

## **Playing for Power: The European Worker Sport Movement and the Seeds of the American Labour Sports Movement, 1919-1940**

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“At Vienna, there was a mass spectacle in which thousands upon thousands of Austrian trade unionists took part. It was staged in a huge stadium, with at least a quarter million people watching. I could not get it out of my mind—the mood it created of unity and hope, the friendship it built.”

—David Dubinsky, long-time Socialist Party member and leader of the International Ladies Garment Workers’ Union (ILGWU), 1931, on why he decided to throw the union’s weight behind building Labour Sports.<sup>1</sup>

“There is a broad sports movement. It depends very much on the help from public authorities. For instance, it is very expensive to maintain and establish gymnasiums. So it is natural within the sports movement, irrespective of politics and of economic and social connections of the sportlers, the demand for adequate free sports facilities would get mass support. It is surely much more valuable that our progressive sportlers are in the broad sports movement and bring thousands of other sportlers into political action for free municipal gymnasiums than it is to duplicate the actions of workers groups and other organizations.”

—Max Bedacht, General Secretary to the Enlarged Meeting of the National Executive Committee, communist-aligned International Workers Order, Hotel Latham, New York City, October 2nd, 1937.<sup>2</sup>

From the late 1930s until the early 1950s, a large Labour Sports movement existed in the United States, especially in unions under the leadership of socialists or communists. It is impossible to understand the Labour Sports Movement outside of this wider global context because Labour Sports in the United States were directly linked to the widespread democratic, socialist, working-class Worker Sport movement in Europe, through both individuals and organizations. Worker Sport in Eu-

rope sought to recentre sports as something to build working-class identity, comradeship, and health as opposed to profit-driven, hierarchical, exclusionary sports. Americans with knowledge of Worker Sport sought to establish similar institutions in the United States even though the results were ultimately quite different. Labour Sports was inspired by Worker Sport, and so to understand the Labour Sports movement in the United States, one must begin with the European Worker Sport movement. Organizers of American left-wing sporting events prior to the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) largely sought to create a wing of Worker Sport in the United States, albeit with limited success until the rise of the CIO. By the end of the 1930s, hundreds of thousands of working-class people participated in American Labour Sports, these events were held by Socialist and Communist athletic organizers. By the end of the 1940s, the number had risen to the millions.<sup>3</sup>

Worker Sport in Europe was a project that sought to create a strong sports culture centred around socialist politics. The worker sports clubs that dotted Europe were affiliated with either socialists or communists through the 1920s and 1930s, establishing a booming working-class counterculture in opposition to bourgeois sports. The movement's bases of member density were in Central Europe in Austria, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Scandinavia (especially Finland), but also France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, along with a similar state-run "physical culture" movement in the Soviet Union.<sup>4</sup> Worker Sport was divided into competing sports federations. The largest federation was the Socialist Worker Sport International (SASI) affiliated with the Socialists/Social Democrat Party, with its leading spokesperson an Austrian Social Democratic party and militia leader, as well as sobriety societies activist Julius Deutsch. Rivaling the SASI was the smaller Communist-affiliated Red Sport International (RSI), also called the Sportintern (officially the International Association of Red Sports and Gymnastics Associations), closely aligned with the Comintern in Moscow, but with large strongholds in German cities like Berlin and Cologne.<sup>5</sup> These two organizations worked in parallel to build socialist, anti-fascist, working-class sports federations. However, they did not cooperate, and instead worked independently of one another through the 1920s and into the early 1930s.

I will analyze this relationship by looking at the type of clubs that each federation established and the differences between how the larger SASI and the smaller RSI operated, while examining the mass events that they organized. Worker Sport events eclipsed mainstream "bourgeois sports,"<sup>6</sup> peaking at the massive Vienna Workers' Olympics in 1931, before fascists rose to power in the left-wing strongholds of Austria and Germany. One of the fascists' first targets for destruction was Worker Sport, which forced the two federations to re-align into an alliance and cooperate over the next few years as part of the Communist-led anti-fascist Popular Front movement. With the fall of Czechoslovakia and then the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, Worker Sport was largely dismantled and dis-

banded by the new fascist authorities throughout Europe. However, the seeds of Worker Sport had already been planted in the United States during the interwar period through cross-Atlantic relationships between socialist organizations and would eventually bloom as Labour Sports, just as Worker Sport in Europe was being crushed by fascist repression after the Nazis and other similar fascist movements came to power across Europe, or were conquered by fascists in the opening stages of the Second World War.

This article also demonstrates the direct links between Worker Sport in Europe and American left-wing militants. It was not simply that American radicals were inspired by reports of European Worker Sport; instead, they experienced Worker Sport mass events themselves. Documentation of SASI shows that representatives from American athletic delegations attended every international SASI Worker Sport event from 1925 through at least 1936, as well as several large regional events. Though small, these delegations point to American athletic delegations' continued interest in international socialist-oriented events. Communist-aligned athletics and socialist-aligned athletics mostly worked independently, before joining an unstable alliance during the Popular Front of the later 1930s.

In 1931 the Socialist-dominated ILGWU embraced the vision of Worker Sport after its leadership attended the Vienna Workers' Olympics, calling their version Labour Sports. This is the moment Labour Sports began as a distinctive movement in the United States. American left-wing sports activists discovered, through trial and error, that building an affiliation with the Labour Sports movement through mass unions, as opposed to political party affiliated clubs, was much more effective in the United States. At its height, from the late 1930s to the early 1950s, the Labour Sports movement presented a real alternative to both apolitical and conservative sports and involved millions of working-class people as participants. It was a key part of improving the lives of average Americans and helped build an anti-racist, anti-fascist, working-class counterculture that helped change the United States through a strong labour movement which brought higher living standards for working class people and the end of racial segregation in sports. This helped kickstart the Civil Rights movement. Building an alternative sports culture was influenced and inspired by the European-based Worker Sport movement. At first, leftist sports organizers made it their mission to build an American wing of the movement. These left-wing militants would become part of the massive organizing upsurge and brought their experiences into the CIO. Those militants created a similar yet separate left-wing sports movement in Labour Sports. They built the Labour Sports movement to spearhead the labour recreational programs movement and win the battle over how workers would use their free time. Labour Sports were, of all the recreation programs built by unions during this period, easily the most popular of these programs and the most involved.<sup>7</sup>

The early efforts of American radicals to organize a left-wing sports culture through the inspiration of Worker Sport. Both in socialist circles and commu-

nist circles in the United States, attempts to emulate the Worker Sport movements, both individual clubs and larger federations, proceeded with limited success. American Socialist Party members, Communist Party members, and their respective fellow travelers organized delegations to travel to SASI and RSI events. As rivals, they generally organized their sports organizations separately and in competition with one another. Socialist circles attempted to extend the reach of the SASI to socialist-aligned clubs, but mostly maintained the networks of ethnic athletic clubs and its youth organization, the Youth People's International League. Separately, communist circles organized the Labour Sports Union more forcefully and directly from 1927-38 as a national umbrella organization for communist-aligned athletic clubs and leagues. Although Communist athletics were limited to left-wing enclaves by the sharp rhetoric of the "Third Period" and its purity politics, they did help create institutional memory for Communist Party organizers on how to organize left-wing sports.<sup>8</sup> Those experiences made Communist-aligned militants the most effective militant sports organizers in the ensuing Popular Front years as the CIO-affiliated unions and attached Labour Sports gained ascendancy. To summarize, the cross-pollination and sometimes rivalries of Socialist and Communist Worker Sport organizers in Europe helped inspire American radical sports organizers to organize Labour Sports. This manifestation of Labour Sports was to be a working-class, participatory, democratic one which could present real alternatives to sports as a simple consumer institution for conservative values.

How did Labour Sports in the United States grow to hundreds of thousands of clubs and into the millions? Leftist sports in the United States were exceedingly limited from the late 1920s until the early 1930s, especially in comparison to Catholic athletic organizations, company sports, or grassroots sports. Socialist Party strongholds in the needle trade unions, in particular the ILGWU, the first union to begin operating large athletic programs in the United States, proved to be a critical link between small leftist athletics and the larger mass working-class sports participation that enabled militants to use sports to affect mass social change in the 1930s and 1940s, and build a truly anti-racist, anti-fascist working-class sports culture. So how did the Americans build that bridge? To understand how the bridge was constructed, we must first turn to the popular Worker Sport movement in Europe and then look at how Worker Sport inspired American radicals to implement what they hoped would be the American wing of the movement.

### **Worker Sport in Europe**

We begin not in the small leftist circles of United States urban immigrant communities, but in the heart of Europe with the European Worker Sport movement. While the term can be translated a few ways, I choose to go with "Worker Sport" in the style of the prominent independent writer on the subject, Gabriel Kuhn, though it is a translation of various languages, including German, Czech, French, Dutch, Russian, Latvian, and more. It could easily be translated as "Workers'

Sports,” “Proletarian Sports,” “Labour Sport,” or similar terms. Communists usually used “Physical Culture” to refer to sporting organizations in the Soviet Union (and later in other Communist countries), and reserved Worker Sport for organizations that competed with the Socialists. English translations of the era used variations of Worker Sport when talking about Europe, but generally referred to leftist sports in the United States as “Labour Sports,” whether talking about specific leftist, ethnic, fraternal organizations, party-affiliated front groups or leagues, or union-affiliated sports. When referring to Worker Sport, I am referring to the SASI and the Communist affiliated RSI. They operated as two rival federations of Worker Sport in Europe until cooperation began in earnest during the Popular Front era in the latter half of the 1930s. Though on the ground, individual SASI or RSI clubs differed little from each other in actual organization, the SASI tended to give more autonomy to sports clubs to develop anti-authoritarian militant tendencies, while the RSI tended to have reverence towards the Soviet Union and its symbols and policies, clearly taking directives from Moscow.<sup>9</sup>

In this competitive atmosphere of vying for the loyalty of working-class men and women against not only the newly formed Communist Party but also against increasingly violent fascist movements, the Socialists proved to have an organizing edge when they established counter-institutions. The original socialist sports international was formed in 1913 just prior to the First World War in Europe, and Socialists re-established a leftist sport international out of the older grassroots socialist clubs for working-class people. The goal of the Socialists was always to provide access to recreation for those with few resources. These socialist sports stood in opposition to mainstream amateur sports clubs that demanded high fees. These socialist sports organizers also criticized the practice in many sports clubs that saw entire professions, such as factory workers, barred from joining amateur clubs.<sup>10</sup> The SASI was formed by the Socialists to build upon existing socialist affiliated parties throughout Europe and proved to be much more successful at presenting a real working-class counterculture to the existing elitist sports structures than the communists in Europe.<sup>11</sup> SASI grew very quickly, as it brought the various socialist athletic clubs which had existed prior to the war into one social democratic aligned sports International to coordinate and build a larger international anti-capitalist sports culture, which allowed them to build sporting events that were conscious of class.<sup>12</sup> Partly in response to SASI and partly as an outgrowth of the Soviet Union’s state-sponsored sports societies, the RSI was established to build a separate communist sports federation that would compete with social democratic clubs for the loyalty of working-class people similarly to unions and other popular organizations.<sup>13</sup>

Worker Sport was diverse and varied in strength across Europe. In Germany during the Weimer years, for instance, SASI Worker Sport clubs had over a million members, dwarfing the RSI worker sport clubs.<sup>14</sup> Austrian Worker Sport clubs were a basis of political power for the Social Democrats in Vienna, along with

self-defense paramilitaries and sobriety organizations.<sup>15</sup> Czech gymnastic worker sport groups became the basis of numerous socialist clubs that helped propel the SASI to widespread popularity in Prague as early as 1919.<sup>16</sup> In Amsterdam, on

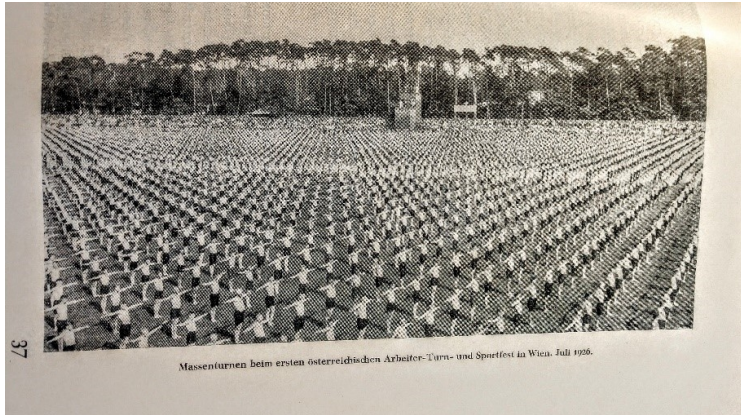


Fig. 1. Workers Sport Gathering in Vienna, 1926. International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam. Public Domain.

the other hand, the rising “Water Friends” SASI swimming clubs proved to be enormously popular for working class people who had previously been barred from swimming clubs.<sup>17</sup> At movement’s height, the SASI and the RSI extended their reach from their Central European strongholds to France, the Netherlands, Britain, Scandinavia, and into the Baltic countries, with strong SASI-affiliated boxing clubs in Riga, Latvia during its interwar independence.<sup>18</sup> While one did not need to be a committed socialist or communist to join these Worker Sport clubs, the participatory athletic clubs open to working-class people created a source of power for both social democratic and communist parties. That power helped swell class consciousness in labour unions, which helped the left-wing grow stronger throughout Europe.<sup>19</sup>

### Workers’ Olympics

The SASI, in addition to linking these proletarian sports clubs across the continent and providing both a way to participate in recreational sports and competition for workers while regularly staging huge regional athletic meets, also sponsored Workers’ Olympics in opposition to the International Olympic Committee (IOC)-directed official Olympics. Criticizing the IOC Olympics as elitist, conservative in their adherence to national governments, and slow to include women in its events, the SASI convened three alternative Workers’ Olympics in 1925, 1931, and 1937. These mass

events were much more participatory and inclusive than the IOC events. For example, two of the SASI's three events were more popular than the IOC Olympics that occurred during the same period—both in terms of attendance and athletic participation. That was mostly because the point was not which nation could win

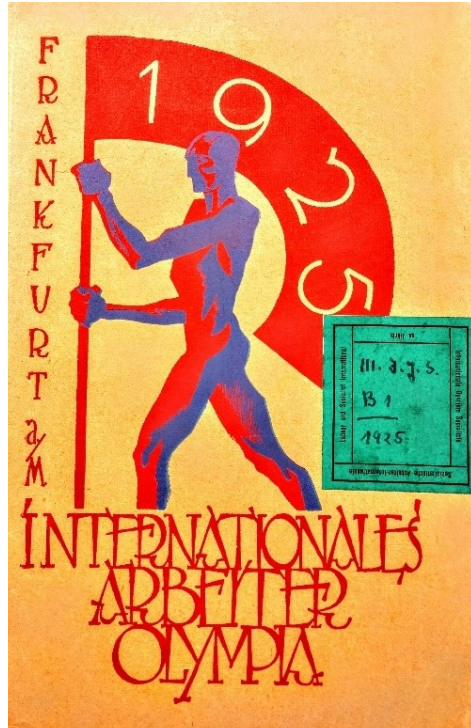


Fig. 2. Frankfurt Workers Olympics. International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam. Public Domain.

the most medals, but, instead, to encourage comradery and solidarity as a way of building international bonds of working-class unity. After an unofficial athletic meeting in Prague in 1921, the First Workers' Olympics in Frankfurt, Germany were a resounding success as thousands of worker-athletes and spectators attended, which helped propel the SASI as a legitimate alternative sports federation to the IOC, dedicated to building a more cooperative and accessible sports culture.<sup>20</sup> The SASI organizers established additional regional athletic gatherings—one in 1926 in Cologne, and another in Prague in 1927.<sup>21</sup>

The second official Worker Olympics occurred in 1931 in “Red” Vienna, the centre of power of the Austro-Marxists.<sup>22</sup> Vienna proved to be an excellent

choice as a host city, for it was a major centre of working-class power in Central Europe, and manifested itself into a feisty, anti-capitalist, radical mass counterculture on the ground, with a multitude of workers' clubs that wanted to create a new world of total equality and democracy from a united working-class movement.<sup>23</sup> The 1931 Worker Olympics were the high water mark for Worker Sport, attracting 100,000 athletes and 250,000 spectators—much larger numbers than the 1932 Los Angeles IOC Olympics with 1408 athletes and 100,000 spectators.<sup>24</sup> Delegations from across Europe and beyond attended mass spectacles of handball, soccer, gymnastics, track, and more.<sup>25</sup> To the casual observer, it seemed that Worker Sport and its socialist affiliates, backed by a militant labour movement in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, would likely cement itself as the dominant social order and dismantle capitalist institutions of exclusion, particularly in recreational sports.<sup>26</sup> A participatory socialist alternative to the Soviet Union was being realized on the ground because of events like these, pulling the social democratic leadership of affiliated parties along rather than being dictated from the top-down. With ten years of successful counterinstitution building, Worker Sport seemed like the future to both leftists and intellectuals of sport.<sup>27</sup>



Fig. 3. 1931 Vienna Workers' Olympics. International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam. Public Domain.

Of course, Worker Sport was not a united movement. The communist-affiliated RSI were organized as a rival to the SASI in 1921. While at first not under



Moscow's control, within a few years the RSI was closely tied to the Soviet Union and the Comintern. Never as large as the SASI, the RSI (Sportintern and Comintern) did manage to build a sizeable presence outside the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union, a large sports infrastructure was founded on widespread participation—the famous Dynamo physical sporting club even had ties to the Soviet secret police. Elsewhere, Czech Communists set up scouting organizations for youth, and French Communists set up bicycling clubs.<sup>28</sup> Additionally, at the height of the Third Period (1927-34), two summer “Spartakiad”<sup>29</sup> games were staged that welcomed Communists from all over the world, the first in 1928 in Moscow and the second in the German Communist stronghold of Berlin in 1931.<sup>30</sup> RSI sought to build separate worker events from both the conservative IOC Olympics and the SASI Workers’ Olympics.<sup>31</sup> The literature of the RSI was translated into multiple languages across Europe, and physical trainers were brought to Moscow to be taught how to build their version of Worker Sport. Though the Soviet Union itself was largely internationally isolated in the 1920s and often even teams from outside the Soviet Union had trouble obtaining documentation to travel to the Soviet Union for games, their attempts at building a “socialist sport” continued, aimed at access rather than hard competition, which continued through the New Economic Era of the Soviet Union.<sup>32</sup>



Fig. 4. Anti-fascist Austrian Worker Sport Publication. International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam. Public Domain.

### **Repression of Worker Sport**

Unfortunately, both leftist sporting federations were targeted by the fascists and Nazis in Germany and Austria during the 1930s. Partly in reaction to the rise of worker power and anti-communist sentiment by the rural middle class, fascist movements often battled with both Social Democrats and Communist paramilitaries founded in sports clubs. However, even though their members on the ground sounded warnings as loudly as they could about the growing fascist menace that sought to destroy the institutions they had spent decades building, the Social Democrats were slow to act, and the Communists refused to cooperate with any non-communist leftists organizations.<sup>33</sup> When the Nazis rose to power in 1933 in Germany, one of their first acts was to disband the SASI worker sport organizations, sending the leaders to concentration camps and banning most of the membership from joining athletic organizations.<sup>34</sup> The Nazis believed that if there was going to be armed resistance to their rule, one of the centres of resistance would be the Worker Sport clubs because nearly one million people belonged to member clubs. To the Nazis, it was necessary to consolidate their rule by quickly moving against the German SASI and RSI clubs.<sup>35</sup>

The Nazis' move against German Worker Sport was part of their efforts to defang their opponents. As we can see in Austria, the militant SASI worker sport clubs were indeed enmeshed with sobriety clubs that explicitly encouraged the development of anti-fascist militias. Only in 1933, as the fascists and Nazis in Austria were emboldened by Italy to the south and Germany to the north, with streams of German political refugees trickling into Austria, did the danger become clear to SASI leadership in Red Vienna, the site only a few years prior to the mass celebration of Worker Sport counterculture. The Austromarxist militias readied themselves for the coming battle over the course of 1933, loudly proclaiming the need for the working class to unite against the fascist onslaught that had just enveloped Germany.<sup>36</sup> In order to defend themselves, sports clubs now took to arms to defend the Socialism they had built in Red Vienna.<sup>37</sup>

In 1934, as the Social Democratic leadership of Austria fell into crisis, the SASI militant clubs mobilized into fighting formation. Led by Julius Deutsch, the longtime organizer and President of the SASI, the Austrian anti-fascists fought bitterly for control of Austria before being overwhelmed. As in Germany, to defang the Socialist labour movement of Red Vienna and paint it with the new Austrofascist colours, leaders of the Social Democrats and Communists were arrested. In rural parts of Austria, Austrian Nazis were also arrested, since they were opponents of a fascist Austria even as an independent nation.<sup>38</sup> The Austrian and German Worker Sport organizations continued to operate in exile, out of Prague, where they published German-language Worker Sport newspapers tied explicitly to the anti-fascist struggle as a beacon of hope to their supporters now living under fascist rule. Czech SASI comrades took in their exiled colleagues and together they continued organizing Worker Sport athletic events in Czechoslovakia.<sup>39</sup>

Julius Deutsch began his exile in Prague. But as a Jewish Austrian, he again fled before the Nazi takeover in 1938-39, first to France until its 1940 defeat in the Second World War, and then to the United States for the duration of the war. Worker Sport continued even as its membership dwindled in the late 1930s, giving the now-rising Labour Sports movement in the United States both inspiration and potential models for organizing similar clubs in the US. Even during the repression of Worker Sport in Europe, links between the two movements were maintained during both the cancelled People's Olympics in Barcelona in 1936, and the Worker Olympics in Antwerp in 1937. Worker Sport in Europe would not die without inspiring the anti-racist, anti-fascist working-class sports culture in the United States, both through official communications and the exchange of athletes through the Second International and the Comintern.

Even as these catastrophes occurred, the Communists were slow to deviate from their Third Period position against working with Socialists and Social Democrats. Popular mobilization did not occur even as Germany and Austria fell to the Nazis, where most social democratic and communist party members were sentenced to concentration camps, summary execution, or exile. Even as this transpired, the RSI was busy writing manifestos condemning the SASI for their defeat in both countries and arguing that only the RSI could effectively mobilize workers to fight the fascists.<sup>40</sup> By the end of 1934, however, the Comintern were beginning to reverse the party line. In 1935, this new party line took shape as the Popular Front, which ceased inflammatory attacks on leftist rivals and began seeking alliances with leftists, liberals, and sometimes even conservatives as long as they were anti-fascist and could work amicably with Communists. Quickly, two Popular Front governments formed from leftist alliances that came to power in France and Spain where the Worker Sport movement found temporary refuge. The RSI followed the Comintern's Popular Front party line in 1935 and initiated efforts to cooperate with the SASI. Finally, the remnants of the SASI and the RSI worked in concert to build a third Workers' Olympics, though maintaining their independent organizations. In 1935, they called for the next Worker Sport mass gathering in Antwerp in 1937, as the remaining Worker Sport movement was now concentrated in France, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia, though still with a strong Czech worker-sport-affiliated gymnastics presence.

### **Americans in Worker Sport**

Despite the high cost of travel and the distance between North America and Europe, American athletes regularly attended Worker Sport mass gatherings, which was a key influence on the later United States-based Labour Sports.<sup>41</sup> Socialist Party of America-affiliated delegations appeared at nearly every SASI mass event in the 1920s and 1930s. In addition, various diaspora communities in the United States maintained their leftist contacts in Europe, exchanging ideas and people. Though the United States government ended most legal European immigration in 1921,

contact between radical communities on both sides of the Atlantic was maintained. The Socialist Party of America regularly sent delegates to the Socialist/Social Democratic Second International and its successors during the interwar period.<sup>42</sup> Because party members also operated socialist ethnic athletic clubs throughout North America, when the Worker Sport movement became solidified in Europe, the Socialist Party of America could draw on those diasporas to send athletes across the ocean.

The American athletic delegations were much smaller than other national delegations at SASI mass events. The reasons for those small delegations came down to the cost and length of traveling to Europe when airfare was still relatively inaccessible to working-class people. Additionally, the simple fact that the American left in general was less organized and weaker than the European Left helps to account for this small presence.<sup>43</sup> However, the fact that the Americans attended these monstrous gatherings for proletarian sports meant that not only did some American athletic organizers not only hear about the potentials of Worker Sport, but also experienced it first-hand for themselves. For the sports-obsessed United States, socialist organizers saw the boundless potential of Worker Sport in an American context, if the right organization could put it into practice there. And indeed, as Worker Sport was drowned by the rapidly rising fascist tide in Europe in the 1930s, Labour Sports—which had been inspired by Worker Sport—grew to become a mass movement in the United States.

American Socialists were comfortable with returning to Europe because many who traveled to Socialist International meetings in the 1920s were themselves immigrants. However, this travel and the informal affiliations are difficult to track. Though the official SASI membership rolls always listed American total strength in the hundreds, as opposed to hundreds of thousands, even millions of members in European countries, American involvement was likely underestimated because many were involved in micro-Worker Sport movements in the United States in the 1920s.<sup>44</sup> That is, many of the ethnic socialist athletic clubs in the United States did not formally affiliate with the party or the international body but maintained a sort of “fellow traveler” culture in either socialist or communist circles, which is more difficult to track than formal affiliation.<sup>45</sup> Most SASI documents on the United States report simply on New York City socialist clubs, ignoring the existence of workers’ athletics outside the city where concrete numbers are not available. This was probably because SASI’s main point of contact with the United States was through individual New York Socialist Party immigrants, who themselves could not arrive at an exact total number of radical left athletic organizations operating in the United States.<sup>46</sup> When Labour Sports began rapidly expanding with the growth of the US labour movement in the early years of the New Deal around 1933-35, and then explosively growing with the CIO organizing drives of 1936-40, it followed the same pattern. Instead of being affiliated with political parties or an international organization, as in Europe, Labour Sports would instead identify with their particular union within the CIO’s hodgepodge of Socialist, Communist, Catholic, and

conservative trade unionists—this mixture often differed depending on the union and even the locals within CIO unions.

International links between Communists are a bit easier to track than those of Socialists, given the hierarchical nature of both Communist Party structures and the Comintern. The Labor Sports Union (LSU), founded in 1927, was intended to be the RSI section in the United States, with the project of building a Communist Worker Sport in the United States. It operated as the national umbrella organization for Communist sports clubs and leagues throughout the United States, divided by districts. The organization was responsible for hosting regional and national gatherings and tournaments, and the districts would set up leagues of affiliated clubs in sports with the most participation and support (most often soccer).<sup>47</sup> The LSU was limited in the United States by the bombastic Third Period rhetoric, though it did manage to build a fair number of communist-linked athletic and sports clubs.<sup>48</sup> In 1928, the LSU circulated a pamphlet that outlined its founding principles. In this pamphlet, regular rhetoric used in the Third Period and the Labor Sports Union reveals that where everyone that did not support the Communists were considered supporters of capitalism:

At the present time sports and athletics in the United States are characterized by the fact that the bosses strive to destroy the workers sports movement and to put it in the services of their own class interests what, in a considerable extent, has already been achieved by them. In putting the sports under their control and domination the bosses strive to influence and control the minds of the workers in general and working youth in particular in the furtherance of their interests.<sup>49</sup>

The first documentation of American delegates in attendance at a Worker Sport event appears as early as the 1925 Frankfurt Worker Olympics, the first such event organized by the SASI. Amongst images of various teams marching, some with club banners and some with flags, photographs depict American delegates carrying a flag and a banner that identified themselves.<sup>50</sup>

In 1926, at the meet which took place at the leftist stronghold of Cologne, an American team of gymnasts attended the event amongst a sea of their European comrades.<sup>51</sup> A larger American delegation attended the SASI athletic meeting in Prague in 1927, carrying the American flag as well as the banner of the Falcons, the Socialist Youth club.<sup>52</sup> They participated in the opening ceremonies and appeared in a few foot races amongst the thousands of other participants.<sup>53</sup> In 1932 in Chicago, American Communists organized a somewhat poorly put together Counter-Olympics to the mainstream Los Angeles Olympics, which gave red sports organizers valuable lessons for the future, such as how to appeal to a broader audience, and what kind of organizing work needed to be done to truly get Labour Sports off the ground from a small sectarian desert.<sup>54</sup>



Fig. 5. American Delegation at the Prague Worker Sport Meeting. International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam. Public Domain.

In what was supposed to be a show of force for the Labor Sports Union's mobilization power, the organization staged their answer to the bourgeois 1932 Los Angeles Olympics with the Counter-Olympics in Chicago. The Counter-Olympics, officially called the "International Workers Olympics," staged street runs to draw crowds and drew a fair amount of public notice despite the Amateur Athletic Union barring any affiliated athlete from participating. While the LSU hoped to use the event to attract masses of working-class people to the organization, it only managed to attract a total membership of 5000 by the end of the year. While an impressive event with 400 athletes in attendance, including 100 Black athletes, and nearly 5000 fans watching, it was not nearly as large as the Communist organizers hoped and did not overshadow the Los Angeles Olympics, nor did it mean that the LSU would suddenly grow out of its Third Period isolation. While the LSU hoped it would become a force in American sports and, by extension, help the party's influence grow in the labour movement, the fact that the most popular sport in the LSU was still soccer suggests that it was mostly gaining traction in older immigrant communities as opposed to the masses of American workers.<sup>55</sup>

### **The Next Generation: Socialist and Communist Youth Sports**

The Norman Thomas campaign inspired rapid growth in the Socialist Party.<sup>56</sup> However, the organization was divided between its old-guard labour union leadership

that focused on electoralism and bread-and-butter issues, especially in the garment unions, and its youth wing in the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL), which favoured militant direct action and organization building through social relationships forged in theater, dances, singing groups, and sports. The YPSL grew rapidly along with the SP from the late 1920s through the late 1930s, incorporating sports into almost all of their social functions and mass gatherings, and recommending sports as a way to attract new members in their literature.<sup>57</sup> The YPSL realized that it was not enough to simply join pickets and hold lectures and reading groups, but maintaining that being a member of a socialist organization should be *fun*.

The Great Depression invigorated YPSL with new membership as there was a commonly-held belief that the stock market crash and national banking failures signaled the end of capitalism. As the Socialist Party rebounded with its relatively moderate and thoroughly American organization—as opposed to the sectarian Third Period Communists—the YPSL organized chapters all over Northern and Midwestern American cities. Lacking facilities of their own, YPSL relied on other organizations within Socialist Party circles, such as ethnic fraternal organizations or union halls, to host their dances or basketball games.<sup>58</sup> In order to compete with the reactionary Boy Scouts, they began a Red Falcons organization, which was intended to be a socialist Boy Scouts, with sports listed as one of their main activities.<sup>59</sup> In YPSL's internal organization memos, they regularly listed athletics as one of the main sources of interest amongst its membership.<sup>60</sup> While the YPSL never organized their own leagues and seemed to mainly play athletics in a pickup fashion without set teams, sports had definitely come to play a key role in the lexicon of youth organizing.

By 1931, the YPSL had grown large enough to host national gatherings, including in the Socialist Party administration of Reading, PA.<sup>61</sup> From July 12 to 13 1931, they hosted a national conference and “jamboree” where they interspersed discussions and speakers on education, anti-war activism, and labour with recreation like dances, fish-fries, barbecues, singing, and athletics. In fact, organizers reserved July 13, entirely for fun, which allowed attendees to play two baseball games.<sup>62</sup> In the first game, the New York and Milwaukee YPSL branches played against each other before playing against the Reading's Socialist Party's baseball team. The Reading Socialist team itself was established in order to facilitate public use of athletic fields run by the city, and would later compete in a Socialist-run league. Building upon the success of the jamboree, YPSL hosted an International Socialist Youth Day for specific Workers Gymnastics clubs from around the city on October 3, 1931 in New York City.<sup>63</sup> They further advertised Socialist-run youth camps.<sup>64</sup> Even as late as 1940, when the Socialist Party as an organization was falling apart, the YPSL was still making athletics as an organizational priority for basic recruitment and recreation:

The playgrounds and recreational centers represent a most

important section for agitation and contact work—more so because of the closing of other channels. The sandlot leagues organized in such sports as baseball, basketball and football represent a large reservoir of militant youth. The formation of YPSL teams not only serves the purpose of intimate contact with large bodies of youth on the basis of common interests but also provides invaluable exercise for the health of our members. Such teams must be organized immediately so we may reap the benefits of such contact work in the short period left us.<sup>65</sup>

However, the Communists had some built-in advantages. There was a natural feeling of being on the correct side of history, the inevitability of the Soviet systems triumph, and the general ignorance of the horrors of Stalinist terror by the rank-and-file party members.<sup>66</sup> For those looking to act in response to the failures of capitalism evident during the Great Depression, it would be easy to get involved in an organization which was already very active in tenant eviction battles, labour unions, and at the forefront of early fights against Jim Crow in the United States. For many new recruits, this was the difference between a victim and a fighter. In major urban environments like New York City or Chicago, Communists could achieve critical mass where they could affect social change, even as an organization which at its height had only 75,000 members nationwide, again largely concentrated in major cities.<sup>67</sup>

By 1927, the Communists had embraced the idea that recreation should now be incorporated into their programs, expanding beyond the Wobbly songs, to include sports. For instance, at the July-August 1927 Winlock School for Young Workers in Washington State athletics were considered integral to recruiting young people into the party fold by the Young Workers League, the youth wing of the Communist Party. It was noted in the Winlock School yearbook by the organizers that the Finnish Federation of the Pacific Northwest included athletics and therefore so should the Communist youth organizations. As such, during the summer school, organizers planned baseball and boxing. However, these plans were poorly executed, which limited official events to pole-vaulting and jumping, while boxing was reduced to friendly fist fights. It was understood that youth organizations of the Communists needed to always have athletic committees for both recruitment and building comradeship, an idea which finally bloomed in the Popular Front era across Communist-led organizations.<sup>68</sup>

Labour Sports would quickly thrive in this now active culture of big-tent anti-fascism of leftists and liberals. One question remains: how did the Popular Front alliance produce such a cohesive model for Labour Sports so quickly, when it had been limited and unorganized, what was supposed to be an American wing of Worker Sport? One of the long-time strongholds of the Socialist Party, the In-



ternational Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), embraced Labour Sports and built an envious recreation department with athletics and theater as its signature programs. Emerging from brutal labour union civil wars in the 1920s, leaders of the ILGWU attended the 1931 Workers' Olympics in Vienna, a result of their relationship with prominent Socialists from their international contacts. They set about using the union's resources to engage with sports at the same time that the organization of mass labour movements entered a new period of possibilities, in which their union's Labour Sports program provided a bridge between sectarian isolated left-wing sports and the mass Labour Sports movement of the CIO.

Importantly, an American delegation attended and participated in the massive Vienna Workers Olympics in 1931. The Vienna Workers outstripped the Los Angeles Olympics in popularity and attendance. Moreover, longtime Socialist and rising leader of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union David Dubinsky was not only in attendance but came away impressed by how the games appealed to the masses. He ordered the ILGWU to ramp up its athletic programs. This order constituted the direct pollination of Worker Sport in Europe to Labour Sports in the United States, encouraging the growth of small Socialist and Communist sports organizations in the United States. During the Popular Front Years, American delegations included both Communist and Socialist athletes. One such American delegation witnessed the fatal wound to the Worker Sport movement. In 1936 Barcelona, the People's Olympics turned out to be one of the last anti-fascist international sports games.

Earl Browder, the longtime leader of the Communist Party of America during the Third Period, Popular Front, and World War II, estimated that of the 49,000 recruits from 1930 through 1934, the CP only retained a third of its members.<sup>69</sup> Such a high attrition level meant that only the most dedicated activists were able to stay involved, often within the same neighbourhoods. CP members would have intermingling social lives. Their children would play together and, despite the efforts of the Party to establish workplace branches, most gravitated to neighbourhood branches as social institutions.<sup>70</sup> Many activists were never able to leave the Communist Party because their entire life revolved around the party. Dissent from Party leadership was not tolerated, as discipline against Party enemies (whether they be Capitalists, Fascists, or rival left groups) was valued above all else:

The party's internal structure included no effective institutional channels for reevaluation. Public dissent was regarded as a breach of discipline punishable by expulsion; private dissent could brand a member as unreliable, or bring charges of factionalism, also punishable by expulsion... There was one other deterrent to any kind of honest reevaluation of recent policies: any criticism of the

party's political line would logically extend to criticism of the Comintern and the Soviet leadership, a step that remained unthinkable for most Communists....<sup>71</sup>

### **Witness to a Fascist Insurrection: The American Delegation to the People's Olympics in Barcelona, 1936**

The SASI and RSI tried to counter the now large stage that the Nazis had procured with the looming 1936 Berlin Olympics. At first the organizations concentrated on pressuring the IOC to cancel the Berlin Olympics in Nazi Germany. When that failed, the SASI and RSI called for protest games, and organized an attempt to have the People's Olympics in Barcelona, Spain. The Worker Sport organizations were able to assemble an impressive array of anti-fascist athletes. Yet it became obvious by June 1936 that their goal of cancelling the Nazi Olympics would fail. The newly elected Popular Front government in Spain offered an other option: an alternative international anti-fascist sports event to be organized by what was left of the SASI and the RSI.<sup>72</sup> Quickly, the other newly elected European Popular Front government in France announced it would offer 1,500 athletes, 500,000 francs, and endorsements from the Socialist Prime Minister Leon Blum, which would allow the "People's Olympics" to occur the third such socialist Olympiad was announced. These games were scheduled for July 19-26 in Barcelona.<sup>73</sup>

Meanwhile, American activists organized the Committee for Fair Play in Sports as an early Popular Front organization that brought together both Communist Party activists from the Labor Sports Union and Socialist Party activists from the ILGWU in New York City.<sup>74</sup> Formerly bitter rivals, the two organizations were temporarily cooperating to counter the fascist winds that had blown over much of Central Europe and now threatened Spain, China, and Ethiopia.<sup>75</sup> The Committee for Fair Play's main goal was to oppose the Nazi-hosted Berlin Olympics and, if possible, pressure the IOC to move the Olympics elsewhere or cancel them altogether.<sup>76</sup>

There was some hesitation amongst the Committee over its ability to field such a collection of athletes. After some debate, the Committee decided to recruit a team at a meeting on June 25, 1936.<sup>77</sup> A special Committee for Barcelona People's Olympiad was formed and assembled a team of athletes from both the Communist and Socialist athletic worlds, plus two athletes who were sympathetic to the burgeoning labour sports movement and anti-Nazi organizing.<sup>78</sup>

As the American athletes toured the facilities of the Olympics, they marveled at Montjuich Stadium. The stadium was the largest to hold the People's Olympics, seating 72,000 people, much greater than the Vienna People's Olympics of 1931, even though the total athletic participation was smaller because of both the hastiness of the organizing and the loss of many German and Austrian comrades to the SASI and RSI.<sup>79</sup> Labor Sports Union track champion Myron Dickes summed up the delegation's thoughts: "We were bound by a common spirit, a belief

in workers' sport."<sup>80</sup> As foreign athletes flooded into Barcelona, mixing with the working-class militias and unions, they did notice some tension in the air, wondering whether opponents of the new government would seek to disrupt the events.<sup>81</sup> The presence of participants in the stadium led to an amazing sensation of fraternal internationalism, and strengthened the display of unity of the games. The spirit of the event was intended to build understanding and international solidarity against fascism, especially because Hitler planned to use the Berlin Olympics as a propaganda tool for his regime.<sup>82</sup> Alas, it was not to be. On the day that the People's Olympiad was to begin, military units stationed in the city joined in revolt against the Popular Front government and began attacking union halls and workers' militias throughout Barcelona.<sup>83</sup> Though fascist supporters were eventually suppressed during the first few days of the conflict, by the end of July, as it devolved from a coup attempt into a full-blown civil war, the nationalists controlled a third of Spain. In those first few days, the American delegation was witness to a revolution. Bernard Danchik recalled in his notes:

Sunday [July 19<sup>th</sup>]—COMES THE REVOLUTION—We leave the hotel to get provisions for the 100 and some kids we have in the place. Rifle and pistol fire, stuttering machine guns, bombing and shelling. They don't do anything by halves here. We are locked in our hotel and every time we shove our heads out the windows, we are shot at.<sup>84</sup>

The American athletes were shocked by the suddenness of the fascist attack. Upon waking up to the noise of explosions, ILGWU sprinter and basketball star Dot Tucker thought she heard celebratory fireworks to mark the beginning of the People's Olympics.<sup>85</sup>

Later, the athletes recalled heavily armed military units were fighting against working-class militias using nothing but rifles and hastily constructed barricades. Yet, the sheer number of organized workers pushed back the fascist rebels, forcing them to retreat into the safety of churches, since the clergy supported nationalists against the Republic. The choir boys staying in their hotel began singing songs to encourage the worker militias as the fighting engulfed the city.<sup>86</sup> Later, the right-wing Hearst Press accused American athletes of fighting alongside workers against the rebel military. However, the only participants were Myron Dickes, Dot Tucker, and perhaps Danchik himself, who helped workers assemble a barricade at one point.<sup>87</sup> The three went into the streets almost immediately:

Intent on getting out, they threatened to leave by way of window, if withheld. Finally, the proprietor gave in, but warned them that their venture would be at their own risk. Walking down the street at early dawn, they saw the Spanish civilians,

collars open, sleeves rolled up, feverishly uprooting the pavement, hurriedly making barricades. Before they knew it, he continues, the boys found themselves with picks and shovels, and told to dig. Working on a stagger system—that is working until your hands bled and blistered, and your fingers bruised before you handed over your crow-bar over [SIC] to another worker—they quickly piled up cobbles until a fortress was built. Later in the afternoon, when there was a lull in the fighting, they slipped back to the hotel.<sup>88</sup>

As he recounted on a speaking tour later in the summer, Danchik noted the following:

On our way two of our boys helped to build a street barricade, he related last night. Behind these barricades, wives fought alongside of husbands, even young girls between the ages of 21 and 24 took part in the fighting. It was a loyal army and a workers' army without uniforms but ready for the fray. During the first day, Danchik estimated that about 300 were killed and from 500 to 600 injured. The second day's toll was less, and by the third day the loyal troops had things 'well in hand.'<sup>89</sup>

They noted that beyond burning churches full of snipers down, there was no looting.<sup>90</sup> In fact, quite the opposite. In Barcelona, one of the poorest cities in the world at the time, workers torched piles of currency. The American athletes witnessed a break from the old order and the beginning of a true revolution when they beat back the revolt of the military during those first few days.<sup>91</sup> The People's Olympics were at first delayed, seeing a "March of Nations" rally with thousands of athletes in support of the Catalonian government's efforts to push back fascists. Danchik remarked that the beautiful city they had arrived in less than a week prior had been largely ruined, with planes filling the sky and machine gun fire all around them. The delegation was largely confined to Hotel Europa, and they found out that 3,000 had perished since the fighting began.<sup>92</sup> After a French team was attacked, the Spanish government decided that it was no longer safe for their guests, and so the "Olympipopular" was cancelled, and the athletes were asked to leave the country.<sup>93</sup>

The American team left on July 24, though Julien Raoul separated himself from the rest of the team because, as a French citizen, he decided not to return through France for fear of being conscripted into military duty. Therefore, he was trapped for a few more days until the USS Oklahoma collected American citizens still in Spain.<sup>94</sup> Frank Peyton later remarked, "We didn't leave as refugees. We left as visitors who had been splendidly treated by a people engaged in a life and death

struggle for its liberty. We left conscious we had witnessed one of the great events in world history.”<sup>95</sup> The members of the American delegation to the aborted People’s Olympics would go on to have varied lives following the experience. Charlie Burley, a Black professional boxer, who despite white fighters refusing to fight him for much of his career, went on to have a stunning career and was inducted into the Boxing Hall of Fame in 1983, making Ring Magazine’s list of the 100 greatest punchers of all time.<sup>96</sup> Julien Raoul would later participate in the 1937 Los Angeles Six Day races, nicknamed “The Red Devil.”<sup>97</sup> Dot Tucker remained involved in Labour Sports at least until 1937, when a follow-up People’s Olympics was held in Antwerp, stating, “Labour sports are a great thing. I’m looking forward to Antwerp this summer. You know, it’s a wonderful thing, the way thousands of people come out to watch these trade union runners. Athletics are certainly making the public ‘worker conscious.’”<sup>98</sup> One member of the delegation, City College of NYC wrestling coach Alfred Chakin, traveled to Spain in 1937 as part of the International Brigades instead of returning to coaching. He was captured in March 1938 and summarily executed by fascist forces.<sup>99</sup>

## Conclusion

The Nazi Olympics did not proceed without protest, despite the cancellation of the Barcelona protest games and the original demands to cancel the Nazi Olympics failing. The Jewish Labor Committee, consisting mostly of Socialist-aligned Needle-trade unionists, organized a protest athletic meet. The World Labor Athletic Carnival, another counter-event to the Nazi Olympics planned in New York City, had been planned prior to the hasty assembling of the American delegation to Barcelona. With the cancellation of the Olympiad in Barcelona where most anti-fascist athletics had concentrated their attention, the carnival became the only protest games worldwide that did take place. In order to draw attention further away from the Nazi’s closing ceremonies in Berlin, the Carnival occurred on August 15 and 16, 1936, the last two days of the Berlin Olympics. With 700 American athletes in attendance, mostly from the garment industry unions, and thousands of fans, the Carnival showed that the roots of anti-fascist athletic culture had taken hold, though it had moved into unions away from ethnic clubs and leftist sects.<sup>100</sup>

The Antwerp Workers’ Olympiad proceeded in 1937, but it was clear that Worker Sport participation was gravely wounded by the defeats in Central Europe and the ongoing Spanish Civil War, which many of the athletes were now participating in as soldiers in the International Brigades. The organizational strength of the Worker Sport, moreover, was nearly half of what it had demonstrated at the Vienna Workers’ Olympics in 1931. It was solemnly noted in the program at Antwerp that the cities in which the first two Workers’ Olympics took place, Frankfurt and Vienna, were now under fascist rule and repression. The program noted the need for solidarity with their Spanish comrades in a desperate struggle to defend the revolutionary gains against the fascist-military alliance. Julius Deutsch, still the

respected voice of the SASI, spoke of the need for socialist athletes to be disciplined and sober in the battles against fascism:

The labour-sportsman, as a soldier for socialism, as a champion for freedom and peace, requires above all the inner strength which is necessary to be able to endure the difficult conflicts of our time. Lucidity and temperance, discipline and presence of mind, enthusiasm, and sacrificing devotion—these are the elements from which the efficiency of Socialism is formed.<sup>101</sup>

As the war progressed, fascism repressed the last seeds of Worker Sport in Europe, rolling back a once potent working-class counterculture. Worker-athletes were expected to obey the new fascist states and would be sent to concentration camps, executed, or join resistance cells during the war.<sup>102</sup> The project of Worker Sport in the RSI was abandoned by the Soviet Union after the war. Instead, the RSI pursued competition in international games, such as the Olympics, rather than attempt to build alternative radical institutions. The SASI was re-founded by some of the survivors of the war as a depoliticized amateur sporting federation in order to avoid repression during the Cold War. Interestingly, the reconfigured SASI actually survives to this day in the social democracies of Europe—though with none of its rhetorical working-class militancy.<sup>103</sup> Surprisingly, the fertile fields that had produced Worker Sport sowed some of its seeds elsewhere that germinated in a surprising place after its demise: the United States.<sup>104</sup>

In fact, by the end of the 1930s, hundreds of thousands of working-class people participated in American Labour Sports with mainly Socialist and Communist athletic organizers. By the end of the 1940s, the number of Labour Sports participants increased to millions of working-class people. This drastic increase was the result of the years of work prior to the explosion of the working-class movements and labour battles of the late 1930s. Leftist sports were limited from the late 1920s until the 1930s, relatively speaking, especially in comparison to Catholic athletic organizations, company sports, or localized grassroots sports. To understand how Labour Sports grew so rapidly, one needs to look back at the role of the Socialist Party strongholds in the needle trade unions. The biggest garment union and first union to begin operating large athletic programs in the United States at the time, the ILGWU proved to be the critical link between small leftist athletics and larger working-class sports participation of the masses that would enable militants to use sports to affect mass social change in the 1930s and 1940s, drawing on the inspiration from the massive Vienna Workers Olympics to build a similar union-centred sports program for its members. That effort to build an anti-racist, anti-fascist, working-class sports culture in the Labour Sports movement, which was often present in left-wing and labour newspapers' sports pages, would often blend

with social justice sports causes and strengthen their appeal to a wider audience.<sup>105</sup>

When the 1937 Antwerp Workers' Olympics arrived, participation and audiences were down by almost half—a sign of the blows that Worker Sport had incurred in the previous six years. Even amid the rapid decline of Worker Sport in the late 1930s, Americans brought its vision across the ocean and merged it with a grassroots sports culture in the United States. Given the existence of these mass Workers' Olympics and the regular participation of Americans, it is not surprising that the idea of organizing anti-fascist and anti-racist working-class athletics took hold in the United States in the mid-1930s. This alternative sports movement would continue until the repression of Labour Sports as part of the Red Scare of the late 1940s and into the 1950s, a similar repression to Worker Sports of the 1930s.

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**NOTES**

<sup>1</sup> Gus Tyler, *Look for the Union Label: A History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), 197.

<sup>2</sup> Max Bedacht, "Report of Max Bedacht, General Secretary to the Enlarged Meeting of the National Executive Committee, International Workers Order. Hotel Latham, New York City, October 2nd, 1937," 1937, File 5276, Box 2, 25-26, Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation & Archives, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, International Workers Order (IWO) Records, 1915-2002.

<sup>3</sup> "Annual Report," 1948 and 1950, LP000188, Box 2, UAW Recreation Department Records, 1946-1950, Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Arnd Krüger and James Riordan, *The Story of Worker Sport* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1996), 43-67.

<sup>5</sup> Krüger and Riordan, *The Story of Worker Sport*, 45.

<sup>6</sup> "Principles and Constitution of the Labor Sports Union of America," 1927, IHRC720, Box 2, Finnish Workers' Federation of the United States, New York Records, Socialist Constitutions and Manuals, Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

<sup>7</sup> Worker Sport was systematically attacked in the 1930s, and the Labour Sports movement was dismantled or defanged in the 1950s by a sustained conservative attack, supported by anti-communist liberals, on unions and locals led by radicals, apart from the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU).

<sup>8</sup> Gabe Logan, "Playing for the People: Labour Sport Union Athletic Clubs in the Lake Superior/Iron Range 1927-1936," *Upper Country: A Journal of the Lake Superior Region* 4, no. 3 (2016): 44-82.

<sup>9</sup> Krüger and Riordan, *The Story Of Worker Sport*, 167.

<sup>10</sup> Julius Deutsch, "Unter roten Fahnen! Vom Rekord- zum Massensport" [Under red flags! From record to mass sport], 1931, Int 1159/65, International Institute of Social History (IISH), Amsterdam. Working-class people were usually banned from amateur sporting clubs. These clubs often required the occupation of the member to be declared, and banning particular occupations, like factory workers. The argument is that they could not be trusted to fairly play "for the love of the game" because they were susceptible to jumping clubs for bribes or under the table salaries, or even throwing games for money. Of course, the actual reasons were probably more an enforcement of class society and so middle to upper-class people would not need to mingle with working-class people in recreational activities. For more, see Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society: A Short History* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

<sup>11</sup> Deutsch, *Sport und Politik* [Sports and Politics], 1928, Pamphlet, Int 1159/65, IISH, Amsterdam.



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<sup>12</sup> “Zpráva o vývoji, organisaci a působení svazu dělnických tělocvičných jednot československých ku III. mezinárodnímu sjezdu mez” [Report on the development, organization and operation of the Union of Workers’ Gymnastics Units of Czechoslovakia to III. international congress], 1920, Int 45/267, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>13</sup> Robert F. Wheeler, “Organized Sport and Organized Labour,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 13, no. 2 (1978): 191-210.

<sup>14</sup> “V. Kongress der sozialistischen Arbeiter-Sportinternationale in Prag am 12., 13. und 14. Oktober 1929. Berichte und Verhandlungen” [V. Congress of the Socialist Workers’ Sports International in Prague on 12, 13 and 14 October 1929. Reports and Negotiations], 1929, Int 1159/35, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>15</sup> “Österreichische Arbeiter Turn- und Sport-Zeitung Organ des 17. u. 18. Kreisses des Arbeiter Turn- u. Sportbundes. Organ des Arbeiter-Turn- und Sportbund (Österreich)” [Austrian workers gymnastic and sports newspaper organ of the 17th and 18th Circle of the worker Turn- u. Sports Federation. Organ of the Workers’ Gymnastics and Sports Federation (Austria)], 1924-25, 1931, 1933, 1937, ZK 1127, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>16</sup> “Zpráva o vývoji, organisaci a působení svazu dělnických tělocvičných jednot československých ku III. mezinárodnímu sjezdu mez” [Report on the development, organization and operation of the Union of Workers’ Gymnastics Units of Czechoslovakia to III. international congress], 1919, 45/265, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>17</sup> “Zwembaden en hoe zij moeten zijn” [Swimming pools and how they should be], 1933, Brochure 388/21, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>18</sup> “SSS B-bas Stradnieku Sports un Sargs centralorgans. B-bas Stradnieku Sports un Sargs central organs” [Workers’ Sports and Watchman Central organs. B-bas Stradnieku Sports and Watchman Centralorgans], 1931, ZDK 46016, IISH, Amsterdam. Worker Sport organization based in Riga, Latvia.

<sup>19</sup> “30 Protokoll des ordentlichen Bundestages des ‘ASKÖ’ Arbeiterbund für Sport und Körperkultur in Österreich” [Protocol of the ordinary Bundestag of the “ASKÖ” workers’ federation for sport and physical culture in Austria], 1928-30, ZO 49040, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>20</sup> “Première Olympiade ouvrière. Prague 1921” [Protocol of the ordinary Bundestag of the “ASKÖ” workers’ federation for sport and physical culture in Austria], 1928-30, 47/604, IISH, Amsterdam; “Erste International Arbeiter-Olympiade zu Frankfurt-M, 24. bis 28. Juli 1925” [First International Workers’ Olympiad at Frankfurt-M, July 24-28, 1925], 1925, Int 1159/5, IISH, Amsterdam; “Report of conference. Oct 10th to 13th 1945,” 1945. Invitation to support the workers’ sports. Int 1159/99, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>21</sup> “Erstes Arbeiter- Turn und Sportfest Köln, 6. bis 9. August 1926” [First Workers’ Turn and Sports Festival Cologne, 6 to 9 August 1926], 1926, Bro D

1290/2125, IISH, Amsterdam; “Dělnická Olympiada Československá v Praze = II. Tschechoslowakische Arbeiter-Olympiade, Prag = IIe Olympiade Ouvrière Tchecoslovaque, Prague = IInd Czechoslovak Workers’ Olympiad of Czechoslovakia in Prague = II. Tschechoslowakische Arbeiter-Olympiade, Prague: 1927 [Workers’ Olympiad of Czechoslovakia in Prague], 1927, L 11/231, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>22</sup> They were characterized by Social Democrat leadership and militants who organized from a bottom-up working-class counterculture in Vienna. The Austromarxists were a radical current that dominated Vienna organizing, and were much more direct-action oriented than the Social Democrats they were affiliated with, organizing strikes and eviction defense, and building counter-institutions like sobriety, self-defense, and sports clubs for workers. They were also notably anti-authoritarian and therefore clashed repeatedly with the Communists. They would be suppressed and banned when the “Austrofascists,” a conservative Catholic coalition with Italian fascist influences, crushed the Social Democrats in the 1934 Austrian Civil War, and then in 1938 were themselves eliminated by Austrian Nazis when Nazi Germany annexed Austria.

<sup>23</sup> “Wiener Arbeiter-Turnverein” [Viennese workers turn club], 1927, ZO 49055, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>24</sup> Worker Sport internationals, both the SASI and the RSI, also hosted Winter Games, but they were generally much smaller and less popular, and usually were near the place of the summer games. “Festführer. Zweite Arbeiter-Wintersport-Olympiade, Müzzzuschlag Feber, 1931” [Festival leaders. Second Workers Winter Sports Olympiad, Muerzzuschlag Feber Germany, 1931], 1931, Int 1159/45, IISH, Amsterdam; Roni Gechtman, “Socialist Sports in Yiddish: The Bundist Sport Organization Morgnshtern in Interwar Poland,” *Outlook Magazine* (February 23, 2007), <https://web.archive.org/web/20070223020326>.

<sup>25</sup> “2. Arbeiter-Olympiade in Bild und Wort mit 187 Illustrationen: Wien” [2nd Workers’ Olympiad in Picture and Word with 187 Illustrations: Vienna], July 19-26, 1931, Bro 133/14 fol, IISH, Amsterdam. Dubinsky attended the Socialist Olympics in Vienna in 1931.

<sup>26</sup> “Základy tělovýchovy pracujících. Účel, prostředky, metodika” [Basics of Workers’ Physical Education. Purpose, means, methodology], 1926, 45/699, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>27</sup> C. Gellert et al, “10 Jahre Sozialistische Arbeiter-Sportinternationale. Im Auftrag des Internationalen Büros zusammengest.” [Ten years Socialist Workers Sport International. Commissioned by the International Bureau], 1931, Int 1159/40, IISH, Amsterdam; Helmut Wagner, “Sport und Arbeitersport” [Sports and Worker Sport], 1931, D1248/825, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>28</sup> “Organisační řád. Spartakovtých Skautů Práce” [Organization Rules. Of Spartak Scouts Work], 1924, 45/674, IISH, Amsterdam Julien Jenger, “La libre pen-

sée, l'alcool et le sport. Rapport présenté au Congrès national de la libre pensée, (Marseille, 15 et 16 Août 1924)" [Free thinking, alcohol and sports. Report presented to the National Congress of Free Thought. (Marseille, 15th and 16th August, 1924)], 1924, Bro An 100/1125, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>29</sup> Named after the Roman slave rebel. Spartacus was a common symbol of socialist organizations in the 1910s-1930s.

<sup>30</sup> "Programm Reichs-Arbeiter Sport Tag. 22 Juni 1930. Stadion Grunewild" [Program rich workers sports day. 22 June 1930], 1930, Brod 1290/2525, IISH, Amsterdam. Grunewild Stadium was a large stadium in Berlin used by both socialists in the Weimar era and Nazis in the Third Reich.

<sup>31</sup> "Mezinárodní závodní řád v boxu, přijatý na I. mezinárodní technicko-metodické konferenci RSI. v Moskvě" [International Boxing Rules, adopted at the 1st International Technical and Methodological Conference RSI. in Moscow], 1928, 45/701, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>32</sup> For more on the development of sports in the Soviet Union and international engagement with the RSI and SASI, see Robert Edelman, *Serious Fun: A History of Spectator Sport in the USSR* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1993), 34-40.

<sup>33</sup> "Rapport nopens den toestand en de verhoudingen der arbeiderssport in Duitschland, Tsjecho Slowakije en Oostenrijk. Met bijlag: Conclusies" [Report on the situation and relations of working-class sport in Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria], 1932, Bro N 1170/59 fol, IISH, Amsterdam. Description of the imminent fascist threat and pleading for emergency measures.

<sup>34</sup> The Nazi sports authorities later relented due to the sheer number of former SASI members but established restrictions that limited Nazi athletic club memberships to less than 10% former SASI members, which effectively barred most of the membership from participation since alternative athletics were not available. See Krüger and Riordan, *The Story of Worker Sport*, 19.

<sup>35</sup> Ernest Bayer, "Sport, Politik und Presse: der Sport als Mittel des politischen Kampfes und der parteipolitischen Propaganda in der Zeit des Weimarer Systems 1919-1933" [Sport, politics and the press: sport as a means of political struggle and political party propaganda in the time of Weimar system 1919-1933], 1933, Bro 3550/4, IISH, Amsterdam. The author noted that all German Worker Sport organizations were liquidated when the Nazis came to power, since the Nazis thought any resistance would centre there. See Krüger and Riordan, 1-27.

<sup>36</sup> "Rot Sport: Zeitung aller sporttreibenden Arbeiter und Werktätigen" [Red sports: newspaper of all sports-playing workers and working people], 1933, ZK 64896, IISH, Amsterdam. The newspaper is a mix of reports on fascist paramilitary terror attacks and sports, with the two sometimes interchangeable.

<sup>37</sup> "Der Kämpfer: Zeitschrift des Arbeiterbundes für Sport und Körperkultur in

Oesterreich (ASKÖ) und des Republikanischen Schutzbundes Osterreichs” [The fighter: magazine of the workers’ federation for sport and physical culture in Austria (ASKÖ) and the Austrian Republicanischer Schutzbund], 1933, ZO 1318, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>38</sup> In 1934, Germany and Italy had not yet entered into an alliance. The Austrian Nazis ultimately sought to unify Austria with Germany, while the Austrofascists sought to build a Catholic totalitarian dictatorship similar to Italy. When Italy entered into alliance with Nazi Germany in 1938, it withdrew its support for the Austrofascists in return for support for its Ethiopian conquest from Germany. Austria was annexed shortly afterwards and any former leftists still in Austria were deported to concentration camps.

<sup>39</sup> “Proletářské sportovní slavnosti.” Kladno. 30.6-1.7. 1934 [Kladno Proletarian Sports Celebrations], 1934, 45/675, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>40</sup> “Zwischen den Arbeiter-Olympiaden. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag deutscher Arbeitersportler zur Niederlage der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung” [Between the Workers’ Olympics. A discussion contribution of German worker athletes to the defeat of the German workers], 1933, Bro D 1290/3375, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>41</sup> While for the purposes of this work, I am focusing on radical sports in the United States, there was also a Canadian Worker Sport-affiliated movement. There was little if any coordination between the two. For more, see Bruce Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

<sup>42</sup> The Luzerne International is the nickname of the post-First World War reconstituted Socialist/Social Democratic Second International, which the SASI was associated with.

<sup>43</sup> Paul Buhle, *Marxism in the United States: Remapping the History of the American Left* (New York City: Verso, 1991).

<sup>44</sup> “V. Kongress der sozialistischen Arbeiter-Sportinternationale in Prag am 12., 13. und 14. Oktober 1929. Berichte und Verhandlungen” [V. Congress of the Socialist Workers’ Sports International in Prague on 12, 13 and 14 October 1929. Reports and Negotiations], 1929, Int 1159/35, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>45</sup> For more on the history of the “fellow traveler” concept, see Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (London: Verso Books, 1998).

<sup>46</sup> “V. Kongress der sozialistischen Arbeiter-Sportinternationale in Prag am 12., 13. und 14. Oktober 1929. Berichte und Verhandlungen” [V. Congress of the Socialist Workers’ Sports International in Prague on 12, 13 and 14 October 1929. Reports and Negotiations], 1929, Int 1159/35, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>47</sup> Gabe Logan, “C’mon, You Reds: The U.S. Communist Party’s Workers’ Soccer Association, 1927-35,” *Journal of Sport History* 44, no. 3 (Fall 2017): 384-398.

<sup>48</sup> Mark Naison, “Lefties and Righties: The Communist Party and Sports during the Great Depression,” *Radical America* 13, no. 4 (July-August 1979): 47-59.

<sup>49</sup> “Principles and Constitution of the Labor Sports Union,” 1928, PE 036 Box 111, Printed Ephemera Collection on Organizations, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York University Libraries, New York, NY, 1.

<sup>50</sup> “Erste internationale Arbeiter-Olympiade zu Frankfurt-M, 24. bis 28. Juli 1925” [First International Workers’ Olympiad at Frankfurt-M, July 24-28, 1925], 1925, Int 1159/5, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>51</sup> “Erstes Arbeiter- Turn und Sportfest Köln, 6. bis 9. August 1926” [First Workers’ Turn and Sports Festival Cologne, 6 to 9 August 1926], 1926, Bro D 1290/2125, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>52</sup> “Památník II. Dělnické Olympiady československé v Praze. 1927. Uspořádal L. Vaverka” [Memorial II. Workers’ Olympiad of Czechoslovakia in Prague. 1927. Organized by L. Vaverka], 1927, 10/47 A-D fol a, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>53</sup> II. “Dělnická Olympiada Československá v Prag = II. Tschechoslowakische Arbeiter-Olympiade, Prag” [2nd Workers’ Olympiad of Czechoslovakia Prague], 1927, L 11/231, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>54</sup> William J. Baker, “Muscular Marxism and the Chicago Counter-Olympics of 1932,” in *The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives*, ed. S.W. Pope (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 285-299.

<sup>55</sup> Naison, “Lefties and Righties,” 47-59.

<sup>56</sup> This phenomenon was somewhat similar to Bernie Sanders’ Democratic Party Presidential Primary run igniting the Democratic Socialists of America in 2016.

<sup>57</sup> The YPSLs were divided into a junior section of early teenagers and those younger, and a senior section of late teenagers up to age 30. “Youth conference in Reading,” 1931, PE 032 Box 10, Young People’s Socialist League collection, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>58</sup> “10<sup>th</sup> annual dance at Brownsville labor lyceum,” 1930, PE 032 Box 10, Young People’s Socialist League collection, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>59</sup> “Red Falcons- socialist cub scouts,” 1931, PE 032 Box 10, Young People’s Socialist League collection, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives. A group with the same name also existed as the youth branch of the Austrian Socialists, so it is possible they were directly inspired. For more on the Austrian Red Falcons, see Julius Deutsch and Gabriel Kuhn, *Antifascism, Sports, Sobriety: Forging A Militant Working-Class Culture* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2017), 67.

<sup>60</sup> “Internal memos,” 1930, PE 032 Box 10, Young People’s Socialist League collection, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>61</sup> Reading was one of three cities where Socialists elected Mayors to office in the Norman-Thomas-inspired resurgence of the SP, the others being Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Bridgeport, CT. They rode in on a platform of reform and providing good government to their citizens rather than any militant seizing of the means of production or insurrectionary revolution. These elected socialists were

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known as “sewer socialists” because they were known for bragging about the quality of their sewer system. Cecelia Bucki, *Bridgeport’s Socialist New Deal, 1915-36* (Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

<sup>62</sup> “Youth conference in Reading,” “YPSL Reading Annual Conference July 11-12,” and “Schedule of Annual Meeting with Socialist Party Baseball,” 1931, PE 032 Box 10, Young People’s Socialist League collection, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>63</sup> “International socialist youth day with workers gymnastics,” October 3<sup>rd</sup> 1931, PE 032 Box 10, Young People’s Socialist League collection, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>64</sup> “Camp Tamiment” (in YPSL pamphlet), 1935, PE 032 Box 10, Young People’s Socialist League collection, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>65</sup> “National YPSL Convention Minutes,” July 5-7, 1940, Box 5, Ted Tekla Papers, Joseph A. Labadie Collection, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

<sup>66</sup> Frasier Ottanelli, *The Communist Party of the United States: From the Depression to World War II* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 9.

<sup>67</sup> Ottanelli, 128.

<sup>68</sup> “Red Dawn Yearbook,” 1927, HM471n67, Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

<sup>69</sup> Maurice Isserman, *Which Side Were You On?: The American Communist Party During the Second World War* (Champagne, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 11.

<sup>70</sup> Ottanelli, 34.

<sup>71</sup> Isserman, 107.

<sup>72</sup> For more on the histories of the SASI and RSI, see Robert F. Wheeler, “Organized Sport and Organized Labour,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 13, no. 2 (1978): 191-210.

<sup>73</sup> “The Face of the People’s Olympiad,” June 25 1936, ALBA.033, Box 2, Scrapbook; Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>74</sup> By 1936, Dubinsky’s directive was in full effect, and the ILGWU was able to bring athletes to this delegation because it operated many athletic programs in New York City.

<sup>75</sup> Tyler, *Look for The Union Label*; James W.J. Robinson, “Needles and Hoops: Sports Programs in the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union, the Socialist Party, and their Communist Rivals,” *Process: A Blog for American History* (February 22, 2018), <http://www.processhistory.org/robinson-ilgwu-sports/>.

<sup>76</sup> “Committee on Fair Play in Sports Issues Rebuttal to Bingham’s Position *The Harvard Crimson* (November 26, 1935), <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1935/11/26/committee-on-fair-play-in-sports/>.

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<sup>77</sup> Letter forwarded by Fair Sports Committee from Organizing Committee of the Barcelona People's Olimpiad, May 21<sup>st</sup>, 1936; "Minutes of Meeting to Discuss Sending a Delegation to The Barcelona Olimpiada Popular," 1936, ALBA 033, Box 1, Folder 3, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>78</sup> For more on the American delegation's trip to the Barcelona People's Olympics, see this author's work on the journey to and back from the flashpoint. James Robinson, "Barcelona 1936: Fascist Uprising, People's Olympics, American Athletes" *Sport in American History Blog* (July 31, 2019), <https://ussporthistory.com/2019/07/31/barcelona-1936-fascist-uprising-peoples-olympics-american-athletes/>.

<sup>79</sup> Clifford Webb, "Breakfast Send-off to Barcelona," origin unknown, July 1936 estimate, ALBA 033, Box 1, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>80</sup> "Athletes Spike Horror Stories," origin unknown, August 1936, ALBA 033, Box 1, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>81</sup> Frank Peyton, "I Saw Workers' Heroism in Barcelona," origin unknown, August 1936 estimate, ALBA 033, Box 1, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>82</sup> Contemporary descriptions of the Barcelona People's Olympics' total athlete participation tend to be in the 6,000-10,000 range. "The Face of the People's Olimpiad," June 25, 1936, ALBA 033, Box 1, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>83</sup> "Start of Strife in Spain Is Told by Eyewitness," origin unknown, August 1936 estimate, ALBA 033, Box 1, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>84</sup> Bernard R. Danchik, "Record of the Trip, cont'd" notes of Danchik, July 15-24, 1936, on Hotel Europa letterhead, ALBA 033, Box 1, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>85</sup> Frank Peyton, "I Saw Workers' Heroism in Barcelona," origin unknown, August 1936 estimate, ALBA 033, Box 1, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>86</sup> "Boro Athletes Braved Bullets in Barcelona," origin unknown, August 1936 estimate, ALBA 033, Box 1, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>87</sup> "Athletes Saw Fighting in Spain," origin unknown, August 1936 estimate; "Athletes Detail Spanish Revolt," origin unknown, August 1936 estimate, ALBA 033, Box 1, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

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<sup>88</sup> Mark O'Hara, "The Fascists Shot at Us," *Daily Worker*, August 16, 1936, ALBA033, Box 2, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>89</sup> "Boro Athletes Braved Bullets in Barcelona."

<sup>90</sup> "Barcelona Fighting Described by Athlete," origin unknown, July-August 1936 estimate, ALBA033, Box 2, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>91</sup> "Barcelona Fighting Described by Athlete."

<sup>92</sup> "Thousands Die in Barcelona, Spanish Women Shoot Rebels," origin unknown, July 21 1936, ALBA033, Box 2, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>93</sup> Mark O'Hara, "The Fascists Shot at Us."

<sup>94</sup> Michael Wagner, "French Red Devil: Julien Raoul" *Centerline Rule* (2014), <http://centerlinerule.blogspot.com/2014/02/french-red-devil-julien-raoul.html>; "Start of Strife in Spain Is Told by Eyewitness," origin unknown, August 1936 estimate, ALBA033, Box 2, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>95</sup> Frank Peyton, "I Saw Workers' Heroism in Barcelona."

<sup>96</sup> "Black Dynamite Charles Duane Burley," *The Cyber Boxing Zone*, accessed January 4, 2019, <http://www.cyberboxingzone.com/boxing/burley.htm>.

<sup>97</sup> Michael Wagner, "French Red Devil: Julien Raoul."

<sup>98</sup> "Union Winners Laud CIO Sports," origin unknown, 1937 estimate, ALBA033, Box 2, Clipping Scrapbook, Bernard R. Danchik Papers, Tamiment Library/Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives.

<sup>100</sup> *The Good Fight: The Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the Spanish Civil War*, directed by Noel Buckner, Mary Dore and Sam Sills (First Run Features, 1984).

<sup>101</sup> Catherine Collomp, *Resister au nazisme. Le Jewish Labor Committee, New York 1934-1945* (Paris: CNRS, 2016). Currently in translation for publication in English from Wayne State University (courtesy of author writing me a note with the excerpt.)

<sup>102</sup> "Programme général de la Troisième Olympiade Ouvrière d'Anvers du 25 juillet au 1er août 1937, [General program of the Third Workers' Olympiad of Antwerp from July 25 to August 1, 1937], Bro 2014/15, IISH, Amsterdam. Program includes English translation that welcomes athletes to Antwerp. It implores them to remember the Austrian and German comrades whose cities hosted the first two Olympics and now suffered from brutal repression, as well as calling for solidarity with Spanish comrades.

<sup>103</sup> Records of Dutch Worker Sport 1937, 1935-41, Arch 01375, Box 10, Archive of Harry Stapel, IISH, Amsterdam.

<sup>104</sup> Report of conference, Oct 10th-13th 1945, Int 1159/99, IISH, Amsterdam. Invitation to support the Workers' Sports International to the British Worker



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Sport organization.

<sup>105</sup> Deutsch and Kuhn, *Antifascism, Sports, Sobriety*,

<sup>106</sup> For the history of the *Daily Worker* Sports page, see Irwin Silber and Lester Rodney, *Press Box Red: The Story of Lester Rodney, the Communist Who Helped Break the Color Line in American Sports* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003).