George Breitman

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Basic biographical data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name:</th>
<th>George Breitman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other names (by-names, pseud. etc.):</td>
<td>Alberts ; G.B. ; Philip Blake ; Drake ; Chester Hofla ; Anthony Massini ; Albert Parker ; John F. Petrone ; Sloan ; G. Sloane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date and place of birth:</td>
<td>February 28, 1916, Newark, NJ (USA)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date and place of death:</td>
<td>April 19, 1986, New York, NY (USA)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nationality:</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupations, careers, etc.:</td>
<td>Writer, editor, printer, historian, party organizer, political leader</td>
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Biographical sketch

Note: This biographical sketch is primarily based on A tribute to George Breitman: writer, organizer, revolutionary / ed. by Naomi Allen and Sarah Lovell, New York, NY, 1987 (containing obituaries, reminiscences and appraisals of G. Breitman by some 50 individuals and some 14 organizations) and on other items listed below under the heading Selective bibliography: books and articles about Breitman.

George Breitman was born on February 28, 1916 at Newark, New Jersey, as son of Benjamin Breitman, an iceman, and his wife Pauline (b. Trattler), a houseworker. George Breitman grew up in a Newark working class neighbourhood together with his brother Samuel and his elder sister Celia, who soon joined the ranks of the Young Communist League (YCL), the Communist Party’s youth organization, and who had a strong influence on George. He began to read voraciously, one of his favourite hangouts being the Newark Public Library. In 1932, in midst the Great Depression, he graduated from Newark Central High School and like most of his classmates had to join the ranks of the unemployed youth.

In 1934 he went to Alabama and found work in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and in the Works Progress Administration, launched under Roosevelt’s New Deal. At this time he for the first time became aware of The Militant, the main information and propaganda organ of the U.S. Trotskyists.

Breitman soon became active in various socialist groups; thus after his return to Newark in 1935 he became a member of the Workers Alliance of America, an organization of the unemployed, and was...
elected its state secretary for New Jersey only one year later. Charged with inciting local riots he had to spend a week in jail. Breitman continued to agitate and to organize the unemployed youth and could win over a lot of people to the case of socialism. In 1935 he joined the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), the youth organization of the US Trotskyists and later that year he became a member of the Trotskyist Workers Party of the U.S. (WPUS); since the U.S. Trotskyists at that time were applying the tactic of entrism he simultaneously became a member of the Socialist Party.

In December 1937 he participated as an elected delegate in the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the party which should shape American Trotskyism for several decades and which for many years became one of the strongest and best organized national sections of the Trotskyist Fourth International which was proclaimed in September 1938.

In 1940 Breitman married Dorothea Katz (1914-2004). He remained one of the most loyal, active, dedicated and distinguished members of the SWP until 1984 when he was bureaucratically expelled from its ranks by the Barnes leadership. Thus Breitman served the SWP in many capacities for some 45 years: with only a few short interruptions during World War II he was a member of SWP’s National Committee (NC) from 1939 to 1981 and several times a member of its Political Committee (PC), too. Some 10 times he ran as a candidate on the party ticket for public office in New Jersey between 1940 and 1954 and he had two terms (1941-1943 and 1946-1954) as editor-in-chief of The Militant, the party’s weekly paper. He also took several tasks as branch organizer, financial manager, recruiter, campaign manager and last but not least as editor, translator and staff writer – no less than 515 articles from his pen appeared in The Militant between 1947 and 1955. He also was an effective speaker and educator having the ability to explain difficult and complex ideas to those uncomfortable with party jargon. He was active in the defence of the party and of individual members against victimization by the government, especially during the years of the McCarthyite anti-communist witch-hunt.

Breitman’s active role in the SWP was only interrupted when in 1943 he was drafted and sent to the European battlefield. In March 1946 he participated – as a soldier in uniform – in the first international Trotskyist conference after the war which took place in Paris. There Breitman was arrested together with the other conference participants when French policemen raided the meeting; but being an American citizen he quickly was released from jail and allowed to return to the U.S.

There he soon took up service as editor and staff writer of The Militant. In 1954 the Breitmans moved to Detroit, Michigan, where they served for some 13 years as successful district organizers and party leaders; together with another couple, Sarah and Frank Lovell, they launched the Friday Night Socialist Forum which educated and radicalised a whole generation of young Detroites including many students from Wayne State University campus. In Detroit Breitman earned his living as a printer and proofreader with the Detroit Free Press (1956-1967) and became an active member of the International Typographical Union. After the 1953 schism in the Fourth International, Breitman was almost the only man in the camp of the International Committee of the Fourth International (led by Cannon, Healy, Lambert et al.) who maintained the dialogue with the opposite camp, i.e. with the International Secretariat of the Fourth International (led by Pablo, Mandel, Frank, Maitan et al.) by a lively correspondence with Ernest Mandel1. Both men, Breitman and Mandel, were far beyond blind factionalism and thus helped laying ground for the 1963 re-unification of the Fourth International.

During his Detroit years, Breitman became deeply involved, too, in the unfolding struggle of the black nationalist movement after he had dealt with the ‘Negro question’ already in the 1940s, strongly influenced by Larry Stuart, another SWP veteran. As a result of his intensive studies on black nationalism and particularly on the development of the ideas of Malcolm X (pseud. of Malcolm Little, who later adopted the name Hajj Malik el-Shabazz), a series of books, pamphlets and articles appeared, some of which were widely distributed and even translated. One might say that through preserving and pub-


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lishing the speeches of Malcolm X, Breitman had an effect upon hundreds of thousands of people and distorted the negative media image of Malcolm X as a race-hating demagogue. In the 1960s Breitman tried to synthesize a theory of the new significance of both the black liberation and the women's movements and how they related to the more traditional workers' class struggle movement; by the way, it was Simone de Beauvoir who had a strong impact on Breitman's views with regard to the women question.

Back to New York City in 1967, Breitman began to work at Pathfinder Press (formerly Pioneer Publishers), SWP's publishing house, and approached the SWP National Office with the great project of collecting, editing and publishing the writings of Leon Trotsky in English language in order to communicate his thoughts to a new generation of socialists spreading from the youth revolt of the 1960s. Breitman established close relations with the Trotsky Archives at Houghton Library at Cambridge, Mass., with Louis Sinclair, the Scottish Trotsky bibliographer, and with French Trotskyist historian Pierre Broué. The work on the Trotsky writings project occupied him for at least 15 years, being the most productive years of his life in terms of books and pamphlets edited and published by him and his staff to which belonged George Weissman, Evelyn Reed, Naomi Allen, Sarah Lovell et al. Breitman with his meticulous concern for detail set an outstanding standard of non-sectarian Trotsky scholarship. Furthermore Breitman was a devoted and outstanding party historian so that students and scholars working on SWP's history and related issues found him to be an archive in his own right and a goldmine of information and sources. He gave uncountable lectures and educational courses and his archives (see below) are full of never published papers, drafts, notes etc.

During the last period of his life, Breitman became more and more aware of the changing character of the SWP under the leadership of Jack Barnes and his confidants. Breitman became the ideological leader of a short-lived opposition inside the SWP in 1981 before being expelled early in 1984, charged with 'disloyalty'. Together with other renowned long-time members of the SWP who also were expelled in 1983/84, like for example Sarah and Frank Lovell, J. Tussey, G. Saunders) he launched the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) and remained contributing editor of its journal Bulletin In Defense of Marxism (BIDOM) until his death.

George Breitman who had suffered for several decades from a fragile health (rheumatic diseases, arthritis, cancer) eventually died of a heart attack in a New York hospital on April 19, 1986, leaving behind his wife Dorothea.

At the end of this biographical sketch I would like to give some quotations from the obituaries listed below:

"Meticulous in method, persevering in endeavour, loyal to his obligations, a willing listener and a master executant, courageous to the end, that was George Breitman." (Louis Sinclair)

"An all-round revolutionary, at home in the library as well as on the picket line, a gifted writer and an excellent organizer, great at organizing election campaigns and at helping others to develop theory, an outstanding editor and a real workers' leader. His qualities as educator and popularizer, which stemmed from a rare gift of perceiving the essential and expressing it in a clear and simple way so that many can understand it, did not prevent him from being at the same time a deep and independent thinker, one of the few in our movement who have made a genuine contribution to the development of theory, in his case in the field of Black nationalism, and more generally the nationalism of the downtrodden and oppressed everywhere in the world." (Ernest Mandel)

"His devotion to socialism was, I believe, an act of will, not faith, a scientifically derived moral response to the otherwise meaningless and ephemeral nature of human existence." (Alan M. Wald)

"Though it is as a writer that George will be most remembered, in my opinion the work he liked best was organizing." (Dorothea Breitman, b. Katz)
Selective bibliography

- **Selective Bibliography: Books/pamphlets (co-)authored by Breitman**


  The fight against Hagueism. - 1938


  Malcolm X and the Third American revolution : the writings of George Breitman / ed. by Anthony Marcus. - Amherst, NY : Humanity Books, 2005. - 412 pp. - (Revolutionary studies) [Containing more than a dozen of Breitman's writings: Anti-negro prejudice ; How a minority can change society ; Marxism and the negro struggle ; Malcolm X - the man and his ideas ; The national question and the black liberation struggle in the United States ; The Trenton siege by the army of unoccupation ; Wartime crimes of big business ; Should progressives work in the Democratic Party? - Is it wrong for revolutionaries to fight for reforms? - The liberating influence of the Transitional program ; The rocky road to the Fourth International, 1933-38 + writings about Breitman]


  The Negro march on Washington. - 1941. [No details available]


  The rocky road to the Fourth International, 1933-38. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1979. - 21 pp. - (Education for Socialists) [re-publ. in various collections, etc.]


  Vote against Jim Crow. - 1940. [No details available]


  The Workers Alliance vs. Mr. Mudd and the F.A.C. - 1937. [No details available]

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2) TSB item numbers (e.g. <TSB 0716>) refer to Lubitz' Trotskyist Serials Bibliography, München [etc.] : Saur, 1993, which is out of print but available as PDF file within the framework of the Lubitz' TrotskyanaNet. In TSB you can find detailed descriptions concerning the respective Trotskyist journals, newsletters, bulletins and the like.

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**Selective Bibliography: Books, pamphlets, journals (co-)edited by Breitman**

The Militant (New York, NY) [ISSN 0026-3885] <TSB 1026>

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- **Selective Bibliography: Books, collections, journals, bulletins to which Breitman contributed**


Bulletin du Comité International de la IVème Internationale (Paris) <TSB 0208>

Bulletin in Defense of Marxism (New York, NY) <TSB 0219>

Cahiers Léon Trotsky (Various places) [ISSN 0181-0790] <TSB 0277>


Discussion Bulletin / Socialist Workers Party (New York, NY) <TSB 1547>


Fjärde Internationalen (Uppsala, later: Stockholm, later: Göteborg) [ISSN 0345-3375] <TSB 0518>


Fourth International (New York, NY, 1940-56) <TSB 0532>


From Mississippi to Boston : the demand for troops to enforce civil rights. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1975. - 32 pp. - (Education for socialists) [Later ed. was publ. in 1999]


In Defense of Marxism (New York, NY) <TSB 0616>

Intercontinental Press (New York, NY) [ISSN 0020-5303 ; ISSN 0162-5594] <TSB 0657>

Internal Bulletin / Socialist Workers Party (New York, NY) <TSB 1548>


International Internal Discussion Bulletin (New York, NY) <TSB 0694>

International Socialist Review (New York, NY) [ISSN 0020-8744] <TSB 0715>


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The Militant (New York, NY) [ISSN 0026-3885] <TSB 1026>
The Party Builder / Socialist Workers Party (New York, NY) <TSB 1178>
Party Organizer / Socialist Workers Party (New York, NY) <TSB 1183>
Quatrième Internationale (Paris etc., 1936-) [ISSN 0771-0569; ISSN 0765-1740] <TSB 1282>
Revolutionary Marxism Today (Chicago, Ill.)
Socialist Appeal (New York, NY) <TSB 1497>
SWP Discussion Bulletin (New York, NY) <TSB 1684>
Trotskyism in the United States: historical essays and reconsiderations / George Breitman, Paul Le Blanc, and Alan Wald. - Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Pr., 1996. - III, 318 S. - (Revolutionary studies)

Selective Bibliography: Books and articles about Breitman

[Anon.]: George Breitman [Biographical sketch, Wikipedia article]
[Anon.]: Breitman, George 1916-, in: Contemporary authors, vol. 61/64, Detroit, Mich., 1976, p. 82. [Biographical sketch]
[Anon.]: George Breitman (1916-1986): more than half a century of revolutionary dedication / ed. board of


Miah, Malik: George Breitman on black liberation and Marxism, in: *Breitman, George : Malcolm X and the
George Breitman

Bio-Bibliographical Sketch


Note: Some more information about Breitman is likely to be found in some of the books, pamphlets, university works and articles listed in the relevant chapters of the Lubitz’ Leon Trotsky Bibliography [ISSN 2190-0183], e.g. in chapter 7.5.18.

• Selective Bibliography: Books dedicated to Breitman


Sidelines, notes on archives

— Archival material by and about Breitman can be found in almost all archives in which the heritage of those persons is being preserved with whom Breitman corresponded (e.g. the Mandel Archive at IISG, Amsterdam) as well as in those archives which preserve rich holdings of SWP and Fourth International material (e.g. Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford, Cal.) However, the main repository is The Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, 70 Washington Square South, New York, NY 10012, which houses The George Breitman Papers 1928-1986. Here's some information about the Breitman collection:
The call phrase is Tamiment 169. The collection was processed by archivists Peter Filardo, Ellen Kastel and Katja Vehlow, and the machine-readable finding aid and container list was created by Brian Stevens. The collection consists of 63 boxes (30 linear feet). It is open for research without restrictions. It has been donated by Breitman's widow Dorothea in 1992. The collection has been organized into 5 series containing not only the personal papers, manuscripts and correspondence of Breitman but also a lot of unpublished material by other persons as well as proceedings, minutes, reports, memos etc. of the SWP, FBI files concerning the surveillance of the Detroit Friday Night Forum, to mention only a few examples. Each of the 63 boxes contains some 4 to 25 folders in which the documents are arranged chronologically with some exceptions. Some parts of the Breitman collection, however, have been separated to the non-print collection at Tamiment Library such as for instance some 160 audio-cassettes documenting some of Breitman's oral presentations. To give an impression of the scope of the Breitman collection it should only be mentioned that there are for example 2 boxes with 15 folders containing Breitman's correspondence with Alan Wald (ranging from 1974-86) or 2 boxes with 15 folders containing his correspondence with Louis Sinclair (1968-86).
— The opening of the George Breitman (and Frank Lovell) papers on April 18, 1999 at The Tamiment Library (New York University) was documented on video film: George Breitman and Frank Lovell papers opening at the Tamiment Library, April 18, 1999. - New York, NY :
— Breitman had a great love of movies; as his widow Dorothea Breitman told, his second choice for a career – after he had decided not to become a librarian – was to become a movies critic.

— He was honoured by a memorial meeting held on June 7, 1986 in New York City, sponsored by the *FIT*, by *Solidarity* and by *Socialist Action*, organizations emerging as a result from Jack Barnes' *SWP* 'cleansing'. Another memorial meeting was held on June 1 of the same year at Los Angeles, California.

— Many of Breitman's writings are available online, e.g. within the [George Breitman internet archive](http://www.gbreitmanarchive.org) website.

*Note:* The photograph on p. 1 of this sketch has been taken from *A tribute to George Breitman - writer, organizer, revolutionary*, ed. by Naomi Allen and Sarah Lovell, New York, NY, 1987.

*Wolfgang and Petra Lubitz, 2006
last rev. June 2016*