James P. Cannon

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Basic biographical data	
Name:	**James P. Cannon**
Other names (by-names, pseud., etc.):	**John Battle ; C. ; James Patrick Cannon ; Jim Cannon ; Cook ; Dawson ; Dzh. P. Kannon ; Legrand ; Martel ; Martin ; Jim McGee ; Walter**
Date and place of birth:	**February 11, 1890, Rosedale, Ka. (USA)**
Date and place of death:	**August 21, 1974, Los Angeles, Cal. (USA)**
Nationality:	**USA**
Occupations, careers, etc.:	**Journalist, political activist, party leader, writer and editor**
Time of activity in Trotskyist movement:	**1928 - 1974 (lifelong Trotskyist)**

Biographical sketch

James P. Cannon was an outstanding example for American labour radicalism, a life-long devoted and unwavering socialist and internationalist, a co-founder of both the communist (in 1919/20) and the Trotskyist (in 1928/29) movement in the United States, the founder and long-time leader of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) *and its predecessors as well as one of the most influential figures in the Trotskyist* Fourth International (FI) *during the first two decades of its existence. However, his features in the annals of Trotskyism are far away from being homogeneous, and it is a very truism that a man like Cannon must almost inevitably have caused much controversy. Undoubtedly being America's foremost Trotskyist and vigorously having coined the* Socialist Workers Party (SWP)*, he on the one hand has been continuously worshipped and often monopolized by various epigones whereas on the other hand Trotskyist and ex-Trotskyist dissidents have considered him an embodiment of petrified orthodoxy or workerism or ultra-Leninist factionalism. Quite understandably, the most substantial criticism of Cannon or of 'Cannonism'*[1]*, respectively, has been made by those who once were defeated by him in the factional struggles of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s and by their ideological heirs or epigones.*

James P(atrick) Cannon was born in Rosedale, Kansas, in the Middle West of the United States. He was a son of John Cannon, a foundry-man from Irish background who was deeply rooted in labour radicalism and Irish nationalist traditions. James P. Cannon – usually called Jim – grew up in the Middle West under poor conditions. His mother, a devout Catholic from Irish background, too, died when Jim

1) The term *Cannonism* (or *Cannonite[s]*) was likely coined by the adherents of Max Shachtman who along with Cannon once had founded the Trotskyist movement in the U.S. but in 1940 after fierce ideological and factional struggles had left the *SWP* launching a rival movement, the *Workers Party.* In return, the Cannonites coined the term *Shachtmanites.*

was only twelve years old. Soon after, he left school and started work at a packing-house plant and later worked in a rail-road yard, only briefly returning to high school. At the age of 18, James P. Cannon joined the ranks of the *Socialist Party (SP)* of the United States in Kansas City and some years later became an active member of and a travelling organizer for the *Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)*, a radical union whose militants were better known as the *Wobblies*. Cannon who earned his living as a migratory worker getting what jobs he became, was trained by legendary labour radicals like Big Bill Haywood[2] and Vincent St. John and soon became a renowned strike organizer, participant in many *IWW* struggles, orator and union journalist; later he also became editor of the Kansas socialist paper *Workers' World.*

Under the strong impact of the 1917 Russian revolution, Cannon became a spokesmen of the left wing of the *Socialist Party* and a co-founder of the communist movement in the United States in 1919/1920. A devoted Bolshevik and highly inspired by Lenin and Trotsky, Cannon soon became one of the key leaders of the *Communist Party (CP)*[3]*;* thus he was elected to the *Central Committee (CC)* of the *United Communist Party of America* in May 1920, wrote articles for the legal and illegal party press and functioned as organizer and agitator. In Cleveland, he edited the (legal) party paper *The Toiler* before he went to New York City chiefly participating in the day-to-day work of the top party leadership. Furthermore, Cannon functioned twice as American delegate – using the party name *Cook* – to the *Communist International (Comintern)*, for example taking part in its 4th world congress in Moscow 1922 as well as representing the American communists in the *Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI)*. In America, Cannon helped to organize and from 1925 to 1928 headed – as national secretary – the *International Labor Defense (ILD)*, an organization created for providing legal defence to and solidarity with victims of political and judicial persecution, the most notable cases being of course those of Sacco and Vanzetti, Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. In the factional struggles taking part within the American *CP* during the mid-1920s, Cannon sided with the group around William Zebulon Foster which was in opposition to the Jay Lovestone and Charles Ruthenberg leadership. In the wake of the 6th world congress of the *Comintern* (Moscow, Summer 1928) which he attended as American delegate – along with Maurice Spector – Cannon got acquainted with Leon Trotsky's and the Left Opposition's fundamental criticism of Stalinist-Bukharinist *Comintern* policy.

Back to America, he soon began to take up the cause of Trotsky's *Left Opposition* and to challenge the Stalinist course of the party leadership by openly advocating and disseminating Trotsky's criticism, his ideas and his writings. In October 1928, Cannon found himself excluded – together with two other key figures, Max Shachtman and Martin Abern – from the ranks of the *CP* as 'Trotskyist' deviationist. The expellees, together with a couple of sympathizers, formed the *Opposition Group in the Workers (Communist) Party of America*, a nucleus of what soon should become the American Trotskyist movement. Cannon and Shachtman began to edit a weekly organ, *The Militant*, for many years the most renowned English-language mouthpiece of Trotskyism, the first issue of which was published in November 1928. Some months later, Cannon, Shachtman, Abern and their followers founded the *Communist League of America (Opposition) (CLA)* which at the beginning regarded itself as an 'external faction' of the *CP* and soon became the American arm of Trotsky's *International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) (ILO)* (later renamed *International Communist League, Bolshevik-Leninists, ICL-BL*); During the 1930s, Cannon became the almost unchallenged leader of the *CLA* which could win over a considerable number of devoted militants on the far left and thus was able to intervene in strikes and workers' struggles in New York and Minneapolis. In 1934, the *CLA* under Cannon's guidance joined

2) That was the popular name of William Dudley Haywood (1869-1928).

3) Please note 1.) that the official name of American *CP* changed several times; thus the party which Cannon helped to set up, at the beginning was called *Communist Labor Party*; 2.) that the American *CP* for several years had to work at least semi-illegally and was constituted by a legal and an illegal arm, respectively, and 3.) that in 1919, there were two communist parties founded simultaneously, The *Communist Party of America* and the *Communist Labor Party*, both illegalized in early 1920. In the same year, the *United Communist Party* was launched.

forces with another left oppositional formation, Abraham J. Muste's *Workers' Party,* and began to publish a theoretical journal with title *New International*. After a period of factional struggles about the question of 'entryism' and other issues – which led to the split of the 'Oehlerites' (i.e. the followers of Hugo Oehler) from the Cannon-Shachtman leadership – the majority of the American Trotskyists joined the ranks of Norman Thomas' *Socialist Party* – in accordance with Trotsky's entryist tactic[4] – before eventually launching the *Socialist Workers Party (SWP)* on January 1, 1938.

Cannon was elected a member of *SWP's* leading bodies, the *National Committee (NC)* and the *Political Committee (PC)* and functioned as *National Secretary* (i.e. party leader) of the *SWP* from 1938 to 1953, when he partially retired, succeeded as *National Secretary* by Farrell Dobbs. Thereafter, he served as *National Chairman* and *National Chairman Emeritus*, respectively, moving from the New York *SWP* headquarters to Los Angeles, Cal., nevertheless continuing to intervene into party matters and political disputes and maintaining close relations to a number of top party leaders of the next generation, particularly Farrell Dobbs, Joseph Hansen, and Tom Kerry.

In 1938, the *SWP* became the U.S. affiliate to Trotsky's *Fourth International (FI)*[5]; Cannon functioned – together with Max Shachtman – not only as *SWP's* delegate to the founding congress of the *FI* in September 1938, but also served on its *International Executive Committee (IEC)* in 1938/39. From the late 1930s to the 1950s, Cannon was the foremost American Trotskyist and at the same time he played a key role in the development of the *Fourth International* and of some of their national sections; thus for example he visited Trotsky in his Mexican exile and maintained a lively correspondence with him, he was involved in the unification of divergent groups of Mexican and British followers of Trotsky, and he exerted a remarkable influence on the political line, the theoretical considerations and the organizational and factional measures taken by the *International Secretariat* of the *Fourth International.* Last not least, he was a key figure in the 1952/1953 split of the *Fourth International* when he challenged the European 'Pabloite' leadership of the *FI,* and with his famous *Open letter* he eventually became a founding father and leader of the rival *International Committee of the Fourth International*. Usually considered as the very pillar of 'orthodox' Trotskyism (as contrasting the 'revisionism' of Michel Pablo, Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank and other European Trotskyist leaders), Cannon, however, actively participated neither in further splits nor in the reunification endeavours of the international Trotskyist movement after his retirement from the post as *SWP* National Secretary. As a matter of fact, spokesmen of quite divergent currents of the movement later should use his name for proving the correctness of their own political course again and again.

Having been arrested in 1941 for violation of the *Smith Act* – i.e. for having opposed the war policy of the government by organizing strikes, etc. – Cannon in 1943, together with 17 other prominent *SWP* leaders and activists of the *Minneapolis Teamsters Union*, was indicted, tried, found guilty and eventually sentenced in the famous *Minneapolis sedition trial*; in 1944/45, he had to serve 13 months of his 16-month sentence at Sandstone federal penitentiary, Minnesota.

However, James P. Cannon was not only an outstanding activist, party organizer and unionist, but also an eminent author and editor. The American communist press of the 1920s and the American as well as international Trotskyist press from 1929 to his end published innumerable articles from his pen, not to mention his countless contributions to internal bulletins, his speeches and other oral contributions to party conventions, public and party meetings of all kind and to educational courses and schools. Besi-

4) During the phase of 'entryism', Cannon lived in San Francisco, California, where he edited *Labour Action* as an unofficial public voice of the US Trotskyists during *SP* entry. After the expellation of the Trotskyists from the *Socialist Party*, Cannon returned to New York and engaged himself in the preparatory work of launching a new American Trotskyist party.

5) From 1940, the *SWP* dropped the label *"Section of the Fourth International"* with regard to reactionary US legislation (Voorhis Act) but factually remained one of the strongest and wealthiest national sections of the *FI* for several decades.

des this, there is a quite considerable number of books and pamphlets by Cannon, often based on his speeches and lectures and chiefly focusing on the history of the Trotskyist movement in the United States. Of course reflecting *his* view of the matter, these books are eminent primary sources for an understanding and assessment of Cannon's thought, action, and role. His book *The struggle for a proletarian party* (1943) chiefly consists of letters, speeches and other documents contributed by him to the bitter factional struggle taking place between Cannon and Trotsky on the one side and Burnham and Shachtman on the other; *Socialism on trial* (1942) records Cannon's testimony in the above-mentioned 'Minneapolis sedition trial'; appended to later editions is the pamphlet *Defense policy in the Minneapolis trial*, a criticism by G. Munis and a rejoinder by Cannon; *The history of American Trotskyism : report of a participant* (1944) consists of contemporaneous lectures about the first decade of U.S. Trotskyism; writings from the early WW II period have been assembled in *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II* (1975); Cannon's very involvement into the factional struggle against Albert Goldman and Felix Morrow at the end of the Second World War and his considerations about the post-war perspectives are reflected in the collection *The struggle for socialism in the 'American century'* (1977); the inner-party controversies during the first years of McCarthyism, including the disputes leading to the so-called 'Cochranite' split in the *SWP* and to the 'Pabloite' split in the *Fourth International,* are dealt with in *Speeches to the party* (1973); *America's road to socialism (1953)* is a series of lectures given by Cannon in 1952-53 presenting his views of the socialist future; *Notebook of an agitator* (1958) is a collection of Cannon's journalistic work, containing chiefly articles published in *The Militant; The first ten years of American communism* (1962) partially emerged from Cannon's lively correspondence with a historian of the movement, Theodore Draper, but also includes articles about Eugene V. Debs and the *IWW*; *Letters from prison* (1968) is an edited version of his letters about party-building problems written when serving his prison term at Sandstone penitentiary in 1944/45.

Several books consisting of writings, speeches, letters and other material have been published posthumously[6], e.g. two remarkable collections issued by the Prometheus Research Library: *Dog days : James P. Cannon vs. Max Shachtman in the Communist League of America 1931-1933* (2002) and *James P. Cannon and the early years of American communism : selected writings and speeches 1920-1928* (1992). Mention should also be made of the following posthumously published collections issued by Monad Press: *The Left Opposition in the U.S. 1928-31* (1981), containing reprints of many of Cannon's articles in *The Militant* and previously unpublished letters relating to internal party problems; a follow-up to this collection is *The Communist League of America 1932-34* (1985).

Many of his books and articles have been translated into French, German and other languages and continue to be reprinted again and again by Trotskyist publishers and in the Trotskyist and related press. During his lifetime, many writers adhering to the various currents of the international Trotskyist movement, including those who once had been his fellow comrades before they left the Trotskyist, or, 'Cannonite' camp, repeatedly dealt with Cannon's thought and action, their assessments ranging – as already sketched above – from more or less affirmative or hagiographic contributions to vitriolic criticism of his (allegedly) authoritarian or anti-intellectual approach, of his being either an exponent of Trotskyist orthodoxy and epigonism or the foster-father of 'Pabloite decline'; some critics considered him rather a Zinovievist than a Trotskyist[7]. In view of his life-long commitment to the cause of Trotskyism and the key role he played in its history, both nationally and internationally, it goes without say-

6) For more details, see our *Selective bibliography*, below

7) "The problem with Cannon was not his personal failings [...] The problem was that he functioned as a Zinovievist. His understanding of 'Marxism-Leninism' was shaped by the misconceptions of the early Comintern. He was at the 5th World Congress of the Comintern, the infamous 'Bolshevization' congress. So was Vincent R. Dunne, another leader of the American Trotskyist movement. They were both members of the Communist Party at that time. When they came back to the United States, they helped to organize the CPUSA's own 'Bolshevization' convention which resulted in the type of witch-hunt against ideological deviations that marked Zinoviev's Comintern and which has characterized American Trotskyism since its infancy. This was Cannon's problem, not his foibles as an individual." (Cited from Proyect, Louis: Reply to Paul Le Blanc on his interpretation of the SWP [electronic resource].)

ing that his death caused hundreds of obituaries, reminiscences and appraisals as well as of critical essays. Almost all those scholars dealing with American and international Trotskyism more or less exhaustively have to tackle with and refer to Cannon and 'Cannonism' and it is likely that historical research will continue to result in further books and articles about his life and work[8].

Aged 84, James P. Cannon died of a heart attack in Los Angeles on August 21, 1974. In New York, Los Angeles and elsewhere, memorial meetings were held at which his life and work was remembered and appraised by comrades, friends and sympathizers. Many of the memorial speeches together with other obituaries were published either in the American and international Trotskyist press or in collections such as for example *James P. Cannon as we knew him*.[9]

James P. Cannon was married twice; first with Lista Makimson who died in 1929 and from whom he got a son, Carl, and a daughter, Ruth. Cannon's second life companion was Rose Karsner who was born Rose Greenberg in Romania in 1890 and who had come to the U.S. as a child. In 1911, she had married David Karsner, a socialist journalist with whom she had a daughter, Walta; however, in 1921, the marriage ended in divorce. In the same year, Rose Karsner got acquainted with James P. Cannon and from 1923/24 to her end, she had a close relationship with him, both personal and professional. However, it was only in 1955 that they got married. Rose Karsner in the 1920s - like Cannon - worked on the *International Labor Defense*. At the end of the 1920s she became a member of the *CLA*, later of the *SWP*, and remained a devoted Trotskyist until the end of her life. For many years she served as a business manager of *The Militant* and worked with *Pioneer Publishers* (which later became *Pathfinder Press*), the publishing arm of the *SWP*. She died in 1968.

We would like to conclude our biographical sketch by two quotations:

> "Comrade Cannon's most remarkable achievement, nonetheless, was on American soil. Sharing in this achievement were the other pioneer Trotskyists in the United States - among them Vincent R. Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Arne Swabeck, and above all Rose Karsner [...]. These pioneer Trotskyists, however, would all give the main credit to Jim. This achievement was to build a viable nucleus of a revolutionary party in the United States, the main bastion of world capitalism. Not only did Jim build this nucleus, he maintained it and continued to build it for an unprecedented number of decades in face of enormous pressures. There has been nothing like it in the history of the revolutionary socialist movement. Jim held his nucleus together against the lure of posts in the trade-union bureaucracy, none of which are without considerable emoluments. He held this nucleus together against the merciless blows and venomous slanders of American Stalinism, once a powerful force in the radical movement and in many trade unions in the United States. He held this nucleus together in face of the hysteria of World War II, marching to prison at the head of the Trotskyists convicted as the first victims of the Smith Act for their political opposition to imperialist war. He held this nucleus together during the infamous decade of McCarthyism in the United States, when the Trotskyists were hounded from their jobs by the American political police, the FBI, and when our movement was almost completely isolated politically and virtually paralysed for lack of funds. He held this nucleus together against the deadly combination of McCarthyite repression and economic prosperity that led to years of passivity in the labor movement. There were casualties, of course. Valuable comrades grew discouraged and dropped out of activity. Cadres with years of experience could not endure the strain and developed political differences that gave them seeming justification for finding a road to the sidelines. But new recruits replaced them. And some of them proved to be of exceptional worth precisely because they swam against the stream in joining the movement in such a period. Jim's stamina and stubbornness won out in the end. He succeeded in maintaining

8) For a listing of secondary literature (obituaries, appraisals, memories, critical essays, etc.) about Cannon see our *Selective bibliography*, below.

9) Edited by Les Evans, New York, Pathfinder Press, 1976. For further details see our *Selective bibliography*, below.

the continuity of leadership, a continuity going back directly to the founders of American socialism [...]. During his years as the main leader of American Trotskyism, Jim became the teacher of three, if not four, generations of revolutionists."[10]
"As an orator and writer, Cannon distinguished himself as an accomplished popularizer of revolutionary Marxist ideas that were strongly flavoured by a blending of the Bolshevik and U.S. labor-radical traditions."[11]

Selective bibliography

***Some introductory notes for a better understanding of certain peculiarities of the following* Selective Bibliography:**
1. In the sub-paragraph *Books/pamphlets (co-)authored by Cannon* we have – as a rule – omitted author's name from the author statement area of the title records whenever Cannon is the single author of a book, regardless whether his full name or initials only are given on title page or cover.
2. Works to which he contributed and which at the same time were (co-)edited by him, have been listed in both sub-paragraphs *Books/pamphlets and journals (co-)edited by Cannon* **and** *Books, collections, journals, bulletins to which Cannon contributed*.
3. The sub-paragraph *Books, collections, journals, bulletins to which Cannon contributed* does **not** list his contributions to collective works, journals and bulletins etc. by the distinctive titles proper but *by source title only* (i.e. by title proper of the journal, collection or the like).
4. *TSB* item numbers (e.g. "<TSB 0716>") refer to our *Trotskyist Serials Bibliography* (München [etc.], 1993), which is out of print but is available as PDF file within the framework of our *Lubitz' TrotskyanaNet* website. In *TSB* you find detailed information about Trotskyist journals, newsletters, bulletins and the like.

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

American Stalinism and anti-Stalinism. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1947. - 48 pp.
America's road to socialism. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1953. - 79 pp.
America's road to socialism / introd. by George Novack. - 2. ed. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1975. - 124 pp.
The case for socialist revolution : an A.B.C. of Trotskyism ; the testimony of J.P. Cannon in the U.S. labour frame-up trial. - [London : E. Grant], 1942. - 40 pp.
The coming American revolution. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1947. - 31 pp.
The Communist League of America 1932-34 : writings and speeches, 1932-34 / ed. by Fred Stanton and Michael Taber. - New York, NY : Monad Pr., 1985. - 439 pp.
Defense policy in the Minneapolis trial / a criticism by Grandizo Munis. An answer by James P. Cannon. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1942. - 64 pp. - (International Bulletin ; 2,2) [Later ed. publ. with title: *What policy for revolutionists.* Also contained in later editions of *Socialism on trial*.]
Don't strangle the party : three letters and a talk / introd. by George Breitman. - New York, NY : Fourth Internationalist Tendency [etc.], 1986. - 23 pp. [& later ed.]
The end of the Comintern : with The manifesto of the Fourth International. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1943. - 34 pp.
Eugene V. Debs : the socialist movement of his time, its meaning for today. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1957. - 40 pp. - (Pioneer pocket library ; 5) [& later ed., publ. by Merit Publ. Also publ. with title *The Debs centennial*]
The fifth year of the Russian revolution : report of a lecture. - New York, NY : Workers Party of America, 1922. - 20 pp.
The first ten years of American communism : report of a participant. - New York, NY : L. Stuart, 1962. - 343 pp. [& later ed., publ. by Pathfinder Pr.]
The history of American Trotskyism : report of a participant. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1944. - XIV, 268 pp.
The history of American Trotskyism : from its origins (1928) to the founding of the Socialist Workers Party ; report of a participant. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1972. - XX, 268 pp. [& later ed.]

10) Hansen, Joseph: In tribute to Jim Cannon : 'an internationalist to the marrow of his bones', in: *Intercontinental Press*, 12.1974 (31), p. 1112.

11) Le Blanc, Paul: Cannon, James Patrick (1890-1974), in: *Encyclopedia of the American Left / ed. by Mari Jo Buhle [et al.],* New York, NY, 1990, p. 124.

The I.W.W. : on the 50th anniversary of the founding convention - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1956. - 43 pp. - (Pioneer pocket library ; 4) [& later ed., publ. by Merit Publ.]

James P. Cannon and the early years of American communism : selected writings and speeches, 1920-1928 / Prometheus Research Library. - New York, NY : Spartacist Publ. Co., 1992. - XVI, 624 pp.

Kampen för ett arbetarparti / svensk övers.: Anders Johansson och Göran Källqvist. - Stockholm : Röda Rummet, 1979. - 159 pp.

Der Kampf für eine proletarische Partei. - Frankfurt a.M. : ISP-Verl., 1982. - 112 pp. - (ISP-Theorie ; 7)

The Left Opposition in the U.S. 1928-31 : writings and speeches, 1928-31 / ed. by Fred Stanton. - New York, NY : Monad Pr., 1981. - 446 pp.

Leon Trotsky : memorial address "To the memory of the old man". - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., [1940]. - 15 pp.

Letters from prison. - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1968. - XX, 354 pp. [& later ed., publ. by Pathfinder Pr.]

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)

Notebook of an agitator. - New York : Pioneer Publ., 1958. - 362 pp. [& later ed., publ. by Pathfinder Pr.]

Le parti révolutionnaire : les enseignements de Lénine et Trotsky sur cet instrument indispensable à la lutte pour le socialisme. - Ed. rev. et augm. - Montréal : Ed. d'Avant-Garde, 1974. - 37 pp.

I primi dieci anni del Partito Comunista Americano / trad.: S. Cipriani. - Milano : Jaca Book, 1977. - 377 pp.

The revolutionary party : its role in the struggle for socialism. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1975. - 15 pp. [& later ed. - Originally publ. with title: *The vanguard party and the world revolution*, repr. from *50 years of world revolution*, New York, NY, 1968]

The revolutionary perspective for the United States. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1975. - 37 pp. - (Education for socialists)

The road to peace according to Stalin and according to Lenin. - New York : Pioneer Publ., 1951. - 48 pp.

The Russian revolution. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1944. - 30 pp. [& later ed.]

Socialism and democracy. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1959. - 21 pp.

Socialism inför rätta / övers.: Göran Källqvist. - Stockholm : Röda Rummet, 1982. - 191 pp.

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]

Socialist election policy in 1958. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1958. - 11 pp.

The Socialist Workers Party in World War II : writings and speeches, 1940-43 / ed. by Les Evans. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1975. - 446 pp.

Speeches for socialism. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1971. - 462 pp. - (A Merit book) [& later ed.]

Speeches to the party : the revolutionary perspective and the revolutionary party. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1973. - 431 pp. [& later ed.]

The struggle for a proletarian party. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1943. - XIII, 302 pp.

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 struggle for socialism in the "American century" : writings and speeches, 1945-47 / ed. by Les Evans. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1977. - 480 pp.

Trade unions in America / Wm Z. Foster ; J.P. Cannon ; E.R. Browder. - Chicago, Ill. : Daily Worker Publ. Co., 1925. - 36 pp. - (The little red library ; 1) [& later ed.]

Wall Street enjuicia al socialismo / trad. al castellano de Antonio Robles. - México, D.F. : Ed. Lucha Obrera, 1945. - 185 pp. [& later ed., publ. by Pathfinder Pr., New York, NY]

What is American fascism? : writings on Father Coughlin, Mayor Frank Hague, and Senator Joseph McCarthy / James P. Cannon and Joseph Hansen. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1976. - 45 pp. - (Education for socialists) [& later ed., publ. by Pathfinder Pr., New York, NY]

What policy for revolutionists : Marxism or ultra-leftism? / Grandizo Munis and James P. Cannon. - New York : Merit Publ., 1969. - 64 pp. [Earlier ed. publ. with title: *Defense policy in the Minneapolis trial*]

The workers and the Second World War : speech to the tenth national convention of the Socialist Workers Party, Oct. 2-4, 1942. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1942. - 46 pp.

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

Labor Action (San Francisco, Cal.) <TSB 0868>
The Militant (New York, NY) <TSB 1026>
New Militant (New York, NY) <TSB 1093>
The Organizer (Minneapolis, Minn.)
The Toiler (Cleveland, Ohio ; New York, NY)

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

The 20th congress (C.P.S.U.) and world Trotskyism : a documented analysis. - [London] : New Park Publications, 1957. - 124 pp. - (A New Park Publications pamphlet)
1905 : le mouvement ouvrier américain, la fondation de l'IWW et la révolution russe ; (textes et documents) / Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Mouvements Trotskyste et Révolutionnaires Internationaux. - Paris, 2005. - 82 pp. (Les cahiers du C.E.R.M.T.R.I. ; 118)
1940 - 1990 : 50 Jahre seit der Ermordung Leo Trotzkis. - Wien : Gruppe Arbeiterstandpunkt, 1990. - 19, 7 pp. - (Studientexte der Gruppe ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt ; 3) - (Materialien der Gruppe ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt ; 13)
Aspects of socialist election policy. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1971. - 88 pp. - (Education for socialists)
Background to "The struggle for a proletarian party" / James P. Cannon [et al.] - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1979. - 45 pp. - (Education for socialists)
Beilagen-Kreis im Radius der SPD : zur Vereinigungsdebatte von BWK, GIM, KPD... / Gruppe IV. Internationale. - Berlin, 1986. - 86 pp.
Biulleten' oppozitsii (Bol'sheviki-Lenintsev) (Various places) <TSB 0102>
Bulletin de la Ligue des Communistes-Internationalistes (Bolcheviks-Léninistes) (Amsterdam) <TSB 0178>
Bulletin du Comité International de la IVe Internationale (Paris) <TSB 0208>
Bulletin du Secrétariat Européen de la IVe Internationale (Paris?) <TSB 0210>
Bulletin in Defense of Marxism (New York, NY) <TSB 0219>
Bulletin intérieur / Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste (Bolcheviks-Léninistes) (Paris) <TSB 1172>
Bulletin intérieur de la Ligue Communiste (Paris) <TSB 0226>
Bulletin intérieur du Groupe Bolchevik-Léniniste de la SFIO (anciennement Ligue Communiste) (Paris) <TSB 0231>
Cahiers Léon Trotsky (Various places) <TSB 0277>
Communist (Chicago, Ill.)
Communist International (New York, NY)
Daily Worker (Chicago, Ill. ; New York, NY)
Debs, Eugene Victor: Eugene V. Debs speaks / ed. by Jean Y. Tussey. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1970. - 327 pp.
Defending the revolutionary party and its perspectives : [documents and speeches of the 1952-53 factional struggle and split in the Socialist Workers Party]. - New York, NY : National Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1969. - 31 pp. - (Education for socialists)
Discussion Bulletin / Socialist Workers Party (New York, NY) <TSB 1547>
Dobbs, Farrell: The voice of socialism : radio speeches by the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the 1948 election / Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1948. - 31 pp.
Documents sur la scission de 1952 du PCI (Section Française de la IVe Internationale) / Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Mouvements Trotskyste et Révolutionnaires Internationaux. - 2. - Paris, 1987. - 73 pp. - (Les cahiers du C.E.R.M.T.R.I. ; 45)
Dog days : James P. Cannon vs. Max Shachtman in the Communist League of America 1931-1933 / comp., introd., and ed. by the Prometheus Research Library. - New York City : Prometheus Research Library, 2002. - XX, 715 pp.
Ergebnisse & [und] Perspektiven / Sonderausgabe (Essen) <TSB 0474>
The fate of the Russian revolution / ed. by Sean Matgamna. - 1-2. - London, 1998-2015

Fifty years of world revolution : an international symposium / ed. and with an introd. by Ernest Mandel. Transl. by Gerald Paul. - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1968. - 366 pp. [& later print.]
The fight against fascism in the USA : forty years of struggle described by participants / James P. Cannon [et al.] - New York : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1976. - 55 pp. - (Education for socialists) [& later ed., publ. by Pathfinder Pr., New York, NY]
Fjärde Internationalen (Uppsala, later: Stockholm, later: Göteborg) <TSB 0518>
Fourth International (New York, NY, 1940-56) <TSB 0532>
Front ouvrier (Lyon) <TSB 0567>
Hansen, Joseph: James P. Cannon, the internationalist / Joseph Hansen. Appendices by James P. Cannon. [Notes by George Breitman]. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1980. - 38 pp. - (Education for socialists)
In Defense of Marxism (New York, NY) <TSB 0616>
Intercontinental Press (New York, NY) <TSB 0657>
Internal Bulletin / Communist League of America (Opposition) (New York, NY) <TSB 0358>
Internal Bulletin / Socialist Workers Party (New York, NY) <TSB 1548>
International Bulletin / publ. for the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International by the Socialist Workers Party of the U.S.A. (New York, NY) <TSB 0540>
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International Information Bulletin / Socialist Workers Party (New York, NY) <TSB 1550>
International Information Bulletin / Workers Party [1934-36] (New York, NY) <TSB 1852
International Press Correspondence (Vienna etc.)
International Secretariat documents, 1951-1954 : struggle in the Fourth International / issued by the National Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party. - 1-4. - New York, NY, 1974. - 210 pp. - (Towards a history of the Fourth International ; 4) (Education for socialists)
International Socialist Review (Chicago, Ill.)
International Socialist Review (New York, NY) <TSB 0715>
Die Internationale (Various places) <TSB 0731>
James P. Cannon : a political tribute ; including five interviews from the last year of his life. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1974. - 46 pp. [Speeches and obituaries by J. Hansen, J. Barnes, T. Kerry, A. Pulley et al., reprinted from various sources, plus some interviews with and speeches by J.P. Cannon]
Labor Defender (New York, NY)
Labor Herald (Chicago, Ill.)
Labor Unity (Chicago, Ill. ; New York, NY)
Le Blanc, Paul: Leninism in the United States and the decline of the Socialist Workers Party / Paul Le Blanc. - Amsterdam : IIRE/IIRF/IIIF, 1992. - 57 pp. - (Working papers of the International Institute for Research and Education ; 27)
The Leninist position on youth-party relations : documents from the YSA & SWP, 1957-61. - New York, NY : Spartacist, [1967]. - VIII, 27 pp. - (Marxist bulletin ; 7)
Leon Trotsky - the man and his work : reminiscences and appraisals / Joseph Hansen [et al.] - New York, NY : Merit Publ., 1969. - 128 pp.
Leon Trotsky on labor party : stenographic report of discussion held in 1938 with leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. - [New York, NY] : Bulletin Publications, 1968. - 20 pp.
The Liberator (New York, NY)
The Militant (New York, NY) <TSB 1026>
The New International (New York, NY, 1934-36 and 1938-58) <TSB 1089>
New Militant (New York, NY) <TSB 1093>
Ohio Socialist (Cleveland, Ohio)
The Organizer (Minneapolis, Minn.)
Party Organizer / Communist Party of the USA, Central Committee (New York, NY)
Quatrième Internationale (Paris etc., 1936-) <TSB 1282>
Revolutionary Cuba today : the record of a discussion. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1980. - 136 pp. - (Education for socialists)

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)
Revolutionary strategy in the fight against the Vietnam war. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1975. - 94 pp. - (Education for socialists)
Socialism and democracy : democracy, direct action and the class struggle. - London : WL Publications, 1994. - 96 pp. - (A Workers' Liberty special) (Workers' Liberty ; 17=spec.iss.)
Socialist Action (San Francisco) <TSB 1489>
Socialist Appeal (New York, NY) <TSB 1497>
Socialist Viewpoint (San Francisco, Cal.)
Solidarity (Chicago, Ill.)
Spartakist (Frankfurt a.M., later: Hamburg; later: Berlin) <TSB 1665>
The struggle to reunify the Fourth International : (1954 - 1963) / National Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party. - 1-4. - New York, NY, 1977-78. - [Various pag.] - (Towards a history of the Fourth International ; [7]) (Education for socialists)
SWP Discussion Bulletin (New York, NY) <TSB 1684>
The Toiler (Cleveland, Ohio ; New York, NY)
Torotsuki-kenkyu = Trotsky Studies (Tokyo) <TSB 1707>
Toward a socialist America : what Socialist Action stands for / ed. by Asher Harer. - San Francisco, Cal. : Socialist Action, 1987. - 24 pp. - (A Socialist Action pamphlet)
Trotsky, Leon: The draft program of the Communist International : a criticism of fundamentals / L.D. Trotsky. Introd. by James P. Cannon. - New York, NY : The Militant, 1929. - XI, 139 pp. [& later ed., publ. by AMS Pr., New York]
Trotsky, Leon: Stenographic report dated June 1940 of a discussion with Leon Trotsky on Stalinism and Trotskyism in the USA. - [London : New Park Publications, s.d.] - 23 pp.
Trotskyism versus revisionism : a documentary history / ed. by C. Slaughter. - 1-7. - London : New Park Publications, 1974-84 [vol. 7: Detroit, Mich. : Labor Publications]
Unser Wort (Prag, later: Paris; later: Antwerpen; later: New York, NY) <TSB 1761>
US Trotskyism 1928-1965 / ed. by Paul Le Blanc et al.. - 1-3. - Leiden [etc.], 2018-2019. - (Dissident Marxism in the United States ; …) - (Historical materialism book series ; …) [3 vols.]
La Vérité (Paris, 1940 -) <TSB 1774>
Vida e morte de Trotsky / Pierre Frank [et al.] Trad. de J. Ferdinando Antunes. - Lisboa : Ed. Delfos, [1974]. - 240 pp. - (Compasso do tempo ; 19)
Voice of Labor (New York, NY)
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Why we are in prison : farewell speeches of the 18 SWP and 544-CIO Minneapolis prisoners. - New York, NY : Pioneer Publ., 1944. - 54 pp.
The Worker (Chicago, Ill. ; New York, NY)
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- ***Selective bibliography: Books and articles about Cannon***

[Anon.]: Bibliography of the writings and speeches of James P. Cannon 1912-1928, in: *Cannon, James P.: James P. Cannon and the early years of American communism / Prometheus Research Library*, New York, NY, 1992, pp. 602-610.
[Anon.]: Cannon and the "proletarian military policy", in: *Workers Power* <TSB 1856>, 1994 (Sept.)
[Anon.]: Fourth International hails Cannon's achievements, in: *Intercontinental Press* <TSB 0657>, 12.1974 (31), p. 1107. [Obituary message by *United Secretariat of the Fourth International*]
[Anon.]: A guide to James P. Cannon's books, in: *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* <TSB 0219>, 1985 (23), pp. 30-31.
[Anon.]: Hommage à James P. Cannon, in: *Cannon, James P.: La lutte pour un parti prolétarien (extraits)*, Paris, 1990, pp. 3-6.
[Anon.]: Introduction, in: *Cannon, James P.: James P. Cannon and the early years of American communism / Prometheus Research Library*, New York, NY, 1992, pp. 1-70.

[Anon.]: James P. Cannon. [Biographical sketch, Wikipedia article]

[Anon.]: James P. Cannon, in: *Who are the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis labor case? : how the Smith "Gag" Act has endangered workers rights and free speech / foreword by James T. Farrell,* New York, NY, [1944], pp. 11-12. [Biographical sketch]

[Anon.]: James P. Cannon : February 1, 1890 - August 21, 1974, in: *Intercontinental Press* <TSB 0657>, 12.1974 (31), pp. 1107-1108. [Obituary]

[Anon.]: James P. Cannon : fondateur du trotskysme américain, in: *Inprecor : [French edition]* <TSB 0647>, 1974 (7), pp. 2, 31-32. [Obituary]

[Anon.]: James P. Cannon : foremost American revolutionist ; a political tribute to Jim Cannon, in: *The Militant* <TSB 1026>, 38.1974 (Sept. 6), pp. 3-12. [Obituaries and reminiscences by J. Barnes, J. Hansen, Pen Shu-tse, Chen Pi-lan, K. Kerry, A. Pulley, G. Novack, P. Brundy and the United Secretariat of the Fourth International]

[Anon.]: James P. Cannon 1890-1974 : fondateur du trotskysme américain, in: *Quatrième Internationale* <TSB 1282>, n.s. no. 1974 (18/19), pp. 46-47. [Obituary]

[Anon.]: James P. Cannon, Trotskyite, dead, in: *The New York Times*, 1974 (Aug. 23), p. 32. [Obituary]

[Anon.]: Messages in tribute to Jim Cannon. - [1-2], in: *The Militant* <TSB 1026>, 38.1974 (Sept. 13), p. 21; Sept. 27, p. 21, 26.

[Anon.]: [Obituary], in: *Truth* <TSB 1747>, 1974 (1), p. 8.

[Anon.]: La Quatrième Internationale salue l'oeuvre de James P. Cannon / Secrétariat Unifié de la Quatrième Internationale, in: *Quatrième Internationale* <TSB 1282>, n.s. 1974 (18/19), p. 47. [Obituary message]

Arnesen, Eric: Faction figure : James P. Cannon, early communism, and radical faith, in: *Labour = Le travail*, 2009 (63), pp. 243-258. [Review essay about Palmer, Bryan D.: James P. Cannon and the origins of the American revolutionary left, 1890-1928, Urbana, Ill., 2007]

Alvin, Milton: Our revolutionary continuity, [pt. 1-2], in: *Socialist Action* <TSB 1489> 3.1985 (9), p. 18; 3.1985 (10), p. 6. [Edited version of a speech in tribute to James P. Cannon and Leon Trotsky, Los Angeles, Aug. 25, 1985. Pt. 1 with title: *Socialist veteran honors Trotsky and Cannon* ; pt. 2 with title: *The legacy of Trotsky and Cannon for our age*]

Alvin, Milton: The revolutionary party : a review of four books by James P. Cannon. - New York, NY : Nat. Education Dept., Socialist Workers Party, 1970. - 12 pp. - (Education for socialists)

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Couret, Daniel: James P. Cannon (1890-1974), in: *Dissidences : bulletin de liaison des études sur les mouvements révolutionnaires*, 3.2000 (7), pp. 27-28. [Biographical sketch]

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Gordon, Sam: The SWP is Jim Cannon's finest monument, in: *The Militant* <TSB 1026>, 38.1974 (Sept. 20), p. 14. [Obituary]

Hansen, Joseph: Homenaje a Jim Cannon, in: *Intercontinental Press* <TSB 0657> 12.1974 (31), pp. 1139-1143. [Obituary]

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Harer, Asher: James P. Cannon, 1890-1974 : a fighter for socialism in America, in: *Socialist Action* <TSB 1489>, 2.1984 (10), p. 11. [Obituary]

Harer, Asher: James P. Cannon (1890-1974), founder of American Trotskyism, in: *Socialist Action* <TSB 1489>, 8.1990 (3), p. 17. [Obituary]

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

James P. Cannon as we knew him : by thirty-three comrades, friends, and relatives / introd. by Jack Barnes. Ed. by Les Evans. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1976. - 288 pp. [Collection of obituaries, reminiscences and appraisals by J. Hansen, G. Novack, F. Dobbs, S. Gordon, H. DeBoer, T. Grant, G. Breitman, F. Lovell, M. Alvin, B. Chester, H. Ring, C. Curtiss, E. Reed, M. Geldman, K. Kerry, T. Kerry, H. Braverman, J.Y. Tussey, F. Halstead, A. Pulley, R. Hansen, et al.]

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Le Blanc, Paul: Cannon, James Patrick (1890-1974), in: *Encyclopedia of the American Left / ed. by Mari Jo Buhle [et al.],* New York, NY, 1990, pp. 123-124. [& later ed.] [Biographical sketch]

Le Blanc, Paul: James P. Cannon and the Fourth International, in: *Revolutionary traditions of American Trotskyism / ed. with an introd. by Paul Le Blanc,* New York, NY, 1988, pp. 9-16.

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Palmer, Bryan Douglas: James P. Cannon and the emergence of Trotskyism in the United States, 1928-38 / Bryan D. Palmer. - Leiden [etc.] : Brill, [2021]. - XXII, 1208 pp. - (Historical materialism book series ; 232)

Palmer, Bryan Douglas: James P. Cannon and the origins of the American revolutionary left, 1890-1928 / Bryan D. Palmer. - Urbana, Ill. : Univ. of Illinois Pr., 2007. - XVIII; 542 pp. - (The working class in American history)

Palmer, Bryan Douglas: James Patrick Cannon : revolutionary continuity and class-struggle politics in the United States / Bryan D. Palmer, in: *Palmer, Bryan D.: Marxism and historical practice.* 2. Leiden [etc.], 2015, pp. 272-293.

Palmer, Bryan Douglas: James P. Cannon et l'émergence du trotskisme aux États-Unis / Bryan D. Palmer. Trad. de l'anglais par Rémy Janneau, in: *Mouvement ouvrier, luttes de classes & révolutions : revue d'histoire,* 2024 (8), pp. 38-46.

Robertson, James: Conmemoración para James P. Cannon, in: *Spartacist : Edición en epañol* <TSB 1637>, 1996 (27), pp. 35-42. [Edited version of author's speech delivered at a memorial meeting held Aug. 27, 1974]

Robertson, James: Gedenkfeier für James P. Cannon : 27. August 1974, in: *Spartacist : Deutsche Ausgabe* <TSB 1636>, 1997 (18), pp. 36-44. [Chiefly an edited version of author's speech delivered at a memorial meeting held Aug. 27, 1974]

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Wald, Alan: Portrait James P. Cannon, in: *Wald, Alan: The New York intellectuals : the rise and decline of the anti-Stalinist left from the 1930s to the 1980s,* Chapel Hill, NC [etc.], 1987, pp. 167-172. [Biographical sketch]
Wald, Alan: Portrait of a revolutionary, in: *International Viewpoint* <TSB 0726>, 1984 (57), pp. 25-26. [Biographical sketch]

Notes:
– More information about James P. Cannon is likely to be found within the context of many of the books, pamphlets, university works, articles and reviews listed in the relevant chapter(s) of the *Lubitz' Leon Trotsky Bibliography,* particularly in chapters 7.5.18, 7.2.01 - 7.2.05, 8.2.02.
– As a matter of fact, it is hardly possible to find out a book or an article focusing on the history of American Trotskyism or on the history of the *Fourth International* up to the 1960s which hasn't dealt with James P. Cannon's action and thought in one way or another.
– Bryan D. Palmer, Canadian labour historian and author of the first book-length biography of James P. Cannon, the first volume (titled *James P. Cannon and the origins of the American revolutionary left, 1890-1928)* of which was published by University of Illinois Press in 2007 also delivered several oral contributions[12] about Cannon's life and work to scholarly conferences:

– *Native son : James P. Cannon and the origins of the American communist tradition.* (Contribution to the Annual Conference of the Canadian Historical Association, St.John's, Newfoundland, Canada, June 7, 1997);
– *Love and revolution : the devotions of James P. Cannon and Rose Karsner Greenberg.* (Contribution to the 21st North American Labor History Conference, Detroit, Mich., USA, Oct. 22, 1999);
– *Perspectives on Cannon.* (Contribution to the International Conference 'Explorations in the History of U.S. Trotskyism', New York, NY, USA, Sept. 29, 2000);
– *A native son : An American radical confronts the Russian revolution*. (Contribution to 'Seeds of liberation: Sowing Radical Ideas in Conservative Times', a Conference in Honor of Michael Sprinker, Stony Brook, NY, USA, Oct. 7, 2000);
– *James P. Cannon : reinterpreting the origins of American Bolshevism*.(Contribution to 'Labouring Lives', Autumn Conference of the Society for the Study of Labour History, Manchester, Britain, Nov. 3, 2001.);
– *Once a Wobbly, always a Wobbly : the Industrial Workers of the World and the class struggle origins of James P. Cannon, founder of United States Trotskyism*. (Contribution to the Culture and the State Conference, Edmonton, Alb., Canada, May 3, 2003);
– *A year of living dangerously : James P. Cannon, the birth of American Trotskyism, and the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, 1928.* (Contribution to the 5th European Social Science History Conference, Berlin, Germany, March 26, 2005);
– *Sealed with a revolutionary kiss : the passions and politics of James P. Cannon and Rose Karsner.* (Contribution to the 20th Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, Chicago, Ill., USA, Nov. 20, 2004)

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

Trotsky, Leon: Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1929 / ed. by George Breitman and Sarah Lovell. - New York, NY : Pathfinder Pr., 1975. - 460 pp.
Wohlforth, Tim: The prophet's children : travels on the American Left. - Atlantic Highlands, NJ : Humanities Pr., 1994. - XVIII, 332 pp. - (Historical memories)

12) Unfortunately, most of these were oral presentations based on notes only, i.e. there probably don't exist papers. The following list is based on a communication kindly supplied by Palmer in November 2005

Notes on archives

— Rich archival resources relating to James P. Cannon are to be found in several public archives, chiefly in the United States. The main Cannon repository is housed at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (SHSW) Archives Division (Madison, Wis.): the *James Patrick Cannon Papers, 1919-1975*, comprising 61 archival boxes (24 cubic ft.), call no. Mss 839. Almost the entire collection has been microfilmed (65 reels of 35mm microfilm) being available under the call no. Micro 2033. This eminent collection was donated by the *SWP,* and it consists of the following main sections:

- *Biographical and background material* (boxes 1 to 2), e.g. interviews, biographical miscellanies, obituaries, sympathy letters, memorabilia, inventories of his library, health notes;

- *Correspondence* (boxes 3 to 19), e.g. extensive letter exchanges with Leon Trotsky, Farrell Dobbs, James Burnham, Max Shachtman, Bert Cochran, Norman Thomas, A.J. Muste, Hugo Oehler, Michel Pablo, Natalia Sedova, Theodore Draper et al., chiefly covering the period 1929 to 1959. The correspondence section includes a considerable number of letters copied from originals preserved at other archival collections, for example at *Harvard University* and *Tamiment Library* (see below). It includes, too, Cannon's political correspondence with national and local *SWP* party leaders and officials, with members of the family and personal friends, with *SWP* members serving as guards to Trotsky in Mexico, and last not least his prison letters from 1944/45. Box 12 is chiefly made up by Cannon's Trotsky correspondence and the David Siqueiros investigation; other boxes are containing the so-called secretarial correspondence (e.g. correspondence with editors and publishers, correspondence dealing with aspects of his day-to-day activities). Another major file of correspondence, called *General correspondence*, in the Cannon papers consists of letters of third parties, i.e. of letters for which he was neither sender nor recipient, collected over the time from several different sources (e.g. reference copies of letters by J. Burnham, F. Dobbs, V. Dunne, T. Kerry, A. Swabeck and other *SWP* leaders circulated to Cannon for his information). Box 19 contains Cannon's exhaustive letter exchange with historian Th. Draper focusing on the early history of American communism;

- the section *International files* (boxes 20 to 25) reflects the discussions and activities of the international Trotskyist organizations and their national affiliations, particularly the role of the *SWP* and of Cannon. These files contain correspondence (e.g. by M. Pablo, E. Mandel, P. Frank), clippings, internal bulletins, resolutions, circular letters, minutes, articles, exchanges between *SWP* officials and the *International Secretariat*, letters and reports from various foreign sections of the *Fourth International*, from *SWP's* liaison men in Europe, Latin America and elsewhere (e.g. by Sherry Mangan, using Phelan as pseudonym), and various other documents in several languages. Boxes 24 and 25 consists of material reflecting the so-called Pablo discussion, i.e. the issues and events leading to and caused by the 1953 split within the *Fourth International* and its sections;

- another major section of the Cannon papers is constituted by *Speeches and writings* (boxes 26 to 40), i.e. notes, transcripts, drafts and fragments of speeches delivered by Cannon at party conventions, meetings, public mass meetings. This section also includes outlines, notes and transcripts of innumerable lectures given by Cannon at vacation schools and other educational conferences. The writings file is a small – and by no means complete – assemblage of manuscripts, drafts and outlines of published books and periodical articles;

- one of the largest and with regard to the study of American Trotskyism most relevant sections within the Cannon papers is the section called *Party history files* (boxes 41 to 53), which contains documents collected by Cannon for use in his writing on the history of the American Trotskyist movement and its

predecessors. Covering the years 1919-1974, this section exhaustively reflects both the inner-party organizational life and almost all major factional disputes, internal discussions, events and causes in which the party was involved. Roughly chronologically arranged, the *Party history files* consist of minutes, resolutions, leaflets, reports, clippings, circulars, educational materials, discussion bulletins, position statements, correspondence and miscellaneous documents relating to the *Communist Party of the U.S.* (1919-1928), the *Communist League of America* (1929-1933) (e.g. Cannon's dispute with Shachtman, 1932), the *Workers' Party* (1934-1936) (e.g. the Minneapolis strike, the Oehler dispute, the *SP* entry discussion), the *Socialist Workers Party* (1938-) (e.g. founding documents, the discussion about the Russian question 1938-40, the Burnham-Shachtman-Abern split 1939-40, the Morrow-Goldman dispute 1945-47, the Cochran split 1953);

- another section is called *Reference file* (boxes 54 to 56) containing a wide variety of documents saved by Cannon for his writing or other purposes, arranged alphabetically by name or subject (e.g. "Hook, Sidney", "Deutscher, Isaac", "Civil Rights Defense Committee", "Party history charts", "Negro question", "Journalism notes, style sheets");

- the final section of the collection is called *The Rose Karsner Cannon Papers* (boxes 56 to 60), a collection of miscellaneous personal and biographical items by and about Cannon's second wife, longtime companion and collaborator, e.g. correspondence, biographical information, speech notes, personal health notes.

— SHSW also holds associated materials like for example tape recorded versions of many of Cannon's speeches and an almost complete set of all of Cannon's books and pamphlets. Furthermore, archivalia relating to Cannon (e.g. letters and memoranda) are to be found, too, in a quite considerable number of personal and organizational archive collections, e.g. the *Farrell Dobbs Papers, 1928-1983*, the *Vincent R. Dunne Papers, 1929-1970,* the *Tom and Karolyn Kerry Papers, 1933-1983*, the Socialist Workers Party Records, 1928-2000.

— Other archivalia relevant for research about Cannon also can be found in the *Exile Papers of Lev Trotskii* and the *Sherry Mangan Papers*, both collections being housed at Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., the *Max Shachtman Papers* and the *George Breitman Papers*, preserved at Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York, NY, the *Socialist Workers Party Records 1928-1990*, the *Library of Social History Collection 1894-2000*, the *James Burnham Papers, 1928-1983*, the *Joseph Hansen Papers, 1887-1980*, the *Arne Swabeck Papers, 1913-1999*, the *Albert Glotzer Papers, 1919-1994* and other collections housed at the Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, Cal., and last not least the *Grace Carlson Papers, 1929-1986* housed at the Minnesota Historical Society Library, St. Paul, Minn.[13]

— Several online text archives are to be found in the WWW, e.g. the *James P. Cannon internet archive* chapter within the Marxists Internet Archives (MIA).

Note: The photograph on p. 1 of this sketch was taken from The Militant (New York, NY), 38.1974 (Sept. 27), p. 21

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13) For some details and additional information about the just mentioned (and other) American public archives relevant to research on Trotsky and Trotskyism see the sub-chapter on *Public archives : America* within the framework of *Lubitz' TrotskyanaNet.*