smith and Carlos were involved in.*

“Boycott Uproars Rock Sports World.” *Chicago Daily News*. 16 February 1968.

*The OPHR's proposed boycott itself was met with great criticism. Particularly in the sports world, many athletes thought that a boycott was not the best way to deal with injustice. African-American track and field athlete Jesse Owens, who later expressed opposition to the Silent Gesture, shared his take that the boycott would do more harm than good. This type of criticism eventually contributed to the dissolution of the boycott's plans.*

Brundage, Avery. “Letter to the Sport-Loving Public of the United States.” *American Olympic Committee*. 26 October 1935.

*This letter, published by Avery Brundage, on behalf of the American Olympic Committee, demonstrates his view that politics had no place in the Olympics. Brundage began his Olympic leadership in the 1930s, and he would often contradict his words through his actions. For instance, despite his intolerance of the 1968 Silent Gesture, he allowed the Nazi salute to be performed at the 1936 Olympic Games.*

“Brundage Denies Charge but Admits Club is His.” *Jewish Post Chicago*. 29 December 1967.

*In 1967, the Olympic Project for Human Rights demanded that the segregated New York Athletic Club end its discriminatory policies. This newspaper article details Brundage's response to this demand, claiming that the club was indeed his, but was not as segregated as the OPHR claimed. This article assisted me in making connections as to Brundage's involvement in the proposed boycott.*

“Brundage Denies He is Biased.” *Post-Dispatch Saint Louis*. 18 December 1967.

*Harry Edwards, President of the Olympic Project for Human Rights, claimed that Avery Brundage was both racist and anti-Semitic. In this article, Brundage claims this to be a monstrous lie, insulting Edwards and the organization. This article showed me Brundage’s true colors as to both his character and his policies, and helped me put his reaction to the gesture into context.*

“Counter-Culture Press.” *Berkeley Barb*. 19 June 1969.

*An underground newspaper from the 1960s, this article exemplifies the struggle for civil rights in the United States. This newspaper circulated among many people who participated in the anti-war and civil rights movements. It added historical context to my research, which deepened my understanding of the Silent Gesture’s purpose.*

“Dr. King Murdered.” *San Francisco Chronicle*. 5 April 1968.

*Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was a civil rights leader, came out as a supporter of the OPHR’s boycott only a few months before his death. When King was assassinated, it sent shock waves throughout the world and sent a message that people who spoke up about their views would be punished.*

“El Chief.” *San Francisco Chronicle*. 22 October 1968.

*This article includes a photograph of International Olympic Committee President Avery Brundage in a large sombrero in Mexico City for the Olympics. This image provided additional context surrounding Brundage’s time in Mexico City for the Olympics.*

“Es un Exito Absoluto la Olimpiada.” *El Herald*. 26 October 1968.

*“The Olympics Are an Absolute Success,” reads this Mexican headline. The Herald, a newspaper in Mexico City, published this article about a week after the Silent Gesture. Some Americans overlooked the gesture as they looked at the Olympics as a general success.*

“Fans Boo.” *New York Times*. 20 October 1968.

*This article explains the reaction of the audience when the Silent Gesture occurred. It was immediately met with controversy that lasted for decades. The fans at the Olympics yelled, cursed, and shouted racial slurs at the protesting athletes. This headline and article demonstrate the poor reception to political gestures in the Olympics. This marked the beginning of tragedy for Smith and Carlos.*

“Frente al Poder Negro.” *El Sol de Mexico*. 22 October 1968.

*This newspaper, with a headline reading “Against Black Power,” in Spanish, was published in Mexico City a few days following the Silent Gesture. The article includes a political cartoon of Tommie Smith and John Carlos raising their fists on the podium, only to be met by Avery Brundage, clutching an American flag, facing the athletes with an even larger, more powerful fist. The cartoon depicts how Brundage reacted to the Silent Gesture.*

Gallo, Bill. “Clay Won’t Go; Loses Title. Cassius Spurns Service Oath; Faces 5 Yrs. In Pen, 10G Fine.” *Daily News*. 29 April 1967.

*After Cassius Clay, who later changed his name to Muhammad Ali, refused induction in the Army for the Vietnam War, this article was released revealing the consequences he was facing: being stripped of his championship title and being sentenced to prison. The OPHR demanded that Ali’s title be returned to him, in an effort to show opposition to the Vietnam War.*

Grimsley, Will. “Carlos and Smith Lead New Olympic Flare-Up.” *Associated Press*. 17 October 1968.

*In this article, Grimsley describes Smith’s and Carlos’s gesture as a “Nazi-like salute.” This terribly offensive comment showed how the country received Smith’s and Carlos’s gesture very poorly, and showed the extreme perspectives associated with this movement. This newspaper demonstrated the controversy surrounding the gesture.*

Harrison, Claude E. “Sports Roundup: Smith and Carlos, Gutty or Nutty?” *Philadelphia Tribune*. 22 October 1968.

*In this sports column, a writer asks the question that many Americans were thinking: Did Smith and Carlos provide a keen insight into the purpose of the Civil Rights Movement, or were they inappropriately politicizing the Olympics? This controversy spread, and this article adds depth to the historical context and opposing viewpoints regarding the event.*

Jaff, Sam. “Anti-Semantic Charges Proven False in Brundage Statement.” *American Jewish Life*. 29 December 1967.

*Avery Brundage answered to what this newspaper called, “false and irresponsible statements,” in this article. It also addresses comments by Harry Edwards claiming Brundage to be an anti-Negro and anti-Semantic personality, which were rebuffed by Brundage.*

“Kennedy Shot.” *Los Angeles Times*. 5 June 1968.

*Robert F. Kennedy was murdered just a few months before the gesture occurred. As a prominent civil rights activist, Kennedy’s assassination showed the world that people who shared similar civil rights opinions would quickly be silenced. This added to the triumph felt by Carlos and Smith when they raised their gloved fists.*

Lipsyte, Robert. “His Idealism is so Admired, But Some Call Him Racist, a Fool.” *Hong Kong Standard*. 4 November 1935.

*This newspaper article acknowledges the fact that Avery Brundage held very controversial beliefs. It addresses the differing viewpoints regarding Brundage that had spread throughout the country before the 1936 Games began, which continued to hold precedence during the 1968 Games.*

Lipsyte, Robert. “Views of Sport: Mexico City and the Loss of Innocence.” *New York Times*. 25 September 1988.

*Twenty years after the gesture, this article recounts the significant events. Written by an attendee and reporter of the Olympic Games, the newspaper article discusses how the protests that occurred in light of 1968 events changed the author’s innocence and perspective permanently.*

“Memphis Sniper Kills Martin Luther King.” *Greensboro Daily News*. 5 April 1968.

*This article builds historical context in terms of events that were occurring in the 1960s. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s assassination was an event that reinforced racial discrimination and hate, increasing the strong divisions between black and white that existed at the time.*

“Mexicans Jeer at Sprinters’ Protest.” *The Pantagraph*. 17 October 1968.

*This article describes the reaction the crowd had to the Silent Gesture; they cursed, laughed, and screamed racial slurs at the athletes. The triumph that Smith and Carlos had in their protest was followed by tragedy that began with the crowd’s reaction to their Silent Gesture.*

“Negro Protest in Olympics.” *St. Louis Post Dispatch*. 17 October 1968.

*This newspaper headlined the Silent Gesture that occurred on October 17, 1968. It describes the meaning behind the protest and the symbolism of the black glove, the beads, and the socks. Everything that happened that day was carefully calculated, and it all contributed to the triumph.*

“Olympic Committee Suspends Negro Sprinters Smith, Carlos.” *The Pantagraph*. 22 October 1968.

*After the monumental gesture, IOC President, Avery Brundage, punished the two athletes for their protest. This newspaper reports the consequences they received and outlines the tragedy that Carlos and Smith had to face.*

“Owens Backs Expulsion: Former Olympic Star Feels Smith, Carlos Erred.” *The Sun*. 30 October 1968.

*This newspaper included a quote from 1936 black Olympian Jesse Owens, who believed that Smith and Carlos were wrong for introducing politics to the Olympics. He stated that their athletic performances alone would have alleviated inequality better than their protest. This showed me that even fellow African-American athletes held opposition to the gesture.*

“Owens’ Olympic Record Tossed Out.” *The Baltimore News-Post*. 3 August 1936.

*In 1936, Jesse Owens had faced discrimination by the International Olympic Committee and Avery Brundage, similar to John Carlos and Tommie Smith. Reading this article allowed me to understand that Brundage had a history of enforcing his opinion that politics did not belong in the Olympics. This source built historical context about Avery Brundage and his views.*

Povich, Shirley. “Black Power on Victory Stand.” *New York Times*. 17 October 1968.

*Showing an image of Tommie Smith in jubilation when crossing the finish line, this newspaper also describes the tragedies that resulted from the sprinters’ brave actions. It helped me connect the Silent Gesture to the theme of triumph and tragedy. The article also recounts the highlights of the 1968 Summer Olympics.*

“Racial Salutes by Winners: Games Are Rocked by Black Power.” *Evening News*. 17 October 1968.

*This article explains the effect that this gesture had on the world and the way that people responded. This article was the first to claim the Silent Gesture to have “rocked the Games,” which was terminology that was continually used to describe it. It mainly focuses on the positive aspects, which helped to develop various perspectives.*

“Reactions Mixed on Expulsions.” *New York Times*. 1 November 1968.

*After the Silent Gesture, Smith and Carlos were expelled from the Olympic Village. Although some people believed this to be wrong of the International Olympic Committee, many others found it to be justified. These mixed responses caused uproar about the*

*gesture to spread in America. In 1968, the country was already in a volatile state with the Civil Rights Movement at its peak, and the Silent Gesture raised awareness during this time.*

“Robert Kennedy Shot in Head; Kennedy Shooting Shocks World.” *The Marietta Daily Journal*. 5 June 1968.

*The shooting of Robert F. Kennedy sent a message of the hate held by many Americans towards those who advocated for equality. Smith and Carlos felt this same pain, as they received death threats and worried that they would meet the same fate as Kennedy.*

Roper, E.H. “Who’ll Win Flagwaving Event?” *Chicago Daily News*. 22 October 1968.

*This article poses the question of why the press paid so much attention to nationality instead of the individual athletes. It discusses the way that the Olympics were already politicized through the focus on what nation the winners were from. This newspaper contributed to my understanding of political involvement in the Olympic Games.*

“Se Extingue Esta Tarde la Llama Olimpiada: Los Negros de Kenia y el ‘Black Power.’” *El Heraldo*. 12 November 1968.

*The headline in this Mexican newspaper reads, “The Olympic Flame is Extinguished this Afternoon: Blacks from Kenya and Black Power.” It explains how the black power salute defied Brundage’s beliefs regarding politics in sport. This newspaper helped me contextualize Brundage’s reaction and the response that this gesture elicited from the public.*

“Sen. Robert F. Kennedy Shot Today.” *The Manistee News-Advocate*. 5 June 1968.

*This newspaper contextualizes the Silent Gesture by speaking of the historical events that happened earlier that same year. When Kennedy was shot, many people took it as a message of hate, which could have been replicated after the Silent Gesture was publicized.*

Sheehan, Joseph M. “2 Black Power Advocates Ousted from Olympics.” *New York Times*. 18 October 1968.

*This article tells of the punishment that Smith and Carlos received and describes the negativity directed towards them. They were both expelled from Mexico City. Their visas were revoked, and they were asked to return their Olympic medals. This article allowed me to understand the complexity of the tragedy that the athletes faced; getting ousted from the Games was only the beginning.*

“Some Negro Athletes Threaten to ‘Go Home’ Along with Smith and Carlos.” *New York Times*. 19 October 1968.

*Lee Evans, Larry James, and Ron Freeman, three other black runners, and members of the Olympic Project for Human Rights, also gave a silent protest upon stepping on the podium. Evans, James, and Freeman were not reprimanded with the severity that Smith and Carlos were, but they stood in solidarity with the athletes.*

“Smith, Carlos Clench Fists: Black Power on Victory Stand.” *Los Angeles Times*. 17 October 1968.

*This article highlights the Silent Gesture, and what the various elements symbolized. Carlos and Smith both wore black socks and beads to represent injustice against African-Americans. The gesture held prevalence in news and media, and reached many people. This headline was used in my documentary to support the impact that the protest had on Americans.*

“Student Activity, Black Salute, and SDS.” *Middletown Times Herald*. 21 November 1968.

*This newspaper article explains the various ways that Americans interpreted the Silent Gesture. Many saw it as an act of militancy, while others saw it as a Nazi-like gesture. This article accounts for these varying interpretations, and it makes evident the controversy and tragedy that followed the protest. This source strengthened my research and helped me prove my thesis.*

“The Olympics: Black Complaint.” *Time*. 25 October 1968.

*“Faster, Higher, Stronger” was the motto of the 1968 Olympic Games. This newspaper article, written about the Silent Gesture, claims the protest made the Games “Angrier, Nastier, Uglier.” This article demonstrates the controversy that revolved around this gesture, calling it absurd. Many Americans shared this viewpoint.*

“Two Men Acquitted in Mississippi Murder.” *Fitchburg Sentinel*. 24 September 1955.

*Only thirteen years prior to the Silent Gesture, a black man named Emmett Till was infamously beaten and lynched for talking to a white woman. This newspaper article proclaims Till’s murderers as innocent, which proves the racial injustice that existed around the time of the Silent Gesture. Events like this inspired Smith and Carlos to make their Silent Gesture on an international stage.*

“Two Small Gloved Fists, One Large Revolution.” *New York Times*. 17 October 1968.

*This newspaper article was published on the day that the Silent Gesture was performed. It elaborates on the masses that the gesture reached, which built on my understanding of*

*its impact. Seeing the movement that the gesture contributed to was an important part on my research.*

“U.S. Team Suspends Smith and Carlos.” *New York Times*. 19 October 1968.

*This article discusses the tragedy that the athletes faced. Along with expulsion from the Olympic Village, Smith and Carlos received hate mail and death threats for years. It was eye-opening to read about the personal tragedies they faced.*

Webster, Jim. “Black Boycott Threat Ended.” *New York Times*. 29 September 1968.

*When many people decided they would not participate in the African-American Olympic boycott, and it was met by criticism, it was called off. The OPHR’s members decided that each athlete would convey the organization’s message in their own way that summer in Mexico City. This article expanded on my historical context research.*

## **PERIODICALS:**

“1968: The Year That Shaped a Nation.” *Time*. 19 December 1968.

*Written at the end of the year, this magazine article sums up the monumental events of 1968. It includes an article entitled, “The Problem Olympics,” as the Games had been dubbed. Smith and Carlos’s protest was considered a “problem” that was a source of unrest during the year 1968. This magazine article summarizes the significance of the year, including the formation and execution of the OPHR’s boycott and protests.*

North American Congress on Latin America. Mexico 1968: A Study of Domination and Repression. New York City: North American Congress on Latin America, 1968.

*Only a few days before the Silent Gesture, a group of students had organized a demonstration in Mexico to protest injustice. The protest ended bloodily, becoming a massacre that resulted in the death of many students at the hands of a government-issued army that was sent to shut down the protest. This source is a study of how injustice was occurring all the way up to the gesture itself. It added context to my research.*

## **WEBSITES:**

Carlos, John. “We Live to Make History.” *JohnCarlos68.com*. 2018.

<[www.johncarlos68.com](http://www.johncarlos68.com)>.

*This website, facilitated by sprinter, Dr. John Carlos, provides a short biography and description of the Silent Gesture. It explains the situation that existed in the ‘60s, and*

*includes the famous picture of Smith and Carlos on the Olympic podium, with their gloved fists in the air.*

Smith, Tommie. "Silent Gesture." *TommieSmith.com*. 2018. <[www.tommiesmith.com](http://www.tommiesmith.com)>.

*Dr. Tommie Smith, Olympic runner, utilizes this website to share his personal story. He and Carlos are honored now that 50 years have passed, but they still receive backlash from many people. They face triumph and tragedy to this day.*

## SECONDARY SOURCES

### **INTERVIEWS:**

Calvert, Ken. Member of Congress. Email Interview. 2 April 2019.

*After corresponding with Congressman Calvert, he answered some of my questions about his take on political protests in sports. Congressman Calvert said that he sees gestures like kneeling during the national anthem to be disrespectful to the inherent values of our nation. This interview helped me understand the opposition that modern politicians still hold towards political gestures in sports.*

Castlin, Kristi. Athlete and 2016 Olympian. Personal Interview. 9 February 2019.

*Kristi Castlin was a bronze medalist in the 2016 Rio Olympics, and she has witnessed the effects of the Silent Gesture over 50 years later. As a modern-day African-American athlete, Castlin was able to analyze the way that the Silent Gesture paved the way for athletes like Colin Kaepernick to stand up against injustices today. She explained the actions of these protesting athletes, which helped me connect today's protests to the Silent Gesture. This interview helped me grasp the ongoing impact of the Silent Gesture on today's athletes.*

Ellerbe, Dawn. Athlete and 1997 Olympian. Phone Interview. 29 March 2019.

*Dawn Ellerbe, a track and field athlete who specialized in the hammer throw, spoke with me about how the Silent Gesture inspired her generation of athletes. She explained that the Silent Gesture paved the way for athletes like her to use their platform to make their voices heard. She also elaborated on the gesture's significance over fifty years later.*

Norman, Matt. Nephew of Peter Norman. Phone Interview. 18 February 2019.

*Peter Norman, the second-place finisher in the 1968 Men's 200-Meter event, wore an OPHR badge during the medal ceremony to support Tommie Smith and John Carlos. As Peter Norman has passed away, I had the opportunity to interview his nephew. Matt Norman shared with me how the gesture had impacted Peter Norman, when he was removed from the 1972 Olympic track and field team and how his uncle was ostracized by Australian athletic programs, which cut his uncle's athletic career short. He also explained how over 40 years after the gesture, the Australian parliament issued an official apology to Peter Norman for the tragedy he had to face.*

## **BOOKS:**

Bass, Amy. Not the Triumph but the Struggle: The 1968 Olympics and the Making of the Black Athlete. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

*This source describes the protest, itself, in depth, explaining the planning that went into the gesture. Smith and Carlos, who partook in the Olympic Project for Human Rights, originally planned to participate in an African-American boycott of the Games. When the boycott fell apart, the two athletes expressed their aspiration for equal rights in another fashion: the famous Silent Gesture.*

Bryant, Howard. The Heritage: Black Athletes, a Divided America, and the Politics of Patriotism. Boston: Beacon Press, 2018.

*Addressing the division in America during the 1960s, this source provides historical context to my topic. It helped me understand many of the inequalities in sports, which inspired Smith and Carlos to make their Silent Gesture. The differences in treatment between African-American athletes and white athletes were prevalent at the time.*

Burgan, Michael. Great Moments in the Olympics. Milwaukee: World Almanac Library, 2002.

*This book highlights the most notable Olympic moments. Among them was the Silent Gesture, for the mass awareness it raised in the midst of the Civil Rights Movement. The photograph of Smith and Carlos with their gloved fists raised has lasted in the nation's collective memory. The fact that the Silent Gesture was considered a great moment in the Olympics shows its significance many years after its occurrence.*

Cottrell, Robert C. 1968: The Rise and Fall of the New American Revolution. Lanham: Roman & Littlefield, 2018.

*In this book, Cottrell describes the year of 1968 as a "revolution." He discusses the various events of the year, including the Silent Gesture. Against the backdrop of many other controversial events from that same year, the Silent Gesture proved to be extremely significant in making people aware of the nation's position. This book improved my understanding of other revolutionary events from the time.*

DK Publishing. Chronicle of the Olympics. New York City: Houghton Mifflin, 1996.

*Summarizing every summer and winter Olympics since 1896, this source places the controversy of 1968 into context. It also includes many photographs of the Silent Gesture, itself, along with Carlos's and Smith's signs of victory.*

Goldberger, Ben. 100 Photographs: The Most Influential Images of All Time. New York City: Time Books, 2016.

*This book ranks the Silent Gesture as one of the most influential events of all time. The photograph captured in 1968 became an icon that represented the struggle for equality amidst the Civil Rights Movement. The fact that the photograph of the Silent Gesture has withstood time and is still considered so powerful shows its significance and relevance to today.*

Haerens, Margaret. The NFL Anthem Protests. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO LLC, 2019.

*This book details the protests that have taken place during the national anthem in modern times. From these descriptions, I was able to draw parallels between the Silent Gesture and protests within the NFL. Athletes like Colin Kaepernick have drawn inspiration from the Silent Gesture with the goal of raising awareness.*

Hoffer, Richard. Something in the Air: American Passion and Defiance in the 1968 Mexico City Olympics. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.

*This narrative of the 1968 Olympics shows the air of protest that existed at the time of the Games. It describes the defiance and protest that existed within Smith and Carlos. Although they knew of the "Olympic spirit" and the tragedies they were at risk of, the athletes triumphed knowing that they would make a difference.*

Jackson, C.D. Why? The Biography of John Carlos. Los Angeles: Milligan Books, 2000.

*John Carlos grew up in the tumultuous streets of Harlem, New York. He led a difficult childhood, one where he witnessed the injustices of the times. Growing up in athletics, he was able to use his platform to spread a message of peace and equality. This biography helped me understand how Carlos's life impacted his desire to protest at the Olympics.*

Kieran, John. The Story of the Olympic Games: 776 BC to 1968. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1969.

*This source speaks of the Olympic developments; it discusses Avery Brundage's time as the President of the International Olympic Committee, from the 1936 Games to the 1968 Games. Brundage's bigoted viewpoint affected athletes. Starting from 1936, Brundage's policies affected many athletes at Hitler's Olympiad. By 1968, Brundage's bigotry affected many more, namely Smith and Carlos and the American track and field team, consisting primarily of black athletes.*

Kurlansky, Mark. 1968: The Year That Rocked the World. New York City: Ballantine, 2004.

*This book describes the events that occurred in the year 1968, including the assassination of political figures like Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy. It also*

*elaborates on the acts of the Ku Klux Klan and other hate groups. This source puts the Silent Gesture into context, and describes much of the triumph that Smith and Carlos felt.*

Levy, Peter B. The Civil Rights Movement in America: From Black Nationalism to the Women's Political Council. Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2015.

*The Civil Rights Movement, which was very relevant to the Silent Gesture, is discussed in this book. The examples of black nationalism that became prominent in the 1960s influenced many movements, some of which were militant. This book explains some of these movements as well as other occurrences of the Civil Rights Movement, which helped me contextualize the events of the 1968 Olympics.*

Moore, Louis. We Will Win the Day: The Civil Rights Movement, the Black Athlete, and the Quest for Equality. Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2017.

*The Silent Gesture in the context of the Civil Rights Movement was something that raised tremendous awareness and helped people understand some of the inequalities that existed at the time. This source goes in depth regarding the Civil Rights Movement and how black athletes used the Olympics as a platform to advance this movement.*

Nelson, Murry R. American Sports: A History of Icons, Idols, and Ideas. Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2013.

*This book collects the most impactful moments in sports, including many of the significant political protests. It recognizes the Silent Gesture as one of the first politically charged protests in the Olympics, and the way that the gesture set the stage for other political movements to come. This source strengthened my understanding of the Silent Gesture's significance.*

Nicholson, James. 1968: A Pivotal Movement in American Sports. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2019.

*Considering the contentious presidential election and tumult of the sixties, this book discusses the Olympics and the Silent Gesture against the backdrop of these controversial events. This book expanded on my knowledge of the 1960s and the controversy that existed during the decade. The political involvement in sports contributed greatly to the existing volatility.*

Peters, Stephanie True. The Olympics: Unforgettable Moments of the Games. New York City: Little Brown & Co, 2008.

*This book captures many photos from the different Olympic Games, including the monumental gesture, and photos of Smith and Carlos during the race. I used these*

*images in my documentary. These images illustrate the triumph that Smith and Carlos felt at the Olympics, which escalated the tragedy that resulted.*

Smith-Llera, Danielle. Black Power Salute: How a Photograph Captured a Political Protest. North Mankato: Coughlan Publishing, 2017.

*This book speaks of the power that photography had in the 1968 Olympic Games. Photographers like Neil Leifer were able to capture moments that would resonate in the hearts of all Americans, such as the protest by Smith and Carlos. This source contextualized the gesture.*

Thomas, Pat. Listen, Whitey! The Sights and Sounds of Black Power: 1965-1975. Seattle: Fantagraphics, 2012.

*Many people interpreted the Silent Gesture as a symbol of black power, which was a common theme in the mid-to-late twentieth century. This book provides historical context regarding other protests from the decade, as well as other protests that drew inspiration from the Silent Gesture. The fact that the gesture was broadcasted over television allowed it to reach a larger audience, and inspire even more people.*

Weisbord, Robert G. Racism and the Olympics. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2015.

*The prominence of racism and discrimination in the Olympic Games, particularly with Avery Brundage as the President of the International Olympic Committee, is discussed in this book. Brundage's belief that politics should not be a part of the Olympics was directly contradicted by his racist policies and beliefs. This book expands on how that contradiction related to the Olympics and helped me make connections regarding the Silent Gesture.*

Wiggins, David Kenneth. More Than Just a Game: A History of the African-American Experience in Sport. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.

*Starting with figures like Jesse Owens at the 1936 Olympics, this book gave me a better understanding of African-American involvement in sports, particularly the Olympic Games. John Carlos and Tommie Smith's protest was one of the most powerful instances when a black athlete protested against injustice. It helped me understand the triumph they experienced, and the effect of the tragedies that they faced.*

Witherspoon, Kevin. Protest at the Pyramid: The 1968 Mexico City Olympics and the Politization of the Olympic Games. Ann Arbor: ProQuest, 2004.

*This book provides a summary of what occurred on the Olympic podium in 1968. It expanded my preliminary knowledge of the protest, itself. It also gave me a better*

*understanding of the triumph felt by people across the world when they saw Smith and Carlos's gesture over television or in the media.*

Zirin, Dave. What's My Name, Fool? Sports and Resistance in the United States. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2005.

*Dave Zirin, a political sportswriter, published this book to address various African-American protests in sports. The Silent Gesture is addressed, as well as other protests that took place at the Olympics on a more minor scale. For instance, several Olympic athletes in 1968 refused to accept their medals from Avery Brundage, while others stepped up to the podium without their shoes on to symbolize poverty in the United States. I was able to deepen my understanding of protest in sports through this source.*

#### **FILMS:**

"1968: A Year of War, Turmoil & Beyond." New York City: 3DD Entertainment, 2018.

*Produced 50 years later, this film reflects on the tumultuous years of the '60s, and how they played into the gesture. It brings up issues that were prevalent at the time, namely the Vietnam War and other athletes who spoke up in sports, like Muhammad Ali and George Foreman.*

ABC News. "ABC Sports Exclusive." Hollywood: Video Craftsmen, 1990.

*This 1990 recap of the events of 1968 demonstrates the significance of the gesture. The segment describes how the bravery of John Carlos and Tommie Smith truly resonated in the hearts of the oppressed. It also includes clips of news anchors announcing Smith's and Carlos's expulsion from the Olympic Village.*

Dack, Natasha. "Black Power Salute." London: BBC, 2008.

*There is footage provided in this source of police brutality, race riots, and violence that helped me contextualize the Silent Gesture. The acts shown in this source add significance and impact pertaining to the actions and treatment of the athletes.*

Griggs, Ted. "Stride to Glory." New York City: NBC, 1996.

*This footage shows interviews with Tommie Smith and John Carlos immediately after the race and their gesture. Carlos tells his interviewer, "All we're asking for is an equal chance. To be a human being." He elaborates upon his motivation for performing the Silent Gesture. This, as well as the videos in this source, was very powerful and influential in building significance.*

“Historic Olympics Films.” Asheville: Quality Information Publishers, 2007.

*This film provided me with additional footage from the 1968 and 1936 Olympics. I was able to see 1936 athlete, Jesse Owens, win four gold medals at Hitler’s Olympics, which was a triumph for African-American people. However, Owens eventually came to oppose the Silent Gesture, despite his own Olympic history.*

Stern, Steven. “Fists of Freedom: The Story of the ‘68 Summer Games.” New York City: Home Box Office, 1999.

*This video includes actual footage from the Olympic Games, and videos of the runners preparing for their race. It includes interviews with figures like Avery Brundage, who shares his bigoted viewpoint. Brundage states, “The Olympics are one place where people like communists and negroes have the opportunity to be equal!” This demonstrates the viewpoint shared by many at the time, and also shows the triumph of the gesture itself.*

#### **MANUSCRIPTS:**

Gray, David V. A Prelude to the Protest at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics. M.A. San Jose State University, 2012.

*This dissertation, written by a student at San Jose State University, outlines the events that preceded the 1968 Olympic protest. It discusses the statue constructed at San Jose State of the athletes and shows the significance of the gesture.*

#### **MUSIC:**

Fuller, Bobby. “Surf.”

*This music set a perfect tone for the race itself. Written in the 1960s, this song’s strong vibes increase the drama of the defining Olympic moment. I utilized the music as background for the Olympic race and protest.*

Gregson-Williams, Harry. “Gone Baby Gone.”

*The solemn tone of this piece was very fitting to play while I discussed the tragedies Smith and Carlos had to face. It set the perfect tone for the obstacles and tragedies that materialized in the lives of the athletes following their Silent Gesture.*

Gregson-Williams, Harry. "Smiling."

*This emotional music helps show the tragedies in the lives of the athletes. I used it in my documentary to show the devastating occurrences that happened in the lives of the athletes.*

Key, Francis Scott. "The Star-Spangled Banner."

*As John Carlos and Tommie Smith raised their gloved fists during the national anthem at the Olympics, it was fitting to play this song in the background while the footage of the Silent Gesture played. Additionally, I was able to slow down the pace in order to match the melancholy setting of the gesture.*

### **NEWSPAPERS:**

"Black Students Protest BYU Practices." *University of Wyoming Press*. 17 October 1969.

*This newspaper article explained the 14 black students who wore black armbands in a game against BYU to protest Mormon doctrine concerning African-Americans. This happened a year after the Silent Gesture, to the day, and showed how many protesters drew inspiration from John Carlos and Tommie Smith.*

Brown, DeNeen. "I Am a Man: The Ugly Memphis Sanitation Workers' Strike that Led to MLK's Assassination." *The Washington Post*. 12 February 2018.

*To capture the way that life was in the 1960s, this article summarized some of the protests in the decades. It focused on the Memphis Sanitation Strike, which took place in February of 1968. This was one of many examples of unrest of the decade, which added context to the Silent Gesture.*

Brown, DeNeen L. "The Black Power Salute that Rocked the World 50 Years Ago." *The Washington Post*. 16 October 2018.

*On the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Silent Gesture, this article summarizes the way that it remains relevant to this day. It draws connections between Smith and Carlos and athletes like Colin Kaepernick, who refused to stand during the national anthem.*

Burnton, Simon. "Stunning Olympic Moments: Tommie Smith and John Carlos Salute." *The Guardian*. 8 February 2012.

*This newspaper article shows that the Silent Gesture continues to resurface in news and media. Many decades later, people still learn of the Silent Gesture and its impact is still prominent. This article expands on the gesture's significance.*

Chamberlain, Craig. "Do Politics or Protests Have a Place in Sports?" *Illinois News Bureau*. 28 September 2017.

*This article debates the question of how politics should play a role in sports. It recounts the political protests that have occurred in sports in recent years and addresses several of the most prominent protests. This book helped me make connections between the critical response to the Silent Gesture in 1968 and the critical responses to political protests today.*

Clarey, Christopher. "In 2017, Many Athletes Found Their Voices." *New York Times*. 20 December 2017.

*This article describes the political protests of the year 2017. It increased my understanding of the Silent Gesture's connection to today by showing me the various ways that political protests have entered the sports arena and the tragedies of repercussion that always follow.*

Graham, Bryan Armen. "Donald Trump Blasts NFL Anthem Protesters: 'Get That Son of a B\*\*\*\* Off the Field.'" *The Guardian*. 23 September 2017.

*This article from the recent past shows that many people, including government officials, still find political gestures in sport to be inappropriate and disrespectful. For instance, President Donald Trump condemned athlete Colin Kaepernick for his actions on the football field: kneeling during the national anthem. Kaepernick suffered the tragedy of repercussions that parallels those of John Carlos and Tommie Smith.*

Johnk, Zach. "National Anthem Protests by Black Athletes Have a Long History." *New York Times*. 25 September 2017.

*This article compares modern day protests, like that of Colin Kaepernick, with Olympic protests, like those of John Carlos and Tommie Smith. The inspiration that Kaepernick drew from Smith and Carlos was evident, and both protests occurred to bring awareness to racial inequalities.*

Martin, Lori Latrice. "The Politics of Sports and Protest: Colin Kaepernick and the Practice of Leadership." *American Studies Journal*. 19 May 2018.

*This source is a biography of Colin Kaepernick and his involvement in political protests within the NFL. It recounts Kaepernick's triumph, as mass attention was directed towards his movement, but also the tragedy that accompanied it. This allowed me to understand Kaepernick's incorporation of politics into football.*

Smith, Erika D. "Smith: 'They Tried to Make it a Moment, but it Was a Movement.'" *Indianapolis Star*. 18 March 2015.

*Recounting the impact of the Silent Gesture, this article describes the way that the gesture reached many people across the world. The iconic image captured of Smith and Carlos left a lasting impression, which inspired generations to come.*

"Sports, Injustice, and Protest: Is There a Line to be Drawn?" *Hartford Courant*. 1 October 2017.

*This source questions the relationship between sports and protest and inquires whether the two should be kept in their own separate realms. It connects various political protests to one another and helped me in my analysis of the Silent Gesture. This article was beneficial in my research of modern sports.*

"The Power and Politics of Sports: Why Games Aren't Just Games Anymore." *University of Chicago Institute of Politics*. 2 January 2018.

*This newspaper article questions the purpose of sports as an environment to bring people together to root for a team. It introduces the idea that politics in sports divide people and are inappropriate to involve. This helped me understand the critical responses to the Silent Gesture and many of the critical responses to such protests today.*

## **PERIODICALS:**

Layden, Tim. "Fists of Fury." *Sports Illustrated*. 3 October 2018.

*Explaining how Tommie Smith and John Carlos left a major impact with the Silent Gesture, this article elaborates as to the way that the athletes' gloved fists still resonate 50 years later. The article also includes transcripts of interviews with the athletes, and photographs from the Games.*

Reilly, Rick. "Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf Caused an Uproar When He Sat Out the National Anthem." *Sports Illustrated*. 14 March 1996.

*Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf was a player for the Denver Nuggets in 1996 when he refused to stand attention for the national anthem. Abdul-Rauf followed the precedent set by Smith and Carlos, and demonstrated how the involvement of politics in sports always results in the triumph of representation and the tragedy of repercussion. Abdul-Rauf was suspended from the league and received great backlash. This article demonstrated some of these consequences and showed the parallels between this protest and the Silent Gesture.*

Rothschild, Richard. "Mexico '68: The Problem Games." *Sports Illustrated*. 12 October 2015.

*Providing a picture of the Mexico City Summer Games logos, this article summarizes the key events of the Games, including a new long jump record and, above all, the monumental Silent Gesture. Dubbed "The Problem Games," the 1968 Olympics were riddled with challenges.*

Zirin, Dave. "Resistance: The Best Olympic Spirit." *International Socialism*. 28 June 2012.

*This periodical describes the benefits to the athletes who decided to protest peacefully at the 1968 Games. Tommie Smith and John Carlos protested in the most noticeable way, while many other OPHR members chose smaller acts that weren't as recognized.*

### **PODCASTS:**

Bates, Karen Grigsby. "50 Years Later, Raised Fists During National Anthem Still Resonate." *National Public Radio*. 16 October 2018.

*People still recognize the Silent Gesture as a significant moment in Olympic history. This article discusses some of its long-lasting impacts and the fact that people still remember the triumph that was broadcast across the world.*

"Black Power Salute: Why it Matters Fifty Years On." *BBC Newsround*. 17 October 2018.

*Looking back on the Silent Gesture of 1968, this article describes its significance. In the midst of the most volatile times, the Silent Gesture raised awareness across the globe. This article elaborates on the impact on the gesture's fiftieth anniversary.*

Moffitt, Kelly. "Of Protest and Patriotism: A 1968 Gold Medalist Remembers the Games." *National Public Radio*. 12 October 2018.

*Melvin Pender, the roommate of John Carlos at the 1968 Olympic Games, and a gold medalist in the Men's 4x400 event, was interviewed in this article on National Public Radio. After reading this article, I realized that Dr. Pender's amazing story could very much contribute to the triumph of the Silent Gesture, which inspired me to reach out to him for an interview.*

"Runner John Carlos: No Regrets on Olympic Salute." *National Public Radio*. 7 December 2011.

*In this article, John Carlos shares that he harbors no regret for the gesture in 1968. Despite all the tragedies he and Tommie Smith faced, both athletes have shared that they would go back and do it all over again if they had to. This statement is a phenomenal*

*show of significance and impact that the gesture had, not only on the athletes, but on Americans who saw the gesture.*

### **WEBSITES:**

“Arthur Ashe Award.” *ESPYS*. 20 July 2008. <[www.espn.com/espys](http://www.espn.com/espys)>.

*Tommie Smith and John Carlos were the recipients of the Arthur Ashe Award at the 2008 ESPY awards. This award recognized the courageous stand that Smith and Carlos made in 1968, and it showed more positive acceptance towards the gesture 40 years later. The promotion of these types of recognition over television has also increased the receptiveness of the public. This website of the ESPYs helped me understand the importance of this award to these two athletes.*

Brantingham, Barney. “He Demanded Olympics Purity, But Not His Own: The Two Faces of Avery Brundage.” *Independent.com*. 3 January 2013. <[www.independent.com](http://www.independent.com)>.

*This article elaborated on Avery Brundage and how many of his actions would contradict his views. In this article, Brundage was called “Mr. Hypocrisy,” and was described as a bigoted and ruthless leader. His actions proved his words to have no merit, and he was thus not a respected leader, particularly among African-American and Jewish athletes, who Brundage regularly disparaged.*

Clash, James. “Interview: Sprinter John Carlos on His 1968 Black-Glove Olympic Protest.” *Huffington Post*. 5 July 2015. <[www.huffpost.com](http://www.huffpost.com)>.

*James Clash, whom I interviewed during my research, wrote this article after his own interview with John Carlos. Mr. Clash was a teenager during the Silent Gesture and watched it on television, which added context to his interview with Dr. Carlos. This article helped me draw inspiration for my interviews with Mr. Clash and Dr. Carlos.*

Zirin, Dave. “After Forty-Four Years, It’s Time Brent Musburger Apologized to John Carlos and Tommie Smith.” *The Nation.com*. 4 June 2012. <[www.thenation.com](http://www.thenation.com)>.

*This article advocates for an apology from sports journalist Brent Musburger, who wrote a newspaper article in 1968 calling Smith and Carlos “black-skinned stormtroopers.” Many articles disparaged the athletes in such ways. This article shows that now, over 50 years later, people are starting to realize how these comments were so tragic and unfair.*

Gershon, Livia. "How the Memphis Sanitation Strike Changed History." *JSTOR*. 9 February 2018. <daily.jstor.org>.

*Explaining the Memphis Sanitation Strike of February 1968, this website elaborated on some of the civil protests of the 1960s. I obtained several photographs of protesters through this article, particularly people holding the iconic "I am a man" signs of the decade.*

"October 16, 1968: Olympics Black Power Salute." *Zinn Education Project*. 16 October 2018. <www.zinnedproject.org>.

*This source acknowledges the Silent Gesture and its impact. It also explains how Smith and Carlos have faced more positive reception towards their gesture in modern times, with them receiving the ESPY award for courage. However, the Silent Gesture has still been met with criticism, and the athletes continue to face the tragedies of repercussion in their lives.*

Ortiz, Eric. "Cheerleader Kneels During National Anthem Before Thursday Game." *NBC News*. 1 November 2018. <www.nbcnews.com>.

*The protests by athletes today, like professional cheerleaders, demonstrate how the Silent Gesture has influenced many political movements even 50 years later. Athletes from the amateur level all the way to the professional level have decided to protest injustice in their own ways, just as Smith and Carlos did in 1968.*