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<i>Basic biographical data</i>	
<b>Name:</b>	George Novack
<b>Other names (by-names, pseud. etc.):</b>	Edward ; G.N. ; George Edward Novack ; John Marshall ; Manuel ; W. Warde ; William F. Warde; Yasef Emmanuel Novograbelski ; Yason Mendel Novograbelsky
<b>Date and place of birth:</b>	August 5, 1905, Boston, Mass. (USA)
<b>Date and place of death:</b>	July 30, 1992, New York, NY. (USA)
<b>Nationality:</b>	USA
<b>Occupations, careers:</b>	Writer, editor, lecturer, advertising manager, political and civil rights activist
<b>Time of activity in Trotskyist movement:</b>	1933 - 1992 (lifelong Trotskyist)

*Biographical sketch*

*George Novack was an outstanding Marxist intellectual, writer and editor, a great populariser of Marxist ideas and last not least a prominent Trotskyist and long-time co-leader of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The following biographical sketch is chiefly based on the biographical sketches and obituaries listed at the end of this sketch, particularly the biographical contributions by Alan Wald.*

George (Edward) Novack was born Yasef Mendel Novograbelsky in Boston, Mass., on August 5, 1905. His parents – Israel Novack (who anglicized the family's surname Novograbelsky when George was a child) and his wife Ada (b. Marcus) – were Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. Israel Novack ran a Turkish bathhouse in Boston. After George had entered primary school, he anglicized his first and middle names. He was raised in the suburbs of Boston and was educated in the public schools of Somerville.

George Novack was married twice: his first wife was novelist and biographer Elinor Rice (1901-1994, remarried Elinor Rice Hays), from whom he was divorced in 1942; in the same year he married artist Evelyn Reed (1905-1979), who later became a well-known Marxist writer on feminist and anthropologist matters. Novack spent most of his life in New York City but had longer stays in Minneapolis (1941), Detroit (1942/43), Los Angeles (1951/53), Paris and London (1951/53).

George Novack attended *Harvard University* for some 5 years, first studying literature, then switching to philosophy, studying under some of the most noted *Harvard* scholars of the time. Without obtaining any kind of degree, he left *Harvard* and went to New York City. Until the mid-1950s Novack earned

his living chiefly as an advertising manager, executive editor, and sales promoter, occasionally contributing to well-known magazines like *Nation* and *New Republic*. He held positions at *Doubleday & Co.*, *Dutton & Co.*, *Hudson Advertising Co.*, *Optics Inc.*, and *Automatic Packaging Co.*

Being radicalised during the years of the Great Depression following the stock-market crash of October 1929, he began to study Marx and to gravitate toward revolutionary Marxist politics. He soon became associated with a group of left-wing New York Jewish intellectuals known as the *Menorah Circle*<sup>1</sup> to which for example belonged Sidney Hook and Herbert Solow. From the early 1930s Novack became increasingly involved in various left-wing political groups and radical political activities. Furthermore, his name was frequently mentioned in connection with significant civil liberties defence cases such as for example the case of the framed-up 'Scottsboro Boys'<sup>2</sup>.

At the beginning being a sympathizer of Norman Thomas' *Socialist Party (SP)*, in 1932 he became active in the *National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners* which was closely affiliated with the *Communist Party's* front organization *International Labor Defense*. In 1933 Novack associated with the *Non-Partisan Labor Defense* and with the *Communist League of America (CLA)*, the American section – founded by James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman and Martin Abern – of Trotsky's *International Communist League (ICL)* which some years later was renamed *Movement for the Fourth International* and which eventually became the *Fourth International* in 1938. In 1934 Novack assisted in *CLA's* fusion with the *American Workers Party (AWP)* led by A.J. Muste and one year later in the creation of the *Workers Party of the U.S.* In 1936, together with the majority of the American followers of Trotsky, Novack participated in the entry of the Trotskyists into Norman Thomas' *Socialist Party*. After the short period of entryism had come to an end in 1937, Novack became a co-founder of the *Socialist Workers Party (SWP)*, the party of the American Trotskyist mainstream, which was launched on January 1, 1938 and in which he held leading positions for several decades. From 1940 to 1973 he served as an elected member of the *SWP National Committee (NC)* and he was treasurer of the party's presidential campaign committee.

Between 1951 and 1953 Novack spent several months at the *Fourth International* headquarters in Europe as a representative of the *SWP*. In the late 1950s and early 1960s Novack endorsed, like Joseph Hansen and other *SWP* leaders, the endeavours towards overcoming the 1953 split in the *Fourth International*, a split lasting 10 years before in 1963 re-unification eventually could take place by setting up the *United Secretariat of the Fourth International*. During the early 1970s when some major differences within the *United Secretariat of the Fourth International* arose, Novack sided with the chiefly *SWP*-based *Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (LTT)*<sup>3</sup> 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 (United Secretariat)*. *SWP* long-time leader and theoretician Joseph Hansen functioned as spokesman of the *LTT* and it was not at least thanks to Hansen and Novack that the differences within the *Fourth International* did not lead to a new split but eventually could be resolved.

George Novack remained a member of the *SWP* until his death although withdrawing from everyday party politics in the 1980s.<sup>4</sup>

1) Named after the magazine *Menorah. Journal* (New York).

2) Nine black male teens who were falsely accused of rape by white women. A lot of information about the trial of the Scottsboro Boys is [available online](#).

3) 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 *FI*. The factional controversies should only come to an end in 1977.

4) Unlike most other *SWP* veterans and intellectuals (to mention for example George and Dorothea Breitman, George Lavan Weissman, Frank and Sarah Lovell), George Novack neither left the party nor was he expelled from it during the transformation period (successive abandonment of Trotskyism and mutation into a Castroite party with a rigid inner-party regime) in the first half of the 1980s engineered by the new generation of party leaders around Jack Barnes and Mary-Alice Waters. The reasons for Novack's stay in the *SWP*, his sometimes troubled relations to some of their leaders, his close association with Michel Pablo during the early 1950s, his position in view of the 1953 schism in the international Trotskyist movement and his rôle in the *SWP* as an intellectual were thoroughly discussed by Alan Wald in his excellent contribution 'George Novack, 1905-1992 : meaning a life', in: *In Defense of Marxism, 1992 (100)*, pp. 52 sq.

Apart from his lifelong commitment to the cause of revolutionary Marxism and his activity in the Trotskyist movement, Novack's meaning can be summarized as follows:

– From 1937 to 1940 Novack was national secretary of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky (ACDLT) and as a prime mover was active in setting up and organizing the impartial *International Commission of Inquiry Into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials* which perhaps became better known as the Dewey Commission, named after its chairman John Dewey (1859-1952), a distinguished American educator and Professor Emeritus of philosophy from Columbia University who was well-known and respected across the political spectrum. In 1937 the *Dewey Commission* and its sub-commissions exhaustively investigated the monstrous Moscow show trials and conducted hearings<sup>5</sup> in Coyoacán (Mexico) as well as in Europe. The commission's final report (1938) comprising some 400 pages came to the conclusion that Leon Trotsky was not guilty and that the Moscow show trials were frame-ups<sup>6</sup>. Novack was part of the welcoming delegation that met Leon Trotsky on his arrival in Mexico for exile in January 1937 and as an observer attended the Trotsky hearings of the *John Dewey Commission* in Spring 1937.

From 1941 to 1950 Novack functioned as secretary of the *Civil Rights Defense Committee* (CRDC, chairman; James T. Farrell, vice-chairman: John Dos Passos) which was launched to defend political activists who became targets of state, police and judicial repression, as for example those 18 leaders of the *SWP* and of the *Teamsters Union* who were convicted and sentenced in the famous Minneapolis 'sedition' trial (Dec. 1941) under the notorious anti-union and anti-communist Smith Act for their radical opposition to U.S. government policy. During the McCarthy era as well as during the 1960s and 1970s, Novack played a prominent part in a lot of other civil liberties fights, e.g. in the famous James Kutcher (the 'legless veteran') case<sup>7</sup>; in the 1970s Novack was plaintiff of a lawsuit against spying, harassment and disruption by the *FBI* and other U.S. government agencies against the *SWP* which ended only in 1986 with a *Federal Court* ruling favourable to the plaintiffs.

– Apart from being a devoted defender of civil liberties, Novack became a noted scholar (although disgracefully ignored by most non-socialist academics), an outstanding editor and a gifted writer able to popularize complex Marxist thought. Most of his some 20 books<sup>8</sup> – chiefly focusing on interpretations of history and philosophy from a Marxist perspective – were published by *SWP's* book publishing house *Pathfinder Press* and its forerunners *Pioneer Publishers* and *Merit Publishers*; most of his main works are still available (as at 2006). Some of his best known books about philosophical and historical subjects are: *Introduction to the logic of Marxism* (1942), *The irregular movement of history* (1957), *The long view of history* (1960), *Origins of materialism* (an overview of ancient thought and culture and of the roots of scientific and materialist world outlook, 1965), *Democracy and revolution* (dealing with democracy as a concept and political form from the ancient world to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, 1971), *Genocide against the Indians* (1970), *Empiricism and its evolution* (1968), *Understanding history* (1972), *Humanism and socialism* (1973), *Pragmatism versus Marxism* (an analysis and criticism of John Dewey's philosophy, 1975), *Polemics in Marxist philosophy* (including essays on Engels, Trotsky, Sartre, Lukács and Kołakowski, 1978).

Novack was also author of a considerable number of pamphlets and of articles most of which appeared

5) The transcript of proceedings in the hearings of the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry Into the Charges Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials held April 10 to 17, 1937 at Coyoacan, Mexico, were originally published in 1937 in a 650 pp. volume titled *The case of Leon Trotsky : report of hearings on the charges ... / by the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry, John Dewey, chairman*. In 1968 Merit Publishers (New York, NY) published a reprint of this unique source to which George Novack contributed an introduction (pp. VII-XIV).

6) Not guilty : report of the Commission of Inquiry Into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials / John Dewey, chairman. 2. ed. New York, NY : Monad Pr., 1972, p. XXIII.

7) James Kutcher had lost both his legs when fighting in the U.S. Army on the European battlefield during World War II. In the wake of the McCarthyite witch-hunt, Kutcher was fired from his job with the *Veterans Administration* (VA) because he had refused to cease his activities in the *Socialist Workers Party*. George Novack was chairman of the *Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee* (KRDC); after an almost nine years lasting legal struggle, Kutcher regained his job and won a modest monetary compensation for damages.

8) See also our bibliographical listing below.

in SWP's theoretical journal *International Socialist Review* (previously called *Fourth International*, and *New International*, respectively), in SWP's weekly paper *The Militant*, in *Intercontinental Press* and in a lot of other American and international socialist journals and magazines. Through his books, pamphlets and articles, many of which were published under his pseudonym William F. *Warde*, as well as through a great number of lecture tours and educational classes, Novack had a considerable impact on some generations of younger socialist activists both in America and abroad. His books and articles were characterized by being readily understandable to laypersons, unlike those from the pen of many other Marxist theorists. Some of Novack's books and articles were translated into other languages, primarily into Spanish.

Apart from editing Marxist essays on *America's revolutionary heritage* (1976, including some of his own contributions towards a history of US capitalism, slavery and the destruction of the American native society), a book on *Existentialism versus Marxism* (1966) and a Trotsky anthology titled *The age of permanent revolution* (1964), Novack was associate and contributing editor of SWP's theoretical magazine *International Socialist Review* from 1965 to 1974 and member of the editorial board of SWP's international magazine *Intercontinental Press*. In the 1960s Novack was research associate of the *Fund for the Republic* and collaborated on publications and research projects with Isaac Deutscher, Ernest Mandel and C. Wright Mills. Furthermore Novack was – together with George Breitman and George L. Weissman – one of the main editors at *Pathfinder Press*, the publishing arm of the *Socialist Workers Party (SWP)* which during the early 1970s published up to 30 new book titles and as many pamphlets per year, thus making a considerable contribution to the spread and furthering of a new left culture.

In Autumn 1975, George Novack together with another outstanding long-time leader of the SWP, Joseph Hansen, 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, formerly Socialist Labour League, SLL)*. This campaign of Healy's group and a handful of Healyist offshoots outside Britain (particularly the *Workers League, USA*) culminated in the accusation of Novack and Hansen having been accomplices of the *GPU*<sup>9</sup> as well as informers of the *FBI* and having been deeply involved in a conspiracy 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<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, Healy obviously could never forget or forgive that it were particularly Hansen and Novack who after a long period of discussions and negotiations in 1963 had successfully engineered the re-unification of the majority of the *International Committee of the Fourth International* led by the SWP with the *International Secretariat of the Fourth International* led by Mandel, Frank, Maitan and Pablo<sup>11</sup> [see above]. However, the indictments and accusations were refuted by almost the entire international 'Trotskyist family' (of course with the exception of Healy's followers) which was represented when in January 1977 an international meeting in solidarity with Novack and Hansen was held in London unanimously condemning the disgusting Healyist campaign<sup>12</sup>.

Having lived a quite secluded life since the death of his wife Evelyn in 1979, George Novack after a brief illness died in a New York City senior citizens residence on July 30, 1992, a week shy of his 87<sup>th</sup>

9) The Stalinist secret service responsible for the murder of Trotsky.

10) See for example the collection *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)* and *Healy "re-constructs" 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.*

11) 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 Healyists.

12) 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.*

birthday.

### *Selective bibliography*<sup>13</sup>

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

- The Bill of Rights in danger! : the meaning of the Minneapolis convictions / George E. Novack. Foreword by James T. Farrell. - New York, NY : Civil Rights Defense Committee, [ca. 1942]. - 14 pp.
- Black slavery and capitalism / John Belisle. The rise and fall of the cotton kingdom : the ultimate stage of chattel slavery in the South. - New York, NY : National Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1968. - 34 pp. - (Studies in Afro-American history ; 1/2) (Education for socialists)
- Cinco siglos de revolución : dos eras de revoluciones sociales / pról. de Manuel Aguilar Mora y Alejandra Gálvez Cancino. - México, D.F. : Ed. UnioS!, 2000. - XXXIII, 234 pp. [Based on a series of lectures given at Mexican universities in July 1981]
- Defense policies and principles of the Socialist Workers Party : traditions and guiding ideas of the SWP in defense activities ... - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1968. - [20] pp. - (Education for socialists)
- Democracia y revolución : de los griegos a nuestros días / trad. del inglés: Antonio Durán. - Barcelona : Fontamara, 1977. - 298 pp. - (Argumentos) [& later ed. also publ. by Fontamara, México]
- Democracy and revolution. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1971. - 286 pp. - (A Merit book) [& later ed., with additional title: from ancient Greece to modern capitalism]
- El desarrollo desigual y combinado de la historia / W. Warde [i.e. George Novack]. - [S.l., 194?]. - 78 pp.
- Empiricism and its evolution : a Marxist view. - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1968. - 166 pp. [& later ed., publ. by Pathfinder Pr.]
- Feudalismo y capitalismo en la colonización de América / Nahuel Moreno ; George Novack. - Buenos Aires : Ed. Avanzada, 1972. - 19 pp.
- The first three Internationals : their history and lessons / George Novack ; Dave Frankel ; Fred Feldman. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1974. - 207 pp.
- Genocide against the Indians : its role in the rise of U.S. capitalism. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1970. - 31 pp. - (A Merit pamphlet) [& later ed.]
- How can the Jews survive? : a socialist answer to Zionism. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1969. - 22 pp. - (A Merit pamphlet) [& later ed.]
- Humanism and socialism. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1973. - 159 pp. [& later ed.]
- Introducción al programa de transición / Joseph Hansen y George Novack. Trad. del inglés: Jesús Pérez. - Barcelona : Fontamara, 1978. - 95 pp. - (Apuntes ; 7)
- Introducción a la lógica : lógica formal y lógica dialéctica. Trad. del inglés: Emilio Olcina y Jesús Pérez. - Barcelona : Fontamara, 1979. - 154 pp. - (Argumentos) [& later ed.]
- Introducción a la logica dialectica. - 3. ed. - Bogotá : Ed. Pluma, 1976. - 142 pp.
- An introduction to the logic of Marxism : eight lectures / William F. Warde [i.e. George Novack]. - 2., rev. ed. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1953. - 73 pp. [& later ed. publ. by Merit Publ. and by Pathfinder Pr.]
- The irregular movement of history : the Marxist law of the combined and uneven development of society / Warde [i.e. George Novack]. - Colombo : Spark Publ., [ca. 1957]. - 50 pp. [& other ed. publ. by New Park Publications, London]
- The long view of history / William F. Warde [i.e. George Novack]. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1960. - 64 pp. - (Pioneer pocket library ; 8) [& later ed., publ. by Merit Publ. and by Pathfinder Pr.]
- Marxism versus neo-anarchist terrorism. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1970. - 15 pp. - (A Merit pamphlet) [Reprinted from *International Socialist Review*]
- The Marxist theory of alienation / Ernest Mandel and George Novack. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1970. - 63 pp. - (A Merit pamphlet) [& later ed.]
- Marxist writings on history & philosophy. - Chippendale, N.S.W. . Resistance Books, 2002.- 269 pp. - (Resistance Marxist library)
- Moscow vs. Peking : the meaning of the great debate / William F. Warde [i.e. George Novack]. - New York, NY :

<sup>13</sup> 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.

- Pioneer Publ., [1966]. - 30 pp. [& later ed., publ. by Pathfinder Pr.]
- On the revolutionary potential of the working class / Ernest Mandel ; George Novack. - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1969. - 46 pp. - (A Merit pamphlet) [& later ed., publ. by Pathfinder Pr., partly with title: *The revolutionary potential of the working class*]
- Los orígenes del materialismo / trad. de Alba Naiman. - Buenos Aires : Pluma, 1975. - 235 pp. - (Teoría y crítica)
- The origins of materialism : the evolution of a scientific view of the world. - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1965. - XXIV, 300 pp. [& later ed., publ. by Pathfinder Pr.]
- Para comprender la historia / trad. de Marta Campos. - Buenos Aires : Ed. Pluma, 1975. - 205 pp. - (Colección Teoría y crítica)
- Para comprender la historia / trad. dal inglés: Francisco Cusó. - Barcelona : Ed. Fontamara, 1981. - 213 pp. - (Ensayo contemporaneo)
- Polemics in Marxist philosophy / George Novack. - New York, NY : Monad Pr., 1978. - 344 pp. [& later ed. - On pp.11-37: *My philosophical itinerary : an autobiographical foreword*]
- Pragmatism versus Marxism : an appraisal of John Dewey's philosophy. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1975. - 320 pp. [& later ed.]
- As quatro Internacionais / George Novack ; Dave Frankel ; Fred Feldman. - [Lisboa] : Ed. Delfos, 1979. - 279 pp. - (Coleção Toupeira ; 4)
- Revolutionary dynamics of women's liberation. - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1969. - 22 pp. [& later ed., publ. by Pathfinder Pr.]
- The revolutionary potential of the working class / Ernest Mandel and George Novack. - 2. ed. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1974. - 79 pp. - (Sociology, political science) [Earlier ed. publ. with title: On the revolutionary potential of the working class]
- The role of the transitional program in the revolutionary process : three talks. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1972. - 22 pp. - (Education for socialists)
- La teoría marxista de la alienación / trad. dal inglés: Jaime Ferrer. - Barcelona : Ed. Fontamara, 1979. - 78 pp. - (Colección Aportes ; 18) [Other ed. publ. by Ed. Pluma, Bogotà, 1977]
- Las tres primeras Internacionales / George Novack ; Dave Frankel ; Fred Feldman. Trad. dal inglés por Jesús Pérez. - Barcelona : Fontamara, 1978. - 208 pp. - (Argumentos)
- Understanding history : Marxist essays. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1972. - 159 pp. [& later ed.]
- The understanding of history : two essays. - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1967. - 39 pp.
- Uneven and combined development in history. - [3. ed.] - New York, NY : Merit Publ., [1966]. - 59 pp. [Originally publ. in *Labour Review* (London), 1957. - Earlier pamphlet ed. publ. by Pioneer Publ., New York, NY]
- Watts and Harlem : the rising revolt in the black ghettos / Robert Vernon and George Novack. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1965. - 15 pp. [Reprinted from *The Militant*]
- Who will change the world? : the New Left and the views of C. Wright Mills / introd. by John Riddell. - Toronto, Ont. : YSF Publications, [ca. 1966]. - 35 pp.
- Witch hunt in Minnesota : the Federal prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-C.I.O. / foreword by James T. Farrell. - New York, NY : Civil Rights Defense Committee, [ca. 1941]. - 23 pp.

• **Selective bibliography: Books/pamphlets and journals (co-)edited by George Novack**

- America's revolutionary heritage : Marxist essays / ed. with an introd. by George Novack. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1976. - 414 pp.
- Existentialism versus Marxism : conflicting views on humanism / ed. with an introd. by George Novack. - New York, NY : Dell, 1966. - VIII, 344 pp. - (A Delta book)
- 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>
- Trotsky, Leon: The age of permanent revolution : a Trotsky anthology. Ed., with an introd. by Isaac Deutscher (with the assistance of George Novack). - New York, NY : Dell, 1964. - 384 pp. [& later ed.]
- Trotsky, Leon: Denksatzel : politische Erfahrungen im Zeitalter der permanenten Revolution / Leo Trotzki. Hrsg. von Isaac Deutscher, George Novack und Helmut Dahmer. Übers. aus dem Engl. von Harry Maør. - Frankfurt a.M. : Suhrkamp, 1981. - 475 pp. - (Edition Suhrkamp ; 896)
- Trotsky, Leon: Scelta di scritti 1905-1940 / L.D. Trotskij. A cura di G. Novack. Con un saggio introduttivo di Isaac Deutscher. [Trad. di Livio Maitan]. - [Roma] : Samonà e Savelli, 1968. - 197 pp. [Abridged version of Trotsky, Leon: The age of permanent revolution] [& later ed.]

Who's hooley : nitwitticisms of the notable / comp. and ed. by Arthur Zipser and George Novack. Ill. with ten caricatures by Rainey Bennett. - New York, NY : Dutton, 1932. - 95 pp.  
 World Outlook = Perspective mondiale (Paris ; later: New York, NY) <TSB 1886>

• **Selective bibliography: Books, collections, journals, bulletins to which George Novack contributed**

- The American radical press : 1880-1960 / ed. with an introd. by Joseph R. Conlin. - 2. - Westport, Conn. [etc.] : Greenwood Pr., 1974. [& later ed.]
- America's revolutionary heritage : Marxist essays / ed. with an introd. by George Novack. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1976. - 414 pp. [First publ. with title Marxist essays in American history]
- Behind China's "great cultural revolution" / Peng Shu-tse [et al.] - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1967. - 63 pp.
- The Black uprisings : Newark, 1967, Detroit / introd. by Paul Boutelle. - New York, NY : Socialist Workers Party, 1967. - 30 pp. [& later ed.]
- Breitman, George: Black nationalism and socialism / George Breitman. - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1968. - 31 pp.
- Bulletin in Defense of Marxism (New York, NY) <TSB 0219>
- Bulletin intérieur / Secrétariat International de la IVe Internationale (Paris) <TSB 0542>
- Cannon, James P.: America's road to socialism / introd. by George Novack. - 2. ed. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1975. - 124 pp.
- Cannon, James P.: La lutte pour un parti prolétarien (extraits) / (trad.: Olivier Lestang). - Paris : Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Mouvements Trotskyste et Révolutionnaires Internationaux, 1990. - 64 pp. - (Les cahiers du C.E.R.M.T.R.I ; 56)
- 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]
- Cannon, James P.: The struggle for a proletarian party / ed. by John G. Wright and with a new introd. by George Novack. - 2. ed. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1972. - XVIII, 302 pp.
- The case of Leon Trotsky : report of hearings on the charges made against him in the Moscow trials / by the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry, John Dewey, chairman [...] Introd. by George Novack. - 2. ed. - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1968. - XXVII, 617 pp. [& later ed.]
- The Chinese revolution and its development. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1969. - 47 pp. - (Education for socialists)
- Clave : tribuna marxista (México) <TSB 0318>
- Détente and socialist democracy : a discussion with Roy Medwedev ; essays from East and West / Yvan Craipeau [et al.] Ed. for the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation by Ken Coates. - Nottingham : Spokesman Books, 1975. - 163 pp. - (European socialist thought series ; 6) [& other ed., publ. by Monad Pr., New York, NY]
- Development in theory and practice : Latin American perspectives / ed. by Ronald H. Chilcote. - Lanham, Md. : Rowman & Littlefield, 2003. - XIII, 394 pp. - (Latin American perspectives in the classroom)
- Discussion Bulletin / Socialist Workers Party (New York, NY) <TSB 1547>
- Dobbs, Farrell: Counter-mobilization : a strategy to fight racist and fascist attacks / Farrell Dobbs. - New York, NY : Socialist Workers Party, Nat. Education Dept., 1976. - 23 pp. - (Education for socialists) [& reprint, publ. by Pathfinder Pr., New York, NY]
- The Educator (New York, NY) <TSB 0463>
- Engels, Friedrich: Socialism : utopian and scientific / Frederick Engels. Introd. by George Novack. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1972. - 63 pp. [& later ed.]
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- 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)
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**Note:** More information about Novack is 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***

#### **— Some general appraisals:**

"George was neither a genius (most geniuses can't function as part of a team as George did) nor a giant among Marxist theoreticians. But he did have exceptional intellectual skills and gifts. What is important is that he developed these to the best of his ability, making full use of them on behalf of the socialist movement. I don't believe he withheld anything from the cause, and he was incredibly generous with his time to any worker or student genuinely interested in learning Marxism. [...] Yet his motivation was never fundamentally a desire for fame or prestige, and it certainly wasn't for money. A good deal of it was love of and respect for party leaders and collaborators - especially for Cannon, Joseph Hansen, and Farrell Dobbs, who were unquestionable the new "family" he selected to replace his old one, and to which he became bounded. George's example is inspiring not because he went left when so

many others did in the 1930s, but because he persisted in his work on behalf of revolutionary socialism through the hard times. I believe that it was important in the 1960s that George was still on the scene as an active revolutionist. He showed the younger generation that, whether or not one agreed with George's philosophical views or political party, socialism was not a temporary, youthful fad but a lifelong mission. Through his writing, too, he was an authentic culture-bearer from past struggles to the present. [...] In U.S. Trotskyism, George found a movement compatible with his gifts - a movement that needed him, and that in turn provided the inspiration and support permitting a productive life."<sup>14</sup>

"Like all people George Novack had his strengths and his weaknesses. Unlike most people he was distinguished by his lifelong commitment to the building of a Leninist/Trotskyist revolutionary party in the U.S. Novack's strength: his many talents. George Breitman called him a 'natural resource'. These talents were at the disposal of the Socialist Workers Party during its halcyon days (1937-42). Novack's abilities as a researcher, writer, teacher in the fields of American history and Marxist philosophy are evidenced in the more than dozen titles of his published works. [...] Novack's weakness: his inability to stand by his convictions under the fire of a vigorous opponent. In 1952 Michel Pablo headed the Fourth International in Paris. He formed a faction which said that the struggle against Stalinism could not be victorious. He predicted that the Soviet Union and the other workers' states would last for centuries. Novack came in contact with him and was influenced by him. [...] In a similar manner in 1981 Novack succumbed to the influence of the Barnes clique which was abandoning Trotskyism for Castroism."<sup>15</sup>

"George Novack is the quintessential Party scholar. Over a span of half a century in the revolutionary movement, he has produced a prodigious output of Marxist literary work. He is also a noted Marxist lecturer. [...] George Novack represents a breed that has become virtually extinct in the United States, the radical intellectual who is also a party activist. [...] Novack is one of the very few 'New York intellectuals' of his generation who maintained his revolutionary integrity."<sup>16</sup>

#### — Note on archival sources:

The *State Historical Society of Wisconsin Archives Division* houses the *George Novack and Evelyn Reed Papers, 1933-1992*, comprising 11 reels of microfilm. The call no. of this collection is *Micro 555*. The copyright is retained by the *SWP*. The collection contains the papers of George Novack and his wife, Evelyn Reed, anthropologist and fellow Trotskyist. The collection consists of the following sections: Biographical material (incl. autobiographical sketches and interviews), Evelyn Reed papers, Correspondence (e.g. with G. Breitman, I. Deutscher, F. Dobbs, J.T. Farrell, M. Genecin, J. Hansen, H. Isaacs, E. Mandel, E. Reed, L. Trotsky, A. Wald), Speeches and writings (chronological and alphabetical files), Philosophical writings (incl. many course outlines), Historical writings. Some papers also reflect Novack's rôle in the *American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky* and in the *American Civil Rights Defense Committee*.

Letters by George Novack and other archivalia are to be found, too, in many archives all over the world where papers of leading Trotskyists are preserved (see also the sub-chapters on *Archives : America* and *Archives : Europe* within the framework of our *Lubitz' TrotskyanaNet* website).

*Note: The photograph on page 1 has been taken from Trotskyism in the United States / George Breitman [at al.], Atlantic Highlands, NY, 1996, p. V*

Wolfgang and Petra Lubitz, 2005  
last (slightly) rev. Sept. 2020

14) Wald, Alan: George Novack, 1905-1992 : meaning a life, in: In Defense of Marxism, 1992 (100), p.56.

15) Breitman, Dorothy: Salute to George Breitman, in: *In Defense of Marxism*, 1992 (100), p.55.

16) Stone, Ben: *Memoirs of a radical rank & filer*, New York, NY, 1986, p. 122, 125, 126.