

The Mike Kidron Correspondence Archive

Introduction

Michael (Mike) Kidron was a person of enormous significance in the history of the revolutionary socialist tradition in general, and of the International Socialist tradition, in particular.

He may be best known as one of the foremost Marxist economists of his time and the theory of the Permanent Arms Economy that he did so much to develop still resonates today. However, he was so much more than an economist – he was an activist, an educator, an organiser, a speaker, an editor and an inspiration to a whole generation of revolutionaries. It might be the name of Tony Cliff that catches the headlines when people talk about the history of today's Socialist Workers Party – but it is an absolute certainty that Mike Kidron will be seen as a figure of, at least, equal significance when all the credits and the debits of the time are tallied and the history books are written.

It is a matter of enormous regret that, whilst we have a significant canon of Mike's writings available to study and learn from (and a bibliography is in preparation), we have only a minimal amount of his political papers available.

To date, the main holdings we have discovered are some files of *Socialist Review* newspaper correspondence and some files of correspondence for the earliest years of the *International Socialism* journal. I have taken on the job of cataloguing this material and this document represents the results. I should record that my selection of contents and/or comments in the two main tables aims to reflect an appreciation of the role of Mike Kidron, something relevant to the other correspondent involved and, wherever possible, a contribution to the history of the Socialist Review/International Socialism Group. For the want of a better expression, I have aimed for a political catalogue of Mike's correspondence.

There is a small, much less significant, file of material from Mike's short time teaching at the University of California, Davis in 1972.

It is expected that, in due course, the correspondence will be deposited in a publicly accessible archive.

Collectively, the catalogues show us many things and the fact that the catalogues cover each of the three decades of Mike's primary organised political activity is important here.

Mike's *Socialist Review* correspondence from the 1950's is chocked full of letters to and from working class militants and trade union activists. This was about building the organisation, building a working class paper. Mike could relate well with the people in this milieu and he inspired countless of them.

When, in the early 1960's, Mike moved to the editorship of *International Socialism* journal it was because he was the right person for a new role. The journal set itself the task of being a journal of Marxist theory, an explicitly Marxist alternative to the *New Left Review* and an attempt to regroup the non-Healyite left. Now, the correspondence is more focused on fellow revolutionaries, a left-wing intelligentsia, the universities, the academics, the politicians – and much more international. Mike succeeded here as well.

As for the 1970's – it seems Mike didn't disappear!

John Rudge

Part 1: Catalogue
of the
Socialist Review
Correspondence

Introduction

This correspondence is largely from the period 1957-1958 (but includes some 1956 and 1959) of Mike's editorship of *Socialist Review*. It is unfortunate that we have so little, but, there again, it is an important period to have available.

These were years of enormous flux for the minute forces of the revolutionary left, both in Britain and abroad, as activists and others came to terms with massive and re-defining political events. Not the least of these were the fallout from the Soviet invasion of Hungary and the Suez crisis in 1956, the ballooning fear about nuclear Armageddon and the movement it generated, and increasing activism amongst youth, both in the Labour Party and beyond.

The collapse of the Communist Party of Great Britain in the wake of Hungary led to a wave of shifting, often amorphous, groupings. There were Marxist Groups, Socialist Forums, new left publications, left groupings within the Labour Party all seeking to come to terms with the events of the day. And there was the tiny Socialist Review Group trying to do its bit. In his correspondence we see the evidence of various attempts at unity – with the Nottingham Marxist Group, with the Healyites, with the Socialist Workers' Federation and with the Revolutionary Socialist League.

And we see Mike at his best. For him it wasn't about the grand political venture and eschewing the hard graft. In this correspondence we see him relating to and seeking to intervene – with the young, the experienced, the organised working class, the unorganised, the other left groups, individual left wingers. Almost every letter he writes has an invitation to contact him to discuss, to meet, to telephone. He was criss-crossing the country (and Europe) to speak to individuals, to attend meetings and deliver education.

The correspondence we have here is a unique repository of information on how Mike himself went about organising, writing and analysing political events. But much more than that. Everything he did was related to clear ends – the building of a revolutionary socialist current in British politics that was fit to meet the challenges of the time – and the building of a socialist publication that was non-sectarian and written by workers for workers.

What is more, some of his letters are masterly in their political analysis and their political perspective. I feel lucky to have read them – and luckier to be able to make some of the information available – now and for the future.

Mike Kidron *Socialist Review* Correspondence 1957-1958

Name	Affiliation	Contents
Abendroth, Dr. W. (1906-1985)	Socialist academic and writer	Copy letter dated 08/02/58 – would he write for <i>SR</i> on German Affairs? His name received from Theo van Tijn, Amsterdam. Had written in <i>Socialistisch Perspectief</i> .
Aldred, Guy (1886-1963)	Anarchist. Publisher of <i>The Word</i>	2 handwritten letters from Aldred to MK dated 08/01/58 and 20/03/58. Publication exchange and availability of a Rosa Luxemburg pamphlet.
Allen, Comrade	Unknown	Copy letter from MK 03/01/58 – would he be interested in <i>SR</i> ? Contact supplied by Sid Bidwell who had also suggested that Allen show <i>SR</i> to Comrade Mardell.
Armstrong, R.H.R. (Bob)	Veteran Trotskyist, originally from Belfast	Handwritten letter from Armstrong 16/02/58 and reply from MK 17/02/58. Letter had enclosed a draft article and a letter to be forwarded to Seymour Papert. MK asks if they might meet up.
Avent, T.E.	NUR	Copy letter dated 28/03/58. Editor of <i>Platform</i> (Busmen's journal) supplied the contact. Would T.E.A. write or be interviewed re the railwaymen's dispute?
Balloch, R.	Federation Steward, Building Workers	Copy letter dated 20/12/57. Address obtained from a leaflet (held in archive) advertising a Building Workers Meeting called by Alderton Construction Works Committee. Letter enclosed copies of <i>SR</i> containing building worker article by Eric Heffer. Would he like to order more copies?
Banning, Bill	ETU Shop Committee, Isle of Grain	Copy letter from MK dated 27/02/58 seeking details of "10 ETU branches in Kent having passed resolutions in favour of blacking work on rocket sites and bring an investigation committee from HQ down on their heads". Reply from BB 18/03/58 clarifying the position and acknowledgement from MK dated 20/03/58. Contact supplied by Tony Young.
Behan, Brian (1926-2002)	Building Worker	4 copy letters from MK 08/12/57 – 01/02/58. 1 note from BB enclosing leaflet for a building workers meeting at Holborn Hall on 19/01/58. MK letter of 11/12/57 indicates that BB sent in an article for <i>SR</i> . (It appeared in the issue 8 th Year No.1 – 01/01/58 with the title <i>Program for Building Workers</i>). More details of this phase of Behan's life appear in his 1964 autobiography <i>With Breast Expanded</i> .
Blake, F.	National Union of Vehicle Builders, Briggs	4 copy letters from MK 28/11/57 – 02/01/58. 1 letter from FB 03/12/57. Contact received from Jack Mitchell. MK enquired about a LP Group set up at the Briggs factory Dagenham (suppliers to Ford Motors). FB replied that the LP EC had "rejected the plan for recruiting in the factories" and the Group had been wound up.
Bolton, Jim	Private Tutor to an Earl's son – soon to be teacher in Wakefield	Letter from JB 25/07/57. Reply from MK 29/07/57. Must have been an economics student known to MK (and Cliff). JB asks about reviews of Cliff's <i>Mao's China</i> . Interestingly, MK replies "So far, the only reviews of <i>Mao's China</i> have appeared in obscure provincial newspapers. It is still going the rounds of the experts before appearing in the national press. Give it another couple of months. Unfortunately,

		Jules Menken, military correspondent of the <i>Observer</i> , died while preparing a talk on the book for the Third Program. Funnily enough, Laski popped while writing the introduction to <i>Stalin's Satellites</i> ."
Booker, J.	Not given	Copy letter from Robin Fior 03/12/57. "Sid Bidwell told us you might be interested in SR..."
Bottone, Sam	Independent Socialist League	Miscellaneous communications between July and November 1957. Information about publication exchanges, <i>Mao's China</i> in the US (pricing etc) and SB's detailed thoughts on Cliff's recent article <i>The Economic Roots of Reformism</i> . SB's initial impression of <i>Universities and Left Review</i> brings forth an interesting reply from MK on the members of its Editorial Board.
Boyd, Comrade	Not given	Copy letter from MK 27/09/58 advising Boyd that his article appears in the <i>Socialist Review</i> of 1 st October 1958 under the pseudonym of George Adair. The article is titled <i>United Irish Republic</i> .
Breen, Jock	Not given	2 copy letters from MK dated 01/09/58 and 22/09/58 asking JB to write about the recent strike and sell out at his factory – Beatonsons. Contact from Geoff Carlsson.
Brenner, Dr. S.	Not given	Copy letter from MK 13/05/57. Baruch Hirszen suggested that SB might be interested in receiving contact.
Brown, John	Not given – railway worker	Copy letter from MK 04/01/58. Jimmy Young suggested that JB might write for SR. MK suggests writing on specific problems of railwaymen.
Bryce, Jim Sr.	Building trade	Copy letter from MK 15/01/58. Sent SRs and asked if he would like to write about the problems faced by the building industry in Scotland.
Byrne, Johnnie	Long-time Dublin Trotskyist	Copy letter 08/02/58 from MK asking JB for an article on the recent strike of municipal workers in Dublin. Reply from JB enclosing article (it appeared in SR issue 8 th Year Number 6 Mid-March 1958 with the title <i>Strikes: Dublin Public Employees Show the Way</i>). Mike had mentioned <i>The Plough</i> publication in his letter – JB describes them as "semi-Stalinists". Follow-up letter from MK 04/03/58 asking for further material from JB in the future. (Tony Cliff and JB were close friends during the time Cliff spent in Dublin).
Carlsson, Geoff	Founder member of the SRG. ENV factory.	5 copy letters from MK 08/06/57-20/02/58. 3 addressed "Dear Freitas/de Freitas"; 2 "Dear Geoff". The letter of 01/02/58 addressed to "Freitas" provides a detailed structure for a lecture to be given by the addressee to the Labour Party Young Socialist branch in Ramsgate using references to miscellaneous SRG material. (MK had an endearing habit of addressing certain of those close to him with a whole variety of special names. Here it can be assumed that he is using the name of the Labour MP Geoffrey de Freitas (1913-1982) to address Geoffrey Carlsson).
Challinor, Raymond (1929-2011)	Founder member of the SRG	16 items of correspondence between 04/03/57 and 21/10/59. Quite often they are connected with articles that RC has written for SR and ancillary issues. Most

		significant is RC's letter of 15/10/59 in which he has "decided to demote myself from membership of the SRG. In future, my association with you will merely be in the role of sympathiser." This letter and MK's response are important in the context of the state of the organisation and the state of left politics at the time.
Chapman, T.	Not given	Copy letter from MK 23/06/57. Enclosing current copy of <i>SR</i> – he used to buy it from Geoff Carlsson at Hampstead Labour Party. Could he help by writing or distributing?
Chappell, Frank	Not given	Copy letter from MK 08/12/57. Enclosing current copy of <i>SR</i> . Would like to meet to discuss possibility of him writing an article on certain aspects of trade unionism.
Chaudhuri, P.K.	Revolutionary Socialist Party of India	Original airmail letter from PKC to MK dated 29/01/58. Literature exchange – but obviously personally known to MK. PKC ends his letter "with revolutionary greetings to Comrades Cliff, Honey, Geoff, Peter, Stan & Ann, and, of course, Yolanda and yourself."
Clayton, Eric	ETU	Copy letter from MK 23/02/58; reply from EC 07/04/58 and response from MK 16/04/58. Various ETU affairs. In particular EC asks MK for advice on points to put across when he has to move a motion at ETU Annual Conference. MK gives some good political pointers (the wording of the motion to be moved by EC is given in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 9 May Day 1958 on page 2 under the title <i>ETU: Important Resolution</i>).
Clayton, Frank W.	Secretary, Hatfield Trades Council	Copy letter from MK 23/12/57. Contact received via Eric Heffer. Seeking to contact people working at De Havilland's (aircraft industry) regarding the writing of an article on the redundancies declared at the plant. Heffer also mentioned the name of Bill Claxton as a possible local contact in Hatfield.
Cleminson, Bill	Founder member of the SRG. AEU.	2 copy letters from MK 06/01/58 and 25/01/58. MK looking for material or an article on events in Sheffield AEU – the "secret trial"!
Coates, Ken (1930-2010)	RSL/Nottingham Group	6 items of correspondence between 07/07/57 and 26/04/58. 3 items from MK relate to KC completing a review of Cliff's book <i>Mao's China</i> (the review appeared in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue Volume 6 Number 12 October 1957 under the pseudonym Martin Wright).
Coleman, Bill	Not given	Copy letter from MK 01/02/58. "Cliff mentioned the fact that you would like to attend meetings of our West London group...".
Comfort, Dr. Alex	Physician and writer	Copy letter from MK 08/12/57. Enclosing current copy of <i>SR</i> – "Willy Segal assures me you will be interested". Would he like to write a regular column of socio-scientific interest?
Conroy, Pat	Strike Committee Chairman, Levine Master Vending Machines	Copy letter from MK 24/02/58 re article about the current strike. (Two articles subsequently appeared by PC - in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 6 Mid-March 1958 titled <i>Plainclothesmen Attack Pickets</i> and issue 8 th Year Number 8 Mid-April 1958 titled <i>Strike in North London – Post Mortem</i>).

Cowan, Tom	ETU and Socialist Workers Federation	Copy letters from MK dated 11/12/57 and 23/12/57. Requesting an article on the ETU and for 5 copies of the SWF's <i>Discussion Bulletin</i> to be sent regularly.
Cox, Stan	SRG	Letter from SC to MK dated 06/11/57. Advises the setting up of a new SRG group – Chairman – Vic Young; Secretary – SC; Treasurer – Bob Score. This would be the Greenwich branch – see separate entry below.
Coyte, Ron	Cab Driver and SRG member	2 copy letters from MK and 2 replies between 28/03/58 and 16/04/58. Concerns arrangements for possible setting up of a cabmen's journal. (A monthly rank and file journal <i>Cab News</i> was indeed set up with its first issue in July 1958. See the article in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 13 July 1 st , 1958, titled <i>CABMEN – a new spirit, a new paper</i> written by RF. RF is Robin Fior. It is a little-known fact that Robin Fior and Mike Kidron had a long and active involvement with <i>Cab News</i> . Fior designed it – one of his earliest design jobs! Ron Coyte was also involved).
Crookes, Comrade	Not given	Copy letter from MK 12/02/58. Contact from Eric Heffer who suggested Crookes was “prepared to write on the recent events in the Liverpool City Council, the withdrawal of the Party whip from a section of the Labour Group including yourself”.
Crosswell, Ernie F.	Not given	Letter from EFC 18/4/58 saying he had seen <i>Socialist Review</i> , liked it and wanted details of the organisation. MK's reply of 28/04/58 is highly interesting in its circumspectness: “The program of <i>Socialist Review</i> – always reproduced on the back page – explains the nature and purpose of the paper. Its supporters are militant socialists, members of the Labour Party and of their appropriate trade unions who, however, put their loyalty to socialist ideas higher than their loyalty to any particular organisation. We subsidize the paper heavily, although much less heavily now than, say, a year ago, and try to use it as a rallying point for militant socialist opinion and action. In order to do this, we try to sell it as widely as possible, spread its program as much as possible, feed it with news and opinions from the localities and generally do everything possible to build it as an organ for militant socialism...”.
Crutchley, John F.	Not given	Undated letter received from JFC asking for details “of your forum as I would very much like to take part in your discussions”. Robin Fior (RF) replied on 17/01/58 replied to say, “Too late. The Marylebone Socialist Forum has disaffiliated from the London Socialist Forums, and is now organised on a different basis. The reason for our action was that our members felt that mere discussion – without the discussion leading to a clear, coherent viewpoint and thence to organized activity within the labour movement – would lead to nowhere.....we have therefore reformed as a group of supporters of the <i>Socialist Review</i> , a current copy of which is enclosed.” (The Socialist Forum Movement was short-lived, existing as a debating vehicle in the aftermath of the 1956 events in Hungary. JFC went on to become an active member of the SRG – albeit for a relatively short time).

Currie, Ian	Education	Copy letter from MK 15/01/58. You will be interested in the article by Peter Ibbotson on the effect of block grants on education in the January 1 st issue of <i>Socialist Review</i> . Would you be interested in writing an article for us?
Daly, Lawrence (1924-2009)	Scottish NUM	Copy letter from MK dated 14/10/57 seeking permission to reprint LD's article originally printed in <i>Forum</i> (the short-lived magazine of the Socialist Forum Movement). LD replies in the affirmative also mentioning he already subscribes to <i>Socialist Review</i> . Further letter from LD dated 22/01/58 is an elucidation of his earlier article and an important exposition of some of his views on trade unionism in general and unofficial strikes in particular. (LD's <i>Forum</i> article was published in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 2 mid-January 1958. Two articles, one by James D. Young and the other by Graham Ascott were published in connection with LD's piece forming a major 2-page spread. It was the 2 articles that particularly led to LD's second letter. This letter is published in full in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year number 4 mid-February 1958).
Davies, David	Apprentice	Copy letter MK 21/04/58. DD asked to comment on an article on apprentices written by 2 members of Shoreditch and Finsbury Labour Party Youth Section. (The article in question must have been in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 9 May Day 1958 titled <i>Policy for 'Prentices</i> by Roger Cox and John Phillips).
Davis, Mike and Jennifer	Lawyer/Anti-apartheid activists	Letter 07/04/57 from JD. Reply from MK 13/05/57. Follow-up letter from MD 18/06/57. MD & JD seeking update on SRG activities. Want to order 4 copies of Cliff's <i>Mao's China</i> . (MD & JD went into exile from South Africa in the 1960's, continuing activity from the USA).
Descams, Bernat (Pseudonym)	Student activist in Franco's Spain	Letter dated 15/01/58 when BD was in Switzerland representing the ASU (<i>Agrupacion Socialista Universitaria</i>), a clandestine Spanish organisation. Put in contact with <i>Socialist Review</i> by Dan Gallin as part of the ASU developing its international contacts. Reply by MK to Geneva 20/01/58. Further correspondence from Geneva 25/02/58 on eve of BD's return to Spain where-after contact was to be to a Madrid address but with an addressed envelope inside for forward posting. An item sent by BD appeared in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 4 Mid-February 1958 under the title <i>Youth Against Franco</i> . (The real name of BD is known to me but I believe the person, the author of a number of books, to be still alive so I am not publishing it here).
Ditella, Torc	Not given	Copy letter from MK 25/01/58 requesting an article on Venezuela.
Duff, Peggy	Labour Councillor, St. Pancras Borough Council	3 copy letters to PD and 1 reply between 21/06/57 and 15/08/57 concerning articles. (PD wrote two articles for <i>Socialist Review</i> – <i>Cllr. Peggy Duff shows how St. Pancras Shows the Way</i> made the front page of issue 8 th Year Number 9 June 1957 – the Council had made the headlines by its decision to discontinue Civil Defence as a protest against the manufacture and testing of H-Bombs. The second article, <i>Local</i>

		<i>Government "Reform"</i> appeared in issue Volume 6 Number 11 September 1957. The subject matter was specifically requested by MK.
Dunbar, Karl	Not given	Copy letter from MK 21/08/57. "I hear you are interested in our paper, the <i>Socialist Review</i> , and would very much like to meet you and talk to you about it...". (KD was a militant Amalgamated Engineering Union shop steward who went on to become a leading and active member of the SRG. He was the first editor of <i>Industrial Worker</i>).
Earwaker, Frank	Not given	Letter from FE 19/07/57, reply MK 29/07/57. FE had attended one of MK's "Sunday Schools" where he obviously debated economics with Mike "and quite deserved the complete defeat that you gave me". FE uses his 10-page letter to re-present his arguments over a wide field – wage differentials, marginalist theory, the labour theory of value and more. MK's 2-page reply contains interesting insights into his economic argument.
Elliott, M.N.	Not given	Copy letter MK 22/12/57 enclosing <i>Socialist Review</i> . Contact from either Seymour Papert "who lectured at your Party" or Sid Bidwell "the N. London NCLC Organiser".
<i>Falken, Die</i>	German Socialist Youth	Copy letter MK 11/05/58. Making contact with the German Socialist Youth organisation for information exchange.
Fiske, R.F.	Not given	Handwritten letter from RFF dated 22/06/57. He had just read Cliff's pamphlet <i>Russia: From Stalin to Khrushchev</i> "and it deeply interested me". He enquires about any further publications. Letter has been marked "Stan [Newens] to deal with".
Fitzgerald, J.	Not given	Copy letter MK 28/03/58. "Sid Bidwell, NCLC Organiser for N. London suggested that you might be interested in our paper, the current copy of which is enclosed...".
<i>Forward</i>	Socialist newspaper	Copy letter MK 02/11/57. Copy of letter sent to <i>New Statesman</i> (see entry in this catalogue) for their information/use.
Gallin, Dan	Independent Socialist League (USA)	A lot of things of interest in exchanges between MK and DG from June 1957 to July 1958. Firstly, the long article <i>The Greek Trade Union Movement</i> that appears in <i>Socialist Review</i> Volume 6 Number 12 October 1957 with no author is, we now know, by Dan Gallin – the article should have borne the name of Gallin's pseudonym Andre Giacometti. This is important as the article was so well regarded that it also appeared – still unattributed - in the 1965 book <i>A Socialist Review</i> – a collection of some of the best articles that appeared in the paper from 1950 to 1962. DG was something of an expert on Algeria and he contributed a major two-part piece in <i>Socialist Review</i> 8 th Year Numbers 7 and 8 Mid-April and May Day 1958 titled <i>The Politics of the Algerian Revolution</i> . His original, unedited manuscript is held here. Unrelated to the SRG is a 39-page French language document, <i>Correspondence Entre Socialistes Americains et Belges sur la Lutte Entre Organisations Nationalistes Algeriennes en Algerie et en France</i> . Also contained herein are details of numerous individuals and organisations (DG was exceedingly well connected). There is

		information on the political degeneration of Max Shachtman, the defection of Bernard Dix and his Greenwich group from the SRG and much more.
Goss, Dick	Forum Movement	Letter from Dick Goss 23/02/58 and MK response 24/02/58. DG seeking funds to clear a debt outstanding from the October Conference of London Forums. It had been agreed that the debt be split equally between “all previous Liaison Committee members responsible for the decision to hold the conference”. MK replies in the affirmative – this obviously confirms that MK was a member of this particular committee.
Grainger, G.W.	Subscriber to <i>Socialist Review</i>	Handwritten letter of 16/03/58 reducing the number of copies of <i>SR</i> to be sent from 4 to 1.
Greenwich	Greenwich branch of the SRG	5 items of correspondence concerning the resignation of the Greenwich branch of the SRG. Enclosed from the branch in a letter of 23/02/58 is a short statement outlining their reasons. (The Greenwich branch was essentially a short-lived Shachtmanite entry into the SRG involving Bernard Dix, Shirley Lerner and a handful of others).
Hallas, Don [Duncan] (1925-2002)	Founder member of the SRG. Edinburgh University	4 copy letters from MK between 21/11/57 and 11/05/58. I handwritten reply from DH 15/04/58. MK seeking to get DH to write articles; DH replying that “I don’t know where people get the idea I’m a writer – I’m not”. One letter from MK mentions DH as “Chairman of your University Labour Group”. (DH may have been being deliberately evasive – contemporaneous correspondence in the J.D. Young file (see below) states that he met DH and “Don Hallas won’t re-join S.R. He is going to stick to RSL”) (Revolutionary Socialist League).
Healy(ites), G.	British Section of the Fourth International (The Healy Group)	Correspondence between February and June 1958. Of by far the most significance are the copy letter dated May Day 1958 from the SRG seeking a meeting between the Editorial Board of <i>Socialist Review</i> and the Editorial Board of the <i>Newsletter</i> ; the letter to the SRG from the Executive Committee of the British Section of the Fourth International dated 10/05/58 setting out some proposals as regards discussing fusion between the 2 organisations. The letter from the Executive Committee of the SRG dated 26/06/58 ends with “...while we believe that both organisations should collaborate in every way we can, we believe that there are still differences of principle that make complete fusion impossible.”
Heffer, Eric S. (1922-1991)	Socialist Workers’ Federation, Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, Liverpool Trades Council etc.	55 items of correspondence between 15/07/57 and 30/07/58. To those who only know Eric Heffer as a Labour MP the correspondence will be an eye-opener. It is confirmed that he was never a member of the SRG but the amount and style of the correspondence indicates his closeness during this period. In 1957-1958 he had 15 named articles published in <i>Socialist Review</i> and there were others that were unattributed or used pseudonyms (for instance the major article in issue 8 th Year Number 4 Mid-February 1958 titled <i>Merseyside Dockers Choose the “Blues”</i> in the

		name of Richard Williams is actually by Heffer). He also arranged for others to write for <i>Socialist Review</i> . Within the SWF he supported unity with the SRG. He also personally sold large numbers of <i>Socialist Review</i> in Liverpool – in November 1957 he sold 60 copies and asked for another 36 to be sent. (You would not glean any of this from his 1991 autobiography <i>Never a Yes Man: The Life and Politics of an Adopted Liverpoolian!</i>).
Hirson, Baruch (1921-1999)	South African political activist – sentenced to 9 years imprisonment in 1964	Handwritten letter from HB to MK 070557 requesting copies of publications produced. Also interested in anything received from “Max S[hachtman] & Co.” BH hopes to send a full account of what is happening in the future – meanwhile Seymour Papert has some idea from letters BH has sent him. Provides a contact for Dr. S. Brenner – see entry above. Copy letter from MK to BH 11/05/58 asking for periodic analysis of events.
Hornsey, K.A.	AEU Branch Secretary, De Havilland, Hatfield	Exchange of correspondence December 1957 to set up meeting to discuss situation at de Havilland aircraft factory, Hatfield. Meeting was arranged with Jim Rennie of 85 Lemsford Road, Hatfield.
Hovell, Sid	Not given	Copy letter from MK inviting SH to “come along to our West London group meetings. The next one, on the 40-hour week, is on Monday February 10 th ...”.
Hughes, I.P.	Veteran Liverpool Trotskyist	10 letters 25/01/58 – 21/03/58 in respect of getting IPH to write on the current Merseyside dock situation – the famous “Blue Union” situation between the NASD and the TGWU. IPH provided a review of Bill Hunter’s pamphlet <i>Hands Off the Blue Union</i> in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 6 Mid-March 1958. Correspondence indicates he also supplied a longer article but it apparently was not used. Presumably supplanted by Eric Heffer’s (Richard Williams) article mentioned above. IPH had been a member of the Socialist Workers’ Federation alongside Eric Heffer and Harry McShane. Interestingly, we learn from the Heffer correspondence file that IPH (and the other Liverpool SWF members) joined the Independent Labour Party in February 1958.
Hughes, John	Secretary, Sheffield Forum	Exchange of letters June – August 1957 regarding an article JH had written in Forum on an engineering strike and would he do something similar for <i>Socialist Review</i> . Answer “no”.
Hunter, Dr. Rachel	Not given	Copy letter from MK 08/12/57. Contact received from Willie Segal. Would she be interested in writing on medical matters?
Hunter, Dr. Rob	Socialist Forum	Exchange of correspondence 24/12/57 – 10/01/58 MK to RH. Contact from Jimmy Young. Possibility of RH doing a review of Pasternak’s new novel. RH sends a £1 donation and asks where he could find out more about the theory of state capitalism.

Irwin, Jim	Post Office Engineering Workers Union	Copy letter from MK 27/11/57, reply 04/12/57. Could he write on current pay claim? A contact of Peter Morgan. JI replies that he cannot sell the paper at his work (within a school) or at Trades Council. Suggests contacting POEW HQ.
Jenkins, Clive (1926-1999)	Senior official at the ASSET Trade Union	Copy letter from MK 18/04/58 which enclosed to CJ a copy of Eric Heffer's <i>article ASSET: A New Plan for What?</i> that was to appear in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 9 May Day 1958. Does CJ wish to reply? Heffer's article was in response to an article Jenkins had written in <i>Tribune</i> which, in part, suggested wage rises linked to productivity gains. Heffer had been prompted to write his article by MK.
Johnson, Arthur	Labour Party	Reply to AJ from MK dated 22/04/58 – AJ's original letter is missing. Further letter from AJ 28/04/58 and reply from MK 11/05/58. Certain Exeter Labour Party members had set up a <i>Victory For Socialism</i> group and AJ asks about VFS. MK's second letter has an important statement of the SRG view of VFS. To get a feel for both letters from AJ then MK spliced them together as a single letter on page 8 of <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 10 Mid-May 1958.
Joiner, Brian A.	Secretary, Cheam Young Socialists	Letter from BAJ asking if MK can alter the dates of his series of talks to the second Wednesday of the month, the next being 10/07/57. Letter from MK 07/07/57 – he is lecturing in Raynes Park during the afternoon of 10/7 – can they meet up before the Cheam meeting starts?
Jones, Bill	Chairman Central Bus Committee	Exchange of correspondence 05/11/57 – 10/01/58 concerning London Buses issues. Exchange gave rise to 2 articles by BJ in <i>Socialist Review</i> – issue Volume 7 Number 2 December 1957 titled <i>Buses and Wages</i> (BJ is described as "London's Veteran Busmen's Leader") and issue 8 th Year Number 1 January 1 st , 1958 titled <i>London Busmen's Pay Battle</i> . MK letter to BJ of 02/12/57 is something of a tour de force of both politics and editorial "direction".
Jones, Ken	Harlow Socialist Discussion Group	Exchange of correspondence August 1957 to March 1958. Most connected with the subject of <i>Socialist Review</i> . The matter is encapsulated in the long letter titled <i>What Sort of Paper?</i> received from a group of 10 Harlow comrades and the <i>Editor's Reply</i> that appear in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 4 Mid-February 1958.
Jordan, Pat (1928-2001)	Nottingham Marxist Group	Correspondence lasting nearly a year – November 1956 to October 1957. Covers the period from the departure of the Nottingham Group from the CP, the publication of the pamphlet <i>Why We Left the Communist Party</i> , the announcement in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue Volume 6 Number 9 June 1957 that the Nottingham Group has joined the SR Editorial Board and the subsequent breakdown of that arrangement.
Kaplan, Marcos	<i>Praxis y Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria</i> (MIR-Praxis).	Letter addressed to Tony Cliff 27/05/57 advises they have started translating his "interesting and important book" [this would be 1955's <i>Stalinist Russia: A Marxist Analysis</i>]. MK writes 28/01/58 asking for an article on recent events in Venezuela.

		An article is apparently received written by Ricardo Napuri, but it does not seem to appear in <i>SR</i> .
Keating, Ron & Kay	Organiser NUPE	Copy letters from MK 07/12/57 & 04/04/58. First letter chasing RK article on health workers – it appeared in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 2 Mid-January 1958 titled <i>Health Workers Under Fire</i> . The second letter is interesting for stating “after hectic selling at Trafalgar Square this morning – about 350 <i>SR</i> ’s and still many more to come over the next four days...”. This refers to the Aldermaston March which started from Trafalgar Square on 04/04/58. Both RK & KK were SRG members.
Kendall, Harry	Not given	Copy letters from MK December 1957 and November 1959. In 1957 HK had offered to write for <i>SR</i> – but no evidence of anything received.
Khm-Lozaki, Irete	Not given	RESTRICT
Klopper, Mary	Secretary Scottish MCF and PLC Edinburgh West	Various correspondence 05/06/57 – 26/07/58. Contact received from Jimmy Young – MK had agreed to write on the national question with specific reference to Scotland. MKI asked to tackle the national question in 2 parts. Major article titled <i>The National Question</i> appeared in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue Volume 6 Number 11 September 1957. A second article titled <i>Questions for the Labour Movement</i> appeared in issue 8 th Year Number 2 Mid-January 1958.
Labor Action	Newspaper of the ISL	Miscellaneous correspondence with ISL (Gordon Haskell and Hal Draper) between November 1956 and April 1957. Mostly concerning administrative arrangements for the short-lived joint experiment of part-printing of <i>SR</i> in the US – see <i>Socialist Review</i> issue Volume 6 Number 3 December 1956.
Lamond, Allan	London Socialist Forums	Exchange of correspondence June 1957 re recognising Mike’s Sunday School for Socialists (held at his home) as a Socialist Forum. Agreed.
Lavin, W.P.	Not given [but Lavin was a veteran Scottish activist]	Copy letter from MK acknowledging receipt of article. It appears in <i>Socialist Review</i> Volume 7 Number 2 December 1957 titled <i>In Defence of IRA</i> . Further correspondence Jan/February 1958 regarding WL objecting to MK’s editing of a letter of his. The letter had appeared in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 5 with the title <i>Memories of John Maclean</i> .
Lawman, Peter D.	Education	June-July 1957 PDL wrote in offering to do an article on education. Nothing appeared.
Leonhard, Suzanne	Not given	June-September 1957. Would she write an analysis of the German elections?
Leonhard, Wolfgang	Not given	Correspondence March-April 1957. MK and WL clearly knew each other from Oxford. MK had sent WL Cliff’s 1955 book – he was writing his own book on Russia since Stalin at the time.
Lewis, Ron	Organiser of VFS	Undated letter from RL enclosing an un-named article. He gives a potted profile of his occupation and Labour Party work – which was extensive. RL wrote a whole series of Labour Party Commentary columns for <i>Socialist Review</i> during 1958.

Lerner, Shirley	Not given	Undated letter from SL to "Dear Tony". Says she had heard from Bernard [Dix] "about how the new Greenwich branch was started. I will contribute £1 a month starting with December [1957]". (SL became a distinguished labour historian).
Liang	Chinese Trotskyist abroad – Merchant seaman	2 handwritten letters from Liang May 1957 and May 1958. Envelope contains A <i>Circular Letter to all Sections of the 4th International and Other Independent Trotskyist Groups of All Countries</i> dated 30/12/1957 and signed by M.Y. Wang on behalf of a score of overseas Chinese Trotskyists. The letter is an appeal for funds to aid imprisoned or recently released Chinese Trotskyists. Also enclosed are multiple copies of a two-page leaflet-cum-statement on the actions of the Ceylonese LSSP in relation to China and Chinese Trotskyists. It is dated 01/10/57 and signed by Ho Lo-Johnnie. (We learn in a letter from MK to Dan Gallin in his file (see above) that Ho Lo-Johnnie "is Liang, a Trotskyist of long-standing (since, I believe, 1934). He is now working on a Hong Kong based ship). According to Ian Birchall (<i>pers. comms.</i>) "Liang was probably the Chinese sailor who used to visit Cliff when he was in London. He was, if I recall, said to be a sort of "Flying Dutchman" figure – he couldn't live in China, and wasn't entitled to live anywhere else, so he had to spend his life at sea".
Libertini, Lucio (1922-1993)	Editor of <i>Risorgimento Socialista</i> ; the organ of the Independent Socialist Union (the USI started as a breakaway from the Italian CP)	2 copy letters from MK 28/12/56 and 11/05/58. The first is significant for MK's short analysis of what is happening in Britain in the light of events in Eastern Europe. MK asks for an article – either specially written or other material. A significant article with a reply from Tony Cliff appears in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue Volume 6 Number 5 February 1957 under the title <i>Forum – Pro and Con Debate on Yugoslavia: What is it? Lucio Libertini criticises and Tony Cliff replies.</i>
Logan, Dick & Olga	RL – Research & Education Associate, United Papermakers and Paperworkers	Copy letter MK 24/12/57 requesting input to <i>SR</i> on American labour movement. If anything was sent it seems not to have been used.
London Socialist Forum	Socialist Forum Movement	Copy letter from RF to RG 31/12/57. Marylebone Socialist Forum [MK's "Sunday School"] decided to withdraw from London Socialist Forums – "Comrades felt that the acceptance by the London Conference of the Hornsey amendment was a bar to the organisation working as a body in the Labour Movement as a whole, and that discussion as an end to itself was a principle they could not adopt". [See Allan Lamond entry above].
MacDiarmid, Hugh [Christopher Murray Grieve] (1892-1978)	Poet	Exchange of correspondence May-June 1957 – MK asking HM to write on John MacLean. HM accepts. MK wrote in his letter "Some time ago, I toyed with the idea of writing MacLean's biography, not because I was in anyway competent to do so,

		but because it seemed a pity, more than a pity, that a person of his calibre and importance to the British Labour Movement should be condemned to political and historical obscurity." Perhaps even more interestingly it is clear from HM's letter that he was intending to write a book on the life of John MacLean. He writes, "I'd hoped to have had the thing done by now, but I'm afraid I have too many other irons in the fire at present to be able to promise completion until a year hence". I do not believe the book was ever completed – and I am not aware of any drafts surviving.
MacMahon, Paddy	NUR	MK copy letter 08/12/57 – would he write on the NUR wage claim?
McLoughlin, Comrade (Johnny)	Briggs factory (CP member)	MK copy letter 07/07/57 – would he be willing to write on the position in Briggs, the ostensible results of the Court of Inquiry and the reasons for your present unhappy predicament? There are multiple references to JM in David Widgery's 1976 book <i>The Left in Britain 1956-1968</i> .
McShane, Harry (1891-1988)	Socialist Workers' Federation	Correspondence between 31/10/57 and 14/01/58. HM had agreed with Cliff that he would do an article on John MacLean – MK had not received the promised article from Hugh MacDiarmid. The article titled <i>John MacLean – Socialist</i> appeared in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 1 January 1 st , 1958.
Milton, Nan (1913-1996)	Secretary Avonbridge Labour Party and daughter of John MacLean	3 letters from NM and 1 reply from MK from March and April 1959. NM wrote 3 articles for <i>Socialist Review – Our Fight is Your Fight</i> concerning a miners march in Falkirk appears in the Easter 1959 issue; a review of James Clunie's autobiography <i>Voice of Labour</i> (a book notable for the inclusion of 21 previously unpublished letters by John MacLean) is in the Mid-April 1959 issue and a report of <i>The Scottish Trade Union Congress</i> is printed in the 1 st June 1959 issue. Of course, in 1973 Pluto Press (of which MK was in-house editor), published NM's superb biography of her father John MacLean.
Mitchell, Jack	Briggs Factory	October 1957-January 1958. 2 copy letters from MK, 1 reply from JM. Attempt to get JM to write about the situation at Briggs firmly rebuffed – "although the paper [SR] says some useful things it indulges in extravagant slandering of the communists and, as we are all too familiar with the damaging effects of this kind of propaganda on the work of shop stewards, we are not inclined to give your paper any support in the factory..".
Morgan, Peter D. (1922-2009)	Founder member of the SRG and NALGO	A hefty envelope of correspondence covering the period November 1956 to June 1958. PM was the Treasurer of the SRG until Autumn 1957 when Kay Keating (see entry above) took over. He issued a monthly newsletter that was, in part finance based and, in part, an update on happenings in Birmingham. Not of massive significance for wider political matters, but there is much evidence of the hand-to-mouth existence of the SRG at the time. Some of the correspondence relates to

		articles that PM wrote for <i>SR</i> – he was relatively prolific in that regard so I will not list them individually here.
Moyse, Arthur (1914-2003)	Bus conductor, anarchist and artist/cartoonist	Undated closely typed 2-page letter from AM. Its date would be January 1958. In the letter he states that he cannot sell <i>Socialist Review</i> – but it is a remarkable outline of his personal political credo. AM did co-operate with IS in the future. A memorable feature of the 1967 pamphlet <i>Taking London for a Ride: The Busmen's Case</i> is the inclusion of three of his beautiful illustrations. (AM's obituary in the <i>Guardian</i> newspaper of 13 th March 2003 started with the words, "The anarchist, artist and bus conductor Arthur Moyse, who has died aged 88, seems to have attended every street protest in London from the 1930s onwards").
Mullen, Donald	Railwayman	Exchange of correspondence January 1958 – could he write for <i>SR</i> ? Contact received from Jimmy Young.
National Association of Labour Teachers	Education	Copy letter RF 12/12/57 advising them that Peter Ibbotson has two upcoming articles in <i>SR</i> that they might want to mention in their newsletter.
New Statesman	Socialist Publication	Copy letter from MK 02/11/57 to the Editor, NS, for publication – "I should like to draw the attention of your readers to the mortal danger facing the Algerian trade-union movement". I have ascertained that the letter was copied to a number of other papers and trade union journals. According to a letter in the Dan Gallin file it was not published by the NS – but it did appear in the <i>Railway Review</i> (weekly paper of the National Union of Railwaymen) and also, possibly, in the <i>Socialist Leader</i> (the ILP weekly) – see their entry below.
Newens, Stan	SRG Member	Undated letter (around the end of 1957). Advises MK he will be getting a letter from Ken Jones (see entry above) with ideas to improve <i>SR</i> .
O'Connor, Paddy	London Transport	Copy letter MK 11/05/58 – "Tom Holloway told me you might be interested in <i>SR</i> ".
Opel, Fritz	<i>Funken</i> , German socialist paper	Copy letter MK 07/07/57 – sending <i>SR</i> 's - can we have <i>Funken</i> in exchange?
Page, Ian	MCF	Letter from IP dated 07/09/57 apologising for not being able to provide an article on "SEATO" for the next issue of <i>Socialist Review</i> . He encloses the latest issue of <i>Prod</i> and suggests that the article on Malaya should be a useful stop gap. It duly appears in the September 1957 issue of <i>Socialist Review</i> .
Papert, Seymour (1928-2016)	SRG member studying in Paris	Over 30 items of correspondence between January 1956 and June 1958. As relatively little is recorded of SP's time in the SRG there are useful insights into his political views in this period. However, we learn even more about MK as he strains every sinew to build unity out of the post-Hungary situation in Britain. (MK's letter to SP of 03/06/57 will see the light of day – I promise!).
Parker, Stan	International Society for Socialist Studies	2 letters from SP. There was a publication exchange but <i>World Socialist</i> folded in April 1957.

	– publishers of <i>World Socialist</i>	
Parrymore, Alan	Slough Labour Party	2 letters from AP 10/10/56 and 28/11/56 and 1 copy letter MK 29/3/57. Just had a baby they named “Anil”. Given the home town they were obviously connected in some way with Anil Moonesinghe (who was back in Ceylon by this time).
Phillips, E.T.	ETU Branch Secretary	Copy letter MK 10/12/57 – enclosing SR – would welcome any ETU material.
<i>The Plough</i>	Irish socialist paper	Copy letter MK 02/11/57. Congratulations on their first issue that MK had received from Peggy Rushton. Could they send an article on Ireland and another on their paper? Also set up publication exchange.
<i>Praxis</i>	<i>Praxis y Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria</i> (MIR-Praxis).	Letter written in Spanish from SF 05/03/57 and MK reply (also in Spanish) 24/03/57. MK must have sent correspondence out for comment/further information as there is a letter in the file dated 30/03/57 signed “Torc” - (this must be Torc Ditella (see entry above). The letter is interesting as it gives a pen-picture of each of the Argentinian Trotskyist groups – it states – “Frondizi’s movement is, I believe, the nearest to the one headed by Socialist Review”. This entry is clearly connected to the entry above for Marcos Kaplan. (SF was assassinated by a right-wing death squad in 1974).
Prince, R.	Universities and Left Review	Copy letter MK to RP 19/03/57 – “I am surprised and disappointed to see that the arrangement made between <i>Universities and Left Review</i> and <i>Socialist Review</i> for reciprocal advertising have fallen through [due to] non-compliance on your part...”.
Prynn, David	SRG member	Copy letter from RF to DP 29/11/57- Mike and I lunched with Ewen Duff today and found him very favourably disposed to work on a common paper for Youth Sections: we vaguely explored possibilities of merging <i>The Young Socialist</i> with <i>Contact.....</i> ”. Also, handwritten letter from DP to MK just dated February 10 th [1958?] saying “I thought long and hard about the question of LR – SR fusion. I have come to the conclusion that it would be quite premature to open negotiations at this stage unless we have some indication of real change in their organisation...” (see file “Healy/ites” above).
Rtnaike, Jay	Student. Cousin of SRG founder member Anil Moonesinghe	Copy letter MK 11/05/58 asking JR to write for <i>SR</i> or <i>Young Socialist</i> .
Reed, Peter	Pontefract Labour Party	2 exchanges of correspondence – April and July 1957. MK had rejected an article by PR on the subject of Workers’ Control. PR was not a member of the SRG, but obviously known to MK.

Rennie, Jim	De Havilland factory	Copy letter from RF 09/12/57 re visit to see him about the factory (see entry above for K.A. Hornsey). Copy letter MK 01/01/57 – “trouble brewing more widely in the aircraft industry” – can he let us know about any developments.
Renshaw, George	<i>Platform</i> Busmen’s paper	Copy letter 05/01/58 with text of advert for <i>Socialist Review</i> to go into <i>Platform</i> in exchange for a <i>Platform</i> advert in <i>SR</i> .
Revolutionary Socialist League	Grant-ites	Copy letter to RSL 23/06/57 proposing, as a first step to unity, <i>Socialist Review</i> (or a similar propaganda paper) to be the common paper of the two groups. Suggestions made about Editorial Board, articles of a controversial nature and the fact that the common paper should be the only one sold openly . “After 6 months of work around the common paper, a fusion of the groups into one organisation to be aimed at. If by common consent the groups wish to join the Fourth International, this shall be done. Otherwise a decision on the matter should be postponed and the issue raised again in the common organisation (once every six months)”. Reply 01/08/57 signed by John Fairhead, Secretary RSL. There big issue, to which they could not agree, is to only have the one paper sold openly. They insist that <i>Workers’ International Review</i> is the English-language organ of the Fourth International and the RSL is responsible to the International for its production”. Further letter to RSL 21/10/57 says following the SRG Aggregate meeting of September 20-21 st “the proposals in your letter of August 1 st cannot serve as a basis for healthy collaboration...”.
\ Riach, Alex	Not given	Copy letter MK 02/05/57 – AR had sent a letter of support to Geoff Carlsson – assume he “would be interested in the enclosed pamphlet” [MK’s pamphlet on Automation?].
Robb, Osmond	Not given	Copy letter MK 19/12/57. “Jimmy Young tells me you would be prepared to write on Literature as a Social and Political Weapon for the <i>SR</i> ”.
Rogers, John	Edinburgh Trades Council	Copy letter MK 04/01/58. Contact via Jimmy Young. Would he write for <i>SR</i> - especially interested in improving our industrial coverage.
Russell, Wally	Romford Borough Constituency Labour Party (various positions) and Draughtsman’s Union	Correspondence October 1957 to March 1958. WR was a delegate to Labour Party Conference in Brighton and provided one of the two articles under the heading <i>Back from Brighton: Two Delegates Give Their Views in Socialist Review</i> Volume 7 Number 1 November 1957. WR’s article was titled “ <i>The Stockbrokers’ Road to Socialism</i> ”. The other article was by Sid Bidwell titled <i>A Conference of uncompromising compromise</i> ”. WR was the Political Education Officer for the CLP and enclosed with the correspondence is a long list of speakers for Ward or Union Branch Meetings. I note that MK is listed under the section “Modern Capitalism, Socialism, etc.” as available to speak on “Workers’ Control; “Contemporary Capitalism (John Strachey’s Book”) and “Automation”. Stan Newens is listed as available to speak on “Marxism or Dialectical Materialism”.

Rustock, Harry	Socialist Youth Movement	Copy letter MK 03/11/57. Contact received from Hal and Anne Draper. Sending a number of back copies of SR – if you are in agreement please contact (also see <i>Die Falken</i> entry above).
Samuels, Ralph	Universities and Left Review	Undated letter from RS requesting exchange of advertisements. The U&LR advert appeared in <i>Socialist Review</i> Volume 6 Number 5 February 1957. See R. Prince entry above regarding the reciprocal arrangement.
Savage, Hugh (1918-1996)	Plumber. Glasgow Trades Council EC	Exchange of correspondence December 1957 – March 1958. HS, a veteran activist and member of the Socialist Workers' Federation, provided an article on <i>Glasgow Trades Council</i> in <i>Socialist Review</i> 8 th Year Number 7 Mid-April 1958. The article was printed with a strong note of disagreement from the Editor [MK] which included “nevertheless we believe that anyone attempting to build a revolutionary current outside the [Labour] Party at the present time is doomed to failure and a sectarian existence”.
Sawyer, John	Busmen & NCLC	Exchanges of correspondence December 1957. JS mentions Bill Jones of the <i>Platform</i> busmen's paper as “in the midst of a comeback as a lay official in the union. His recent resignation over Hungary from the Communist Party has made him eligible for office”.
Scaife, Reg. H.	Movement for Colonial Freedom	Exchange of correspondence February 1958 with RHS enclosing an article regarding the “Save Djamila” Campaign. Article had missed the deadline for inclusion in the next issue of <i>SR</i> . It was left for RHS to decide if he wanted it printed in a subsequent issue – it appears it was not used. Letter from RHS is perhaps most useful for the MCF notepaper having a full list of its Central Council and Sponsors printed on it.
Schiltz, Mick	Composer member, London Typographical Society at Odhams Press	Correspondence June 1957 and Jan-Feb 1958. MS was a seller of <i>Socialist Review</i> . Asked to provide details of amalgamation moves by the print unions. This he did and they were worked into an article <i>Towards the Industrial Union – London Transport and Print</i> that appeared in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 5 March 1 st , 1958.
Scott, Edward J.	T&GWU Branch Secretary (1/721)	Letter from EJS 04/05/58 – he had been requested to forward a report for publication in <i>Socialist Review</i> on a dispute on the Southbank with McAlpines. The report appeared in issue 8 th Year Number 10 Mid-May 1958 titled <i>Building Workers Strike – and lose on Southbank</i> . This article was followed up with another in the next issue – <i>And a footnote on South Bank</i> . A third article <i>Builders – Victory on Southbank</i> – “they have won their fight to get Bro. Cassidy reinstated” – appeared in the 1 st July 1958 issue.
Scottish TUC	TUC	Copy letter 28/11/57 requesting details of next TUC and request for a press card for <i>Socialist Review</i> to cover the Conference.

Sedgwick, Peter (1934-1983)	SRG member	<p>Letter from PS 06/05/58 protesting that MK's editorial introduction to Andre Giacometti's History of the Algerian Revolution article in the <i>Socialist Review</i> May Day issue was sectarian against the RSL's <i>Socialist Fight</i> publication. PS makes his point by way of an American song:</p> <p>"Oh, you may be a friend of Karl Kautsky, or a pal of Ferd Lassalle You may get along with Wilhelm Liebknecht and the First International You may have inspired every radical party from the Hudson to the Rhine Yes, you may be a comrade to all of these folks, but you ain't no comrade of mine."</p> <p>MK gives a reasoned response, including the fact AG's original article had been written as a response to an article by John Fairhead in <i>Socialist Fight</i> but MK had edited out those references. (This is absolutely true – a copy of AG's original article is held in the Dan Gallin envelope – see entry above).</p>
Selvin, Jack	Secretary, Sudbury Hill AEU	Copy letter 20/07/57 asking about an article on return from his holiday. No evidence it was written – but JS did have a major article titled <i>Victory Turned Sour</i> in the <i>Socialist Review</i> issue Volume 6 Number 9 June 1957. A letter from JS to MK 31/12/57 mentions he had sent £1 to Kay – I assume this would be Kay Keating, the SRG Treasurer, so we can take it that he was an SRG member.
Selway, P.	Not given	Exchange of correspondence January 1958 – MK would like to meet up as "I hear you are interested in our paper".
Setterfield, L.	District Secretary, AEU Stafford District	Letter from LS 10/02/58 saying he had a letter passed to him by Fred Snare (see entry below) asking for information on local AEU and Labour Party activities. LS would be pleased to hear from MK about what precisely he would like. Reply from MK 13/02/58.
Seymour, Roland P.	Not given	Undated letter to MK stating he cannot support <i>Socialist Review</i> – "my individualism is just too strong for it to ever be subservient to a definite political creed".
Sherratt, Tony	Railway worker, Young Socialists	Various correspondence November 1957 – July 1958.
Skeffington, Owen Sheehy (1909-1970)	Irish Senator	Exchange of letters June-August 1957 about a possible article. OSS says not currently possible – but – <i>Ireland: Socialist Policy versus the I.R.A.</i> by OSS appears in <i>Socialist Review</i> Volume 6 Number 12 October 1957. Copy letter from MK 21/10/57 advises OSS that <i>SR</i> has received an article critical of his October article and would he want to comment. MK encloses the critical article and MK's own editorial response to it. The critical article was written by W.P. Lavin (see entry above) - it appears in <i>Socialist Review</i> Volume 7 Number 2 December 1957 titled <i>In Defence of IRA</i> . (Tony Cliff and OSS were good friends dating back to Cliff's time spent in Dublin).

Smith, David	Labour Councillor, Dalkeith	3 copy letters MK to DS in January and July 1958. Contact received from Jimmy Young who has sent MK some copies of the <i>Dalkeith Monthly Bulletin</i> . One issue contained a resolution and speech by DS on missile bases which MK wanted to print. It appeared on the front page of <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 4 Mid-February 1958 with the title <i>Move for Peace!</i>
Smith, Peter	Not given	Copy letter RF 24/01/58 enclosing a number of back issues of <i>SR</i> .
Snare, Fred	AEU	Exchange of correspondence February – March 1958. See L. Setterfield entry above. FS takes and sells 20 copies of each issue of <i>SR</i> .
Socialist Leader	Paper of the ILP	Letter from <i>SL</i> thanking MK for his letter of 03/11/57 (this will have been on the subject of Algeria – see entry for the <i>New Statesman</i> above). It says, “we are trying to include all of it in this week’s issue of the Socialist Leader, but we may have to make one or two slight cuts for reasons of space”. Further information on Algeria was sent to <i>SL</i> in 2 subsequent letters in November 1957. One was the galley-proofs of Andre Giacometti’s article on the Algerian Trade Union movement for them to use as they saw fit. The article titled <i>Algerian Freedom is Being Murdered: Silence Would be Complicity!</i> appeared in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue Volume 7 Number 2 December 1957.
Socialist Workers Party	US section of the Fourth International	Interesting letter addressed to Tony Cliff from Dorothy Mack dated 12/01/58. DM is one of a group within the SWP who holds the State Capitalist position. They hope to enter into correspondence with a view to exchanging ideas and information. DM says, “we have presented our state capitalist point of view in the internal discussions of the SWP and will continue to do so”. (A search of the SWP archive shows that during 1957 they did indeed make some major contributions. In particular, Dorothy Mack herself authored <i>Burma – State Capitalism in Asia</i> that was issued as Volume 18 Number 5 of the <i>SWP Discussion Bulletin</i> in March 1957).
Southall, Ray	Student of Philosophy and English	An article written by RS was received via Raymond Challinor in July 1957. He described RS as a student at University College of North Staffs, ex-Treasurer of Midlands Young Communist League and still a member of the CP. The article, a reply to Tony Cliff’s <i>Economic Roots of Reformism</i> , appeared with the title <i>Right-Wing Labour’s Roots</i> in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue Volume 6 Number 12 October 1957. Further correspondence between RS and MK from the first half of 1958 includes the news that he submitted an article on Maxim Gorki for the youth section of <i>SR</i> – but it was rejected by the Youth Editorial Board. He did submit one small poetry book review that appears in <i>Socialist Review</i> 8 th Year Number 7 1 st April 1958.
Spittmann, Ilse	Not given	Copy letter MK 03/11/57. Contact from Wolfgang Leonhard (see entry above) who suggested you might write for us on political and social events in Germany.

Stevens, Goff	Chairman, Cab Trade Committee, T&GWU	Correspondence re article submitted: <i>The Cabmen's Demands – Fair Wages, End Cadging</i> appears in <i>Socialist Review</i> issue 8 th Year Number 4 Mid-February 1958.
Stevenson, Cyril	Nassau Tribune	Copy letter MK 28/01/58. " I have heard of you from Dick and Olga Logan who passed through London on their way to the US from Norway...they felt that you might be interested in our paper and we in the <i>Nassau Tribune</i> ".
Super, Arthur	Political Education Officer, Stoke Newington and Hackney North Labour Party	Letter from AS 03/09/57 giving directions as MK is to speak to the Springfield Ward on 17 th September on "the Labour Party statements on Public Ownership". AS also writes, "did Mr. Spencer send you a cutting of the report I managed to get into the <i>Hackney Gazette</i> recently, based on your talk to Brownswood Ward, on the "German Miracle"?"
Tarback, Ken (1930 – 1995)	RSL (was a founder member of the SRG)	KT letter 02/06/57 and MK response. KT selling a typewriter to a member of the SRG – he will bring it with him to London next weekend for the RSL Congress. We learn that MK is going to the Congress himself (not as a member!).
Thompson, Edward P. (1924 – 1993)	New Reasoner	Letter EPT to MK 28/09/59 – "We are having a discussion in the next <i>New Reasoner</i> of the Hughes/Alexander "Socialist Wages Plan". They have received clouts from two people on the Right, and we would like also to print your clout from the Left, and their reply to all". MK agrees. (The discussion appeared in <i>The New Reasoner</i> Number 10 Autumn 1959).
Thompson, Dr. Alan	Lecturer in Political Economy	Copy letter MK 15/12/57 and reply from AT 17/12/57. Contact from Jimmy Young – would AT write "on the way in which private capital is exploiting the nationalised electricity industry in Scotland....?" Reply says he has too many commitments to write at present – but he has favourable comment to make about <i>SR</i> .
Thorn, Melvin	Chipping Norton Labour Party	MT obviously well known to MK. Interesting exchange of correspondence in April 1958 on their respective thoughts on the Aldermaston March. MK had marched the whole distance, MT just the last day.
Tijn, Theo van	Socialistisch Perspectief	October-November 1957. Setting up publication exchange plus MK sends a copy of the letter on Algeria that he sent to the <i>New Stateman</i> (see their entry above) to be used as the basis of an article in <i>Socialistisch Perspectief</i> .
Tinsley, Fred	Toolmaker at Briggs	Article received from FT. He apologises for the delay "but I felt it imperative to obtain the views of some of the responsible lads in regard to what I had written. You will readily understand the need to maintain unity and the steps that have to be taken etc..". FT had previously been a Shop Steward and on the Negotiating and Works Committee for 7 years. His article appears in <i>Socialist Review</i> Volume 7 Number 2 December 1957 with the title <i>Briggs – The Facts</i> .
Trench, R. (Mick)	NUR	Exchange of correspondence December 1957 – January 1958. MK seeking article on the NUR wage claim. RT probably a "revolutionary socialist" of a non-SRG variety as

		he replies saying that he would be prepared to write the article but that he doesn't agree with the SRG line and raises the "Russian Question". MK reply includes "we believe that revolutionary socialists in Britain will have to come together, and the sooner the better, in one organisation. There is no better method than working together as much as possible and leaving false hares to tire themselves out".
<i>Tribune</i>	Left Labour newspaper	Letter from the <i>Tribune</i> 07/11/57 – MK had obviously sent them his Algerian letter (see <i>New Statesman</i> entry above). Their letter starts "This whole Algerian business is terribly complex...".
Tsushima, Tadayuki	Japanese Marxist Group	Two letters July and August 1957 to Tony Cliff. He had been much impressed with RC's book <i>Stalinist Russia: A Marxist Analysis</i> the appendix to which he had translated into Japanese. He agrees with TC's analysis of the Stalinist regime as "bureaucratic state capitalism" and TT had produced his own book on the subject. The contents page of the book are attached to his letter. He also gives a potted history of himself and the group he belongs to.
Vaughan, Ken	Oxford University Socialist Club	Exchange of letters June 1957. Their speaker had cancelled at short notice – could he stand in? Yes - to speak on automation.
Waller, Derek	Not given – but in RAF (presumably National Service)	Exchange of letters December 1956. Attended a discussion group with Mike Maddison and Tzena and took away copies of <i>Socialist Review</i> to sell. Asks for more details on the history of the paper.
Webb, F.	Marylebone Socialist Forum	Exchange of correspondence January 1958 about meetings of the Marylebone Socialist Forum. RF states that the Marylebone Forum has disaffiliated from the London organisation – see London Socialist Forum entry above.
Yotopoulos, Dimitri	Not given	DY asks to meet MK in London July 1957 – but they miss each other. In May 1958 MK asks for a short article on Greece after the elections.
Young, James D. (Jimmy) (1931-2012)	CPGB, SLL, later SRG member	Fascinating collection of correspondence that is invaluable to set against JDY's extremely jaundiced later views of the SRG, and Cliff and Kidron in particular - see his 1987 <i>Making Trouble: Autobiographical Explorations and Socialism</i> and the 1995 collection <i>A Taste of Honey</i> . In 1957 JDY wrote that "Cliff is a bloody good bloke and a clear political thinker" and "I formed a very good impression of Tony Cliff as (a) a major political thinker and as (b) a democratic thinker. And believe me: there are very few real democrats in the working-class movement." You would not think either the writer or the written about were the same person!
Young, Tony and Nessie	Isle of Thanet Labour Party Youth Section	Another fascinating collection. MK received and wrote long letters to TY and NY. This is a place to read MK's views on a range of subjects including youth organisation, left unity and even, a workers' army after the revolution! TY was training in Law and as well as writing for <i>Socialist Review</i> under his own name he also wrote under the pseudonym of "Socialist Lawyer".

Yuasa, Takeo	Student	Letter received July 1958. He is a student "studying revolutionary Marxism". Contact via T. Tsushima (see entry above).
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Part 2: Catalogue
of the
International Socialism
Correspondence

Introduction

This is Part 2 of Mike Kidron's correspondence catalogue. It is concerned with the formative period of the journal *International Socialism* from the early months of 1960 to the early months of 1963.

These dates are important as they cover the difficult birth-pangs of a revolutionary Marxist journal that sought to bring together a host of people from across different political groups and tendencies. The period saw the production of the first 12 quarterly issues of the journal.

We see at first-hand the efforts to bring onto the Editorial Board a number of well-known figures on the contemporary left, discussions on a range of interesting political and organisational questions and the supreme effort involved in bringing forth a serious journal in the days before the advent of the internet, and indeed, photocopying.

In terms of the proposed breadth of the *International Socialism* Editorial Board it warrants highlighting here the names of those that are mentioned in this correspondence:

Those actually serving a period on the Editorial Board:

Birchall, Ian; Cadogan, Peter; Challinor, Raymond; Cliff, Tony; Coates, Ken; Collins, Henry; Cook, Marion; Fairhead, John; Fior, Robin; Grainger, Martin; Harris, Nigel; Howard, Nicholas; Kidron, Michael; Lewitt, Dorothy; MacIntyre, Alasdair; Mansell, Peter; McShane, Harry; Melville, Theo; Peers, Dave; Pennington, Bob; Preston, Eric; Phillips, John; Sedgwick, Peter; Segal, Michael; Tracey, Noel

Those asked to serve but declined:

Behan, Brian; Daly, Lawrence; Daniels, John; Heffer, Eric; Hillman, Ellis; Kendall, Walter; Thompson, Edward P.

If the Editorial Board was a smorgasbord so too was the variety of the journal's contents – poetry, short stories, debates, serious Marxist theory and wide geographic coverage. Indeed, in this last respect it truly lived up to its name of *International Socialism* with the articles served-up being supplied by authors involved in the various struggles in Europe and beyond.

The correspondence show that the journal was living a hand to mouth existence throughout the whole of this period with finances a constant source of concern. It is a massive tribute to Mike Kidron that throughout all the trials and tribulations of the period he was the prime mover in maintaining the journal and gaining for it a reputation that was to grow stronger as time progressed.

Mike Kidron ISJ Correspondence 1960-1963

Name	Location	Affiliation	Contents/Comments
Alavi, Hamza A.	London	<i>Pakistan Today</i>	Early 1961 exchange re obtaining an article from HAA on Pakistan. In December 1962 MK asks for pre-publication comments from HAA on the Winter 1962 issue's <i>Notes of the Quarter</i> titled <i>Himalayan Frost</i> . HAA does this in a 4-page letter.
Alaun, Frank (1913-2002)	House of Commons, London	Labour Party	1960 exchange re obtaining "a reasonably solid article on the Labour Party and its future". FA declined due to pressure of work.
<i>Africa Today</i>	London	<i>Africa Today</i>	January 1961 correspondence MK with Ronald Segal (Editor, <i>Africa Today</i>) agreeing an exchange of journals.
Aldred, J.H.R.	High Wycombe, Bucks	Rail Industry in some capacity	June 1961 exchange on the subject of "Work Study" on the railways. JHRA's letter is in connection with Note 2 of the Spring 1961 issue on Tory transport deals.
Alexander, Ken	North Angus, Scotland	North Angus and Mearns Constituency Labour Party	MK request in December 1962 for KA to write "a balance sheet" of the New Left. KA declines citing, amongst other things that, "I have not been at the centre of things since the very early days".
Al-Mahdi, Sadek	Khartoum, Sudan	Not given	March 1960 request for S A-M to be a "writer, salesman, agent and unending source of funds" for the journal.
Amin, Samir	Paris	Egyptian studying in Paris	Numerous exchanges in first half of 1960. There was a proposal to publish the concluding chapter of SA's thesis in the journal. Correspondence elsewhere in MK's archive indicates the article was eventually declined.
Anandhavalli Memorial Library	Kuttalam, South India	Library	Acknowledgement of complimentary issues of the journal.
Arrowsmith, Pat	Liverpool	Merseyside CND	Letter from PA dated 28 th May 1962 declining a request to reprint a letter. The reason being that "it got published in <i>Peace News</i> by mistake...".
Barker, Colin (1939-2019)	Ilford Essex and Pembroke College, Oxford	IS Group	Correspondence between CB and MK early 1963 on possible articles and miscellaneous matters.
Barnes, Keith	Surbiton, Surrey	CND	Exchange regarding possible publication of some poems by KB. <i>Catterick 1954</i> was published in journal issue Number 7 (Winter 1961).
Barrett-Brown, Michael (1918-2015)	Dedham, Essex	New Left	Two items of correspondence 1960.
Behan, Brian (1926-2002)	London	Workers' Party	Undated letter (October 1960) from BB declining an invitation to join the Editorial Board of the journal. Letter from the Editorial Board accepting with regret. This was from the period of BB's short-lived Workers Party.
Benson, Stanley	London	Not given	Letter to MK January 1962 saying SB had attended two study meetings by Alasdair MacIntyre on philosophical questions in the history of Marxist theory. He found they were "the most interesting and intelligible (although sometimes complex) theoretical presentations that I have come onto since I have been in London".

Bhattacharyya, Buddhadev	Calcutta, India	<i>Gannavarta</i> [<i>Voice of the People</i>] journal	Letter from BB June 1962 asking, inter alia, for MK to provide an article for a special annual number of their journal.
Bidwell, Sid (1917-1997)	Southall, Middlesex	Labour Party	January 1961 letter seeking a donation to the journal.
Birnbaum, Norman	Oxford	Nuffield College	February 1961 letter seeking a donation to the journal. He had donated in 1960.
Brakemeier, Heinz	Frankfurt, W. Germany	Not given	January 1961. Contact received via Peter von Oertzen. Would he write on problems of the labour movement in Germany?
Buick, Adam	Newport, Monmouthshire and Queens College, Oxford	Socialist Party of Great Britain	Correspondence early 1963 concerning points on the 1926 General Strike arising from a talk MK gave at the Oxford University Socialist Society. Also, AB offers to write an article for the journal.
Burbach, Gisella	Berlin, W. Germany	Student	January 1961. Letter of thanks for “a very pleasant and instructive stay” in Berlin.
Butt, Comrade (Denis)	Not given	<i>New Left Review</i>	Undated letter (1960) seeking DB’s involvement in a project being pre-planned for the journal on the problems of British trade unionism. DB had an article titled <i>Men and Motors</i> in <i>New Left Review</i> Issue 3 (May-June 1960).
Cadogan, Peter (1921-2007)	Cambridge	IS Editorial Board (ISEB)	Forty items of correspondence between early 1960 and July 1961. Evidences that PC was active and committed to the formation of the journal and its continuation over the first 5 issues. He was expelled from the IS Editorial Board (ISEB) in July 1961 in connection with a story in the <i>Daily Mail</i> newspaper witch-hunting Martin Grainger and the Solidarity group. That issue is covered in brief in the <i>Letter to Readers</i> in Issue 6 of the journal (Autumn 1961). PC’s own statement to the ISEB on the matter is included in this archive. The archive contains a 3-page article by PC titled <i>State and Capitalism</i> which is dated 26/3/1961.
Campbell, Bobby	Glasgow, Scotland	Woodside Young Socialists	Letter August 1962 thanking BC for sending his article <i>Songs With Teeth</i> . MK advises he “had to do some editing – not ruthless – to get it down to size...”. It appeared in issue Number 10 (Autumn 1962).
Cardan, Paul (1922-1997)	Paris, France	Socialisme ou Barbarie	Letter dated 26/11/1961 suggesting exchange of advertising within the pages of the respective journals. PC does indicate he wants to reply to Ken Coates’ response (Issue Number 5 Summer 1961) to his own earlier <i>Socialism and Capitalism</i> article in journal issue Number 4 (Spring 1961) but this does not appear to have happened.
Carmel, Michael J.	Bath, Somerset	N.U.T. and CND	Contact from MJC December 1961/January 1962 offering to write reviews for the journal. His specialist subject being The Levellers.
Challinor, Raymond (1929-2011)	Newcastle, Staffs	IS Editorial Board	Miscellaneous correspondence including ideas for articles, book reviews and other matters. In an interesting comment after his selection as the Labour Party Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Nantwich RC writes, “.....I greatly deprecate the position of some IS supporters, who take the defeatist attitude towards parliamentary candidature, and think it would be good experience, as well

			as good for the Movement as a whole, if some of our comrades were allowed to let themselves be nominated.....”.
Chaudhuri, Tridib Kumar	New Delhi, India	Revolutionary Socialist Party, India	During 1960, MK sending earliest issues of journal and seeking articles on India. A letter received by MK 30/12/61 (from Pratul Chaudhuri) – prior to MK’s departure for India – gives a number of RSP leaders to contact in Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta.
Chaulieu, Pierre (1922-1997)	Paris, France	Socialisme ou Barbarie group	PC is one of the many pseudonyms of Cornelius Castoriadis. One undated letter from MK acknowledging receipt of an article – “I enjoyed your article immensely although I would quarrel with your brand of ahistoricism – but that can wait...”. The letter must refer to the article that appeared in the Spring 1961 issue (Number 4) of the journal titled <i>Socialism and Capitalism</i> under the authorship of Paul Cardan (another pseudonym).
Clajot, Gilbert	Brussels, Belgium	Jeune Garde Socialiste	Letter from MK January 1961 seeking “reliable information and analysis in connection with the Belgian events” i.e. the Belgian General Strike of 1960-61.
Cliff, Tony (1917-2000)	London	IS Editorial Board	Cliff’s editorial comments on certain articles in the first two issues of the journal. Of particular interest are his thoughts on transitional demands made whilst commenting on Kidron’s article <i>Two Left Feet</i> in the Autumn 1960 issue (Number 2). The comments of Cadogan and Coates on the same pieces are contained in their respective sections. In a letter of 5 th July 1961 Cliff comments on Alasdair MacIntyre’s <i>Rejoinder to Left Reformism</i> article.
Coates, Ken (1930-2010)	Nottingham	IS Editorial Board	A substantial body of correspondence (just over 50 items). It indicates that KC was more closely involved in the foundation and early operation of the <i>International Socialism</i> journal than is generally credited. Anyone interested in this period of the life of KC and his left milieu will find much of interest.
Collins, Henry	Hove, Sussex	Oxford University	RESTRICT
Compton, Jacques Egyptian	London	Editor, West Indian Students’ Newsletter	Letter from MK thanking JEC for his contribution – <i>The Young Nationalist</i> – a short story that appeared in the Spring 1961 (Number 4) issue of the journal.
Condit, Tom	New York, USA	Young People’s Socialist League	Three-part early 1961 exchange with MK seeking articles on Cuba and the American labour movement.
Cook, Marion	London	IS Editorial Board	Marion Cook dealt with business matters for the journal. Later married Jim Higgins.
Craft, Michael	Not known	Not known	MK chasing receipt of a promised letter and article on CND.
Craik, Bill (William)	N.U.P.E. HQ, Blackheath, London	N.U.P.E.	Sid Bidwell had obviously sent a copy of <i>IS</i> journal issue Number 9 (Summer 1962) to BC – he was at one time principal of the Central Labour College. His reply to Bidwell (which has been handed on to MK) is interesting. Comments include, “I liked Cliff’s article on the Labour Party, which is largely along the Milliband line of criticism...” and “I am much more attracted by Kidron’s Marxism than by MacIntyre’s. His power of analysis and reduction are greater”.

Daigaku Hyoronsha	Tokyo, Japan	<i>Criticisms and Perspectives</i>	Letter received June 1962 advising the setting up in Japan of a new quarterly journal titled <i>Criticisms and Perspectives</i> . They advise that in issue number 2 they had reproduced Tony Cliff's article on the Belgian General Strike from the February 1961 issue of <i>Socialist Review</i> .
Daly, Lawrence (1924-2009)	Fife, Scotland	Mineworkers union	Half a dozen letters exchanged during 1960 seeking articles from Daly. One letter shows him refusing an invitation to join the ISEB "I am terribly busy and could not possibly undertake further commitments". One letter from June 1961 concerning a book review.
Daniels, John	Nottingham	Ex (?) Socialist Labour League	Interestingly, JD has penned his reply onto a letter of 30th May 1960 inviting him to join the ISEB.
Davies, Ioan	London	New Left	One letter of 26 th September 1960 from ID seeking meeting with MK. He did subsequently contribute book reviews for the journal, including in Issue Number 3 (Winter 1960-61) and Number 4 (Spring 1961).
Dechezelles, Yves	Paris, France	Political activist	One letter from MK seeking an article. Introduction via Andre Giacometti.
<i>Dissent</i>	Not given	Political journal	One letter from MK in March 1961 seeking to set up a publications exchange. There are no names or addresses on the copy letter but I assume this is the American political journal that was founded in 1954.
Downe, Mike	Cambridge	Not given	Correspondence November 1961 – MD is teaching in Cambridge and offers to take the journal to local bookshops.
Dowson, Kurt	London	Not given	Correspondence from KD July 1961 with which he enclosed his translation of Alexander Blok's poem <i>The Scythians</i> together with a covering note. The poem and note appeared in <i>IS</i> journal Number 6 (Autumn 1961).
Draper, Hal (1914-1990)	Oakland, California	Political activist	Miscellaneous correspondence including news that HD is working on a new journal (this came to fruition as <i>New Politics</i>) and has plans to publish a collection of the writings of Rosa Luxemburg. The latter project was dropped by HD in favour of two other projects – the "political development and writings of Marx before 1848" and also publication of a series of photocopy volumes made up of a selection of articles from the Independent Socialist Leagues press.
Durden, Mel	Ilford, Essex	Not given	Letter from MD 06/04/1962 saying he had recently subscribed to the journal and bought all the back issues. He proceeds to give feedback.
Eaton, Ken	Birmingham	Independent Labour Party	Request for articles. KE also offers to help with translation on the Draper Rosa Luxemburg project and to seek assistance for it from the ILP.
Edwards, Dudley	Not given	Not given	MK to DE "do you think you could get on to your Cuban brother in law for an article for <i>IS</i> ?" The letter is undated. DE was an <i>IS</i> member at one time.
Fairhead, John	London	IS Editorial Board	RESTRICT

Faravelli, Guiseppe	Milan, Italy	<i>Critica Sociale</i>	MK letter to GF at this left-wing Italian newspaper seeking to contact Giorgio Galli for an article on “the problems of the Italian socialist movement”. Contact received from Dan Gallin.
Foot, Paul (1937-2004)	Glasgow, Scotland	IS Group	Correspondence from 1962 has some quotable quotes about Glasgow from PF. For example, “People have a sort of mythical notion of what Left-wing politics are like here, and seem to believe that the RED CLYDE still exists. In fact, Glasgow is probably the most reactionary borough in Britain...” and “Fact is that Cliff gets hysterical about Glasgow, treating it rather like Petersburg in 1905”.
Fronzizi, Silvio (1907-1974)	Rome and Paris	MIR-Praxis, Argentina	Correspondence late 1960 when SF was in Europe. Unable to meet in Paris and SF was unable to get to London.
Gallin, Dan	Geneva, Switzerland	International Union of Foodworkers (IUF)	Interesting correspondence between MK and DG , as always (see <i>Socialist Review</i> correspondence) touching on personalities and current events.
Gatty, Tirril	Oxford	IS Group	Undated (1960) letter signed “Tirril” advises MK she had approached “Professor Raj” regarding an article for the journal on “5 Year Plan”.
Gerlach, Erich	Northeim, West Germany	Member (SPD) of the Regional Parliament of Lower Saxony	1961-62 correspondence between MK and EG, some of which is in German. EG contributed a book review to journal issue Number 7 (Winter 1961). Most interestingly, we learn that the article written under the pseudonym “George Lux” appearing in journal issue Number 8 (Spring 1962) with the title <i>The Decline of German Socialism</i> is by EG. Somewhat later and outside of the period of this correspondence EG provided an article on Karl Korsch (of whom he had been a student).
Gomori, George	London	Not given	Letter from GC acknowledging receipt of free copy of the first issue of the journal. He concludes his short letter “I will spend only a short time in America but certainly will show the paper to people in Indonesia and be a representative out there”. (GC fled Hungary in 1956. He was a poet and spent a period in Indonesia from 1961).
Gorden, Barry	Cologne, West Germany	An American studying at Cologne University. Before coming to Europe he was a National Council member of the Student Peace Union and an alternate member of the Young People’s Socialist League Executive Committee	Letter to MK 5/2/1963 with suggested changes to his article that appeared in journal Number 12 (Spring 1963) titled <i>After Oxford What?</i>

Gortzak, W.	Amsterdam, Holland	<i>International Contact Bulletin</i>	Agreement to exchange of publications.
Grainger, Martin (Chris Pallis) (1923-2005)	London	IS Editorial Board	MG 's letter of resignation from the ISEB is dated 11th December 1960. His reason centres on his contention that "you are far more concerned with engaging a dialogue with the reformists than in the task of clarification and elaboration of revolutionary theory." Other correspondence deals with administrative issues arising from the resignation.
Hall, Stuart (1932-2014)	London	<i>New Left Review</i>	2 covering letters by MK from February 1961, each one enclosing an article for <i>NLR</i> consideration. Both were surplus to requirements to the <i>IS</i> journal – one on Belgium, the other on South Africa.
Harris, Nigel	London	IS Editorial Board	2 items including a circular to the ISEB in advance of publication of the first issue of the journal.
Hassan, M.S.	Baghdad, Iraq	Not given	1 letter from MK in May 1960 trying to re-establish contact with MSH.
Haworth, Bob	Australia	Not given	Letters from BH in early 1960 show he was successful in getting readers for the new journal in New South Wales, Australia. BH wrote a number of articles for <i>Socialist Review</i> during 1959.
Heffer, Eric (1922-1991)	Liverpool	Labour Party	Correspondence from 1960-61 indicates how close EH remained to the SRG and its publications (see <i>Socialist Review</i> Correspondence Catalogue). In a letter of 28/12/1961 he goes as far as saying, "Despite the unfortunate disagreement and I feel misunderstanding which developed over the Seaman's Strike, I feel that of all political positions, that of <i>Socialist Review</i> is the one which is similar to my own."
Heym, Mike	Leeds	IS Group	Exchange of letters January 1963. MH (probably in association with Chris Harman) is putting together quotes and facts for an obituary for Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell. In the event anything provided was not used as they were supplanted by a very short editorial note in journal issue Number 12 (Spring 1963) titled <i>The Ism not the Man</i> .
Hillman, Ellis (1928-1996)	London	Not given	Letter from MK 10/06/60 seeking to set up a meeting with EH "in order to clear up any doubts you may have about coming on the Editorial Board of <i>IS</i> ".
Hirson, Baruch (1921-1999)	Physics Department, University of the Witwatersrand, Milner Park, Johannesburg, South Africa	South African political activist – sentenced to 9 years imprisonment in 1964	Interesting correspondence that covers the period April 1960 to July 1961. BH was certainly the author of the major articles on <i>South Africa: Ten Years of the Stay at Home</i> that appeared in <i>IS</i> journal Number 5 (Summer 1961) and Number 6 (Autumn 1961) in the name of the Socialist League of Africa.
Hoffmann, Reinhard	Hamburg, West Germany	Not given	Letter 13/01/62 enclosed an article "on the German situation" that had been written at the request of Ray Challinor who he had met in Hamburg. The article was returned to the author as it clashed with receipt of the article by Erich Gerlach (see above). A subsequent letter from RH subscribing to the journal advises that

			the returned article was now to be published in the French journal <i>Nouvelle Revue Marxiste</i> .
Hohmann, Wolfgang	Berlin, West Germany	Not given	Correspondence February 1961. WH and MK to meet on 23 rd February.
Howard, Nick (1933-2016)	Havana, Cuba	IS Editorial Board	Interesting as the 3 most substantial items of the correspondence from NH are written from Cuba where he was staying for a conference in August and September 1961.
Hughes, Comrade	Not given	Not given	February 1960 letter from MK seeking an article “on the situation on the railways”.
Ibbotson, Peter	London	IS Group	Correspondence from New Year 1960/61 in which PI agrees to write an article on education and review books on either education or colonial affairs. His first of numerous reviews appears in journal Issue Number 5 (Summer 1961).
Independent Labour Party	London	ILP	The majority of the correspondence from the second half of 1961 relates to an ILP committee convened “to consider the extent to which this movement [CND] might be given a socialist direction. In order to do this we have to consider the economic drives towards war within capitalism and the methods whereby we might combat them.” The Committee was given the name the <i>Economics of War Committee</i> and Mike Kidron was one of the non-ILP members invited to take part. This archive does contain some of the output from the Committee. Other correspondence includes details of the November 1961 conference of Socialist Journals organised by the ILP in London. This was the follow-up to the initial conference hosted by the Imre Nagy Institute in Brussels (see entry below). The second meeting was attended by Tony Cliff and John Palmer.
Imre Nagy Institute for Political Research	Brussels, Belgium	<i>The Review, An International Quarterly</i>	Correspondence mostly connected to the conference of socialist journal editors arranged by the Institute and held in Brussels in May 1961. Mike Kidron and Nigel Harris attended for <i>International Socialism</i> .
Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis	Amsterdam, Holland	International Institute for Social History	Institute requests gratis copies of journal on a regular basis – agreed.
Jacobson, Julius	Not given, but USA	<i>New Politics</i> journal	Single undated sheet from JJ – but Autumn 1961. They are the details of who JJ is, for use as the introduction to his article <i>The Relevance of American Socialism</i> in journal issue Number 6 (Autumn 1961).
Japanese Revolutionary Communist League	Tokyo, Japan	“Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Stalinist organisation”	Contact from K. Tamiya, Chief Secretary of the National Committee of the JRCL in October 1961. In answer to their question “Have you any plan about how to advance the international combination of Anti-Stalinist, Trotskyist movement?” Mike Kidron gives this very reasoned reply: “....we think it premature to make any concrete steps in the direction at the present time beyond finding out who our friends and co-thinkers are in different countries and keeping in touch with their development. For the time being, an exchange of literature, of articles and of

			information is what we should aim at as being within the bounds of possibility. The growth of our several movements will define whatever concrete steps towards closer collaboration might be taken in the future.”
Kaminsky, Herschel	University of Minnesota, USA	Not given	Letter from Nigel Harris 03/04/60 introducing the journal and a letter from HK 16/02/62 purchasing the 4 issues published in 1961.
Kaplan, Marcos	Buenos Aires, Argentina	Revolutionary Left Movement (Praxis)	Correspondence between Mike Kidron and Marcos Kaplan in both 1960 and 1962. One early letter provides a long list of Latin American contacts who may be interested in the <i>IS</i> journal. See connecting entries for Silvio Frondizi above and for Marcos Kaplan and Praxis in the <i>Socialist Review</i> Catalogue. Frondizi’s 2-volume work <i>La Realidad Argentina (The Argentine Reality)</i> received a positive review by Sergio Junco (Sam Farber) in issue Number 8 (Spring 1962) of the journal.
Kareem, Jafar	Not given	Not given	One letter from Mike Kidron returning to JK his “story with regret, as we shall not be able to use it”.
Kendall, Walter (1929-2003)	Wimbledon, London	Not given (unaligned Marxist)	Of most interest is WK’s letter of 15/04/1960 declining to serve on the <i>IS</i> Editorial Board. He gives a number of reasons for declining plus his views on what any new journal should be.
Kershaw, Laurie	London	Not given	MK letter to LK requesting a donation to the journal. Handwritten note suggests £5 received by return.
Kidron, Michael (1930-2003)	London	<i>IS</i> Editorial Board	2 circulars from MK to the ISEB (May and June 1960) give useful information on the state of play with articles for the journal post the publication of the first issue.
Klopper, Mary	Newtonhill, Scotland	Movement for Colonial Freedom	Correspondence from Mike Kidron to MK in May-June 1961 tells us that “the people who publish <i>The Spark</i> in South Africa have asked us to print their pamphlet <i>Ten Years of the Stay-at-Home</i> for them and smuggle it back...The pamphlet will be printed on newsprint in flat sheets one side of which will be blank – so that it can serve admirably as wrapping paper for a large consignment of <i>Reader’s Digest</i> and such like which will then be sent by normal book post...”. See entry for Baruch Hirson above.
Kuroda, Kan-ichi (1927-2006)	Japan	Founder member of Japanese Revolutionary Communist League	Single undated sheet (but 1960) of biographical details for KK. They were used for the introduction to his articles on Japan in journal issue Number 2 (Autumn 1960) and Number 11 (Winter 1962).
Landy, Seymour (1931-2007)	New York, USA	Not given (Young Peoples Socialist League)	Undated letter from MK “Will you write on the civil rights movement in the US for <i>IS</i> ? Sam Farber holds out that you might....”.
Leech, Kenneth	Stepney, London	Not given	KL writes January 1961 to subscribe to the journal and purchase all back issues.

Levi (Lowy), Michael	Sao Paulo, Brazil	Independent Socialist League	Correspondence MK and ML late 1960. ML sends an article on the agrarian question in Brazil which was being translated from the Portuguese but it clearly was not used in the journal.
Libertini, Comrade [Lucio] (1922-1993)	Italy	Not given (but see <i>Socialist Review Catalogue</i>)	27/02/1960 letter from MK advising Libertini of the setting up of the journal and seeking an article on the Italian Labour Movement.
Lindenbaum, Dick	St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London	Not given	Correspondence exchange December 1960 concerning a translation that DL has completed. As DL mentions Portuguese it seems that the Michael Levi [Lowy] translation (see above) was successfully completed.
Logan, Dick	New York, USA	Socialist Party	Correspondence mainly from 1960-61. An article, <i>People's Capitalism?</i> , by DL and co-author Henry Paley, appears in journal issue Number 5 (Summer 1961). One letter to MK gives potted biographies of DL and HP.
London, Jack	Romford, Essex	Not given – writer of Essex dialect poetry	MK approached JL in August 1960 having been made aware of his poems by Arnold Wesker (a well-known British playwright). Two poems, <i>The Straw-Up Stret</i> and <i>An Essex Crow-Scaring Song</i> , were published in journal Issue Number 3 (Winter 1960-61)
MacDiarmid, Hugh [Christopher Murray Grieve] (1892-1978)	Lanarkshire, Scotland	Poet	MK renews “a correspondence of very long standing” (see <i>Socialist Review Correspondence Catalogue</i>) seeking HMacD write on the subject of John MacLean and also allow his poem <i>Second Hymn to Lenin</i> be published. The poem was indeed published in the first issue of <i>International Socialism</i> journal (Spring 1960). The MacLean article, although promised, never materialised – this correspondence did coincide with MacDiarmid and his wife being badly injured in a car accident. Unusually, based on the correspondence in these archives the last letter (08/05/1960) is signed by MacDiarmid with his real name C.M. Grieve.
MacIntyre, Alasdair	Dept. of Philosophy, Leeds University	IS Editorial Board	Almost 40 items of correspondence, including the period of joint editorship of the journal by Mike Kidron and Alasdair MacIntyre (Winter 1960/61 – Spring 1962). Lots of interest, including a classic Kidron comment on a Raya Dunayevskaya article that had been received via Peter Cadogan for possible inclusion in the journal. MK writes (25/03/1961) to AM, “Dunayevskaya is a bore. Reading her will get no one any nearer an understanding of the world as it is, or of the roots of Trotsky's blind spots or even of the nature of state capitalism. If only she'd reason and not rant, try to explain and not pronounce (while pulling down the Trotskyists pants) she might do some good. As it is, I'm agin although willing to file it against sudden drought.”
Mandel, Ernest (1923-1995)	Brussels, Belgium	Fourth International	Letter of 05/11/1962 tells us, perhaps surprisingly, that EM had agreed (with Nigel Harris) to write something for the Spring 1963 issue of <i>International Socialism</i> . Despite a chaser nothing materialised.

Marie, Jean-Jacques	Vincennes Seine, France	<i>Correspondances Socialistes</i>	Correspondence from 1960 and 1961 – some in French. One letter from MK of 19/11/1960 gives a pen-picture of three breakaways from the Socialist Labour League - Behan's Workers' Party, the Pennington-Grainger group and ex-SLL in Leeds "around the person of Alasdair MacIntyre...this seems the healthiest of the ex-SLL groups, although it numbers no more than nine." J-JM supplied an article, <i>France-The March of Despotism</i> for journal issue Number 3 (Winter 1960-61). He became a noted historian and author of many books including on Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin.
Melville, Theo (1932-2010)	Manchester then Liverpool	Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool	TM first writes September 1960 offering to review books on art and mentioning he writes poetry. His poem <i>114 Excitable Persons (Algeria)</i> appears in issue Number 4 (Spring 1961) together with a review of John Berger's book <i>Permanent Red</i> . TM later joined the ISEB for a very short period as well as providing other book reviews.
Mills, Stan	Norbury, London	IS Group	Exchange between MK and SM in January 1961 with MK asking for an <i>IS</i> editorial on the "proposed transport reorganisation" to be reviewed by SM. He replies "...re the editorial for <i>IS</i> 2 I can find nothing wrong with the enclosed". SM was one of the SRG's trade union militants on the railways. It does not look as if the editorial was actually used.
Milton, Nan (1913-1996)	Avonbridge, Scotland	Labour Party	MK writes prior to publication of the first issue of <i>IS</i> to attempt to get an article on NM's father, John MacLean. Subsequent correspondence turns to Walter Kendall in <i>Socialist Review</i> and the possibilities of articles on MacLean's educational work and on Scotland.
Mitchell, Adrian (1932-2008)	London	Poet (active in the Labour Party and CND)	MK letter to AM 19/03/61 seeks permission "to republish your Bomb poem in the last <i>New Departures</i> ". An immediate reply from AM says, "Here is the quartet. As you'll see they're all about the bomb from different angles. I'm very keen to get them all published together, but of course you can pick one out if you like. If you're interested I have other political and social poems about (random selection) religion, sex, Suez, suicide, Fascists, money, Prince Andrew and H. Macmillan". The <i>Bomb Quartet</i> appeared in journal issue Number 5 (Summer 1961).
Moonesinghe, Anil (1927-2002)	Ceylon	Lanka Sama Samaja Party (AM was a founding member of the Socialist Review Group)	One letter from MK 10/04/60 "Why this sustained silence (only broken by a telegram announcing your election to Parliament last time)? We're re-starting <i>International Socialism</i> as a printed, theoretically-orientated quarterly and want your collaboration: as a writer, sales-and publicity-agent, and sugar daddy.....".
Mourre, Xavier	Bruges and Paris	<i>Correspondences Socialiste</i>	Correspondence mainly concerns the article that XM supplied for the journal issue Number 4 (Spring 1961) on the Belgian General Strike. Titled <i>Belgium: Success Beyond Our Grasp</i> we know from other parts of this archive that MK rated this article highly. MK agreed that the journal would handle UK distribution of the

			French language pamphlet <i>La Greve Generale Belge</i> . It is worth recording that in one letter XM criticises Alasdair MacIntyre's reply to Henry Collins in the <i>Left Reformism</i> debate. XM thereby joins Mike Kidron, Tony Cliff, Ken Coates and Henry Collins in all expressing critical comments on AM's article within letters in this archive.
McGowan, Pat	London	Not given	December 1960 request from MK for PMcG to translate Argentine books from Spanish. The books include 4 by Silvio Frondizi and 2 by Marcos Kaplan.
McShane, Harry (1891-1988)	Glasgow	ISEB	In a letter of 04/06/1960 McShane agrees to join the ISEB. In that role he was presumably sent the Raya Dunayevskaya article on Trotsky (see Alasdair MacIntyre entry above). In complete contrast to MK, McShane gives it a complete "thumbs-up" and is "convinced that it is the kind of article that should be printed in the <i>IS</i> ".
<i>New Politics</i> (Julius Jacobson, Editor)	New York, USA	"A Journal of Socialist Thought"	The 1961 correspondence covers interesting topics including – Julius Jacobson's article <i>The Relevance of American Socialism</i> in <i>International Socialism</i> issue Number 6 (Autumn 1961); Cliff's article <i>The 22nd Congress of the Russian Communist Party</i> in <i>New Politics</i> issue Number 2 (Winter 1962); an exchange of views on the first issue of <i>New Politics</i> (its contents and the role of the journal).
Nitsch, Wolfgang	Berlin, West Germany	German Socialist German Students Association	Early 1961 request to subscribe to the journal "to get information on the development of socialist theory in your country... to discuss your analyses with my friends".
<i>New Generation</i>	Leeds	ILP Young Socialist League	November 1960 letter from Eric Preston (Editor, <i>New Generation</i>) seeking a 500-word article for publication.
Oertzen, Peter von (1924-2008)	Gottingen, West Germany	SPD and editor of <i>Arbeitshefte</i> journal	MK contacted PvO in November 1960 to seek articles on German matters. It seems likely that they met in Gottingen in December 1960. PvO contributed to the journal's debate on left reformism with an article in issue Number 8 (Spring 1962). All PvO's letters are in German – in his final letter in this archive (28/02/1963) he asks MK how the organisation is developing. MK gives what appears to be a very honest answer for PvO's use only – "The group is growing. It is now some 140 strong. Unfortunately the growth has occurred, and the strength lies almost exclusively in, the Young Socialists (vide ISIO). A breeze from Transport House would probably destroy us as an organised force in all but three, possibly four, areas. This is reflected in the fortunes of our journals: <i>Young Guard</i> – 3500-4000; <i>Labour Worker</i> – 400(?) of which probably no more than 200 are real sales (the EB is soon to be centred on Glasgow which might improve matters); <i>IS</i> – 1200 until now (1000 real) going up to 1600 with <i>IS 12</i> ."
Otter, Laurens	London	"Pacifist/Syndicalist"	One letter to MK dated only as 5 th January (must be 05/01/1962) with no printed name only a signature (must be Laurens Otter). "Congratulations: In that the editorials of <i>IS</i> have taken a significant step to the Left...".

Palmer, John	Kingston-Upon-Thames, Surrey	Kingston-Upon-Thames, Young Socialists	JP's first <i>formal</i> contact with IS. He writes on 26/01/1961, "I enclose ten shillings for an annual subscription for <i>International Socialism</i> . Perhaps you would acquaint me with any meetings held by supporters of your journal as I feel my general ideas bear close resemblance to those of your magazine".
Panzieri, Raniero (1921-1964)	Turin, Italy	<i>Quaderni Rossi</i>	Single letters from MK in 1960 and 1961 sending issues of the journal and seeking input.
Pennington, Bob	London	ISEB	RESTRICT
Petersen, George	New South Wales, Australia	Not given	MK sent the details of the journal to GP prior to the first issue. A friendly letter by return agrees to subscribe, gives details of another potential subscriber and an agreement to write an article.
Pieters, S.	Amsterdam, Holland	Not given	MK seeks to set up a meeting with SP during the time he is holidaying in Scheveningen near the Hague.
Pillai, Anthony	Madras, India	Madras Labour Union	One letter from MK 28/04/1962 seeking an article "on the situation of the Left in India in the light of the recent General Election".
Preston, Eric	Leeds	ISEB	EP joined the ISEB from journal issue Number 6 (Autumn 1961) but cannot attend the September meeting as he is organising a Polaris demo. It seems he was subsequently confined to bed for several weeks with bronchitis.
Pribicevic, Branko	Belgrade, Yugoslavia	Institut za Izucavanje Radickog Pokreta	Letters 1960-61 seeking to get BP to write on workers' control in Yugoslavia (BP had written a book whilst in the UK titled <i>The Shop Stewards' Movement and Workers' Control 1910-1922</i>).
Radames, Resaz	Genova-Nervi, Italy	<i>Azione Comunista</i> paper of Movimento della Sinistra Comunista	Correspondence 1961-62 regarding publication exchanges and more. Includes the fact that John Philips and other IS members had visited them in 1962, they had translated some IS articles into Italian and Arrigo Cervetto, Central Committee member, had submitted an article on the history of the left in Italy. The article was translated but seemingly not used. MK was critical of it for assuming too much knowledge by a reader in the UK.
Rashid, M.	Kerala, India	Revolutionary Socialist Party	February 1961 letter from MR (Editor of the RSP's weekly organ) to be added to the IS mailing list. MK replies "we shall be happy to put you on our ailing list and even happier to receive an article from you on the Communist Party administration in Kerala until the last election and some sort of analysis of the left opposition to it".
Revolutionary Socialist Party	Delhi, India	Revolutionary Socialist Party	Letter from MK to the RSP (whose leaders he had met on his trip to India) enclosing 2 editorials from IS showing "a fundamental difference in our approaches to the current "emergency" in India". MK says the issues should be debated in the movement internationally and asks for the IS position to be published in the RSP's journal <i>The Call</i> and for the RSP to send something for IS. The results are in journal numbers 11,12 and 13.

Riddell, D.S.	Leicester	Not given	November 1962 request from MK as to whether someone from the ISEB could speak to an audience in Leicester.
Riechers, Christian	Berlin, West Germany	Not given	Letter from MK January 1961 "I have not forgotten you or the stay in Berlin which I found most instructive and very pleasant". MK encloses latest issue of <i>Socialist Review</i> and asks if CR might write a regular column.
Rose, S.	Department of Biochemistry, University of Oxford	Not given	One undated letter to MK on the subject of the Common Market. This probably Steven Rose, noted neuroscientist.
Roseman, Herman G.	New York, USA	Not given	Letter from MK September 1962 thanking him for taking out a subscription. MK continues, "I'd like to follow up a suggestion made by Sam Farber. He says that you hold somewhat different views to the ones I expressed in my article (IS9) on Imperialism: and that you might be persuaded to air them...".
Rosmer, Alfred (1877-1964)	Not given (France)	Veteran activist	Letter from MK dated May Day 1960 enclosing the first issue of IS. MK says he would greatly appreciate AR "associating yourself with us and would especially like you to write for the journal...".
Rustock, Harry	Berlin, West Germany	<i>Die Falken</i>	Letters from MK to HR December 1960 and January 1961. Likely they met in Berlin as MK writes "I shall be visiting Berlin between the 8 th and 10 th of this month [December] and would very much like to see you...I shall be attached to the NALSO Delegation...".
Samuel, Ralph[Raphael] (1934-1996)	London	Labour historian, educator etc.	Note from RS 04/09/1960 saying he hasn't time to review Gartner on the Jewish Immigration into England" (this refers to Lloyd P. Gartner's 1960 book on the subject).
Sedgwick, Peter (1934-1983)	Liverpool	ISEB	Over 70 items of correspondence between MK and PS makes this a valuable resource. We get the full details of the departure of Pennington and Grainger from the ISEB, their differing views on <i>New Left Review/New Left Clubs</i> , progress on PS's Victor Serge work, articles written and articles suggested – including PS's interesting thoughts on Bertrand Russell's 1920 book <i>Practice and Theory of Bolshevism</i> – "this is a most sane and sensible critique of the bloody horrible tendencies in the Bolshevik tradition (though I suspect that he tends to make too easy a pattern of it and to ignore the positive tendencies which at the time co-existed)". And there is so much more.
Segal, Michael	Not given	ISEB	Brief report from MS to the ISEB dated 25/04/60 i.e. immediately after launch of the first issue of the journal. (We know that the first issue was expedited to coincide with the Aldermaston March) and this report tells us that the printer managed to have 250 copies ready for the March of which 150 were sold and the rest distributed. (The eventual print run of the first issue was 1000).
Seifert, Jürgen	Not given	Not given	One letter 31/10/1962 MK to JS "John Crutchley intimates that you might be willing to write an article on wage planning for us.....We have no experience of the

			subject; certainly nothing like the Dutch or the Swedes. We don't know how it affects workers' attitudes, shop-floor organisation, trade union structure, or economic stability – but would like to know....”.
Skard, Torild	Oslo, Norway	SSF	One letter April 1961 from MK enclosing 3 issues of the journal for TS at the suggestion of Nils Petter Gleditsch and J.L. Mowinckel.
Socialisme ou Barbarie	Paris, France	Libertarian Socialist Organisation	March 1960 request for publication exchange and May 1963 request “to publish Lyotard's <i>L'Algerie evacuee</i> (SouB No. 34) in our forthcoming number”. The article was published in journal Number 13 (Summer 1963) – Ian Birchall undertook the translation from the French.
Solano, Wilebaldo (1916-2010)	Paris, France	<i>Tribuna Socialista</i>	Early 1961 correspondence between MK and WS regarding the translation and publication of an article by Pedro Morales that had appeared in <i>Tribuna Socialista</i> . It appears that whilst the translation was completed the article was not used in the <i>IS</i> journal. A letter from WS in October 1961 has been translated for the file and it contains some exceedingly interesting comments on Cuba and the Cuban Trotskyists.
Somerlott, Ronnie	Colville, USA	Not given	RS writes asking for details of the <i>IS</i> journal and other UK socialist publications.
Stein, Basil	London	Not given	One letter from BS.
<i>Studies on the Left</i>	Wisconsin, USA	Socialist Magazine	Publication exchange.
Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentbund	Berlin, West Germany	German Socialist Student Federation	Undated letter from Wolfgang Nitsch, International Secretary, SDS, opens with “The Socialist German Student Federation and comrades from left socialist groups in West Berlin have decided to form a kind of “New Left” movement, an informal political club as a centre of discussion and activity for democratic socialists in and outside the SPD...”.
Szasz, Kathleen	Edgware, Middlesex	Not given	Early 1961 correspondence regarding a translation that KS completed for the journal. KS was a 1956 refugee from Hungary and in the course of one letter she mentions that “my husband is at present engaged in writing a book on the Rajk-trial of which he too was one of the victims. Beyond being a description of a personal experience the book will be an analysis of the Stalinist show-trials in general”. (It is certain that the book was the one published in English in 1971 as <i>Volunteers for the Gallows: Anatomy of a Show Trial</i> by Bela Szasz).
Tait, Jean (1920-2016)	London	IS Group	Three late 1960 items of correspondence seeking translation from Spanish of a Silvio Frondizi publication.
Taylor, Charles (Chuck)	London	Not given	One letter from MK seeking funds for the journal.
Tanner, Allan	Geneva, Switzerland	Not given	MK writes “Robin Fior tells me that you've written an interesting piece on “la nouvelle vague” which you might consider expanding for <i>IS</i>”.
Thompson, Edward P. (1924-1993)	Halifax	New Left	Letter from EPT dated 24 th June (1960) in which he writes “Thanks for your letter inviting me to come onto the editorial board of <i>International Socialism</i> . I already

			have more work than I can cope with, and cannot take on another commitment. Surely you would be better advised to get people who are not already involved up to their eyes, and who do not find the existing journals sufficient?”. A letter from MK in February 1963 asks EPT if he will write “a critical history, or balance sheet, of the New Left for <i>IS</i> ”.
Titmuss, Richard M. (1907-1973)	London School of Economics	Professor of Social Administration	Letter dated 18/01/1962 from the famous British social researcher thanking MK for sending a copy of the latest issue of <i>International Socialism</i> . He continues “...I was very interested in the main article but do not feel at the present time any need to comment on it...”. RMT is certainly referring to the article by Nigel Harris titled <i>The Decline of Welfare</i> in journal issue Number 7 (Winter 1961) in which NH cites the work of RMT.
<i>Trade Union Affairs</i>	London	“A Journal of Study and Criticism”	January 1961 setting up of publication exchange. Clive Jenkins was the editor of <i>TUA</i> .
Tsushima, Tadayuki (1901-1979)	Tokyo, Japan	Japanese Trotskyist	Miscellaneous correspondence regarding articles on Japan but also permission given for the associates of TT to publish Japanese editions of Tony Cliff’s 1955 book <i>Russia: A Marxist Analysis</i> and 1959’s <i>Rosa Luxemburg</i> . TT advises that the Japanese youth organisation Zengakuren (see entry below) will use the 1955 book as a basic text in their study courses. The two books did subsequently appear in Japanese.
Tyrwhitt, Stephen Lewin	Leyton, London	Not given	Letter from SLT dated November 16 th (1961) seeking information about the Socialist League of Africa. SLT is leaving for Africa and describes himself as a revolutionary socialist who would like to proffer his assistance.
Waters, Bill	London	Bus worker	Letter from MK asking BW to write for either <i>Socialist Review</i> or <i>International Socialism</i> .
Worsley, Peter	Not given	Not given	Invitation for PW to join the Kidron’s on holiday in a converted barn in Dorset in April 1960.
Young, Jimmy (J.D.) (1931-2012)	London	Not given (ex SRG)	Exchanges in 1961 concern two articles submitted by JY – one on Marx, the other on John Galsworthy. Both regarded as good but not suitable for <i>IS</i> . One letter from 1962.
Young, Tony and Nessie	Ramsgate, Kent	IS Group	One letter from MK January 1961 seeking a donation for the journal.
Zeitlin, Maurice	Princeton University, USA	Root and Branch Press	One exchange of correspondence in October 1961. MZ had met Nick Howard in Cuba and they discussed a publishing project – a book on Cuba that would potentially be printed in the UK. MZ pitches the proposal to MK who replies together with printer’s quotes.

Zengakuren	Tokyo, Japan	Japanese Youth Organisation	Letter dated 23/04/1962 from Hitoshi Nemoto of the Chief Committee of Zengakuren enclosing a resolution of their Central Committee. The resolution is in opposition to nuclear testing in the Pacific.
Zubaida, Sami	Hull	Not given	SZ is studying at Hull University – not finding it easy to sell the journal.

Part 3: Catalogue
of the
University of California,
Davis 1972
Correspondence and
Memorabilia

Introduction

Between January and March 1972 Mike Kidron was the Distinguished Visiting Professor of Economics at the University of California, Davis. He was teaching a special course, Economics 141, dealing with the impact of large and permanent military establishments.

This collection of material is extremely small, and, by comparison with the *Socialist Review* and *International Socialism* correspondence of much slighter significance.

To me, it does show one thing. Little is written about Mike Kidron and organised political activity on behalf of the International Socialists in the 1970's. In some respects he disappears from view in 1968, only to reappear in 1977 to seemingly disassociate himself from the organisation and his theory of the Permanent Arms Economy. Here though, in a space of a relatively few weeks, we see Kidron criss-crossing the western United States on behalf of the American International Socialists and, it seems, making quite an impact. It is particularly useful to be able to provide the written reports of two of Kidron's meetings – more so as one is written for a revolutionary audience and the other for the bourgeois press!

Mike Kidron University of California, Davis 1972 Correspondence and Memorabilia

Date	Item	Description and Comments
27/12/1971	Reserve Book List for use on Mike Kidron's Economics Course	Book List contains 20 titles. They range from the obvious – Tony Cliff <i>Russia: A Marxist Analysis</i> ; Mike Kidron <i>Western Capitalism Since the War</i> ; Harry Magdoff <i>Age of Imperialism</i> ; Leon Trotsky <i>Permanent Revolution</i> to the not so obvious – Leonard Lewin (Special Study Group) <i>Report from Iron Mountain</i> ; Robert McNamara <i>Essence of Security</i> .
14/01/1972	University of California, Davis Department of Economics Winter Quarter 1972 Staff List and Faculty Office Hours	Staff list of Kidron's contemporaries at Davis in 1972. Mike is listed as "Kidron, Michael Visiting Distinguished Professor in Economics".
Undated	Essay submitted by Susan McCullough as part of Mike Kidron's Economics Course	I have no knowledge of who Susan McCullough is but MK was sufficiently impressed with the essay to award it a mark of "Super A". McCullough has ended her essay by writing: "As the system becomes unstable, the pressures grow until the system is destroyed. (But hopefully I will be long dead by the time the whole thing falls apart)." To which MK has added the handwritten comment: "I hope not: it might be <u>torn</u> apart in order to be fitted together again as a different kind of system".
10/01/1972-15/02/72	Correspondence between Cal Winslow and Mike Kidron	Four letters concerning arrangements for MK to visit the Seattle Branch of the International Socialists on the weekend of Friday 3 rd - Sunday 5 th March. Likely he spoke at a public meeting on "Bangladesh" on the Saturday and, possibly, to the Seattle branch on the "British IS" on the Friday.
26/01/1972	News Release and Flyer for "Ashgrove Forums", 8162 Melrose Avenue, Los Angeles 46	The forum on 26 th January is: "Bangla Desh: Prelude to Revolution?" A serious, uncompromising confrontation of viewpoints on the world's newest state and the events which led to its creation. Particular attention to the politics and roles of the various revolutionary movements on the Indian sub-continent. Speakers will include: Martin Hall: Journalist and lecturer on International affairs, has spoken widely on the Indo-Pakistani war Michael Kidron: Visiting professor of economics at UC Davis; member of the editorial board of <i>International Socialism</i> in England; has travelled extensively through India and Pakistan and Bangla Desh. He is the author of <i>Western Capitalism Since the War</i> (Penguin) and various specialised works on the Indian and Pakistani economies".
27/01/1972	Poster for IS Meeting	Poster advertising Mike Kidron on "The Economic Crisis of Capitalism".
02/02/1972	Letter from Hal Draper to Mike Kidron	HD writes (presumably in response to a question from MK): "The letter by Marx implying he might write something on competition may be his letter to Engels of 2 nd April 1858. Except that it doesn't refer to a separate work, but describes what he (Marx) was intending to include in the various divisions of <i>Capital</i> . Part (b) under Capital (which is only the first of six divisions proposed) is "Competition, or the actions of many capitals upon one another....".
06/02/72-14/02/72	3 Letters between Mike Kidron and Nigel Harris	Nigel Harris writes from Bombay, India and advises he wants "to slide into Bangla Desh" for 2 or 3 days. He asks MK for a list of people he should visit; which MK duly provides. MK gives the following information on

		his own activities: "I'm having a lovely time; very isolated, which is giving me the opportunity to quarry a big block of marble which one day might be the Theory of the Arms Economy. But not so isolated as to stop me making forays to the political colonies within a 700-mile radius: Los Angeles, Berkeley and, soon, Seattle".
10/02/1972	IS Circular Letter	Calendar of events advises that MK will speak on Bangla Desh at the Students Union, Berkeley Campus at noon on Thursday 10 th February.
15/02/1972	Letter from Jim O'Connor, Economist, San Jose State College to Mike Kidron	Letter says how good JO'C thought Kidron's book <i>Western Capitalism Since the War</i> was. JO's asks if regular communication and contact can be set up between people involved in the study of state capitalism. Jim O'Connor (1930-2017) was a noted sociologist and economist of the left.
20/02/1972	IS Circular Letter	Calendar of events advises that MK will speak on "The Economic Crisis of Capitalism" at the IS Oakland Office at 7.30pm on Sunday 20 th February. He may have spoken earlier in the day on the same subject to the San Francisco branch of IS.
22/02/1972	IS Circular Letter	The IS Circular Letter postmarked as 22 nd February has a written report of MK's talk on "The Economic Crisis of Capitalism". The report is titled <i>Economist Speaks for IS</i> . It is not known who wrote it. As the original copy suffers from legibility problems and also because reports of MK's talks are rather rare, I have transcribed the report as Appendix 1 here.
24/02/1972	Symposium Programme	MK takes part in a 4-day Symposium on <i>Imperialism: A Theory of Capitalist Development</i> at Stanford University. MK is a speaker in the session on "Bangla Desh: A New Nation" alongside Judy Carnoy of the Pacific Studies Center, and Arthur MacEwan, Economist at Harvard University. The moderator of the session is Ben Kleindorfer of the School of Education, Berkeley.
29/02/1972	Letter from Michael Visitor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Southern California, Los Angeles	Letter dated 23/02/1972 shows that MK is booked to speak on "Bangladesh" at the University of Southern California at 1.00pm on Tuesday 29 th February. A \$60 honorarium will be paid.
29/02/1972	Poster for IS Meeting	Poster advertising MK speaking on "The Relevance of Marxist Economics" at the Women's Lounge, Ackerman Union (A.S. UCLA) on 29 th February at 7.30pm.
06/06/1972	Newspaper Clipping	Newspaper clipping from the <i>California Aggie</i> newspaper of 6 th March 1972. The item is a short article highlighting MK's lecture the following day (see below). The piece is titled <i>UCD Prof Speaks on "Nixonomics"</i> and MK is described "as one of the most insightful, provocative political economists around". The piece also gives us more precise information on the course MK is teaching at UCD when it says, "this quarter he is teaching a special course, Economics 141, dealing with the economic impact of large and permanent military establishments".
07/03/1972	Poster for Lecture	A poster advertising 2 lectures put on by the Department of Economics and the Committee for Arts and Lectures, University of California, Davis. On Monday 28 th February Nat Weinberg (Regent' Professor of Economics and Special Projects Director, United Auto Workers) speaks on "Nixonomics: Labor's Viewpoint". On Tuesday 7 th March MK speaks on "Nixonomics and the Permanent Arms Economy".
08/03/1972	Newspaper Clipping	Newspaper clipping from the <i>Davis Enterprise</i> newspaper of 8 th March 1972. It is a fairly detailed report written by Tom Taber of MK's lecture of the previous day (see above). It is headlined, <i>Militarism Tied to</i>

		<i>Capitalism, Oxford Economist</i> says. There is a photograph of MK speaking at the event. As the report features a host of verbatim quotes from MK I have reproduced the text here as Appendix 2.
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ECONOMIST SPEAKS for I.S.

Michael Kidron, Marxist economist from Britain, spoke at an I.S. forum on February 20th on “The Economic Crisis of Capitalism”. Kidron is the author of *Foreign Investments in India* and *Western Capitalism Since the War* (Penguin paperback, 1970). He is a member of the British International Socialists, our fraternal organization, and has written extensively for their journal *International Socialism*. The following is a brief (and inadequate) summary of Kidron’s main point.

Most of Kidron’s talk centered around the relation of the Permanent Arms Economy to western capitalism in terms of a cycle: Up till recently, the U.S. has been providing the nuclear umbrella defense shield for western countries. However, this has worked to the competitive disadvantage of the U.S. because the other countries could make productive (non-military) investment while the U.S. was tied down with non-productive (military) investment. As a consequence, the relative competitive position of the other countries has improved. However, recently, despite the Vietnam war, military expenditure as a % of GNP in the U.S. has declined. This means U.S. capitalist firms can spend more on productive investments to be able to compete internationally more effectively.

But, as productive investment rises, the capital-labor ratio (or in Marxist terminology, the organic composition of capital) rises. And whether you use the bourgeois economic method of the marginal productivity of capital, or the Marxist approach, you find that this increasing capital-labor ratio will lead to a fall in the rate of profit. And in fact, since the mid 1960’s, the profit rate in the U.S. does seem to be declining.

What does this mean? Capitalists traditionally have two methods of dealing with a declining rate of profit. One is the wage squeeze (or wage controls, or incomes policy).

The other method is for capitalists to screw each other by increasing competition internationally and searching for new areas for investment – including the “Communist bloc”. However, one of the consequences of this competition is increased international tension and instability, paving the way for a military build-up. The military build-up creates a lot of waste investment, thereby lowering the capital-labor ratio. This allows the profit rate to rise.

All this would be fine, except that this merely starts the cycle all over again.

But why does this “waste” expenditure have to be on military expenditure instead of social services? The answer, according to Kidron, is that capitalism competes internationally. Expenditures on social services do not have to be matched. If one capitalist country “invested” in social services and a second invested more heavily in productive capacity, the second country will have a tendency to outcompete the first in the world market.

Military spending, however, differs in that it is the kind of waste expenditure by one country that forces others to go along (especially as the U.S. stops carrying the burden of Western defense). Thus, while, say, Western Europe would like to compete more economically with the U.S., to be independent, it will also have to compete militarily.

This is not to say that any politician consciously looks at the function of the Permanent Arms Economy in this way. Capitalism is the kind of system that does not require this kind of conscious behaviour.

However, it is still important to understand that there are driving forces of capitalism. Sometimes they allow for temporary agreements. But historically these agreements have always come to an end, as one nation or one group of capitalists seeks a competitive edge. But as the competitors become more nationally centralized and monopolized (i.e. grand concerns competing on a world scale), we can expect the crisis to be increasingly more sudden and more alarming.

Militarism tied to capitalism, Oxford economist says

By Tom Taber

Oxford University economist Michael Kidron told a UC Davis audience last night that militarism is an inseparable tool of the capitalist system and can't be abolished without the adoption of socialism on a world-wide scale.

"The fundamental problem of the capitalist system," the visiting professor said, "is that it experiences periodic declines in the rate of profit." Arms expenditures, he continued, is commonly used to reverse this decline and return high profits.

The eminent economist, who is visiting UCD winter and spring quarters to teach a class on "the economic impact of large and permanent military establishments," went on to accuse the Nixon administration of manipulating military expenditures to suit his political and economic objectives.

He indicted the President for fabricating threats from the Soviet Union as a pretext for boosting the sales of weapons to underdeveloped countries.

Kidron also asserted that the production of such weapons is a method of maintaining high employment and political harmony at home.

"If Nixon were just manufacturing pea shooters and bows and arrows," he said, "everyone would be happy and still employed."

He charged that increased weapons sales to underdeveloped nations and increased expenditures for weapons development would mutually increase the "balance of terror" between the United States and the Soviet Union.

"One of the things that happened," he continued, "was the India-Pakistan war."

Vindicating Nixon for his role in the high U.S. military budget, Kidron levelled his severest attack against the Capitalist form of economy:

"Nixon is a rational man; he is doing all the rational things to get re-elected."

"It's the system," he reiterated, "that's not too rational."

The intrinsic evils of capitalism, the senior Oxford research officer said, are also responsible for the military exploits of the Soviet Union, which he claimed has "state capitalism" rather than true socialism.

Kidron stressed that the abolition of militarism can only be effected through a socialist "leap forward on an international scale."

"What we need," he said, "is a collaborative society, not a competitive society."

He continued with the admonition: "Let's leave competition to the sports field, not for the battlefield."

"Countries that put least into arms after World War II," he said about Germany and Japan, "are experiencing the highest rate of growth."

Warning that these countries have an economic advantage over the United States by being able to allot a greater portion of their G.N.P. for non-military consumer commodities, Kidron said that “it makes sense that when Uncle Sam is willing to hold the nuclear umbrella, the smaller nations can use both hands to make motor cars and television sets.”

“Meanwhile,” he lamented, “the United States is using only the one hand.”

Perceiving a “rerunning of history,” the economist warned that the United States, through its wasteful military spending, may repeat many of Britain’s economic woes, which he claimed were largely caused by military over-extension.

He also urged the U.S. to take the position, “put up your own umbrella – don’t use my umbrella,” in dealing with its allies.

“The flexing of economic muscles,” and “raising the rate of exploitation,” Kidron observed, are two fundamental principles of “Nixonomics”.

The purpose of devaluation, he claimed, was “to increase the competitive edge of the American economy.”

This is also the reason, he continued, for selectively selling arms to under-developed countries of economic or military importance.

Nixon’s second economic principle, Kidron explained, is to “threaten anti-labor legislation, and pin it on an unpopular strike.”

He explained that Nixon’s wage and price freeze was unfair to labor because wages can be stabilized much more easily than prices, thus cutting the buying power of the worker’s pay-check.

The visiting English professor emphasized that “putting a squeeze on labor, the Nixon administration has created tremendous problems.”

“Conditions are right for the growth of a Socialist movement in the United States,” said Kidron in response to a question about potential solutions to the arms problem.

Socialism in America, he pointed out, may be more imminent than many people suppose. “Lenin,” he said, “didn’t think revolution was possible in Russia in 1917.”