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<b><i>Basic biographical data</i></b>	
<b>Name:</b>	Frank Lovell
<b>Other names (by-names, pseud. etc.):</b>	Frederick Lang * Frederick J. Lang
<b>Date and place of birth:</b>	July 24, 1913, Ipava, Ill. (USA)
<b>Date and place of death:</b>	May 1, 1998, New York, NY (USA)
<b>Nationality:</b>	USA
<b>Occupations, careers, etc.:</b>	Seaman, auto worker, trade-union organizer, party organizer, editor, writer
<b>Time of activity in Trotskyist movement:</b>	1935 - 1998 (lifelong Trotskyist)

***Biographical sketch***

*Frank Lovell was an outstanding trade union and party-organizer, writer on union and labour matters and for more than 60 years a devoted and faithful militant of Trotskyist organizations. The following biographical sketch is chiefly based upon the obituaries, biographical sketches and the memorial volume listed in the Selective bibliography section below.*

Frank Lovell was born on July 24, 1913 in Ipava, a town situated in a farming district of Illinois (USA) as son of an entrepreneur. Since the late 1940s, he was married with labour activist, party organizer and editor [Sarah Lovell](#) (b. Hellman, 1922-1994) with whom he had a daughter, Joan, born 1950. After the death of his wife, labour activist and librarian Miriam [Braverman](#) (b. Gutman, 1920-2002), the widow of Harry [Braverman](#), became his companion until his death.

In the first half of the 1930s, Lovell studied philosophy at the University of California at Berkeley, eventually earning a B.A. degree. After he had left the campus, Lovell from 1936 to 1946 earned his living as a seaman, chiefly on the West Coast of the USA.

First attracted by the socialism of Eugene V. [Debs](#), the syndicalism of the *Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)*, the radical idealism of the early *Communist Party* of the U.S., and eventually in the wake of the great general strike in San Francisco (1934/35), Lovell in 1935 joined the ranks of the *Workers Party of the U.S. (WPUS)* in Portland, California. The *WPUS* was a Trotskyist party which at the time was newly formed as a result of the fusion between James P. [Cannon](#)'s *Communist League of America (CLA)* and Abraham J. [Muste](#)'s *Workers Party (WP)*. When after a few years of 'entrism', splits and regroupments the *Socialist Workers Party (SWP)* as American affiliate of *Trotsky's Movement for the Fourth International* was launched on January 1, 1938, Frank Lovell belonged to its co-

founders. In 1942, he was elected a member of its *National Committee*, following a proposal of party chairman James P. Cannon. Lovell served on this national leadership body for some four decades playing a significant rôle in the *SWP* until he became a victim of a special sort of 'party cleansing' and eventually was expelled from it in 1983 (see below). For many years, Lovell functioned as national trade union work director of the *SWP* and as labour correspondent and columnist of *The Militant*, the party's weekly paper, which he also co-edited from 1970 to 1981. Apart from that, he contributed a considerable number of articles – focusing chiefly on trade union and labour history matters – to the American and international Trotskyist press such as for example to *Fourth International*, *Intercontinental Press*, *International Viewpoint*, *Inprecor*, *SWP Discussion Bulletin*<sup>1</sup>.

When working as a coastal sailor in the 1930s, Lovell got deeply involved in maritime trade union activism<sup>2</sup>; thus he became an organizer for the *Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP)* in 1936 and actively participated in *SUP*'s 3-month strike 1936/37 as well as in the maritime general strike of 1946 (perhaps the most important maritime strike in American labour history) when he was on the strike committee together with another member of the Trotskyist fraction in the maritime union, Bernie Goodman, and with Tom Kerry who later became a significant leader of the *SWP*.

In 1943, serving as a seaman in the U.S. merchant marine, Frank Lovell, as one of a few members of the crew, barely survived the blowing up of his ship by a German mine off the coast of Iceland when the ship came off the Murmansk run.

His rich experiences in the maritime industry and his research on it became the basis of a book which he authored – with assistance from Sherry Mangan – during World War II and which became a very classic in the field: *Maritime : a historical sketch and a workers' program* which was first published by Pioneer Publishers (New York, NY) in 1943 under Lovell's pen name Frederick J. Lang.

In the second half of the 1940s, Lovell edited in Portland (Oregon) a rank-and-file union paper titled *The Defender*, attacking bureaucratism and collaboration with government and employers against the members' interests and denouncing reactionary and anti-labour attitudes in the maritime industry as well as in the maritime unions of the time. In the wake of the unfolding climate of reaction and McCarthyite witch-hunting, Lovell was expelled from the *SUP* in 1949.

In 1950, the Lovells moved from the West Coast to Detroit, Michigan, where Frank Lovell earned his living at *General Motors Corporation (GM)* as a skilled and diligent craftsman in the *GM Design Center*, building moulds out of wood for new auto-mobile models. A union activist incarnate, Lovell engaged as an organizer for the *United Auto Workers (UAW)* union. Both Frank Lovell and his wife Sarah played a significant rôle in the local labour movement as well as in organizing and keeping alive the Detroit *SWP* branch which suffered an eminent loss when in 1953/54 a number of working-class militants left the party in the wake of the so-called Cochranite split<sup>3</sup>. With regard to Lovell's Detroit years mention must be made of the *Friday Night Socialist Forum* (later known as *The Militant Forum*) which educated and radicalised a whole generation of young Detroites including trade-unionists, civil rights and black liberation activists and students from *Wayne State University* campus. The forum series and other socialist activities were organized by the Lovells in close co-operation with another prominent *SWP* couple from Detroit, their very friends George and Dorothea Breitman. The *Detroit Police Department* kept a considerable file on both the Lovells and the Breitmans.

The Detroit *SWP* branch also ran some socialist election campaigns, including radio and TV performances; thus Frank Lovell ran as candidate for Governor of Michigan on the *SWP* ticket in 1954, 1958 and again in 1964, and as candidate for Mayor of Detroit in 1953 amidst an atmosphere of Mc-

1) For his literary activities during the final years see below

2) About this see for instance Goodman, Bernie: Frank Lovell in the maritime unions, in: *Revolutionary labor socialist : the life, ideas, and comrades of Frank Lovell* / ed. by Paul Le Blanc and Thomas Barrett, Union City, NJ, 2000, pp. 36-38.

3) In 1952/53 a sharp factional struggle took place inside the *SWP* between the majority led by James P. Cannon, Joseph Hansen, George Novack et al. and the minority led by Bert Cochran, George Clarke, Harry Braverman, Milton Zaslow et al. The faction fight eventually ended by a severe split when the 'Cochranites' were excluded from the party and a great deal of the working-class militants followed them and left the party.

Carthyism.

In 1969, the Lovells moved from Detroit to New York City where Frank Lovell served as the *SWP*'s trade union director (see also above).

In the early 1980s, Frank and Sarah Lovell – like several hundred other ‘veterans’ – got into a sharp conflict with the layer of younger party activists grouping around Jack Barnes, Larry Seigle, Mary-Alice Waters and others who had been recruited to the *SWP* in the wake of the student revolt and the Vietnam War resistance of the 1960s and who in the 1970s successively had taken over the leadership from the retiring ‘old guard’ of party leaders. The ‘Barnesites’ became busy in substituting the traditional Trotskyist programme and political orientation of the *SWP* by a closer alignment to the Castroite Cuban communist line despite its partial adaptation to Stalinism. Thus the new *SWP* leadership explicitly abandoned Trotsky’s theory of permanent revolution and repudiated more or less the entire body of Trotskyist thought and thus challenged the very foundations of the *Fourth International (FI)*. Any connections with the *FI* were officially ceased in 1990, but factually the *SWP* disaffiliated from the international Trotskyist movement already several years earlier.

Most of those who defended Trotskyist ideas and kept adherence to the *Fourth International* – particularly a considerable number of long-time *SWP* militants including almost all notable theorists and party intellectuals<sup>4</sup> – found themselves bureaucratically expelled from the *SWP* in 1983/84 or resigned under protest. Thus, Frank Lovell together with Steve Bloom, Nat Weinstein, and Lynn Henderson was ‘suspended’ from the *SWP National Committee* and factually expelled from the party in the second half of 1983 on the charge that these 4 persons were acting as a ‘secret faction’. After his exclusion, Lovell together with some other expelled Trotskyists<sup>5</sup> launched a small Marxist cadre called *Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT)*<sup>6</sup> which aimed at bringing about a unification of those former *SWP* members and sympathizers who were faithful to the Trotskyist traditions and who considered themselves supporters of the *Fourth International (United Secretariat)* led by Ernest Mandel<sup>7</sup> and Livio Maitan.

However, unification could not be achieved since a considerable number of former *SWP* militants founded separate organizations such as for example *Socialist Action* with a stronghold in California. In 1984, the *FIT* was officially recognized by the *Fourth International (United Secretariat)* as one of three U.S. sympathizing groups, the two others being *Socialist Action* and the *Fourth International Caucus* within the organization *Solidarity*. In the early 1990s, after a period of tensions and discussions, Lovell voted with the majority of the *FIT* to go out of existence and to merge either with *Socialist Action* or *Solidarity*. Most of the *FIT* members joined the ranks of *Solidarity*, and Lovell did so, too, holding his membership for about a year. During the last years of his life, Lovell, never giving up his revolutionary optimism, became a member of *Labor Party Advocates* in 1991 and later was active in the creation and hopeful about the prospects of the *Labor Party* which was launched in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1996. At the end of the century it had become evident that Lovell's and others' aim of successfully rebuilding a unified and strong U.S. section of the Trotskyist *Fourth International* had failed.

In December 1983 the first issue of *FIT*'s magazine *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism (BIDOM)* for short, later renamed *In Defense of Marxism* appeared; Frank Lovell was initiator and editor of *BIDOM* and contributed a lot of articles to it, while Sarah Lovell functioned as copy editor and treasurer. During the following years, the paper developed to a prime source for the documentation and study of the history of U.S. Trotskyism and of the decline of the *SWP* to which Lovell, Breitman, Bloom and others put much thought. *BIDOM* continued to be published even when the *FIT* dissolved and most of its

4) One notable exception was the renowned George Novack (1905-1992), author of many books on Marxist philosophy and history, who remained a member of the *SWP* until his death although retiring from organizational activities because of age and bad health.

5) For example Naomi Allen, Steve Bloom, George Breitman, Sarah Lovell, Bill Onash, George Saunders [i.e. George Shriver], Evelyn Sell, Jean Tussey, George L. Weissman. In the following years some other prominent ex-members of the *SWP* joined *FIT*, e.g. Marilyn Vogt-Downey.

6) Originating from the *Fourth Internationalist Caucus*, a political tendency represented in the *National Committee (NC)* of the *SWP* by Steve Bloom and Frank Lovell, which was established after the 1981 plenum of the *NC*. Another prominent spokesman of the caucus was George Breitman. Membership of *FIT* remained quite small: some 35-70.

7) Within the framework of our *Lubitz' TrotskyanaNet* website, an entire chapter, containing an exhaustive bibliography, a bibliographical sketch and other material, is dedicated to Ernest Mandel (1923-1995).

members and supporters joined the ranks of *Solidarity*. Altogether, 142 issues of the journal were published between December 1983 and August 1998 before it discontinued and was substituted by the journal *Labor Standard*. Apart from the just mentioned *Bulletin In Defense of Marxism*, the balance sheet of the long and intensive struggle for Trotskyism in the U.S. inside and outside the *SWP* as regarded by Lovell and his co-thinkers was exhaustively and accurately documented and narrated in a 3-volume series titled *In defense of American Trotskyism* which was edited by Sarah Lovell and Steve Bloom and published by the *FIT* in 1990-92. It goes without saying that a considerable number of items contained in these books were contributed by Frank Lovell.

At the age of 84, Frank Lovell died of a heart attack in his apartment in Manhattan, New York City, on May 1, 1998. An obituary appeared in the *New York Times* on May 23. A memorial service in his honour was held on September 20, 1998 at New York City's *Tamiment Library*.

Some two years later, a fine memorial volume, edited by Paul Le Blanc and Thomas Barrett, was published by *Smyrna Press* with title *Revolutionary labor socialist: the life, ideas, and comrades of Frank Lovell*. The book is divided in 3 parts, the first of which contains some 30 obituaries, personal recollections and appraisals of friends and comrades who knew him and had worked with him<sup>8</sup>, providing a lot of biographical details concerning his long involvement in the various labour and political struggles of his lifetime<sup>9</sup>; the second section is a compilation of some of his writings, chiefly focusing on subjects of unionism, radical labour history and U.S. Trotskyism; the final section eventually contains some 15 obituaries, biographical sketches and miscellanies – chiefly written by Lovell – about persons who were influential in the history of American Trotskyism. Thus, this book is a quite important source not only with regard to the study of Frank Lovell's life and work but also sheds light on a variety of aspects of American Trotskyism and radical labour history including some outstanding figures in this field.

### ***Selective bibliography***<sup>10</sup>

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

The job crisis : a new challenge for the unions. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1975. - 14 pp.

Maritime : a historical sketch and a workers' program / Frederick J. Lang [i.e. Frank Lovell]. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1943. - 171 pp. [& later ed.]

What socialists want / Frank Lovell. - [Detroit, Mich] : Michigan Headquarters, Socialist Workers Party, 1964. - [4] pp.

A year of decision for U.S. labor : the Hormel strike and beyond / Dave Riehle and Frank Lovell. - New York, NY : Fourth Internationalist Tendency, 1986. - 27 pp. - (A Fourth Internationalist Tendency pamphlet) [Repr. from *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*]

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

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

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

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

Against the Current (New York, NY, later: Detroit, Mich.) [ISSN 0739-4853] <TSB 0014>

8) For example Paul LeBlanc, Tom Barrett, Miriam Braverman, Dorothea Breitman, Jean Tussey, David Riehle, Marilyn Vogt-Downey, George Shriver, Paul Siegel, Bryan Palmer, Asher Harer, Rita Shaw, Steve Bloom, Michael S. Smith

9) Part 1 (*The life of an American Trotskyist*) for instance includes interesting details about *The Detroit years* (Dan Georgakas), *The branch that Frank built: Detroit in the Fifties and Sixties* (Michael Steven Smith), *Memories of Frank Lovell in New York* (Debby Ginsburg), *Frank Lovell as labor educator* (Peter Rachleff), *Frank Lovell in the maritime unions* (Bernie Goodman) and so on.

10) 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* website. In TSB you can find detailed descriptions of the respective Trotskyist journals, newsletters, bulletins and the like.

- Breitman, George: The Trenton siege by the army of unoccupation / George Breitman. Introd. by Frank Lovell. - New York, NY : Fourth Internationalist Tendency, 1986. - 38 pp.
- Bulletin in Defense of Marxism (New York, NY) <TSB 0219>
- Cahiers Léon Trotsky (Paris, later: Grenoble; later: Saint Martin d'Hères) [ISSN 0181-0790] <TSB 0277>
- Construction workers under attack : how to fight back and rebuild the unions / Nat Weinstein [et al.]. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1974. - 23 pp.
- Fighting racism in World War II / C.L.R. James [et al.] Ed. by Fred Stanton. - New York, NY : Monad Pr., 1980. - 376 pp. [& later ed.]
- FIT Internal Discussion Bulletin / Fourth Internationalist Tendency <New York, NY> <TSB 0516>
- Forging a revolutionary agenda for the United States : the transitional program / by Evelyn Sell [et al.] - New York, NY : Fourth Internationalist Tendency, [ca. 1988]. - 42 pp. - (A Fourth Internationalist Tendency pamphlet)
- Fourth International (New York, NY, 1940-56) <TSB 0532>
- The Fourth International : fifty years ; commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Fourth International - World Party of Socialist Revolution / ed. by Tom Barrett. Introd. by Steve Bloom and Paul Le Blanc. - New York, NY : Fourth Internationalist Tendency, 1990. - 199 pp.
- In Defense of Marxism (New York, NY) <TSB 0616>
- Information Bulletin / Socialist Action (San Francisco, Cal.) <TSB 1493>
- 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>
- International Internal Discussion Bulletin (New York, NY) <TSB 0694>
- International Internal Information Bulletin (New York, NY) <TSB 0695>
- International Viewpoint (Various places) [ISSN 0294-2925] <TSB 0726>
- 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]
- The Militant (New York, NY) [ISSN 0026-3885] <TSB 1026>
- The Party Builder / Socialist Workers Party (New York, NY) <TSB 1178>
- Rebuilding the revolutionary party / ed. by Paul Le Blanc. - New York, NY : Fourth Internationalist Tendency, 1990. - 148 pp. - (In defence of American Trotskyism)
- Revolutionary labor socialist : the life, ideas, and comrades of Frank Lovell / ed. by Paul Le Blanc and Thomas Barrett. - Union City, NJ : Smyrna Pr., 2000. - 352 pp.
- Revolutionary principles and working-class democracy / ed. by Paul Le Blanc. - New York, NY : Fourth Internationalist Tendency, 1992. - VI, 412 pp. - (In defense of American Trotskyism)
- Selected documents on SWP trade union policy. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1972. - 21 pp. - (Education for socialists)
- SWP Discussion Bulletin (New York, NY) <TSB 1684>
- The struggle inside the Socialist Workers Party 1979-1983 / ed. by Sarah Lovell. - New York, NY : Fourth Internationalist Tendency, 1992. - 329 pp. - (In defense of American Trotskyism)
- A tribute to George Breitman : writer, organizer, revolutionary / ed. by Naomi Allen and Sarah Lovell. - New York, NY : Fourth Internationalist Tendency, 1987. - 163 pp. [Obituaries, reminiscences and appraisals by some 50 individuals and some 14 organizations]

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

- [Anon.]: [Frank Lovell](#). [Biographical sketch, Wikipedia article]
- [Anon.]: Frank Lovell : a long life devoted to labor and socialism / statement by Bulletin in Defense of Marxism, in: *In Defense of Marxism* <TSB 0616>, 16.1998 (3=142), pp. 1, 42. [Obituary]
- [Anon.]: In memory of Frank Lovell (1913-1998), in: *Workers Vanguard* <TSB 1875>, 1998 (July), p. 31. [Obituary]
- Brain, Marian: Frank Lovell, revolutionary socialist / Marian and Pat Brain, in: *Socialist Outlook* <TSB 1515>, n.s. 1998 (16), p. 22. [Obituary]
- [Broué, Pierre?]: Lovell, Frank dit Frederick Lang (1913-1998), in: *Cahiers Léon Trotsky* <TSB 0277>, 1998 (63), pp. 127-128. [Obituary]

- Le Blanc, Paul: Frank Lovell, socialist and labor activist, in: *Against the Current* <TSB 0014>, n.s. 13.1998 (3=75), p. 43. [Obituary]
- Le Blanc, Paul: Frank Lovell / Übers.: Saskia Schuman, in: *Avanti* <TSB 0069>, 1998 (41), p. 21 [Obituary, abridged]
- Le Blanc, Paul: Frank Lovell (1913-1998) / aus d. amerikan. Engl. übers. von Saskia Schuhmann, revidiert von Friedrich Dorn, in: *Inprekorr : internationale Pressekorrespondenz der IV. Internationale* <TSB 0654>, 1998 (323), p. 20. [Obituary]
- Le Blanc, Paul: Frank Lovell, in: *International Viewpoint* <TSB 0726>, 1998 (301), p. 34. [Obituary]
- Mazelis, Fred: Frank Lovell, former leader of Socialist Workers Party, dead at 84 [Electronic resource]. [Obituary]
- Proyect, Louis: Frank Lovell [Electronic resource]. [Obituary]
- Revolutionary labor socialist : the life, ideas, and comrades of Frank Lovell / ed. by Paul Le Blanc and Thomas Barrett. - Union City, NJ : Smyrna Pr., 2000. - 352 pp. [See note about contents above]
- Saunders, George: Frank Lovell: a long life devoted to labor and socialism, in: *Socialist Action* (San Francisco) <TSB 1489>, 16.1998 (2), p. 14. [Obituary]
- Saxon, Wolfgang: Frank Lovell, 84, advocate of trade unions and socialist causes, in: *The New York Times*, 1998 (May 23). [Obituary]
- Saxon, Wolfgang: Frank Lovell, 84, advocate of trade unions and socialist causes, in: *Revolutionary Marxism Today*, 1998 (2), p. 56. [Obituary, reprinted from: *The New York Times*, 1998 (May 23)]

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

- Le Blanc, Paul: A short history of the U.S. working class. - Amherst, NY : Humanity Books, 1999. - 205 pp.
- Trotsky, Leon: Writings of Leon Trotsky, supplement (1929 - 33) / ed. by George Breitman. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1979. - 428 pp.

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

### ***Sidelines, notes on archives***

— **Archival material** by and about Frank Lovell can be found in almost all archives in which the heritage of those persons is being preserved with whom he corresponded as well as in those archives which preserve rich holdings of *SWP* and *Fourth International* material (e.g. *Hoover Institution Archives* at Stanford, Cal.)<sup>11</sup> However, the main repository of the *Lovell collection* is *The Tamiment Library & Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives*, 70 Washington Square South, New York, NY 10012. Here's some information about this collection: The name of this archival collection is ***The Frank Lovell Papers, 1953-1997 (bulk 1970-1997)*** (Tamiment collection no. 204). It consists of 10 boxes (some 10 linear ft.) and is open for research without restrictions. Together with the *George Breitman Papers* which are also preserved at *Tamiment Library*, the collection constitutes an important and rich source for those studying the history of U.S. labour and socialist movements, particularly the history of Trotskyism in the U.S. Section I of the Lovell papers contains the bulk of letters sent and received by him from the years leading up and following his expulsion from the *Socialist Workers Party*, materials about the founding of the *Fourth Internationalist Tendency* and the publishing of the *Bulletin In Defense of Marxism*. Section II of the collection contains chiefly manuscripts of Lovell's numerous articles, reviews, speeches, class lectures, organizational reports and related items as well as topical files on major labour movement events, controversies and on relevant economic subjects. Section III contains Lovell's FOIA (Freedom of Information Act) files. The collection was a gift by Lovell himself (1998). The opening of the Lovell and Breitman Papers on April 18, 1999 at the *Tamiment Library*, with Peter Filardo, Dorothea Breitman, Paul Le Blanc, Tom Bias and Bryan Palmer as speakers, was documented on a video film (1 VHS tape, 57 min.)

— What follows are some **short typical quotations from obituaries, reminiscences and appraisals:**

"What could Frank have been? He could have been anything in some sense - a philosopher, a scientist, a jour-

<sup>11)</sup> See also the sub-chapter on *Public Archives : America* within the framework of our *Lubitz' TrotskyanaNet* website.

nalist, a lawyer, a teacher. He would have ennobled and elevated all of these vocations. But he chose to be a revolutionary, a Marxist, a Bolshevik, a fighter for humanity, for a socialist America, and for world revolution. And he chose to be a Trotskyist, which meant that he was swimming against many streams at the same time, battling Stalinism as well as capitalism, fighting labor bureaucracy and working constantly in the most difficult but also the most principled milieus. Instead of being all those things he could have been, he became a seaman, he became an organizer, he became an agitator. He was a worker, a propagandist, a party leader, a writer, and a thinker, and he ennobled and elevated all of those vocations.

[...] His choice no doubt cost him and, I think, cost his family much. It's never easy living as a revolutionary, especially in the heart of the capitalist beast. [...] this man was in many ways a heroic figure, exemplary of the best that the American working class produced in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He lived a full life and he lived it for human betterment. He died as any socialist would want to, in possession of all his faculties, and right to the end living out his unerring and abiding commitment to the struggle for a better world."<sup>12</sup>

"Frank was not only a person who had much to contribute to the fabric of human life, but a fully engaged and eager participant. He seemed to me to exemplify the shibboleth that "Life is Worth Living". The category that always came to mind when I thought of Frank was an "enjoyer". As far as I could tell, he seemed to relish such mundane things as meeting people, answering the telephone, going to new places, and laughing at the absurdities of political life at all levels. [...] Frank appeared to me to be a genuinely modest person, for all his attainments and abilities, even though I think he had a fairly objective view of the value of his abilities and contributions to the movement."<sup>13</sup>

"He had another quality which I think ranks highly – in his more than half a century of political activity, Frank never lost confidence in the special leadership role history has assigned to the working class. He never gave on the workers, and that was not always an easy thing to do. I don't think it an exaggeration to say that of all those who embraced the cause of revolutionary Marxism, only a very, very small minority have not fallen by the wayside somewhere along the line - some out of exhaustion, and others who withdrew in periods of extreme adversity because they saw setbacks as the fault of the working class."<sup>14</sup>

"Frank was a philosophical revolutionary socialist activist. A working class political thinker, leader, and educator."<sup>15</sup>

"As a 'Cannonite' (i.e., as a U.S. Leninist and Trotskyist), Frank was absolutely committed to building and participating in a revolutionary party. It was an especially difficult adjustment for him to no longer be part of an organization like the *SWP* – and he had a habit of speaking about what 'we' were trying to do, the way 'we' viewed things, etc., as if he was still representing a substantial organization with significant resources. It was as if he identified so completely with the revolutionary party that his own thoughts and inclinations were those of the party itself (even when the party he had in mind no longer existed)."<sup>16</sup>

"When it came to the class struggle, he was a tough-minded pragmatist as opposed to a hopeful romantic. This gave him an appearance of conservatism in the eyes of many who were inclined to adopt more radical positions, but over time he demonstrated a greater consistency and staying-power than many of his critics. His vision was expansive, but he was generally reluctant to place his feet anywhere but on the ground."<sup>17</sup>

*Note: Photograph on page 1 taken from: Trotskyism in the United States / George Breitman [et al.], Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1996.*

*Wolfgang and Petra Lubitz, 2005  
last rev. June 2016*

12) Palmer, Bryan: Frank Lovell chose to be a revolutionary, in: *Revolutionary labor socialist : the life, ideas, and comrades of Frank Lovell* / ed. by Paul Le Blanc and Thomas Barrett, Union City, NJ, 2000, pp. 73-74.

13) Riehle, David: Frank Lovell : a man engaged with life, in: *Ibid.*, p.47.

14) Weinstein, Nat: "Here was a fighter who was also amiable", in: *Ibid.*, p. 40.

15) Tussey, Jean: A modest man but a powerful influence, in: *Ibid.*, p. 39.

16) Le Blanc, Paul: Remembering Frank Lovell, in: *Ibid.*, p. 32.

17) Le Blanc, Paul: Remembering Frank Lovell, in: *Ibid.*, p. 23