

Contents:

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

**Basic biographical data**

Name:	Jean Van Heijenoort
Other names (by-names, pseud. etc.):	Alex Barbon ; Jacques Carton ; García Cestero ; Jarvis Gerland ; J.v.H. ; Vladimir Ivlev ; John ; Marcel Letourneur ; Daniel Logan ; Marc Loris ; K.M. ; M. Marcel ; Karl Mayer ; Karl Meyer ; Jean Rebel ; V. ; Van ; Jean Louis Maxime Van Heijenoort ; John Van Heijenoort ; Jean Vannier ; Ann Vincent ; J. Walter Wind ; Windy
Date and place of birth:	July 23, 1912, Creil (France)
Date and place of death:	March 29, 1986, México, D.F. (México)
Nationality:	French ; USA
Occupations, careers:	Professor of philosophy, mathematician, logician, archivist, writer, editor, translator, secretary, political activist
Time of activity in Trotskyist movement:	1931 - 1948

Biographical sketch

Jean Van Heijenoort was undoubtedly one of the most distinguished and devoted persons who shared the Trotskyist movement: first a secretary and bodyguard to Trotsky, then a secretary of the Fourth International and eventually one of the most eminent scholars in the field of modern mathematics and history of logic. His remarkable and quite extraordinary itinerary has been described and appraised by various renowned historians and scholars such as Pierre Broué or Irving H. Anellis, and a rich book-length biography about him from Anita B. Feferman's pen has been available since 1993¹.

Jean (Louis Maxime) Van Heijenoort was born in Creil (Département Oise, France) on July 23, 1912 as son of a working-class family: his father was Jean Théodore Didier van Heijenoort (b. 1885), a Dutchman who had immigrated to France, and his mother was Charlotte Hélène Balagny (b. 1887) from Creil who got married in 1910; Van Heijenoort's mother, according to French law, by her marriage lost her French citizenship becoming a Dutchwoman. After the outbreak of World War I and the early death of her husband in September 1914 she – as well as her little son Jean – had to suffer from French chauvinism and political prejudices against people wearing Dutch or German names; Jean often was called 'sale Boche' (which meant 'dirty German') by chauvinist children and classmates. Alto-

1) See our listing in the paragraph *Selected bibliography: Books and articles about Van Heijenoort*, below.

gether, Jean was raised under difficult and a bit poor, but not miserable circumstances. In 1919 the widow remarried; her second husband was George Doré, a cook at the hotel where Charlotte Hélène earned her living as chambermaid; by her marriage with this Frenchman, her lost French citizenship was restored. The couple got a daughter in 1920, Jean's half-sister Paulette. Jean Van Heijenoort spent several years of his childhood with his mother's sister Angèle, a strict Catholic widow who had to raise two daughters. Thus, little Jean primarily grew up in a fatherless 'milieu of women'. All his life, Jean had a strong mother fixation while he never could accept his stepfather. Already as a child, Jean Van Heijenoort became aware of his otherness, defining himself as an alienated outsider and trying to build a protective shell of silence and detachment, a place to retreat. He was a sad, depressive boy, feeling unhappy, cursed, and culpable.

As a pupil Jean Van Heijenoort was always the best of his class. After finishing elementary and secondary school education at Creil and St. Quentin – where the Doré family had moved in 1923 running a restaurant there – he attended the college in Clermont de l'Oise where he took major studies in mathematics, philosophy, physics, chemistry, Latin, Greek and German as well as French literature and language. Reading widely, he additionally began to teach himself Russian at the age of 17. In 1930 he was awarded a scholarship and went to Paris where he began to study mathematics at the renowned *Lycée Saint-Louis*, but discontinued his studies in 1932. Van Heijenoort began to hate the oppressive French educational system and regarded himself being in total revolt against existing society.

After having already been radicalised at the age of 15, Van Heijenoort joined a communist youth group as a college student at Clermont and became attracted by Trotskyism as a student in Paris. In 1931 he got acquainted with Yvan Craipeau, one of the pioneers of the French Trotskyist opposition movement, and – recruited by him for the cause of Trotskyism – in early 1932 became a member of the *Ligue Communiste (Communist League)*, the French affiliate of Trotsky's *International Left Opposition*. In autumn 1932 Van Heijenoort responded to a call from Raymond Molinier, a leader of the *Ligue Communiste*, for someone fluent in French and Russian in order to assist Trotsky with his correspondence. Van Heijenoort – now twenty years of age – seemed to be the right man to do the job and thus he was sent to Prinkipo Island (Büyük Ada, Turkey) where Trotsky and his companion Natal'ia Sedova lived in exile since 1929. Van Heijenoort arrived there on October 20, 1932 and remained a member of the Trotsky household until November 1939, with a short interruption only². He served as personal secretary, translator, companion and bodyguard to Trotsky who used to call him familiarly *Van* or *Uzhe*. Shortly after his arrival at Büyük Ada, Van Heijenoort accompanied Trotsky and Natalia Sedova on a trip to Copenhagen (via Marseille) and later followed the Trotskys when they moved to other exile countries: France, Norway, and eventually Mexico. None of the other secretaries and guards did so long stay with Trotsky. Thus Van Heijenoort got an extraordinary in-depth knowledge with regard to Trotsky's life, his thinking, emotions, working habits, character etc. Based on his personal experience as an insider, some forty years later Van Heijenoort published his memoirs of those seven years with Trotsky³, a book which can be regarded as an excellent source of first-hand information about Trotsky, recreating the whole atmosphere in which the exiled leader of the Russian revolution lived and worked during the last years of his life. Furthermore the book contains – in an appendix – a lot of corrections of factual errors occurring in writings about Trotsky, such as for example in the famous Trotsky trilogy by Isaac Deutscher.

Earning his living by a job at a French insurance company during the time he spent with Trotsky in France, Van Heijenoort participated in the entry of the French Trotskyists – now calling themselves *GBL (Groupe Bolchevik-Léniniste, Bolshevik-Leninist Group)* – into the reformist *Jeunesses Socialistes (Young Socialists)* from which, however, they were expelled already in summer 1935. For a

2) Van Heijenoort was with Trotsky from Oct. 20, 1932 to September 1936 (when he was ordered to leave Norway) and from January 1937 to Nov. 5, 1939.

3) Published in French with title *Sept ans auprès de Léon Trotsky : de Prinkipo à Coyoacán*, Paris 1978; in English with title *With Trotsky in exile : from Pinkipo to Coyoacán*, Cambridge, Mass., 1978.

short span of time Van Heijenoort joined a minority tendency of the French Trotskyists grouped around Pierre Frank and Raymond Molinier issuing the paper *La Commune*. He worked, too, with the *International Secretariat of the International Communist League (ICL)* as the precursor of the *Fourth International* was called in those days.

After divorcing from his first wife and marrying a young American woman, in autumn 1939 Van Heijenoort began planning a working vacation; Trotsky agreed and asked Van Heijenoort to study for him the situation within the American affiliation of the *Fourth International*, the *Socialist Workers Party (SWP)*. Thus, Van Heijenoort left Coyoacán (Mexico) on November 5, 1939 and set sails for New York where he spent several months as Trotsky's personal emissary before he left for Baltimore where he earned his living by teaching French. It was there that several months later he read in the *New York Times* that on August 20, 1940 a second attempt on Trotsky's life had taken place at Coyoacán, and some hours later in a state of shock he learnt from the radio news that Trotsky had died in the evening of August 21. According to one of his biographers, Van Heijenoort later told that he felt a certain partial responsibility with regard to Trotsky's assassination, and it seems that he had the feeling that he might have saved Trotsky's life. This probably was one reason for the fact that Van Heijenoort never could fully escape from "Trotsky's shadow".

However, the very meaning of Van Heijenoort to Trotskyism is not at all exhaustively described by mentioning his seven years of service to the *Old Man* and his activities in the French Trotskyist movement:

– First, Van Heijenoort from 1940 to 1945 served as secretary to the *International Secretariat*, the leading body of the *Fourth International*, which had been moved from Paris to New York City in the face of the unfolding Second World War. Van Heijenoort participated in the *Emergency Conference of the Fourth International* held in strictest secrecy on May 19-26, 1940. The war years were extremely difficult years for the Trotskyist *International* since its sections had to operate illegally and clandestinely in most countries, their leaders and activists being persecuted, jailed or shot in many a countries, and it was hardly possible to keep connections between the headquarters and the European Trotskyists in that time.

– Second, Van Heijenoort from 1940 to 1946⁴ was a frequent contributor to the Trotskyist press⁵; thus a considerable number of articles from his pen was published in the American Trotskyist journal *Fourth International* (New York), the *Biulleten' Oppozitsii* (which had been transferred to New York in 1938) and of course in other papers as well as in internal bulletins of the movement. His articles – chiefly devoted to European political matters – were signed by various pseudonyms and party names: *Marc Loris*, *Daniel Logan*, *Karl Meyer* (also, *Mayer*), *Jarvis Gerland*, *Vladimir Ivlev*, *Ann Vincent*. He also was engaged in the internal *SWP* debates and factional fights, in connection with them he published his *On some critics of Trotsky*. However, in the mid-1940s Van Heijenoort who till then had been a supporter of the James P. Cannon *SWP* majority, sympathized with a minority tendency led by Felix Morrow and Albert Goldman which soon left the *SWP* switching its allegiance to the *Workers Party* led by Max Shachtman. Van Heijenoort discontinued contributing to the Trotskyist press in 1946. After having read a paper to some friends and associates in the autumn of 1947 in which he argued that the political incapacity of the working class against all predictions of Karl Marx has now been definitively proven to be an inherent weakness instead of a passing one, he was expelled from the *SWP*, left the Trotskyist movement in early 1948 once and for all, and subsequently departed totally from radical politics, at the same time starting a new, academic career (see below). He never again should join any political organization. The article with which Van Heijenoort disassociated himself definitively from the Trotskyist movement and from Marxism was published with title *A century's balance sheet* under his new pseudonym, *Jean Vannier*, in the spring 1948 issue of the renowned

4) The New York chapter of Van Heijenoort's life has exhaustively been described by Pierre Broué: Un trotskyste à New York pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale: van Heijenoort, in: *Cahiers Léon Trotsky*, 1990 (43), pp. 33-47.

5) During his years in France and Mexico, however, Van Heijenoort had already contributed articles to the Trotskyist press, e.g. to the Mexican Trotskyist organ *Clave* where his articles appeared under the pen name *Jean Rebel*.

journal *Partisan Review*. While on the one side Van Heijenoort indeed formally broke his ties to Trotskyism, he on the other side kept a lifelong association with Trotsky, not ideologically or theoretically, but as a devoted historian, archivist, and scholar.

– Third, Van Heijenoort played an important rôle with regard to the sale of the archives of Leon Trotsky: in 1940, some months before Trotsky was assassinated, Van Heijenoort participated in negotiations with some American institutions to which Trotsky had offered his considerable archives in order to find a final and secure repository for them. While *New York Public Library* and *Stanford University* were reluctant regarding the offer, *Harvard University* eventually purchased the archives for some \$ 8,500,-. The containers arrived at Cambridge, Mass. in the autumn of 1940 and were inspected by Van Heijenoort. This increment consisted of documents written between 1917 and 1937; another increment consisting of papers from 1937 to 1940 were purchased by *Harvard University* some years later from Trotsky's widow Natal'ia Sedova. The whole Trotsky archives consisted of some 17,500 items, the majority of which were from the final exile period, i.e. from 1929-1940. On Trotsky's and Sedova's request, this portion of the archives had to be treated as 'closed section' until 1980, only Isaac Deutscher was allowed to use them already in the 1950s/1960s. In the late 1950s Van Heijenoort was successful in purchasing – on behalf of the *Harvard University* – some further bulks of papers from Natal'ia Sedova, including a collection of so-called satellite papers⁶, i.e. personal archives of a number of Trotsky's associates which until then had been preserved by Natalia Sedova who was still living in the old Trotsky villa in Calle Vienna, Coyoacán. Thus from the 1950s to the 1980s Van Heijenoort served as a special bibliographer and at the same time as a close acquisition consultant – laboring essentially unpaid – to the Trotsky Archives at Houghton Library (Harvard University) and for many years he was engaged there in organizing and arranging, classifying and identifying uncountable documents. He thus helped to make the Trotsky Archives at *Houghton Library* an eminent monument to Trotsky and an indispensable goldmine of primary source information for historians. It goes without saying, that on January 2, 1980 Van Heijenoort was present when the hitherto closed section was opened to the public and the first Trotsky historians – among them Pierre Broué from France – arrived as users of this very treasure of historical information and evidence. Some days later, on the occasion of a small private reception at Harvard's *Houghton Library*, Van Heijenoort delivered a speech on *The history of Trotsky's papers*.

– Fourth, besides his labor of love as archivist and besides his professional work as mathematician and logician (see below), Van Heijenoort was engaged in writing, editing or translating some books relevant to Trotsky research; thus he translated (from Russian into French), annotated and prefaced the correspondence of Trotsky and his wife Natal'ia Sedova⁷, wrote a foreword to Trotsky's famous *Diary in exile 1935* and last not least published the already mentioned book *With Trotsky in exile*. A collection issued by *SWP's National Education Department*⁸ contains a contribution by Van Heijenoort about *How the Fourth International was conceived*, and his appraisal of Leon Trotsky, first published under the pen name of *Karl Meyer* (or, *K.M.*) in *Fourth International* and *Biulleten' oppositsii* in 1940 has been translated and reprinted in a great variety of Trotskyist journals and collections since then. Van Heijenoort also translated Trotsky's *Stalin* into French. During the last years of his life Van Heijenoort's expertise and co-operation was frequently called upon by those doing research based on the Trotsky archives, thus for instance by French historian and Trotsky biographer Pierre Broué. One of the most happy days for Van Heijenoort as a Trotsky historian and archival specialist surely was a day in 1983 when he got the sensational information by Marlene Kadar that a huge Trotsky-Sedov archive just had been found by chance within the gigantic Boris I. Nicolaevsky collection deposited at *Hoover Institution Archives* in Stanford, Cal. Thanks to this unique collection the gaps in the *Houghton Li-*

6) "None of this was accomplished in a hurry; it took many years and many trips to Mexico. [...] As far as Van was concerned, these trips, paid for by the library, were a plus rather than a minus, a positive aspect of his work on behalf of Harvard. He liked to travel, and at that point he was delighted to be able to return to Mexico often" [Feferman, Anita Burdman: Politics, logic, and love, Wellesley, Mass., 1993, p. 317].

7) Trotsky, Lev Davidovitch and Natalia Ivanovna Sédova-Trotsky: *Correspondance 1933-1939*, Paris, 1980.

8) *Towards a history of the Fourth International*, part 2, New York, NY, 1973

brary collection could be considered as filled.

Short before his violent death Van Heijenoort functioned as a member of the thesis committee when Olivia Gall presented her PhD on *Trotsky et la vie politique dans le Mexique de Cárdenas*.

When Van Heijenoort went back to New York from Baltimore in 1940, he did not only serve the *International Secretariat* of the *Fourth International* and the *SWP* but began to 'reorganize' his own life, creating a wholly new existence beyond the shadow of Leon Trotsky. Earning his life by part-time teaching jobs with various universities, he began to study mathematics in New York – during the years as a secretary and guard to Trotsky he had factually never given up his very interest in mathematics and formal logic – and earned a philosophical doctorate in mathematics from New York University in 1949⁹. From the late 1940s he lived a quiet university life and soon should become an eminent scholar in the history and philosophy of mathematical logic. As associate professor he first taught mathematics at *New York University*, then he became visiting professor in the philosophy department of *Columbia University*. During the 1950s he switched his special interest – under the strong influence of Georg Kreisel¹⁰ – from classical mathematics to the history and philosophy of mathematics and logic. In 1965 he left *Columbia University* and until his retirement in 1977 worked as professor of philosophy at *Brandeis University* (Waltham, Mass.), earning a nationwide reputation and publishing a considerable number of books, articles and papers on subjects of mathematics and history of logic such as proof theory, quantification theory, logical complexity, etc. He was also involved in some distinguished editorial endeavors in the field of the history of logic, devoting much effort to making accessible the works of leading masters of logic such as Gottlob Frege (1848-1925) and Kurt Gödel (1906-1978). Some of Van Heijenoort's scholarly works were published short before his death in Italy¹¹. As professor emeritus Jean Van Heijenoort lived at Palo Alto, Cal.; he often went to Stanford and to Cambridge. It should be added here, that Van Heijenoort had become a naturalized US citizen in 1958 getting a passport¹² which enabled him to travel abroad; thus from 1958 he regularly traveled to his native country France as well as to Mexico, the country which he had left almost twenty years ago; in 1960 he had a stay in India as a Fulbright scholar.

Jean Van Heijenoort died a violent death in Mexico City on March 29, 1986. He was shot by his wife when sleeping¹³. He left his son Jean (Jeannot) and his daughter Laure, both living in France. A memorial service attended by friends, colleagues, and relatives was held at Harvard University on April 28. A considerable number of obituaries, reminiscences and appraisals appeared in the press, in scholarly journals and in Trotskyist papers of various countries¹⁴.

Selective bibliography ¹⁵

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

Con Trotsky de Prinkipo a Coyoacan : testimonio de siete años de exilio. - México, D.F. : Nueva Imagen, 1979. - 173 pp.

El desarrollo de la teoría de la cuantificación. - México, D.F. : Dirección General de Publicaciones, Univ. Autó-

9) His PhD work was titled *On locally convex surfaces*. 58 pp.

10) A mathematician (born 1923) from Austria who chiefly lived in Britain and the USA.

11) Van Heijenoort, Jean: *Selected essays*, Napoli, 1985. (History of logic ; 3)

12) In his US passport his name was given as *John* Van Heijenoort.

13) See also the paragraph *Sidelines* below.

14) For details see the paragraph *Selected bibliography: Books and articles about Van Heijenoort* of our miscellany.

15) 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.

- noma de México, 1976. - 56 pp. - (Cuaderno / Instituto de Investigaciones Filosóficas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México ; 32)
- How the Fourth International was conceived / Jean van Heijenoort. Trotsky's struggle for the Fourth International / John G. Wright. The Fourth International / Michel Pablo. - Issued by the National Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party. - New York, NY, 1973. - 39 pp. - (Towards a history of the Fourth International ; 2) (Education for socialists)
- In esilio con Trockij : da Prinkipo a Coyoacan. Trad. dal francese di Attilio Chitarin. - Milano : Feltrinelli, 1980. - 157 pp. - (Storia Feltrinelli)
- Introduction à la sémantique des logiques non-classiques. - Paris : Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 1979. - IX, 107 pp. - (Collection de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles ; 16)
- On locally convex surfaces. - New York, NY : New York University, 1949. - 58 pp. [His PhD]
- On some critics of Trotsky / Marc Loris [i.e. Jean Van Heijenoort] - [S.I.] : Workers' International League, Fourth International, 1942. - 31 pp.
- Selected essays. - Napoli : Bibliopolis, 1985. - 166 pp. - (History of logic ; 3) [Distributed in the USA by Humanities Pr., Atlantic Highlands, NJ]
- Sept ans auprès de Léon Trotsky : de Prinkipo à Coyoacan. - Paris : Les Lettres Nouvelles [etc.], 1978. - 231, [8] pp. - (Les Lettres nouvelles)
- Sept ans auprès de Léon Trotsky : de Prinkipo à Coyoacan. - Nouvelle éd. ill. et augm. - Paris : Nadeau, 2016. - 366 pp.
- With Trotsky in exile : from Prinkipo to Coyoacán. - Cambridge, Mass. [etc.] : Harvard Univ. Pr., 1978. - IX, 164 pp.

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

- La Commune : organe de regroupement et d'action révolutionnaire (Paris) <TSB 0346> [no. 2 sq. titled: La Commune de Paris]
- The encyclopedia of philosophy / Paul Edwards, ed. in chief. - Vol. 1-8. - New York, NY [etc.] Macmillan, 1967.
- Frege and Gödel : two fundamental texts in mathematical logic / [comp. by] Jean Van Heijenoort. - Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard Univ. Pr., 1970. - 116 pp.
- From Frege to Gödel : a source book in mathematical logic, 1879-1931 / [ed. by] Jean Van Heijenoort. - Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard Univ. Pr., 1967. - X, 660 pp. [& various later ed.]
- Gödel, Kurt: Collected works / Kurt Gödel. Ed. by Solomon Feferman (editor-in-chief) [et al.] - 1-2. - New York, NY [etc.] : Oxford Univ. Pr. [etc.], 1986-90.
- Trotsky, Leon: Correspondance, 1933-1938 / Lev Davidovitch Trotsky ; Natalia Ivanovna Sédova-Trotsky. Préf., trad. et ann. par Jean Van Heijenoort. - [Paris] : Gallimard, 1980. - 178 pp. - (Témoins)
- Trotsky, Leon: Lettere coniugali, 1933-1938 / Lev Davidovič Trockij ; Natalja Ivanovna Sedova-Trockij. A cura di Jean van Heijenoort. Ed. ital. a cura di Attilio Chitarin. [Trad. dal russo delle lettere originali di Fernanda Lepre]. - Milano : La Pietra, 1981. - 156 pp. - (Protagonisti)
- Trotsky, Leon: Correspondencia (1933-1938) / Lev Davidovitch Trotsky ; Natalia Ivanovna Sedova-Trotsky. Trad.: Oscar Barahona y Uxo Doyhamboure. - México, D.F. : Ed. Nueva Imagen, 1981. - 132 pp.

• ***Selective bibliography: Books/pamphlets translated by Van Heijenoort***

- Trotsky, Leon: Correspondance, 1933-1938 / Lev Davidovitch Trotsky ; Natalia Ivanovna Sédova-Trotsky. Préf., trad. et ann. par Jean Van Heijenoort. - [Paris] : Gallimard, 1980. - 178 pp. - (Témoins)
- Trotsky, Leon: Staline / Léon Trotski. Trad. du russe par J. Van Heijenoort. - Paris : Grasset, [1948]. - XIV, 620 pp. - (Témoignages sur notre temps) [& other ed.]

• ***Selective bibliography: Books, collections, journals, bulletins to which Van Heijenoort contributed***

- 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)

- Bensaïd, Daniel: The formative years of the Fourth International (1933-1938) / Daniel Bensaïd. - Montreuil, 1988. - 47 pp. - (Notebooks for study and research / International Institute for Research and Education ; 9)
- Bensaïd, Daniel: Les années de formation de la IVème Internationale / Daniel Bensaïd. - Montreuil, 1988. - 47 pp. - (Cahiers d'étude et de recherche / Institut International de Recherche et de Formation ; 9)
- Biulleten' Oppozitsii (Bol'sheviki-Lenintsev) (Various places) <TSB 0102>
- Bulletin intérieur / Parti Socialiste Révolutionnaire (Bruxelles ?) <TSB 1174>
- Bulletin intérieur du Groupe Bolchevik-Léniniste de la SFIO (anciennement Ligue Communiste) (Paris) <TSB 0231>
- Bulletin du Secrétariat Européen de la IVe Internationale (Paris?) <TSB 0210>
- Cahiers Léon Trotsky (Various places) [ISSN 0181-0790] <TSB 0277>¹⁶
- Clave : tribuna marxista (México) <TSB 0318>
- Communications on Pure and Applied Mathematics (New York, NY) [ISSN 0010-3640]
- Documentación histórica del trotsquismo español (1936-1948) : de la guerra civil a la ruptura con la IV Internacional / Agustín Guillamón (dir.) [...] realizada por el Comité de Documentación Histórica Sobre el Trotskismo Español. - Madrid : Ed. de la Torre, 1996. - 422 pp. - (Colección Nuestro mundo ; 48 : Serie Historia)
- The fate of the Russian revolution : debates, essays and confrontations / ed. and with an introd. by Sean Matgamna. - 2. - London : Workers' Liberty, 2015. - [8], 790 pp.
- The encyclopedia of philosophy / Paul Edwards, ed. in chief. - 1-8. - New York, NY [etc.] Macmillan, 1967
- Fourth International (New York, NY, 1940-56) <TSB 0532> ¹⁷
- Fourth International / International Executive Committee of the Fourth International (Paris) [ISSN 0429-2790] <TSB 0535>
- Frege synthesized : essays on the philosophical and foundational work of Gottlob Frege / ed. by Leila Haaparanta [et al.] - Dordrecht [etc.] : Reidel, 1986. - VI, 395 pp. - (Synthese library ; 181)
- General assessments and historical accounts of Frege's philosophy / ed. with introd. by Hans Sluga. - New York, NY : Garland, 1993. - XIII, 394 pp. - (The philosophy of Frege ; 1)
- Hacia una explicación de las entidades lógicas / J. van Heijenoort [et al.] - México, D.F. : Univ. Nacional Autónoma de México, Colegio de Filosofía, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1984. - 98 pp.
- Harvard Library Bulletin (Cambridge, Mass.) [ISSN 0017-8136]
- 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)
- Herbrand, Jacques: Ecrits logiques / avec une préf. de Jean Van Heijenoort [...] - Paris : Pr. Univ. de France, 1968. - 244 pp. - (Bibliothèque de philosophie contemporaine)
- Herbrand, Jacques: Logical writings / ed. by Warren D. Goldfarb. - Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard Univ. Pr., 1971. - VII, 312 pp.
- Intercontinental Press (New York, NY) [ISSN 0020-5303 ; ISSN 0162-5594] <TSB 0657>
- Internal Bulletin / Socialist Workers Party (New York, NY) <TSB 1548>
- Journal of Philosophical Logic (Dordrecht etc.) [ISSN 0022-3611]
- 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.
- Logic Colloquium (Amsterdam etc.)
- Meaning and ontology in Frege's philosophy. - New York, NY : Garland, 1993. - XIII, 402 pp. - (The philosophy of Frege ; 3)
- Modern Logic (Ames, Iowa) [ISSN 1047-5982]
- Partisan Review (New Brunswick, NJ) [ISSN 0031-2525]
- Perspectives on the history and philosophy of modern logic : Van Heijenoort centenary / ed. by Irving H. Anellis. - Basel : Birkhäuser, 2012. - pp. 249-613 - (Logica Universalis ; 6.2012,3/4=Spec.iss.)
- Philosophy East and West (Honolulu, Hawaii) [ISSN 0031-8221]

¹⁶ No. 65 (March 1999), pp. 13-118, of *Cahiers Léon Trotsky* contains (in French) 10 of Van Heijenoort's contributions about European matters originally published in the *SWP* journal *Fourth International* (New York, NY) during the Second World War.

¹⁷ For a complete listing of Van Heijenoort's articles published in *Fourth International* (New York, NY) between 1940 and 1945 under various pseudonyms (Jarvis Garland, Vladimir Ivlev, Marc Loris, Karl Mayer, Ann Vincent and Daniel Logan) see Feferman, Anita Burdman: Politics, logic and love : the life of Jean van Heijenoort, Wellesley, Mass., 1993, p. 409.

- Il Ponte (Firenze) [ISSN 0032-423X]
 Proceedings / Boston Colloquium for the Philosophy of Science. Ed. by Robert S. Cohen [et al.]. - Dordrecht : Reidel, 1967. - XLIX, 489 pp. - (Boston studies in the philosophy of science ; 3)
 Quatrième Internationale (Paris etc., 1936-) [ISSN 0771-0569 - ISSN 0765-1740] <TSB 1282>
 La Quinzaine littéraire (Paris) [ISSN 0048-4693]
 Revista de la Universidad de México (México, D.F.) [ISSN 0185-1330]
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Note: More information about Van Heijenoort is likely to be found in the books, pamphlets, university works, and articles listed in the relevant chapters of the *Lubitz' Leon Trotsky Bibliography [ISSN 2190-0183]*, e.g. reviews of his *Sept ans auprès de Léon Trotsky : de Prinkipo à Coyoacan*, listed in chapter [8.2.02](#).

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Sidelines, notes on archives

— Archives

Van Heijenoort's career as mathematician, logician, professor and scientific editor is well documented by the *Jean Van Heijenoort Papers, 1946-1988*, for which a guide is online available and which are preserved at the *Archives of American Mathematics, Center for American History, The University of Texas* (Austin, Tex.) This collection contains some 16 linear feet of Van Heijenoort's published and unpublished manuscripts, lectures, research notes, letters etc., organized in five series: correspondence, writings, works in progress, writings of others, and From Frege to Gödel. Further material on Van Heijenoort from 1974 to 1988 has later been added to the collection thanks to a donation of one his most distinguished doctoral students, Irving H. Anellis.

Records of Van Heijenoort's (co-)editing of the collected works of Kurt Gödel (1906-1978) are preserved at *Stanford University* (Stanford, Cal.)

Archival material related to the seven years (1932-1939) which Van Heijenoort spent with Trotsky as

secretary, guard and translator is to be found at Trotsky Archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.), e.g. its Leon Trotsky exile papers (MS Russ 13.1).

Other archival resources documenting Van Heijenoort's years with Trotsky and his involvement in the Trotskyist movement are to be found in various other Trotsky archives such as for example in the Trotskii-Sedov Papers (series 231 of the Boris I. Nicolaevsky Collection) in the Hoover Institution Archives (Stanford, Cal.)

— A small text archive within the framework of the *Marxists' Internet Archive (MIA)* website provides some texts by Jean Van Heijenoort in English

— Some notes about **Van Heijenoort's character** ...

"Van Heijenoort was apparently both diffident and disdainful, and difficult to get to know on a personal level. He was shy, a bit nervous, always cautious, and intensely private. [...] Life in those years [i.e. the years as Trotsky's bodyguard and secretary], remembered van Heijenoort, 'was never simple, always hectic', and there developed among Trotsky and his closest circle a fortress mentality. [...] Like Trotsky, van Heijenoort was sparing in his praise, and placed a lot of stress and tension on relations with those from whom he expected much. One is reminded of van Heijenoort's assertion about Trotsky, that 'the more one worked with him, the more demanding and brusque he became'. [...] His mood could change abruptly. [...] With the death of Trotsky, van Heijenoort was led to reappraise his own life, and he found in mathematics the palliative which helped him to restore his shattered equilibrium."¹⁸

Some of the most striking characteristic features in Van Heijenoort were his accuracy and his very passion for exactitude as well as a proneness to jealousy and meanness..

— Some notes about **Van Heijenoort and women** ...

"... If there was peace in mathematical logic and archival scholarship there was none in Jean's private existence. Charismatically handsome, endowed with the legitimate aura of a heroic past, Jean drew women like moths, and he, in turn, fell for them with indiscriminate gusto. Numerous relationships and four marriages yielded little but turmoil. Nothing in his biography is more poignant than Feferman's account of how Jean's mother, in France, received with serene warmth successive mistresses, wives, and children".¹⁹

Van Heijenoort was married four times: in 1934 he married Gabrielle Brausch (1909-1958), a French Trotskyist whom he first had met in 1931. In 1935 the couple got a son, Jean (jr.), also called Jeannot. When Gabrielle followed Van Heijenoort to Mexico, their relationship was already more or less busted. It factually came to an end when Gabrielle fell out with Natalia Sedova to whom she served at the Coyoacán household and had to leave Mexico, returning to France. In July 1939 Van Heijenoort in Mexico City married Loretta Guyer (called 'Bunny'), a young American with whom he left Coyoacán for New York in November of the same year. The couple in 1950 got a daughter, Laure. Van Heijenoort's second marriage proved crises-prone, too, and eventually the couple divorced in 1951. One year later Van Heijenoort married a young student; this marriage ended after 4 years by divorce. For some years Van Heijenoort had a close relationship with another student, Beverly Woodward, from whom he parted in 1962, and perhaps some further affairs before in 1969 he married his fourth wife, Anne-Marie (or, Ana Maria) Zamora, aged 37, a Mexican lawyer. After his retirement in 1977 Van Heijenoort went to Mexico sharing the house with his wife. But his fourth marriage, like the previous ones, soon ended in irretrievable breakdown.

"'He put his mother on a pedestal. She was perfect', Laure van Heijenoort said of her father's feelings for his mother. 'He did the same with all his women at first'. But it was only at first. In the case of his

¹⁸) Anellis, Irving H.: Jean van Heijenoort, the revolutionary, the scholar, and man (1912-1986), in: *Studies in Soviet Thought*, 35.1988 (2), pp. 153-154.

¹⁹) Steiner, George: Red guard, in: *The New Yorker*, 69.1993 (Dec. 30), p.142.

wives and girlfriends, when the honeymoon was over and the relationship came down to earth, there was always serious trouble. Jealousy, anger, bitterness, regret clouded all his romantic associations with women. The emotions he had not permitted himself towards Hélène would be released time and again in the direction of other loves while *maman* remained on the pedestal forever"²⁰.

— Some notes on the **death of Van Heijenoort**

"The relation [with Anne-Marie Zamora], at first idyllic, eventually soured. Divorce followed [in 1981]. But the acutely neurotic, dependent Anne-Marie continued to have a strong hold on Jean. Reconciliation and remarriage took place in December 1984. Under corrosive stress, Jean divided his time between Mexico and Stanford. Sensing that his work was at stake, he sought to end the entire wretched business and returned to his haven at Menlo Park [Palo, Alto, Cal.] The cataclysmic earthquakes that struck Mexico City in September 1985, caused Jean's immediate return to his unbalanced wife. A joint trip to France proved abysmal. Anne-Marie threatened suicide: 'Of course she wants to kill *me*, too,' van Heijenoort observed, with a logician's calm. She did in [the night of 28/29] March 1986 – three .38-caliber bullets into the head of her sleeping husband. One more into her own mouth. Murder in Mexico, forty-five [recte: forty-six] years after that of Trotsky"²¹.

Memorial services in honor of Jean Van Heijenoort were held at the Hoover Institution (Stanford, Cal.) and at Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.) in spring 1986. A phonotape reel documenting these events - a donation of Anita Feferman - is preserved at *Hoover Institution Archives*.

Note: The photograph on p.1 has been taken from Feferman, Anita Burdman: Politics, logic, and love : the life of Jean van Heijenoort, Wellesley, Mass., 1993.

Wolfgang and Petra Lubitz,
last (slightly) rev. July 2024

20) Feferman, Anita Burdman: Politics, logic and love : the life of Jean van Heijenoort, Wellesley, 1993, p. 21-22.

21) Steiner, George: Red guard, in: *The New Yorker*, 69.1993 (Dec.20), p. 142. Additions in square brackets by W. Lubitz.