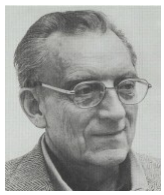
Joseph Hansen

Contents:

- ***Basic biographical data***
- ***Biographical sketch***
- ***Selective bibliography***
- ***Sidelines, notes on archives***



Basic biographical data

Name:	**Joseph Hansen**
Other names (by-names, pseud. etc.):	**J. Allen ; Jack Bustelo ; Joe Hansen ; Joseph Leroy Hansen ; Herrick ; Henderson ; Joe ; Joseph ; Leroy ; Pepe ; Stern**
Date and place of birth:	**June 16, 1910, Salt Lake City, Utah (USA)**
Date and place of death:	**January 18, 1979, New York, NY (USA)**
Nationality:	**USA**
Occupations, careers, etc.:	**Party leader, writer, editor, journalist**
Time of activity in Trotskyist movement:	**1934 - 1979 (lifelong Trotskyist)**

Biographical sketch

Joseph Hansen was one of the best-known U.S. Trotskyists playing an important rôle, primarily as a theorist, both in the SWP (Socialist Workers Party) and in the Fourth International for some 40 years.

Note: The following biographical sketch is chiefly based on:
- Novack, George: Joseph Hansen, 1910-1979, in: *Intercontinental Press* (New York, NY), 17.1979 (3), pp. 51-55
- Evans, Leslie: Introduction, in: *Hansen, Joseph: The Leninist strategy of party building*, New York, NY, 1979, pp. 9-30.
- *Reed, Dale: Joseph Hansen – a register of his papers in the Hoover Institution Archives. Stanford, Cal. : Hoover* Institution, Stanford University, 1993. 86 pp.
- Van Wagenen, Gregory: Saints of the Fourth International : remembering Joe and Reba Hansen, [online available, retrieved July 2015, canceled as at Spring 2016]

Joseph (Leroy) Hansen (called Joe Hansen) was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, on June 16, 1910 as the oldest of 15 children of Conrad J.Z. Hansen, a tailor from Norwegian ancestry, and his wife Rose (b. Christensen). The couple was sealed in 1909 and got U.S. Citizenship. The Hansens were a poor working-class family, from 1911 settling in Richfield, Utah, and then in a Nevada hard-rock mining camp. Joseph was the only of Hansen's children who could attend college. One of his brothers, Allen, and Hansen's sister-in-law, Beatrice (wife of Allen Hansen), should become known Trotskyists, too, as was the fact with Reba Hansen (b. Hooper, 1909-1990) whom Joseph Hansen married in July 1931.
After graduating from college Hansen studied (part-time) English literature and linguistics at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, during the first half of the 1930s. As a student he wrote poems and short stories many of which were published in the campus paper *Utah Humbug* and in the literary campus magazine *Pen*, the latter being co-edited by Hansen. Already as a pupil having been intrigued by the Russian revolution and its protagonists, Hansen – like many other students at that time – became a convinced socialist during the years of the Great Depression, and it was under the very influ-

ence of one of his teachers at *Utah University*, Earle Birney, who later should become a well-known Canadian writer and literary critic, that Hansen turned to the anti-Stalinist, Trotskyist current of socialism. Consequently he joined the ranks of the *CLA (Communist League of America)*, the then American Trotskyist party, co-founded and led by James P. Cannon, and remained an extraordinary active, devoted and faithful Trotskyist for some 45 years until his death.

Before graduating, Hansen became a party worker and trade union activist. Moving from Salt Lake City to San Francisco, Cal., in 1936 he functioned as associate editor and staff writer of *The Voice of the Federation*, the organ of the *Maritime Federation of the Pacific*, a league formed by various maritime unions of the West coast. At the same time he also began to contribute articles to *Labor Action*, an entryist Trotskyist paper issued by James P. Cannon during the phase when most of the American Trotskyists joined Norman Thomas' *Socialist Party*. In those days Hansen belonged to a group within the ranks of the American Trotskyists that was inspired and influenced by Martin Abern, together with Max Shachtman[1] and James P. Cannon one of the founding fathers of American Trotskyism, who had certain reservations about the latter's leadership; it was only in the 1940s that Hansen became a close collaborator of Cannon, the national secretary of the *SWP*, and one of his steadiest and most reliable friends.

The years 1937-1940 perhaps were the most decisive years of Hansen's maturing as a revolutionary politician: on behalf of the party leadership Joseph Hansen and his wife Reba went to Mexico in September 1937, and with only some short interruptions Hansen for the next three years served as Trotsky's secretary and guard at Coyoacán, the last station of the great Russian revolutionary's final exile[2]. This period of Hansen's life is well documented; there are not only some remarkable articles from his own pen about the life and work with Trotsky[3] as well as about the May 1940 assault on his life and about his assassination in August that year, but also several reminiscences of Trotsky written by other persons – e.g. by Jean Van Heijenoort[4] – which are containing some informations about Hansen's activities and character, too. Trotsky preferred 'Joe' as chauffeur and felt closer to cool-headed Joseph Hansen than to any other of the young American Trotskyists who served him as secretaries or assisted with the Coyoacán household. It should be mentioned here that it was Hansen who in the late afternoon of August 20, 1940 helped to pin Ramón Mercader, the Trotsky assassin, to the floor until support arrived and that it was Hansen, too, to whom wounded Trotsky dictated his very last message before falling into coma and dying.

Hansen regarded the years with Trotsky as an extraordinary training and – as George Novack later wrote in an obituary – tried to pattern his own political conduct and working habits upon those of his teacher and example, Leon Trotsky. It goes without saying that Hansen in the years to come could make moral profit from the very fact that he had been a close collaborator of the *'Old Man'* for three years.

In the early 1940s Hansen earned his money as a merchant seaman and took responsibility for the party's maritime union work before joining in New York City the full-time staff of the *SWP (Socialist Workers Party),* as the American Trotskyists called their party since 1938, charged primarily with editorial, journalistic and educational responsibilities. Being an elected member of *SWP's National Committee* (from 1940-1975) and serving for many years on its *Political Committee*, too, he was one of *SWP's* main leaders and became one of its chief theoreticians and spokesmen. In 1946 he ran as candidate for U.S. Senator from New York on the *SWP* ticket. Trained at shorthand and being an extremely exacting editor and a paragon of industriousness, he became member of the editorial board (and in 1954 and from 1959-1967 editor-in-chief) of the party's weekly newspaper *The Militant*, as

1) Both Abern and Shachtman left the SWP in 1940.

2) Joseph Hansen served as secretary (and driver) to Trotsky three times: from Oct. 1, 1937 to January 15, 1939, then from October 1939 until January 1940 and eventually from June to August 1940.

3) The most interesting of those recollections and narratives are: With Trotsky to the end, in: *Fourth International* (New York, NY), 1.1940 (Oct.), pp. 115-123 [repr. and transl. in various sources] ; The attempted assassination of Leon Trotsky, in: *ibid.*, 1.1940 (Aug.), pp. 85-90 [repr. and transl. in various sources] ; Trotsky in Coyoacán, in: *International Socialist Review* (New York, NY), 31.1970 (3), pp. 34-38.

4) Van Heijenoort, Jean: With Trotsky in exile : from Prinkipo to Coyoacán, Cambridge, Mass., 1978 [originally publ. in French].

well as from 1955 to 1959 editor of the party's theoretical magazine *International Socialist Review.*
In the just-mentioned journals as well as in various internal bulletins and other party publications numerous articles, analyses and reports from Hansen's pen appeared, and many resolutions, theses and other party documents were written, edited or drafted by him. Additionally, Hansen became author (or, co-author) of a considerable number of books and educational bulletins on subjects ranging from problems of inner-party life to topical international events and developments [see our bibliographical listings below]. Although in those years devoting his energies primarily to problems of U.S. politics, he always paid much attention, too, to the political and strategic debates as well as to the inner life of the *Fourth International*. Furthermore he taught classes at the *SWP*'s *Trotsky School*, chiefly on Marx's *Capital*.
During the 'dark years' of the 1950s – not favourable to the *SWP* in view of the Cochran split 1953, the split in the *Fourth International* 1953/54, the McCarthyite anti-communist witch-hunt, the withdrawing of many comrades from politics, etc. – Hansen remained a tower of strength and never was disheartened or demoralized as were so many other militants.
In the late 1940s and during the 1950s Hansen emerged as a major contributor to the political programme of the *Fourth International* coping with many of the challenging theoretical problems which were arising after World War II such as for example the question of the class character of those Eastern European countries which were now under Soviet Union's control, the question of the Chinese revolution, the revolutions taking place in Algeria and last not least in Cuba – to mention only some of the crucial issues at stake. Particularly the Cuban revolution and its progress and development was reflected again and again in Hansen's writings[5] who sought to grasp its implications to Marxist theory, e.g. in the context of the Trotskyist conception of a 'workers and farmers government' as a transitional instrument in the transformation of the state towards socialism. In the early 1960s Hansen together with *SWP* presidential candidate Farrell Dobbs visited Cuba and thereafter was engaged in launching *Fair Play for Cuba Committees* in the U.S. and Canada. For four months he travelled Latin America in 1961/62.
It was only in January 1961 that Hansen was able to obtain his right to a passport and to travel abroad in order to participate in Trotskyist international conferences and to directly discuss the political views of the *SWP* with the European or Asian Trotskyists. In the context of his continuing studies of the Cuban revolution and its implications, Hansen came to the conclusion that the 1953/54 split of the *Fourth International* had become obsolete in the meanwhile; thus in the early 1960s he became the main *SWP* representative promoting the re-unification of the two main Trotskyist factions, the *International Secretariat* and the *International Committee* both having emerged from the 1953/54 split of the *Fourth International*. Hansen drafted some of the main documents providing the platform on which unification eventually was achieved at a 7th world congress (called re-unification congress) of the *Fourth International* held in 1963[6] in which he participated as one of the U.S. delegates. He must be considered the main architect or promoter of the re-unification, and from 1963 until his death he functioned as one of the top leaders and furthermore as one of the most influential theoreticians of the re-united *Fourth International (United Secretariat)*. He was a fraternal member[7] of the United Secretariat from 1963 until his death.
From 1962-1965 Hansen spent some 3 years in Europe, functioning as the *SWP* representative in

5) See for example his books: *Dynamics of the Cuban revolution. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1978. - 393 pp.* and *The workers' and farmers' government. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1974. - 64 pp. - (Education for socialists)*

6) However, the orientation towards re-unification was not at all shared by everyone within the two factions of the *Fourth International* existing since 1953/54; thus some tendencies within both the *International Secretariat* and the *International Committee* decidedly refused re-unification and preferred to divorce from the respective international body short before or after the 5th (unification) world congress which took place in 1963 and which established the *United Secretariat* as the post-split day-to-day leadership. Thus the tendencies led by J. Posadas, P. Lambert, G. Healy and M. Pablo, respectively, launched separate international bodies, namely the *International Committee of the Fourth International* (Healy, Lambert), the *Fourth International - International Secretariat* (Posadas), *Revolutionary Marxist Tendency of the Fourth International* (Pablo).

7) Officially and for legal reasons the *SWP* had to remain unaffiliated pursuant to the notorious *Voorhis Act*, passed by U.S. Congress in 1940.

Europe, based in Paris. There in 1963 he launched a new journal, *World Outlook* (with French parallel title *Perspective mondiale*), which from volume 6, no. 17 (May 1968) was renamed *Intercontinental Press (IP)*[8]. It was edited by Hansen until his death, assisted by his wife Reba and by Pierre Frank and soon became a very 'institution', with an exceptionally high technical standard and high editorial as well as political quality. It was disseminated internationally and considered correctly as the veritable front and mouthpiece of the *United Secretariat of the Fourth International*[9], aiming primarily at its cadres, militants and sympathizers all over the world in order to provide them with a topical news service as well as with background analyses and theoretical articles shaping an orientation with regard to international developments and activities. Almost all leaders and theoreticians of the Trotskyist mainstream of all continents contributed to *World Outlook / Intercontinental Press* which of course was reflecting to a certain degree, too, the lively political, theoretical and tactical controversies taking place within the ranks of the *Fourth International*. In 1966 Hansen and his wife returned to New York transferring the publication of *World Outlook* there, too.

From 1969, when some major differences within the *United Secretariat of the Fourth International* arose, Joseph Hansen became the chief spokesman of the SWP-based *Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (LTT)*[10] opposing the European-based Mandel-Maitan-Frank tendency which held the majority in the *International Executive Committee (IEC)*, the leading body of the *Fourth International*. It was not at least thanks to Joseph Hansen that those differences did not end in another split of the *Fourth International* but could be resolved at the end. Furthermore Hansen during the last years of his life was convinced of the necessity of furthering the unification process by seriously checking the possibilities of coming to terms with some of those currents of the international Trotskyist movement which could not have been won over to re-unification in 1963.

In 1967 Hansen participated as fraternal member of the *United Secretariat* of the *FI* and as reporter for *The Militant* in the famous OLAS[11] conference held at Havana, Cuba. He was a participant and speaker at the 8th (1965), 9th (1969) and 10th (1974) world congresses of the *FI*, too.

In autumn 1975 Joseph Hansen together with another outstanding theoretician and veteran of U.S. Trotskyism, George Novack, became target of a long-standing monstrous, perfidious and shameless slander campaign initiated and engineered by Gerry Healy, the 'cult-leader' of the British *WRP (Workers Revolutionary Party)*[12]. This campaign of Healy's group and a handful of Healyist offshoots outside Britain (e.g. *Workers League*, USA) culminated in the accusation of Hansen and Novack having been accomplices of the GPU (NKVD) as well as of the FBI and having been deeply involved in a conspiration aiming at Trotsky's assassination in 1940. Perhaps Healy's campaign was to interpret as an act of revenge for Hansen's and Novack's sharp and polemical criticism of Healy's ultra-sectarian policies and of the Stalinist or hooligan-like organizational and political practices of his bizarre group[13]. Fur-

---

8) For all bibliographical details concerning *World Outlook* and *Intercontinental Press* see the respective entries in our *Trotskyist Serials Bibliography*, München [etc.], 1993, a slightly revised version of which is available as PDF file within the framework of our Lubitz' *TrotskyanaNet*, too. Altogether 24 volumes of World Outlook/Intercontinental Press were published between 1963 and 1986, before being partially incorporated in *The Militant* and in the *New International*. The print-run at the end (1985) was 3,500 copies.

9) From about 1973/74, however, *Intercontinental Press* primarily was the organ of the *Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF)* - although continuing to publish articles by the *International Majority Tendency's (IMT)* spokesmen, too [see also next footnote] - while *Inprecor* and *Inprekorr* (issued in various languages) and later *International Viewpoint*, too, became the main organs reflecting the points of view of the majority current within the *United Secretariat of the Fourth International*. [For some bibliographical details concerning the just mentioned papers see also our *Trotskyist Serials Bibliography*.]

10) The members and supporters of that tendency eventually formed the *Leninist-Trotskyist* ***Faction*** *(LTF)* in August 1973 after they had come to the conclusion that the *International Majority Tendency (IMT),* chiefly inspired by Mandel, Maitan and Frank, was functioning as a 'secret faction' carrying its own internal discussion outside the elected leading bodies of the *F.I.* The factional controversies should only come to an end in 1977. Most of Hansen's major contributions to the debate within the *F.I.* when he was a leader of the *LTT/LTF* have been published posthumously with title *The Leninist strategy of party building : the debate on guerilla warfare in Latin America. - New York, NY [etc.] : Pathfinder Pr., 1979. - 608 pp.*

11) OLAS = Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad

12) As already stated above, Healy in 1963 had fiercely fought re-unification and his group remained outside the re-united International. By the mid-1970s together with some tiny offshoots Healy's *WRP* formed again an *International Committee of the Fourth International* as a continuation of the original *ICFI* which had split in 1971 when the French *OCI* under the leadership of P. Lambert and the strong Bolivian section under the leadership of G. Lora divided from the Healyites.

13) See for example the collection *Marxism vs. ultraleftism : the record of Healy's break with Trotskyism / ed. with an introd. by*

thermore Healy could never forget or forgive that it was Hansen who in 1963 had successfully engineered the re-unification so fiercely opposed by Healy. However, the indictments and accusations were refuted not only by Hansen himself but by almost the entire international 'Trotskyist family' which was represented when in January 1977 an international meeting in solidarity with Hansen and Novack was held in London which unanimously condemned the disgusting Healyite slander campaign[14].
Joseph Hansen died from infectious complications in New York City's Mount Sinai Hospital on January 18, 1979 at the age of 68.
We should like to conclude this biographical sketch by a short quotation from an obituary written by George Novack, a long-time friend of Hansen with whom he had joined in numerous editorial endeavours:

> "Joe's reputation as a revolutionist remains spotless; the results of his forty-five years of service are enduring. He was the trusted confident of Leon Trotsky and James P. Cannon for good reasons. At the moment of his death he was one of the most respected leaders and influential theoreticians of the Fourth International".[15]

Selective bibliography [16]

- ***Selective bibliography: Books/pamphlets (co-)authored by Hansen***

The Abern clique. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1972. - 32 pp. - (Education for socialists)
American workers need a labor arty. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., [1944]. - 44 pp.
Dynamics of the Cuban revolution. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1978. - 393 pp. [& later ed.]
Father Coughlin, fascist demagogue. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1939. - 30 pp.
In defense of the Cuban revolution : an answer to the State Department and Theodore Draper. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1961. - 30 pp.
Introducción al programa de transición / Joseph Hansen y George Novack. Trad. del inglés: Jesús Pérez. - Barcelona : Fontamara, 1978. - 95 pp. - (Apuntes ; 7)
James P. Cannon, the internationalist / Joseph Hansen. Appendices by James P. Cannon. [Notes by George Breitman]. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1980. - 38 pp. - (Education for socialists)
The Leninist strategy of party building : the debate on guerilla warfare in Latin America / ed. by Leslie Evans [et al. Introd. by Leslie Evans]. - New York, NY [etc.] : Pathfinder Pr., 1979. - 608 pp. [& later ed.]
Maoism vs. Bolshevism : the 1965 catastrophe in Indonesia, China's "cultural revolution", and the disintegration of world Stalinism. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1998. - 75 pp.
Nixon's Moscow and Peking summits : their meaning for Vietnam / Joseph Hansen ; Caroline Lund. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1972. - 31 pp.
Organisational methods and political principles : a study of clique politics in a revolutionary party. - Sidney : Resistance Books, 2000. - 84 pp.
The "population explosion" : how socialists view it. 2. ed. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1970. - 47 pp. - (A Merit pamphlet)
The Socialist Workers Party : what it is, what it stands for. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., [1948]. - 30 pp. [& later ed.]

Joseph Hansen. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1974. - 253 pp. - (Education for socialists) and *Healy 'reconstructs' the Fourth International : documents and comments by participants in a fiasco / with a pref. by Joseph Hansen. - New York, NY : Socialist Workers Party, 1966. - 39 pp.*

14) See for example the collection *Healy's big lie : the slander campaign against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and the Fourth International. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1976. - 87 pp. - (Education for socialists)* and *Atkinson, Jim: London rally condemns Healyite frame-up campaign, in: Intercontinental Press, 15.1977 (4), pp. 92-102.*

15) Novack, George: Joseph Hansen, 1910-1979 : veteran leader of Fourth International and SWP, in: *Intercontinental Press*, 17.1979 (3), pp. 51-55, here: p.55.

16) 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 *TrotskyanaNet*. In TSB you can find detailed descriptions concerning the respective Trotskyist journals, newsletters, bulletins and the like.

The theory of the Cuban revolution. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1962. - 30 pp. [Reprinted from International Socialist Review]
Too many babies? : a Marxist answer to some frightening questions. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., [ca. 1961]. - 48 pp. [& later ed. by Pathfinder Pr., New York, NY]
Trotskyism and the Cuban revolution : an answer to Hoy. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1962. - 14 pp. [Reprinted from The Militant]
The truth about Cuba. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1960. - 48 pp. [Collection of articles reprinted from The Militant]
What is American fascism? : writings on Father Coughlin, Mayor Frank Hague, and Senator Joseph McCarthy / James P. Cannon and Joseph Hansen. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1976. - 45 pp. - (Education for socialists) [& later ed., publ. by Pathfinder Pr., New York, NY]
The workers' and farmers' government. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1974. - 64 pp. - (Education for socialists)

Note: A small text archive containing writings of Joseph Hansen can be found in the WWW

- ***Selective bibliography: Books/pamphlets and journals (co-)edited by Hansen***

Fourth International (New York, NY, 1940-56) <TSB 0532>
Intercontinental Press (New York, NY) [ISSN 0020-5303 ; ISSN 0162-5594] <TSB 0657>
International Socialist Review (New York, NY) [ISSN 0020-8744] <TSB 0715>
Marxism vs. ultraleftism : the record of Healy's break with Trotskyism / ed. with an introd. by Joseph Hansen. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1974. - 253 pp. - (Education for socialists)
The Militant (New York, NY) [ISSN 0026-3885] <TSB 1026>
New Militant (New York, NY) <TSB 1093>
World Outlook = Perspective mondiale (Paris ; later: New York, NY) <TSB 1886>

- ***Selective bibliography: Books, collections, journals, bulletins to which Hansen contributed***

The American radical press : 1880-1960 / ed. with an introd. by Joseph R. Conlin. - Vol. 2. - Westport, Conn. [etc.] : Greenwood Pr., 1974. [& later ed.]
L'assassinat de Trotsky : documents / Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Mouvements Trotskyste et Révolutionnaires Internationaux. - Paris, 2000. - 77 pp. - (Les cahiers du C.E.R.M.T.R.I. ; 99)
L'assassinat de Léon Trotsky. - [Paris] : Publications du Secrétariat de la IVe Internationale, [1946]. - 63 pp.
Assassinio di Trotsky / Michel Raptis [et al.] [A cura di Paolo Casciola. Trad. ital. da Paolo Casciola]. - Foligno : Centro Studi Pietro Tresso, 1990. - 55 pp. - (Quaderni del Centro Studi Pietro Tresso : Serie Dagli archivi del bolscevismo ; 6)
Bandiera rossa (Roma, later: Milano) [ISSN 1122-519X] <TSB 0080>
Behind China's "great cultural revolution" / Peng Shu-tse [et al.] - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1967. - 63 pp.
Bulletin In Defense of Marxism (New York, NY) <TSB 0219>
Cannon, James P.: The history of American Trotskyism : report of a participant / James P. Cannon. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1944. - XIV, 268 pp.
Cannon, James P.: Socialism on trial : the official court record of James P. Cannon's testimony in the famous Minneapolis "sedition" trial / with an introd. by Felix Morrow. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1942. - 116 pp. [& later ed., partly publ. by Pathfinder Pr., with introd. by Joseph Hansen and George Novack respectively]
The catastrophe in Indonesia : three articles on the fatal consequences of Communist Party policy. - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1966. - 47 pp.
Chester, Bob: Workers and farmers governments since the Second World War / Robert Chester. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1978. - 39 pp.
Class, party, and state and the Eastern European revolution. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1969. - 61 pp. - (Education for socialists)
Correo internacional (Madrid) <TSB 0382>

Cosmetics, fashions, and the exploitation of women / by Joseph Hansen and Evelyn Reed [et al.] Introd. by Mary- Alice Waters. [Ed. by Sonja Franeta]. - New York [etc.] : Pathfinder Pr., 1986. - 138 pp. [& later ed.]

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

Fifty years of world revolution : an international symposium / ed. and with an introd. by Ernest Mandel. Transl. by Gerald Paul. - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1968. - 366 pp. [& later print.]

The fight against fascism in the USA : forty years of struggle described by participants / James P. Cannon [et al.] - New York : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1976. - 55 pp. - (Education for socialists) [& later ed., publ. by Pathfinder Pr., New York, NY]

Fourth International : a journal of international Marxism (London, later: Detroit, Mich.) [ISSN 0015-9204] <TSB 0536>

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

Frontier and Midland (Missoula, Mont.)

Guevara, Ernesto Che: Che Guevara speaks : selected speeches and writings / ed. by George Lavan. - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1967. - 159 pp. [& later ed.]

Healy "reconstructs" the Fourth International : documents and comments by participants in a fiasco / with a pref. by Joseph Hansen. - New York, NY : Socialist Workers Party, 1966. - 39 pp.

Healy's big lie : the slander campaign against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and the Fourth International. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1976. - 87 pp. - (Education for socialists)

Hommage à Natalia Sedova-Trotsky : 1882-1962. - Paris : Les Lettres Nouvelles, 1962. - 122, [10] pp. [Collection of obituaries, reminiscences and appraisals by A. Breton, M. Bonnet, I. Deutscher, R. Dunayevskaya, P. Frank, J. Hansen, L. Maitan, P. Naville, L. Orfila, M. Pablo, G. Rosenthal, A. Rosmer, L. Schwartz, J. Weber, S. Weber]

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

Inprecor : [French edition] (Various places) [ISSN 0378-8342 ; ISSN 0294-8516] <TSB 0647>

Inprekorr : internationale Pressekorrespondenz der IV. Internationale (Various places) [ISSN 0256-4416] <TSB 0654>

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

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

Internal Information Bulletin / Socialist Workers Party (New York, NY) <TSB 1549>

International Committee documents, 1951-1954 : struggle in the Fourth International / issued by the Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party. - 1-4. - New York, NY, 1974. - 246 pp. - (Towards a history of the Fourth International ; 3) (Education for socialists)

International Information Bulletin / Socialist Workers Party (New York, NY) <TSB 1550>

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

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

Internationales Bulletin : Diskussionsbulletin des Organisationskomitees für den Wiederaufbau der IV. Internationale (Various places) <TSB 1155>

The invasion of Czechoslovakia / ed. by Les Evans. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1969. - 47 pp. - (A Merit pamphlet) [& later ed.] [Reprinted from Intercontinental Press]

James P. Cannon : a political tribute ; including five interviews from the last year of his life. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1974. - 46 pp. [Speeches and obituaries by J. Hansen, J. Barnes, T. Kerry, A. Pulley et al., reprinted from various sources, plus some interviews with and speeches by J.P. Cannon]

James P. Cannon as we knew him : by thirty-three comrades, friends, and relatives / introd. by Jack Barnes. Ed. by Les Evans. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1976. - 288 pp. [Collection of obituaries, reminiscences and appraisals]

Kerry, Tom: The anatomy of Stalinism / Tom Kerry. - New York, YN : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1972. - 16 pp. - (Education for socialists)

Krushchev's downfall / a statement by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. New deeping of Sino-Soviet rift? / Joseph Hansen. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., [ca. 1964]. - 15 pp.

Labor Action (San Francisco, Cal.) <TSB 0868>

Leo Trotzki 1879-1940 in den Augen von Zeitgenossen. - Hamburg : Junius, 1979. - 190 pp.

Leon Trotsky - the man and his work : reminiscences and appraisals / Joseph Hansen [et al.] - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1969. - 128 pp.

Marxism vs. ultraleftism : the record of Healy's break with Trotskyism / ed. with an introd. by Joseph Hansen. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1974. - 253 pp. - (Education for so-

cialists)
The Militant (New York, NY) [ISSN 0026-3885] <TSB 1026>
Murder in Memphis : Martin Luther King and the future of the black liberation struggle / Paul Boutelle [et al.] - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1968. - 15 pp.
The nature of the Cuban revolution : record of a controversy, 1960-1963. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1968. - [Various pag.] - (Education for socialists)
Neisti (Reykjavík) <TSB 1081>
The New International (New York, NY, 1934-36 and 1938-58) <TSB 1089>
Organizational principles and practices / ed. with an introd. by Evelyn Sell. - New York, NY : Fourth Internationalist Tendency, 1987. - 28 pp. - (Materials for a history of Trotskyism in the United States)
The Party Builder / Socialist Workers Party (New York, NY) <TSB 1178>
Perspectiva mundial (Madrid) <TSB 1202>
Portugal, l'alternative / Joseph Hansen [et al.]. - Paris : Ed. Taupe Rouge, 1975. - 95 pp. - (Cahier rouge) [Articles, partly transl. from the Engl. and extracted from Intercontinental Press]
Quarta Internazionale : rivista teorica (Roma; later: Milano) <TSB 1280>
Quatrième Internationale (Paris etc., 1936-) [ISSN 0771-0569 - ISSN 0765-1740] <TSB 1282>
Revolt in France, May-June 1968 : a contemporary record, comp. from Intercontinental Press and The Militant / publ. by Les Evans. - New York, NY : [Pathfinder Pr.], 1968. - 169 pp.
Revolutionary Cuba today : the record of a discussion. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1980. - 136 pp. - (Education for socialists)
A revolutionary strategy for the 70s : documents of the Socialist Workers Party. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1972. - 96 pp.
Socialist Appeal (New York, NY) <TSB 1497>
Socialist Perspective (Sydney, NSW) <TSB 1516>
El socialista (Bogotà)
The struggle to reunify the Fourth International : (1954-1963) / National Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party. - 1-4. - New York, NY, 1977-78. - [Various pag.] - (Towards a history of the Fourth International ; [7]) (Education for socialists)
SWP Discussion Bulletin (New York, NY) <TSB 1684>
Trotsky, Leon: In defense of Marxism : (against the petty-bourgeois opposition) / Leon Trotsky. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1942. - XXI, 211 pp. - (A Merit book) [& later ed., publ. by Merit Publ., New York, NY, and by Pathfinder Pr., New York, NY]
Trotsky, Leon: My life : an attempt at an autobiography / Leon Trotsky. With an introd. by Joseph Hansen. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1970. - XXXVII, 602 pp. (A Merit book) [& later ed., publ. also by Penguin Books, Harmondsworth]
Trotsky, Leon: Stalin's frame-up system and the Moscow Trials / Leon Trotsky. Foreword by Joseph Hansen. - New York, NY . Pioneer Publ., [1950]. - XXIII, 144 pp.
Trotsky, Leon: Stenographic report dated June 1940 of a discussion with Leon Trotsky on Stalinism and Trotskyism in the USA. - [London : New Park Publications, s.d.] - 23 pp.
Trotsky, Leon: The transitional program for socialist revolution / Leon Trotsky. With introd. essays by Joseph Hansen and George Novack. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1973. - 223 pp. [& later ed.]
Trotskyism versus revisionism : a documentary history / ed. by C. Slaughter. - 1-7. - London : New Park Publications, 1974-84. [Vol. 7: Detroit, Mich. : Labor Publications]
Unser Wort (Prag, later: Paris; later: Antwerpen; later: New York, NY) <TSB 1761>
Vida e morte de Trotsky / Pierre Frank [et al.] Trad. de J. Ferdinando Antunes. - Lisboa : Ed. Delfos, [1974]. - 240 pp. - (Compasso do tempo ; 19)
The Voice of the Federation (San Francisco, Cal.)
Was tun : sozialistische Zeitung (Various places) [ISSN 0043-0404] <TSB 1818>
Why we are in prison : farewell speeches of the 18 SWP and 544-CIO Minneapolis prisoners. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1944. - 54 pp.
World Outlook = Perspective mondiale (Paris ; later: New York, NY) <TSB 1886>
20 [Zwanzig] Jahre kubanische Revolution in der Analyse der IV. Internationale. - [Frankfurt a.M. : GIM], 1981. - 92 pp. - (Schulungshefte der Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM), Deutsche Sektion der IV. Internationale)

- ***Selective bibliography: Books and articles about Hansen***

[Anon.:] Joseph Hansen (socialist). [Biographical sketch, Wikipedia article]
[Anon.]: [Obituary] Joe Hansen látinn, in: *Neisti* <TSB 1081>, 1979 (1), p. 11.
Dobbs, Farrell: [Obituary] Joe Hansen, "disciplined soldier" of revolutionary movement, in: *Intercontinental Press* <TSB 0657>, 17.1979 (14), pp. 390-391. [Speech delivered at a memorial meeting, San Fraancisco, Cal., Febr. 11, 1979]
Evans, Leslie: Introduction, in: *Hansen, Joseph: The Leninist strategy of party building : the debate on guerilla warfare in Latin America / ed. by Leslie Evans [et al.] Introd. by Leslie Evans.* - New York, NY [etc.], 1979, pp. 9-30
Godchau, Jean-François: [Obituary], in: *Cahiers Léon Trotsky* <TSB 0277>, 1979 (2), pp. 21-22.
Healy's big lie : the slander campaign against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and the Fourth International. - New York, NY, 1976. - 87 pp. - (Education for socialists)
Miles, Jim: Joseph Hansen and the Marxist theory of the state : a dual legacy, in: *Revolutionary Marxism Today*, 1996 (inaugural issue), pp. 99-102.
Der Mord an Leo Trotzki : Hansen und Novack - Komplizen der GPU / Internationales Komitee der IV. Internationale. - Essen, [ca. 1977]. - [30]pp.
Novack, George: Joseph Hansen (1910-1979) : la vie d'un révolutionnaire, in: *Inprecor : [French edition]* <TSB 0647>, 1979 (45), pp. 19-23. [Obituary]
Novack, George: [Obituary] / Georg Novack, in: *Inprekorr : internationale Pressekorrespondenz der IV. Internationale* <TSB 0654>, 1979 (98), pp. 22-26.
Novack, Georges: [Obituary], in: *Intercontinental Press* <TSB 0657>, 17.1979 (3), pp. 51-55.
Sicherheitsfragen und die Vierte Internationale : Antwort des Politischen Komitees der Workers Revolutionary Party auf den Artikel von Joseph Hansen "Das Geheimnis von Healys 'Dialektik'. - Essen : Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter, 1975. - 63 pp.
Stone, Ben: [Biographical sketch], in: *Stone, Ben: Memoirs of a radical rank & filer*, New York, NY, 1986, pp. 119-122
Wald, Susan: 550 attend New York Memorial meeting for Joseph Hansen, in: *Intercontinental Press* <TSB 0657>, 17.1979 (5), pp. 100-101.
Wald, Susan: Meetings in U.S., Canada, India pay tribute to Joseph Hansen, in: *Intercontinental Press* <TSB 0657>, 17.1979 (8), p.211.

- ***Selective bibliography: Books dedicated to Hansen***

Trotsky, Leon: Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1930 - 31 / ed. by George Breitman and Sarah Lovell. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1973. - 441 pp.
Wohlforth, Tim: The prophet's children : travels on the American Left / Tim Wohlforth. - Atlantic Highlands, NJ : Humanities Pr., 1994. - XVIII, 332 pp. - (Historical memories)

Note: More informations about Joseph Hansen are likely to be found in some of the books, pamphlets, university works and articles listed in relevant chapters of the *Lubitz' Leon Trotsky Bibliography [ISSN 2190-0183]*, e.g. in chapter 7.5.18.

Sidelines, notes on archives

— **Health**: Hansen came of sturdy stock and was physically vigorous and active; he was what the Americans call a crack shot who liked to backpack through the mountains, woods and wilderness on vacations. However, in 1965 he suffered a severe peritonitis from which he never fully recovered. In later years he was suffering from an uncontrollable form of diabetes, too.

— Widespread **interests**: Hansen was not only interested in politics. An author of poems, satire and short stories during his years as a student, he later became interested in Sigmund Freud, in botany and geology and in the

latest developments in the field of physical sciences, too. His working habits were shaped by the examples of Leon Trotsky and James P. Cannon and he was a real team-worker hating any form of star cult.

— From Hansen's **reminiscences of Trotsky**: In an article titled *Trotsky in Coyoacán* and subtitled *Reminiscences of Trotsky's life in Mexico by a leader of the Trotskyist movement who served as Trotsky's secretary during those last years*, Hansen in 1970 remembered:

> "For the guards and secretaries, Coyoacán was a school of the Fourth International. All of us followed personal studies which Trotsky, we were aware, noted without intervening - he would unexpectedly drop in on us in our rooms, or ask about a book we happened to be reading in the patio. Also we held classes where we took up various subjects, including Spanish for the American guards. In a more encompassing way, Trotsky utilized the entire situation, including the organization of our defense, diplomatic relations with the outside, arriving at political decisions, answering the heavy correspondence, even the articles he wrote, to pass on as much as he could to us from the tradition of the past. There appeared to be no deliberate pedagogy about this; it was just the pattern in which everything was discussed, decided, and carried out.
> He could be a severe taskmaster. Life quickly became miserable for anyone around Trotsky who found it difficult to break with bohemian habits or who found it insurmountable difficult to learn preciseness, thoroughness, workmanship".[17]

— Some autobiographical notes **about the young Joseph Hansen**:

> "Trotsky's name had come into my consciousness when I was nine years old. It was after World War I in the Utah farming town of some 3,000 people where my father worked as a tailor. Even here the Russian revolution, which had ended Czarism, was regarded favourably and was much discussed, at least among the immigrant families, who were mostly from Scandinavia. The politics in the town was a reactionary mixture of Republicanism and Mormonism [...] I began to take an interest in politics, and the campaigns and debates associated with it, when I was ten [...] While I thus became known as a "socialist" and "bomb thrower" at a tender age, it was not until I was at the University of Utah during the catastrophe of the Great Depression that I began to study Marxism and the different currents in the radical movement in a serious way [...]"[18]

— **"Hansen" as Trotsky's pseudonym**: Leon Trotsky sometimes used the names of his secretaries as pseudonyms; thus some documents from the late 1930s and from 1940 signed by "Hansen" were factually written by Trotsky (see the section on *Trotsky's pen names and pseudonyms* within our Lubitz' *TrotskyanaNet* website).

— **Memorial meetings**: After the death of Joseph Hansen on January 18, 1979 several memorial meetings in honour of the deceased were held in various American cities and places abroad. Thus a memorial meeting chaired by *SWP Political Committee* member Mary-Alice Waters and attended by some 550 people was held at New York City on January 28, 1979 to pay tribute to Joseph Hansen. In San Francisco, Cal., a memorial meeting was held on February 11. Other meetings were held in Los Angeles, Cal. on February 4, Toronto (Canada) on February 16, and Bombay (India) on February 8. A special fund raising campaign was started in order to collect some $ 20,000 to make possible the publication of some of Joseph Hansen's hitherto uncollected works.

— **Archival sources**: The *Joseph Hansen Papers* are available at the *Hoover Institution Archives*, Stanford, Cal. This is a rich archive consisting of more than 100 boxes: 3 boxes are containing biographical files and family papers, 32 boxes correspondence, 25 boxes speeches and writings, 7 boxes editorial files (speeches and writings by others with annotations by Hansen), 2 boxes Leon Trotsky file, 1 box Natal'ia Sedova file, 24 boxes Fourth International file 1930-1980, 5 boxes Socialist Workers Party file 1929-1979; furthermore the Hansen papers are containing a subject file (collected pamphlets, printed articles, outline notes for speeches, clippings, leaflets, bulletins and miscellany arranged alphabetically by topic), an oversize file, phonotapes and photographs and 2 boxes with papers of Reba and Beatrice Hansen, his wife and his sister-in-law, respectively. Before the online finding aid was provided, a well-organized and indexed finding aid in printed form was prepared by Dale Reed: *Joseph Hansen – a register of his papers in the Hoover Institution Archives. Stanford, Cal. : Hoover Institution, Stanford Univ., 1993. 86 pp.*

---

17) Hansen, Joseph: Trotsky in Coyoacán, in: *International Socialist Review,* 31.1970 (3), pp. 36-37.

18) Ibid., p. 35.

Besides this, there are other collections at *Hoover Institution Archives* containing documents by and about Hansen, too, such for example *The Socialist Workers Party Records 1928-1990* [19]
It goes without saying that letters and papers from Joseph Hansen are to be found in almost all archives all over the world where papers of leading Trotskyists and/or of the *Fourth International* and its national sections for the period 1937-1979 are preserved.

Note: Photograph on page 1 taken from Intercontinental Press (New York, NY), 17.1979 (3), p.49 (Fred Stanton / Pathfinder Press)

Wolfgang and Petra Lubitz,2005
last rev. June 2016

19) For more information see also the chapter about *Public achives : America* within the framework of our *Lubitz' TrotskyanaNet* website.